THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM JESUS CHRIST TO The Present Time:

Containing

Their Antiquities, their Religion, their Rites,

The Dispersion of the Ten Tribes in the *East*,

AND

The Persecutions this Nation has suffer'd in the *West*.

BEING A

SUPPLEMENT AND CONTINUATION OF The History of Josephus.

Written in French by Mr. *BASNAGE*.

Translated into English by The. Taylor, A. M.

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The History of Joseph:

OR

CONTINUATION

AND

SUPPLEMENT

BEING A

The Portsmouth and Dartmouth Lives now Printed in one Vol.

AND

The Different Lives in one Book

Containing

The Principal Things

TO

JESUS CHRIST

FROM

THE NEWS

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

JONATHAN,

Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter,

PRELATE

OF THE

Moſt Noble Order of the GARTER.

My LORD,

THAT *Apoſtolical Zeal which has always appear'd in* Your Lordſhip, *for the Advancement of true Religion, and eſpecially for the Welfare of that Bulwark of it, the Church of* England, *which You ſo Eminently expreſs'd by expoſing your Self to the greateſt Dangers, to ſcreen it from Oppreſſion, makes me preſume to lay this Tranſlation at your Lordſhip's Feet; Becauſe one of the chiefeſt Deſigns of this Book, is to lay before the Scoffers and Deſpiſers of our Religion, an Argument of its Truth in a Language they underſtand: An Argument which if a Deiſt could conſider in that amazing Chain of Providence it is involved in, would effectually convince him, that not a Tittle ſhall fail of all the Promiſes and Menaces of the Goſpel.*

If he demand a preſent Miracle for his Faith; Behold! here the greateſt, of more than ſixteen hundred Years Continuance, the Jews *wandring, and diſperſed into all Corners of the Earth, by the Malediction of Heaven: Often maſſacred and exil'd in as great Multitudes as came from* Egypt; *Deſpiſed, hated, perſecuted by all Nations;*

and tho mingled and confounded with them, ſtill diſtinguiſhed in their Laws, Cuſtoms and Religion, remaining a ſtanding Evidence of Divine Vengeance upon Unbelief, and an indelible Monument of the Truth of Chriſtianity.

It muſt be hard for the moſt unbelieving and impenetrable Temper, to ſtand unſhock'd and unconvinced upon this thorough View of the direful Effects they drew down from Heaven upon their Nation, when they imprecated upon themſelves and their Poſterity, the Blood of the Saviour of the World: And if late Poſterity, in ſo ſtupendious a manner, ſuffer for the Sins and Infidelity of their Anceſtors; What Fate may we ſuppoſe is likely to purſue our Tribes *of Atheiſts, Deiſts and Apoſtates, who, not from inbred Prejudices or Education, but obſtinate and wilful Blindneſs, ſtill crucify the Lord of Life and Glory.*

'Tis an aſtoniſhing Thought, and worthy to be well-weighed by all the inveterate Enemies and Blaſphemers of the Chriſtian Church, who with uncontroll'd Licenſe and Impunity, *wound and tear it, in its moſt Pure and Orthodox (I might ſay) its moſt vital and eſſential Part,* The Church of *ENGLAND.*

That God may long continue Your Lordſhip among us, for the Good of the Church in general, and of your Dioceſs in particular, is the earneſt Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Dutiful Son,

and Obedient Servant,

THO. TAYLOR.

TO THE
Reverend Mr. *THOMAS TAYLOR.*

SIR,

IT would be a piece of Ingratitude not to be ſenſible of the Honour you have done me by tranſlating my Hiſtory of the *Jews* into *Engliſh*. Tho I can't tell whether this is a Service to me, ſince it makes me appear before thoſe Eminent Men of your Nation, whoſe Learning is ſo profound, well digeſted, and admir'd; yet I muſt acknowledge with Thanks that you have given undeniable Proofs of your good Will towards me. My Book cou'd not fall into better Hands than Yours.

I have had a great many Sheets of your Tranſlation; but it doth not belong to me to beſtow upon you the Encomiums you deſerve for your polite and clear Stile. A Foreigner is not a fit Judge of the Nicety of a Tongue, which he hath only learn'd for the ſake of thoſe excellent Books that are writ in that Language. But I can tell you that I am fully perſwaded, that you have expreſs'd my Meaning; and that as far as I have read and compar'd your Tranſlation with the Original, I found it very exact. I have alſo communicated it to ſome of my Friends, who were of the ſame Opinion. So that I do not doubt but the World will ratify it. If you deſire that this Letter ſhou'd be prefix'd to the Book, I heartily give my Conſent to it; and you may diſpoſe of it as you ſhall think fit. It is an Honour to me that you dedicate my Book to ſo eminent a Prelate as my Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. I deſire you'll aſſure him of my Devoirs, which I intend to do my ſelf. I am,

SIR,

At Rotterdam, *this* 27th *of* January, 1708.

Your moſt Affectionate, and moſt Obedient Servant,

BASNAGE.

THE PLAN OF THIS HISTORY.

THIS is a Collection of all, that relates to the Religion and Hiſtory of the *Jews*, from the Time of *Herod* the Great. I have follow'd that Nation into all the Places of the World, where they have fled for Refuge; and reviv'd the Ten Tribes, which ſeem'd bury'd in the *Eaſt*. I have examin'd what relates to the Schiſms, Sects, Tenets and Ceremonies, which have been introduc'd into their Religion. I have divided the Matters ſo, that they may be recurr'd to without Trouble, and not loaded the Text with *Hebrew* Characters and Quotations; becauſe I wou'd not thereby diſguſt many Readers, who do not underſtand them.

Perhaps it will be ſaid, that as an Architect, who runs over Plains and Deſarts to gather ſome ſcatter'd Stones, doth not perform his Part, unleſs he builds a ſolid and convenient Edifice with them: Neither have I perform'd mine, tho I have taken a great deal of Pains to collect ſome ſcatter'd Fragments, unleſs they be uſeful and entertaining. But I ought not to judge of my own Performance, and therefore ſhall lay down the Plan of it in few Words.

1. I ought naturally to have began where *Joſephus* left off, after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; becauſe that Event is ſufficiently known. However, I have thought it neceſſary, to give a general Account of the Government of this Nation, whilſt they, as yet, enjoy'd ſome Proſperity; and that the Family and Succeſſion of the *Herods* ought to be put in a true Light, in order to explain many Places in the *New Teſtament*, and to ſupply by ſeveral Remarks and Obſervations what is wanting in *Joſephus*.

I thought, at firſt, that a few Sheets wou'd have ſerv'd to illuſtrate this; and that I might have included in the ſame Book, the Hiſtory of the *Samaritans*, *Caraites*, and other Sectaries; and by that Means give a full Account of the State of the *Jewiſh* Church in the Time of our Lord. But leaſt I ſhou'd ſwell the firſt Book too much; and that I might diſtinguiſh Matters more exactly, I have made a particular Book of what concerns the *Jewiſh* Schiſmaticks and Sectaries.

2. The Hiſtory of the *Samaritans* is ſo much the more curious, becauſe little known, and a great Part of it taken from their Chronicle. We have writ the Hiſtory, not only of the Sects mention'd in the Goſpel, but alſo that of the *Caraites*, who are Enemies to the Phariſees and Traditioniſts, whoſe Succeſſion and Tenets we have had much a-do to diſcover, tho that Part of the *Jewiſh* Church ſubſiſts to this Day.

3. The *Jews*, after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, had Patriarchs in *Judæa*, and Princes of the Captivity in the *Eaſt*. They alſo boaſt of different Orders of Doctors, who have handed down their Religion to one another; and therefore we give a diſtinct Account of the Patriarchs, the Chiefs of the Captivity and the Doctors, who have either compos'd or explain'd the Thalmud.

Some perhaps may think, that we are too large upon the Cabaliſts, whoſe myſtical Science is not diſcover'd without Difficulty, and ſeems uſeleſs. But not to examine at preſent, whether it be proper to expoſe the Vanity of thoſe Speculations, three Things have made this Diſcuſſion neceſſary to us. *1ſt*. The Gnoſticks and Hereticks of the ſecond Century, had a great Affinity with the Cabaliſts, from whom they borrow'd their *Emanations*, *Æons* and barbarous Names. They may be known by one another; and whatſoever can contribute to lay open the Errors of thoſe ancient Hereticks, is of ſome Uſe, and particularly to us, who deſign to write their Hiſtory. *2dly*. Beſides, 'tis almoſt a general Prejudice among the Learned, that the Heathens have taken their Cabala and Tradition from the *Jews*; and that the Religion of the lat-

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ter hath been receiv'd by the others, either becauſe they read the Books of *Moſes*, ſaw the Prophets, or elſe that the *Jewiſh* Religion hath been convey'd to them by more imperceptible Means. This very Prejudice hath engag'd us to run up as high as the Original Source of the Cabala among the *Egyptians*, to unfold the Principles of Philoſophers, and to ſhew that they did not agree with the *Jews*, but in Notions common to Mankind; and that the *Rabbins* have been rather their Diſciples, than Maſters.

Some think to do a great Honour to Religion, to prove, that the Trinity hath been believ'd and taught by the Philoſophers; and that *Pythagoras* underſtood, * *How to reconcile Free-will with Divine Providence, without which Agreement St.* Auguſtin *affirms, that we can neither believe right, nor live well.* For my Part, I do not think the Heathen Sages abler Divines than the Chriſtian Doctors; or that they learn'd the Art † of believing right, and living well, by reconciling Free-will with Providence. For we are perſwaded, that the Myſteries of the Trinity, and of Man's Redemption, which are ſo much above the Reach of human Underſtanding, were never known by the Light of Nature; and that the Revelation, which the *Jews* had of thoſe great Myſteries, was not clear enough to force the *Gentiles* to adopt thoſe Truths. They had neither read, nor ſufficiently ſtudied the Canonical Writings of the *Jews*, or their Tradition, to have believ'd theſe Myſteries, and inſerted them in their Works. In ſhort, we are oblig'd to explain the different Degrees of this Cabala, to ſhew what particularly diſtinguiſhes the *Jews* from the Gentiles and Chriſtians, who, but too often, follow their Steps. So that we ſhall find, in the 3*d* Book, the Cabala or Myſtick Theology of the *Egyptians*, who were the firſt Authors of it; and that of the Philoſophers, Poets, Apoſtles, Fathers of the Church, and of other Chriſtians, which we ſhall compare with that of the *Jews*.

4. The 4*th* Book contains a Syſtem of the *Jewiſh* Theology. We have not taken it from Scripture, by going ſo far back as the Ages, which preceded the Coming of the Meſſiah; but look'd into the modern Doctors, to find what is moſt likely to explain the Belief of the Synagogue. We have made a Syſtem and Body of Religion of it; which was the more difficult, becauſe the *Rabbins* often deviate from their Subject, and don't give themſelves the Trouble to make their Tradition coherent. As they divide into different Opinions, we have here given the principal ones, concerning the Creation and Propheſy. *Spinoſa* hath hereupon preferr'd the Doctors of his own Nation to the Philoſophers, and his great Skill conſiſted in making the Emanations, taught by the Cabaliſts, agree with the Principles of *Deſcartes*.

The Article of the Meſſiah hath held us much longer than the others, becauſe of greater Moment. We have done three Things upon this Article. Firſt, by leaving our general Method, we have gone back as far as the Prophets to unravel the Characters, which theſe inſpir'd Writers have given of the Deliverer of the *Jewiſh* Nation; becauſe the Compariſon, that is made thereof with the Notions of the Modern Doctors, doth contribute to the Manifeſtation of the Truth. Thoſe, who think this a Digreſſion, or Controverſy, may over-look it. We have afterwards examin'd the different Means, which the *Jewiſh* Church had to know the Meſſiah, either by Tradition, or the explaining of divers Types, which was receiv'd by the Doctors at the Time that Chriſt appear'd; and which the *Jews* have ſince forgot. Theſe Means had been more effectual, if the Divinity of the Meſſiah had been a conſtant Tenet among the *Jews*, as ſome Learned Men have endeavour'd to prove. As their Arguments have a great Shew of Reaſon, we have thought them worth mentioning. But notwithſtanding it is our Intereſt to be of their Opinion; which beſides ſtrongly concludes againſt the Antitrinitarians; Yet we cou'd not be induc'd to father upon the *Jews* a Tenet, which they never received, and thereby make their Incredulity, which is but too deplorable, more criminal than really it is.

Laſtly, we have given a particular Account of the different Notions which the Thalmudiſts, or Modern *Rabbins* have of the Meſſiah; and tho the bare reading of the *Toldos Jeſchu*, or rather of the Romances they have invented concerning Chriſt, is enough to convince us of the Ignorance and Impoſture of thoſe who have writ them; yet we have taken care to refute thoſe Books, leaſt the Faith of the Weak might he ſtagger'd.

We have alſo explain'd, as well as we cou'd, *the different Revolutions of Souls.* For tho moſt *Jews* are of the Sect of *Pythagoras*, and believe a *Metempſycoſis*; yet their different Opinions about it, make that Part of their Theology very obſcure. In a Word, we have given an exact Account of their Church and Purgatory, and of what they think of the future Happineſs or Miſery of Souls.

This Book hath frequent Allegories, bold Metaphors, far-fetch'd Explications, ſtrain'd and wild Fancies; yet we have been ſparing and cautious in our Collection, that the Reader might not be tir'd with them; and we ſhall think our ſelves happy, if we have choſen the beſt. But ſince we explain the Religion of the *Jews*, we were oblig'd to give a Taſte of the Stile and Genius of the Eaſtern Doctors, which differ ſo much from ours. This is neceſſary for the underſtanding of a great many Places of Scripture. In fine, thoſe who diſpute with us about the Metaphorical Senſe of the Words of Jeſus Chriſt, upon the *Euchariſt*, will be very

* *Life of* Pythagoras, *by Mr.* Dacier, *in the Preface.* † Ibid.

much

much ſurpriz'd to ſee at every Turn ſo many Metaphors heap'd upon one another, and the moſt uncouth Figures made uſe of, without ever giving the Reader Notice of them. The Plainneſs wherewith we write in the *Weſt*, tho it be natural and unaffected, yet ſhocks the Orientals, as much as their perpetual Metaphors and Hyperbolical Stile ſhock us.

5. Ceremonies made a conſiderable Part of the Jewiſh Religion, and therefore we have put them in a particular Book by themſelves. The *Thalmud*, which contains the Reſolution of Doubts upon this Subject, takes up ſeveral Volumes; and the Tract of *Leo* of *Modena*, which is its Supplement, and hath been ſo often re-printed, ſeem'd to us too ſhort. We have avoided the tedious Length of the Doctors, who raiſe and ſolve Scruples about a great many Trifles; as well as the Brevity of *Leo*, who is not particular enough. The Chriſtians have a particular Intereſt to ſtudy theſe Rites; becauſe they may find in them the Footſteps of the ancient Cuſtoms practis'd before the time of Chriſt; beſides theſe Rites help to explain one another. We have alſo ſometimes recurr'd to their Original, to ſhew how the Modern and Ancient Ceremonies agree, and to facilitate the Explanation of ſeveral Places of Scripture.

'Tis no new thing to maintain, that the *Sanhedrim* is not ſo ancient as it was thought ſometime ſince. However ſeveral Criticks will not yield to the Arguments which prove this, by fixing the firſt Original of this Great Council to the times of the *Maccabees*.

If there had been a *Sanhedrim* in *Egypt* before *Moſes* came out of it, as it is affirm'd, it wou'd not be ſtrange, that this Inſtitution had paſs'd into the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, and been there preſerv'd. But who can at this day diſcover the Polity and ancient Government of the *Egyptians*? It is but by uncertain Conjectures that we are aſſur'd * that it was compos'd of Prieſts; that theſe Clergymen-Counſellors wore white Garments, and had a Pontiff at their Head, who was diſtinguiſh'd by ſomepeculiar Ornament, as the High Prieſt among the *Jews*. But the Name of *Sanhedrim* can't be given to this *Egyptian* Council, ſince that Name came from *Greece*. The Counſellors eſtabliſh'd by *Moſes* being inſpir'd, and that Divine Inſpiration ceaſing, the Authority of that Council ceas'd too. The *Sanhedrim*, whoſe Hiſtory we have ſet down, was not ſettled till the time of the *Maccabees*. We have fix'd its Original to that time, after having try'd to no purpoſe whether it cou'd be fix'd to any other. A Learned Man, very skilful and well vers'd in thoſe Matters, hath ſince objected to us, that the *Sanhedrim* is found in the Chronicle of the *Samaritans*, or Book of *Joſhua*. This Objection wou'd be unanſwerable, was the Antiquity aſcrib'd to the Chronicle of the *Samaritans* allow'd by us; but we are ſo far from believing it as ancient as the *Samaritans* make it, that we think that it carries along with it very palpable Marks of its Novelty. What is ſaid of the *Sanhedrim* is only upon the falſe Notions of the *Jews*, or rather upon what *Moſes* ſaid of the Council of the Seventy Elders. The Inſtitution of *Synagogues* is not older than the *Maccabees*. For we read no where that they were burnt or demoliſh'd, or prophan'd during the Perſecution under *Antiochus*. I confeſs, that it is very wonderful, that God who had enjoyn'd the Religious Obſervation of the Sabbaths, had not likewiſe provided means to have them celebrated, by ordering in ev'ry City ſome Places of Publick Worſhip, and Levites at the Head of every Congregation to read and explain the Law. But if all that we have ſaid of the Novelty of Synagogues is ſeriouſly examined, it will eaſily appear, that thoſe, who maintain it, are not miſtaken.

We alſo ſpeak of their Houſes of Judgment and Academies. That of *Tiberias* flouriſh'd and was famous a long time. The *Maſorethes* are plac'd there, who have added Points or Vowels to the Hebrew Conſonants. But this was not done but a long time after the firſt Eſtabliſhment of that Academy, (*viz.*) five or ſix hundred Years after St. *Jerome*, and about the eleventh Century of the *Chriſtian Æra*. There were Academies in *Perſia* for the diſpers'd Tribes, and when the Perſecution deſtroy'd them, new ones were erected in *France*, whoſe Doctors were highly eſteem'd and reverenc'd. The Authority, which Diſciples give to their Maſters, or rather the Power which Maſters uſurp over their Diſciples or Equals, is exceſſive.

We have dwelt longer upon the Paſſeover than upon any other Feſtival, not only upon the Score of the Ceremonies obſerv'd in it; but alſo becauſe it lay upon us to explain how that Feſtival was regulated by Intercalations. This Fact is ſo conteſted among the Learned Criticks, that we have been oblig'd to unfold their Sentiments, and the Difficulties wrapp'd up in them, that they may be weigh'd, and the right Side more eaſily taken.

We have not forgot to ſpeak of the Novelty of *Excommunication*. It was not known till after the Inſtitution of the *Sanhedrim*. So that in the time of Chriſt it was not venerable for its Antiquity, tho it was very formidable, becauſe very ſeverely inflicted.

This Preface would be too prolix and tedious, ſhou'd we give a particular Account of the other Rites, which are explain'd in the Fifth Book. I will therefore come to the *Hiſtory of the Diſperſions*, which is the moſt Important and longeſt Part of this Work.

6. We begin it with a general Account of all the Diſperſions that have happen'd to the *Jews*, in order to diſcover their Original in all the Places they now inhabit. The *Jews* make themſelves Ancient every where, according to the Genius of all Nations, who are aſham'd

* V. Nicolaus de Synedr. Ægyptiorum.

of

of a new Original; and call Fables and the Obſcurity of Ages to their Aſſiſtance to conceal their firſt Riſe from the World. They have fanſy'd unknown Kingdoms, where they rule like Sovereigns, that they might be the better able to maintain, that the Prophecy of *Jacob* is not yet accompliſh'd, and, *That the Scepter is ſtill in the hand of* Judah, *and the Law-giver between his Feet*, Gen. 49. 10. Some Chriſtians have favour'd theſe Chimerical Pretenſions. We have therefore thought it neceſſary, in order to avoid Repetitions, to examine firſt what the *Jews* themſelves ſay of their Diſperſions into ſeveral different Parts of the World; and afterwards to obſerve the true Places where they reſide, either ſince *Shalmaneſer* carry'd away the ten Tribes into the Eaſt, or ſince *Jeruſalem* was deſtroy'd firſt by *Titus*, and afterwards by *Adrian*, or ſince they have been diſpers'd by other Perſecutions.

After we have given this General Account, we divide the Nation into two different Parts, whereof one compos'd of the ten Tribes carry'd away by *Shalmaneſer*, and of thoſe diſpers'd in *Egypt* and the *Grecian* Empire, are call'd the *Jews* of the *Eaſt*; and the other compos'd of the *Jews* ſettl'd in the *Empire*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *Gauls*, are call'd the *Jews* of the *Weſt*.

We follow the Ten Tribes from Age to Age. We ſpeak of their Princes of the Captivity, of the Chiefs of their Academies, of the Names and Works of the Eminent Men, who flouriſh'd in them; and of the Share they have had in the great Events of the *Perſian* Monarchy, which was reduc'd very low, by the *Saracens*, in the Reign of *Iſdigerdes*. Theſe Tribes flouriſh'd again under the *Califs*, the Succeſſors of *Mahomet*; although this Impoſtor finding them very ſtrong and powerful in *Arabia*, had made War againſt them, and forc'd them to pay him Tribute. The *Homerites*, who had Cities and Kings of their own, and were all *Jews*, were likewiſe beaten and deſtroy'd. Thoſe of *Judæa* have undergone terrible Revolutions in the Reigns of *Trajan* and *Adrian*; yet they rais'd themſelves up again, and appointed Patriarchs over themſelves, that were not aboliſh'd till the Fifth Century. *Conſtantine* and his Children publiſh'd ſeveral Laws againſt them. The Protection of *Julian* made them inſolent; but this Proſperity, like Light'ning, appear'd and vaniſh'd in a Moment. *Theodoſius* hinder'd their Celebrating the Feaſt of *Haman*; becauſe they were accus'd of Inſulting the Chriſtians, as of Sacrificing Chriſtian Children in it. *Cyril*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, drove a Hundred Thouſand *Jews* out of that great City, wherein he bore a Tyrannical Sway.

The *Jews* had alſo particular Cities in the Reign of *Juſtinian*, from which they excluded all Chriſtians. They even rebell'd againſt that Emperour, who found Means to ſuppreſs and puniſh them, and to reduce them very low. They were impeach'd of many Crimes; and it is alſo ſaid, that Heaven wrought mighty Miracles for their Converſion. But their Incredulity cou'd not be vanquiſh'd: And if any of them happen'd to embrace Chriſtianity, Force had a greater Share than Grace, in their Change of Religion. The Chriſtian *Populace* were eaſily ſtirr'd up againſt that Nation, upon the like Accuſations, whether falſe or true; and wou'd run to the Synagogues to pull them down, and murder thoſe who worſhip'd there. Some Holy Men of thoſe Times ſeem'd to encourage ſuch Commotions; but as we follow the Rules of Hiſtory, we very faithfully relate whatever we have been able to find out, that concerns them. The Chriſtians ought not to think it ſtrange, that we very frequently acquit the *Jews* of ſeveral Crimes whereof they are not guilty, ſince Juſtice requires it; and that it is eſpouſing a Party to accuſe thoſe of Injuſtice and Violence, who have been unjuſt and cruel. If the *Jews* ſhou'd, by Chance, caſt their Eyes upon this Hiſtory, they will find in it a great many Events which concern them, and wherewith they are but little acquainted. But as our Deſign is neither to offend, nor to flatter them, they ought not to be ſurpriz'd, that we declare againſt them, when the Facts appear well atteſted.

7. We cou'd not begin the 8*th* Century of the Chriſtian Æra with any thing more remarkable and ſurprizing, than the Converſion of the King of *Cozar* to Judaiſm. Therein you ſee a Prince, who after having weigh'd all Religions, prefers the Law of *Moſes*, and eſtabliſhes the *Jewiſh* Religion in all his Dominions. We afterwards proceed to the *Eaſt*, to continue the Hiſtory of the Ten Tribes, which preſerv'd their Chiefs of the Captivity, till the 12*th* Century. But as this Hiſtory is cloſely link'd with that of the *Califs*, we have follow'd the Succeſſion of thoſe Princes; becauſe we may have a clearer Notion of what hath happen'd to the Eaſtern *Jews*, by the Hiſtory of theſe *Califs*, whoſe Actions are more ſhining, and fitter to attract Attention. Beſides, as moſt of thoſe Events are very little known, it is a Service to the Publick, to join the Hiſtory of the State, to that of the *Jewiſh* Church. It is certain, that the *Califs* have had a great Value for their Eminent Men, and particularly for their Aſtronomers. They were but little perſecuted under theſe Princes, till the Eleventh Century, at which time their Academies were ſhut up, and they forc'd to fly into the *Weſt*. Their Baniſhment was not ſo general, but a great many Merchants, and conſiderable Perſons remain'd in the *Eaſt*; and we find alſo, a very clear Account of their Synagogues in the Twelfth Century, in the Travels of *Benjamin* of *Tudela*; whereof we give an Extract, with Obſervations, for the better clearing of ſome things wherein he is miſtaken. It was then truly, that the Princes of the Captivity ceas'd; and the Hiſtory of the Ten Tribes became more obſcure after that Time. However, ſeveral Monuments have been diſcover'd, whereby it appears, that they always ſubſiſted, and do ſtill ſubſiſt in the *Eaſt*.

The *West* is much more fruitful in Events in theſe laſt Centuries; but moſt of them are Tragical and Calamitous. In the Declenſion and Dregs of Ages, People have been inflam'd with a Spirit of Cruelty and Barbarity againſt them. They were accus'd of being the Cauſe of all the Calamities that happen'd; and charg'd with a world of Crimes, which they never thought of. A vaſt Number of Miracles were invented, in order to convict them, or rather upon a Pretence of Religion, to trample upon and oppreſs them. We have made a Collection of the Laws, which the Councils and Princes have publiſh'd againſt them, whereby a Judgment may be made of the Iniquity of the Ones, and of the Oppreſſion of the Others. People did not keep within the Bounds of the Decrees againſt them. For they were frequently expos'd every where to Military Execution, popular Commotions and Maſſacres: Yet by a Miracle of Providence, which ought to aſtoniſh all Chriſtians; this Nation, hated and perſecuted in all Places for ſo many Ages, ſtill ſubſiſts in all Parts of the World. *Spain* hath produc'd a great many Famous *Rabbins*. 'Twas chiefly in that Country, that the Sciences flouriſh'd among the *Jews*, and eſpecially Aſtronomy; becauſe the *Moors*, who lov'd it, were more favourable to the *Jews* than the *Chriſtians*, who at that Time neglected that Part of Learning; and thoſe laſt, who were threatn'd by their formidable Neighbours, durſt not always perſecute them in their own Dominions. *Ferdinand* drove them out of *Spain*, at the End of the Fifteenth Century; but his Politicks were condemn'd; and the Pope himſelf receiv'd thoſe Refugees at *Rome*, and laugh'd at a bigotted Devotion, which depopulated Kingdoms. The *Jews* had ſome Academies and Learned Men in *France*; and Time was, when they had the greateſt Credit at Court, and Offices were obtain'd by their Intereſt. They even became Maſters of the Clergy, by taking the Goods of the Church, and Church-Plate in Pawn. But at laſt their exceſſive Uſury did effectually render them odious. An Impoſtor ſtarted up in the Eleventh Century, and put out his Hiſtory under the Name of *Joſeph Ben Gorion*; an Extract whereof we have made in this Book, to diſcover both his Impoſture and Ignorance. We alſo mention other Learned Men, and give an Account of their Works.

Italy is one of their ſureſt Sanctuaries; becauſe the Popes having an Intereſt in their Preſervation, are very ſeldom angry with them, and generally protect them againſt their Enemies. They have there ſome Synagogues and Academies; and their Converſion is ſo faintly attempted, that their Number is ſcarce ever diminiſh'd. To conclude, they have ſpread themſelves in *England* and *Germany*, where they have ſubſiſted with Splendour. But it will be ſufficient to ſay here, that we do not follow them into all thoſe Places; and that we pick out all the Events which nearly concern them; whereby not only the Hiſtory of paſt Ages, but alſo their preſent State in *Europe*, *Africa* and *Aſia*, may be known. For we have carry'd on our Deſcription to the Year, 1708.

In the compoſing this Hiſtory, we have preferr'd the Authors of the *Jewiſh* Nation to all others, when Reaſon, and Love to Truth, have not oblig'd us to lay them aſide. We have taken their Tenets and Religion from the Writings of *Maimonides*, *Aben Eſra*, *Abarbanel*, *Manaſſeh*, and the principal *Cabaliſts*. The Miſnah, and its Commentators, have furniſh'd us with their Rites and Ceremonies. It was harder for us to unravel their Hiſtory, becauſe the Authors of the Little and Great *Chronicle*, *Abraham Ben-Dior*, *Ghedalia*, *Ganz* and *Solomon*, *Ben Schebeth*, do rather take Notice of the Fathers of their Tradition, than of general and particular Events. If *Manaſſeh* and *Barios* had perform'd their Promiſe, we might perhaps have had wonderful Helps; but as they cou'd not make good their intended Project, we have been oblig'd to be ſatisfy'd with what we have found. * *If I have done well, and what is fitting to the Story, it is that which I deſir'd; but if ſlenderly and meanly, it is that which I cou'd attain unto.*

* 2 Maccab. 15. 38.

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THE

The ſeven double Letters.	B. *Beth.*	G. *Ghimel.*	D. *Daleth.*	C. *Caph.*	P. *Pe.*	R. *Reſch.*	T. *Tau.*
Their Numbers.	2.	3.	4.	20.	80.	200.	400.
Seven Planets.	The Sun.	Venus.	Mercury.	The Moon.	Saturn.	Jupiter.	Mars.
Their Angels.	Raphael.	Haniel.	Michael.	Gabriel.	Zaphkiel.	Zadkiel.	Gamalel.
Their Intelligences.	Nagiel.	Hagiel.	Tiriel.	Eliniel.	Agiel.	Jophiel.	Graphiel.
Seven Spirits.	Semeliel.	Nogul.	Cochabiel.	Lemanael.	Sabbathiel.	Sedechiel.	Mademiel.
Their Signification.	Life.	Peace.	Wiſdom.	Riches.	Grace.	Propagation, or Family.	Empire.
Seven Changes that may happen.	Death.	War.	Folly.	Poverty.	Anger.	Solitude.	Slavery.

RELATIONS of the *SEPHIROTHS*, with the Names of GOD, ANGELS, PLANETS, *&c.*

Ten Sephiroths.	*Ten Names of God.*	*Ten Members of the Archetypal Man, or ten Orders of Angels.*	*Planets, or Members of the Celeſtial Man.*	*Members of the Terreſtrial.*	*The Ten Commandments of the Law.*
The Crown.	I am that I am.	Haiot * Hakkodes, or the Seraphims.	The Emperial Heaven.	The Brain.	Thou ſhalt have no other God but me.
Wiſdom.	Jah. *the Eſſence.*	Ophanim, or Cherubims.	The Primum mobile.	The Lungs.	Thou ſhalt not make any graven Image.
Underſtanding.	Jehovah.	Aralim or Thrones.	The Firmament.	The Heart.	Thou ſhalt not take the Name of the Lord in vain.
Magnificence.	God the Creator.	Haſchemulim, or Dominions.	Saturn.	The Stomach.	Thou ſhalt ſanctifie the Sabbath Day.
Might.	The Mighty God.	Seraphim, or Vertues.	Jupiter.	The Liver.	Honour thy Father and Mother.
Beauty.	The ſtrong God.	Melachim, or Powers.	Mars.	The Gall.	Thou ſhalt not kill.
Victory.	God of Hoſts.	Elohim, or Principalities.	The Sun.	The Spleen.	Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery.
Glory.	The Lord God of Hoſts.	Ben Elohim, or Arch-Angels.	Venus.	The Reins.	Thou ſhalt not ſteal.
The Foundation.	The Omnipotent.	Cherubim, or Angels.	Mercury.	The Vitals.	Thou ſhalt not bear falſe Witneſs.
The Kingdom.	The Lord Adonai.	Iſchim, or Souls.	The Moon.	The Womb.	Thou ſhalt not covet.

* *Note, That the* Hebrew *Names are thoſe of the Cabbaliſt* Jews; *and the* Engliſh *Names are thoſe of ſome Chriſtians, who place the Angels in another Order.*

RELATIONS of the SEPHIROTHS, with the Names of GOD, ANGELS, PLANETS, &c.

THE Hiſtory and Religion OF THE JEWS. BEING A CONTINUATION OF JOSEPHUS.

BOOK I.

The State and Government of *Judæa*, under the Race of the *HERODS*.

CHAP. I.

A general Account of the Jewiſh *Nation and Church; with a Scheme of the whole Work.*

THE *Jews* had nothing remarkable to diſtinguiſh them from other Nations. They wholly apply'd themſelves to till the Ground, and feed their Flocks; but neglected the Study of Arts and Sciences. Whereas the *Egyptians*, under whoſe Bondage they groan'd, were witty, learned, and ingenious; and pretended, that they were older than the Flood. Granting that theſe had their Learning from *Phœnicia*, yet it cannot be deny'd, but that they infinitely improv'd it, more than their Maſters. Nevertheleſs, God wholly gave up the *Egyptians* to groſs Idolatry. He broke the Yoke, which they impos'd upon clowniſh Shepherds; and whilſt their King was ſwallow'd up in the Red-Sea, the Fugitives tun'd Songs of Triumph and Deliverance. God, ſince that time, omitted no Miracle to preſerve the *Jews*, whom he had adopted. They ſeem'd the only Nation, that God had created; and that he had forgot all the others. Both their Ingratitude and Idolatry made but a ſmall Interruption to his Bleſſings: For they were never ſo entirely ſtopt, but they flow'd afreſh, as ſoon as the *Jews* ſhew'd the leaſt Shadow of Repentance. We can't but admire the Care, which the Supreme Being took of that Church. He was oblig'd to ſubdue the Incredulity of that ſtubborn Nation, by a great many Prodigies. For he appear'd, and ſpoke, upon Mount *Sinai*, that his Preſence might give more Weight and Authority to his Laws. He then came down in a Garb ſuitable to his awful Majeſty, that they might not doubt, but it was he himſelf. Even the whole Frame of Nature ſhook, and the Miracles that were perform'd in the Sight of the People were great and noble, leſt they ſhould believe, that *Moſes*, who was well vers'd in the Learning of the *Egyptians*, had impos'd upon their Senſes. This Law-giver inſtituted a holy Religion, ſtock'd with a ſufficient Number of Ceremonies, to deter the *Jews* from inventing any more. Theſe Ceremonies were very different from thoſe of the Heathens, that God's Hatred for Pagan Rites being conſtantly before their Eyes, they might always abhor Idolatry. The Original of the Law was, for many Ages, kept in the *Holy of Holies*, that by the Peruſal of it, People might be themſelves convinc'd of the Truth of its Precepts. There was nothing in their Commonwealth and Church, but was Divine: For God was Author of their Political Regulations, as well as of their Rites and Ceremonies. The Obſervation of theſe Laws was attended with temporal Rewards, and the hopes of an heavenly Bliſs. A High-Prieſt preſided over that Church. *Wiſdom and Truth reſided on his Lips*; and on his Breaſt was the *Urim* and *Thummim*, whoſe miraculous Property was, to put him always in mind of his God, and prevent his going aſtray. But, as if this miraculous Miniſtry had not been ſufficient, many Prophets aroſe, who awaken'd the Zeal of the People, purify'd the Church from time to time, and reform'd the Abuſes that crept into it. One would think, that this Nation, being confin'd within its Mountains, and ſeparated from Idolaters, ſhould have preſerv'd their Religion without Mixture, and never deſir'd to alter it.

The Eyes and Minds of Votaries had ſenſible Objects enough to employ them in their Temple, and hinder them from coveting the Pomp of Infidels. They had but one City and one Temple, where they could worſhip; and the Center of their Religion was there. The Succeſſion of Prieſts in that Place, their conſtant Sacrifices, and indiſpenſable Obligation to come thither every Year to purify themſelves, and offer their Children, were ſo many fit means to preſerve the Religion of their Anceſtors. God had a particular Intereſt to maintain this Church, ſince it was his only Church and Spouſe; and ſince he had put his Name there, and promis'd that tho' it ſhould ungratefully forſake him, yet he would never forſake it. *How comes pure Gold to be thus ſully'd?*

It can hardly be conceiv'd, how this Church could be corrupted. For the Cauſes of its Fall, which we'll ſet down hereafter, do not ſeem able to do ſo much Miſchief. Tho' this Church was to ceaſe, and its Laws to be aboliſh'd; yet it might have made an happy Exit. God ſent a Meſſiah, who was ready to receive it into the Chriſtian Church. How is then *the Daughter of* Sion *fallen down from Heaven?* This Event cant't be call'd in queſtion: For the preſent Calamity of the *Jews* is enough to convince us, that God is exaſperated againſt them, and that their Sins deſerve that Blindneſs, which made God reject them. Notwithſtanding the ſhining Miracles, and Preſence of God in the firſt Temple; yet ſome of their Kings were Idolaters, and ſome of their Prieſts baſe Corrupters of God's Worſhip, who impiouſly aſſociated the Creature with the Creator. Idolatry was not introduc'd into the ſecond Temple; but then no Prophets, no zealous Reformers aroſe, who reſtored God's Worſhip, when it was neglected. The *Aſmonæans* deſign'd more to ſatisfy their Ambition, than to reform the Church. Theſe Heroes, which are ſo much admir'd, and reckon'd as Saints, can never be juſtify'd, for depriving the Houſe of *David* (whoſe Poſterity grovell'd under a ſhameful Indigence) of the Crown and Empire. They uſurp'd the Prieſthood, which belong'd to *Eleazar*'s Family; as they had done the Kingdom, which belong'd to that of *David*. For they were not deſcended from a Family of Prieſts; being but private Perſons, who revolted againſt *Antiochus*, that had an undoubted Right to *Judæa*; ſince this Prince had that Country of the Kings of *Egypt*, from whom he conquer'd it; and that before it fell to their ſhare, it had been a long time in the Hands of the *Perſians*, whom *Alexander* ſubdu'd. In a word, they had, contrary to the Law, united theſe two Offices in one and the ſame Perſon: For the King was forbid to put his Hand to the Cenſer.

Herod, who was alſo an Uſurper, deſtroy'd their Houſe, aſcended the Throne, made a Tool of the High-Prieſthood, which was beſtow'd on thoſe, who moſt readily comply'd with his Will. The Schiſm of *Samaria*, the moſt ſtubborn, and the longeſt that ever was ſeen, was ſtill as violent as ever. Four or five different Sects, ſhut up in the ſame Temple, worry'd and deſtroy'd one another: One denying the Immortality of the Soul, and the Reſurrection of the Body, pluck'd up Religion by the Roots: Another prefer'd their Virtues to God's Mercy; and, by their Haughtineſs, render'd themſelves unworthy of his Grace. A third, wedded to Auſterities and Abſtinences, hunted after the Shadow, but neglected the Body of true Devotion. And all theſe Things were fruitful Springs of Corruption and Miſchief.

The Meſſiah appear'd, but was not receiv'd, becauſe he was poor. The *Jews*, inſtead of a Doctor that would reform the Church, and urge the Neceſſity of Holineſs, expected a Conqueror, who, Sword in Hand, would reſtore the Glory of their Nation. Inſtead of repenting of a Crime of ſo deep a Dye, as the Crucifixion of the Meſſiah, they grew ſeditious and mutinous; and were unaccountably cruel and barbarous in their Seditions. The *Romans*, who were uſed to command, and reſolv'd to deſtroy a Nation, that was too fond of Liberty, beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*, which was taken and burnt. The Number of its Inhabitants was great; but the Feaſt of the Paſſover ſeem'd to have gather'd all the Nation together, who had a Share of the Calamities of this Siege. Their Multitude did but augment their Miſery, and their inteſtine Feuds were more fatal to them, than the War. For they cut one anothers Throats, even at the very Altars; and what time the Beſiegers allow'd the Zealots to breath in, theſe imploy'd it to butcher their Brethren. Theſe firſt Misfortunes were attended with ſo diſmal Calamities, that even thoſe, who think it their Duty to hate the *Jews*, becauſe they are not of the ſame Religion, cannot unconcernedly read the Hiſtory of ſo hard and laſting a Miſery. Had God only ruin'd his Temple, becauſe it had been prophaned; and deſtroy'd *Jeruſalem*, becauſe he had often try'd to gather together her Children, and ſhe would not: Had he only puniſh'd the Heads of the Nation, the Scribes and Phariſees, who had cry'd out, *Crucify, Crucify:* In a Word, had his Puniſhments gone no farther than the Guilty, we ſhould have no need to wonder at it. But they have been extended from one Generation to another, for many Ages: For the *Jews* groan, for theſe ſeventeen hundred Years, under Miſery and Captivity, without any Hopes of Relief: And this is an Event without any Precedent. Here is alſo another Circumſtance, that heightens this Prodigy. This forlorn and perſecuted Nation can ſcarce find one Place in the Univerſe to reſt their Heads, or to ſet their Feet in. They have waded through Floods of their own Blood, and are as yet preſerv'd. That infinite Numbers of *Jews*, which we ſhall ſee hereafter murder'd, through a cruel and barbarous Zeal, weakned, but did not deſtroy that Nation. For notwithſtanding the Joint-Perſecutions of Chriſtians and Idolaters, who deſign'd their Ruin, they are ſtill in being.

The Hiſtory and Diſcuſſion of the Rites and Tenets of the *Jews*, hath been for a long time refer'd to Profeſſors and Divines. Their Eſſays on this Subject have not always been favourably receiv'd; becauſe they contain'd a great many Fables, and groundleſs Whims. It was not their Fault, ſince they could dig but little Gold out of the Droſs. The *Jewiſh* Doctors often hunt after Allegories and vain Subtleties, and fancy Letters and Numbers to be myſterious. It is a hard matter to make a Syſtem of their Religion; becauſe their Traditions, which they prefer to Scripture, go *ad infinitum*. The Commentators upon the *Talmud* have often differ'd; and when they explain their Ceremonies, they tire you with a long and fulſom Catalogue. The firſt Volume of the *Miſnah*, which hath been tranſlated, is fitter for Husbandmen, than Divines. For it nicely examines the Mixture of Seeds in a Field; and how many different ways it may be made. In a Word, the Rabbins, who are but little acquainted with their own Hiſtory, vend their Fables for Matters of Fact. Provided they are believ'd by their own Nation, they do not trouble their Heads to reconcile their Narratives with foreign Hiſtorians, whom they mightily deſpiſe. They boldly make Anachroniſms, write the groſſeſt Abſurdities in Chronology; and, without any Scruple of Conſcience, corrupt the Truth of Hiſtory. Their Writers know very well, that theſe Imputations are too true; and we ſhall, in the Sequel, ſufficiently prove it.

This Subject being then barren and crabbed, had diſcourag'd me; but being reſolv'd to write the *Hiſtory of all the Religions*, that have ſprung from Chriſtianity, I thought it convenient to begin with the *Jewiſh* Religion; becauſe it is requiſite to unravel a Religion, whence the firſt Hereticks borrow'd ſome of their Tenets, and barbarous Names. Beſides, we ought to have a clearer Knowledge of a Nation, to whom

whom we have ſucceeded, and that ſhall be one day united with the Chriſtian Church. Farther, the World will not be ſorry to trace the Diſperſions of this forlorn Nation in the Eaſt, and in the Weſt, and to ſee where are now the miſerable Remains of a People ſo long belov'd by the Almighty. To conclude, ſo ſingular a Subject as this, which no body hath fully handl'd in a vulgar Tongue, hath engaged me to dive into the Bottom of it.

However, as the Contents of this Hiſtory are very different; ſince we write not only of the Perſecutions they have ſuffer'd, but alſo of their Tenets and Rites; we have diſtinguiſh'd them, that every one may chooſe thoſe, which beſt ſuit with his Fancy and Reach.

The firſt Book contains a general Account of the State, wherein Chriſt found that Church and Nation, when he came into the World. This Article is moſt known; becauſe the Goſpel and *Joſephus* give us a great Inſight into it. Nevertheleſs, the Hiſtory of the *Herods* is as yet perplex'd; and it is more important, than People generally think, to ſet in a true Light, not only their Perſons, but alſo their Dominions, and Subjection to the *Romans*. Antient and modern Authors do not agree on this Matter, which is as yet ſo entangl'd, that it is neceſſary to unravel it. It was alſo requiſite to repreſent the Diſpoſitions and Power of the *Jews*, whilſt our Saviour was on Earth, that we may have a clearer Notion of their Downfal and Ruin. As I run over what the Goſpel teaches concerning them, I ſolve the Difficulties that occur there.

Since this Church is as yet torn by moſt of its antient Sects, notwithſtanding that the Phariſees are now very numerous, and more potent than others; it was neceſſary to aſcend to their Origine, and to repreſent their Progreſs, as well as Decay. *Joſephus* ſpoke only by the by of this, and what he ſays wants to be explain'd. The Learned too do not agree about this Matter. For not only the moſt celebrated Criticks of the laſt Century have warmly diſputed about it; but alſo thoſe, that have * ſucceeded them, have lately made ſome new Diſcoveries concerning the *Caraites* and Sadducees. So that I was obliged to collect what hath been ſaid upon this Subject; and to examine the different Opinions of antient and modern Writers, to find out the Truth: And this I do in the Second Book.

The Third ſpeaks of the Patriarchs of *Judæa*, ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, down to the Fifth Century; as alſo of the Chiefs of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and of the different Orders of their Doctors, the *Tanaites*, *Thalmudiſts*, *Gaons*, *Cabbaliſts*, and *Rabbins*, whereby the Succeſſion of the Synagogue hath been preſerv'd. Theſe were the Maſters of their Religion, whoſe Deciſions they have receiv'd as ſo many Oracles; and the Fathers of their Tradition, who have handed it to this preſent Age. I have follow'd the Thread of the Succeſſion of the Synagogue, and given an Account of their Genius and Works; that People may know, what Uſe they may make of them, and how extravagant ſome have been concerning them.

The Fourth Book contains a Syſtem of the Religion and Tenets now taught by the *Jews*. This is no eaſy Task; becauſe their Divinity is full of different Opinions, and frequently varies. This Method I have follow'd; *viz.* I have ſtuck cloſe to the famous Rabbins, and eſpecially to thoſe, who, inſtead of wrapping up themſelves in Figures and Emblems, which can hardly be underſtood, have ſpoken clearly, and were willing that others ſhould underſtand them. For ſome Rabbins have ſuch overſtretching Hyperboles, and ſo harſh Metaphors; that, notwithſtanding all our Care, we may miſtake their Meaning: becauſe figurative Expreſſions may be taken in a very different Senſe, and we cannot eaſily gueſs the Scope and Deſign of the Perſon that ſpeaks them. But we muſt alſo acknowledge, that ſome *Jewiſh* Writers are more exact and judicious, and have plainly expreſs'd their Meaning; and theſe I have preferr'd. However, as it is requiſite to deſcribe the Genius both of that Nation, and of their Teachers; and as Metaphors and Flights of Fancy do not diſguſt every body; and as we may from them be help'd to underſtand the Sacred Writers, who were all *Jews*, and had the Stile of the Orientals; I have inſerted a great many of theſe Emblems and Metaphors. I have pitch'd upon a juſt Medium; and, without tiring my Reader with too many of theſe Citations, I have quoted ſome, that he may have a right Idea of them, and ſometimes take Breath. As the Coming of the Meſſiah is the moſt important Article of the Chriſtian Religion, and of the Separation of the *Jewiſh* Church; I have chiefly inſiſted upon it. I have diſtinguiſh'd four Notions of the Meſſiah, which appear'd very different to me. That of the Prophets; that of the *Jewiſh* Church in Chriſt's Time; that of the Thalmudiſts after the Deſtruction of the Temple; and the laſt, that of thoſe, who have run after ſome falſe Meſſiahs, whoſe Hiſtory I relate. In a Word, I thought it neceſſary to vindicate the Chriſtian Meſſiah againſt all the Aſperſions of the Author of the *Toldos Jeſchu*, who hath only taken notice of ſome Circumſtances of Chriſt's Life, which ſeem'd for his Purpoſe, in order to diſfigure the Hiſtory of our Saviour. This Book hath appear'd a very dangerous one. It was long conceal'd from Chriſtians, and even from the Learned; and *Reuchlinus*, who deſir'd that all other *Jewiſh* Books might be preſerv'd, beg'd that this might be burnt; becauſe it was full of Blaſphemies and Impieties. Some Books are ſometimes fancy'd ſuch terrible Monſters, that they are not to be attack'd, or expos'd to the Publick, leſt People ſhould be ſtartl'd by them. But that, far from leſſening, doth but increaſe the Dread. The Writings of Infidels, as well as Religious Myſteries, are the more reverenc'd, the more they are hid. I have made no ſcruple to ſpeak of this Book, which was writ in the Tongue of the Learned, and is better known than formerly; and I conclude what I had to ſay of the Meſſiah, by refuting it. This I was oblig'd to do, ſince it miſrepreſents the Hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt; which I was bound to draw in its native Colours, that it might not be miſtaken.

I will explain, in the Fifth Book, the antient and modern Rites and Ceremonies of the *Jews*; their Feaſts, Faſts, Sacraments, Marriages, and Burials. *Leo* of *Modena* hath writ an Epitome of them; but it is too ſhort. However, according to the way of writing of his Country-men, he deſcends to ſome trifling and tireſom Particulars. A Learned Man hath added a Supplement to it, which is rather deſign'd to ſhow the Conformity of ſome Rites of the Church of *Rome*, with thoſe of the Synagogue, than to explain this Famous Rabbin's Epitome. The Task was eaſy, and ſince that time a Diſſertation was publiſh'd, wherein that Subject was treated more at large †. As for me, I will only ſpeak by the by of this Conformity of Rites and Opinions, when it is exact and natural, and wants no critical Remarks to make it plain. I follow *Leo* of *Modena* as a very ſure Guide, but what neceſſary Additions I have made, I have taken them from the Miſnah and Famous Authors.

I conclude with an Account of the Diſperſions of this People in the Eaſt and Weſt. This is properly

* Trigland. de Caraïtis. Harduin. † Budæi Parerga Hiſtoriæ.

their Hiſtory, which is but a continual ſeries of Calamities. We ſhall ſee therein, that they have been ſometimes very unjuſtly oppreſs'd and calumniated by the *Chriſtians*. I have often bluſh'd for their ſake; but we ſee alſo in it ſuch a courſe of Juſtice and Vengeance from God againſt this Nation, that we can't perceive it without Aſtoniſhment; but our Aſtoniſhment is increas'd, when we find that this People, who ſhou'd have been for ſeveral Ages drown'd in their own Blood, as yet ſubſiſt in ſeveral places; and that is the Subject of the two laſt Books.

It will perhaps be thought ſtrange, that I call this Book, *A Supplement* to *Joſephus*. I am ſenſible, that this Title is raſh; but my Deſign is not to pretend to be compar'd with this Hiſtorian, whoſe Genius and Knowledge were very different from mine. I have only, as he hath done, unravell'd the Religion and Cuſtoms of that Nation, and related their Misfortunes. My Work properly begins from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, where his ended; ſo that it may be look'd upon as a continuation of his: They both agree in Deſign and Matter, tho' not in Parts and Skill. I am deſtitute of ſome helps, which this Hiſtorian had: His Guides were inſpir'd by God; and I cannot conceive how he hath ſometimes preſum'd to deviate from them. The Matter, that he handled, was moving, and full of remarkable Events. A prodigious number of Miracles frequently occur'd to him; and nothing awakens ſo much a Reader, and ſets off a Hiſtory as Prodigies. I might eaſily have related ſome here; but I had not, as he, ſome unqueſtionable Witneſſes: Moſt of thoſe Miracles appear'd to me trifling and fabulous, and therefore I have overlook'd them. I tread in a Road all beſmear'd with Blood, and which offers nothing but Perſecutions to our view, at leaſt if the *Rabbins* had well digeſted thoſe Events: But as they wholly apply'd themſelves to the Succeſſion of thoſe, who have handed Oral Tradition to one another; they preſerve their Names, and often neglect the reſt. I have been oblig'd to gather ſeveral Pieces ſcatter'd among the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, to make up an intire Body of them. This was ſo much the more difficult, becauſe the *Jews*, ſince the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, having no particular Government of their own, afforded nothing, but ſcatter'd, and often private Events: ſo that *Joſephus*'s Work and mine ought not to be compar'd together, altho' mine is a Continuation of his.

I have alſo made *Joſephus* his Apology concerning ſeveral Facts that he hath related, and which are diſputed: *Juſtus* of *Tiberias*, who writ a Hiſtory of his Nation, a ſhort time after that of *Joſephus* appear'd, found fault with many things in it, and alledg'd againſt him the Memoirs of *Titus* about the Seige of *Jeruſalem*, and alſo thoſe of *Julian*, Governour of *Judæa*, who was preſent at the taking of that City, and gave a Deſcription of it: But as theſe Books are loſt, I have been forc'd, conſidering the great diſtance of time, to follow *Joſephus*, becauſe we find no better, or more exact Guide. This Hiſtorian hath his defects; but that can't be avoided: But when they do not appear, and that nothing but Conjectures, or uncertain Writings are produc'd againſt him, is it not reaſonable to prefer him to the *Thalmudiſts*, or thoſe who vend their Whims as downright Matters of Fact?

The Modern *Jews* have no reaſon to prefer the Works of a *French Rabbin*, who liv'd in the Seventh Century, and perhaps much later, and diſguis'd himſelf under the Name of *Joſephus Ben Gorion*, to that Old *Greek* Hiſtorian, whom we follow. I cannot find any Grounds for ſo unjuſt a Choice, unleſs that the *Rabbins*, who ſeldom underſtand *Greek*, have been us'd for a long while to contemn whatever is writ in a foreign Language; and that the Impoſtor hath been skilful enough to write his Book in *Hebrew*. Neither do the *Chriſtians* act more fairly, to follow ſo often *Hegeſippus*; altho' they are perſwaded, or might eaſily convince themſelves, that he is only a Tranſlator, who, inſtead of following exactly the Original, took upon him to curtail, add, and tack ſome notorious Fables to Matters of Fact. *Baronius* hath very haughtily cenſur'd, and often abus'd *Joſephus*: But moſt of his Cenſures are ſo ill grounded, that it may eaſily be perceiv'd, that this *Annaliſt* Cardinal (who frequently profeſs'd himſelf an Enemy to thoſe, who did not favour his Prejudices) was acted by paſſion. It was alſo *Joſephus*'s misfortune not to be favourable to him, and therefore he hath not omitted to lay a great many Chimerical Faults to this Hiſtorian's charge, and to reprehend him warmly. I ſay nothing of ſome other Criticks, who have cenſur'd this Hiſtorian's Faults, and that perhaps upon good Grounds; but have for ſome years, laſt paſt, unmercifully worry'd him. The One hiſſes at his Book againſt *Appion*, and finds *Joſephus* very happy, that this *Egyptian* was dead before he ſaw it, ſince he wou'd have overſet all his Arguments: The other is more ſevere, and maintains, that *Joſephus* hath known neither *Judæa*, whereof he ſpeaks, and wherein he was a General, nor the Kings in whoſe Reigns he liv'd, nor the Tongue wherein he writ; ſince he hath not only made ſome groſs Blunders, but alſo ſeveral Galliciſms: So that his Book being ſuppoſititious, as it is pretended, what he ſays of the *Herods*, is overturn'd; the Sons are confounded with their Fathers; the Life and Reign of ſome are prolong'd, and new Bounds are ſet to their Juriſdiction. And I refute theſe new and bold Conjectures, and eſtabliſh again the true Hiſtory of the *Herods*: After I have examin'd the Authority of the Kings of *Judæa*, I deſcribe the Condition of the Church, and the behaviour of the People, which caus'd the intire Ruin of that Nation. In a word, I give a ſhort Relation of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and of its Temple. Theſe Four Things are diſcuſs'd in the firſt Book.

CHAP. II.

Containing the Government of Judæa, *under the* Herods, *from* Jeſus Chriſt *to the Deſtruction of the Temple: The Hiſtory and* Genealogy *of the* Herods *explain'd.*

I. *THE Jealouſy of the* Aſmonæans *was the cauſe of their Misfortunes.* II. Antipater *gives the Government of* Judæa *to his Children.* III. Herod's *Victories over* Antigonus. IV. *End of the Reign of the* Aſmonæans. V. Herod's *Reconciliation with* Auguſtus. VI. *Character of* Herod *the Great.* VII. *An Inquiry into his Birth.* VIII. *He came originally from* Aſcalon. IX. *He was half a* Jew. X. *His Mother's Religion, who was an* Arabian. XI. *The Extent of his Kingdom.* XII. *Whether he was Farmer of it.* Harduin *refuted.* XIII. *Proofs, that* Judæa *was tributary in the time of* Herod. XIV. *This Prince a Vaſſal to the Empire.* XV. *The Partition he made by Will to his Children.* XVI. Archelaus *was never King.* Salmaſius *refuted.* *An Explanation of St.* Matthew *that confirms it.* XVII. Herod Antipas *Tetrarch of* Galilee. XVIII. Herod's *fourth Son,* Herodias's *Husband.* XIX. *Character of* Philip *the Tetrarch.* XX. *A New Genealogy of the* Herods, *by* Harduin. XXI. Agrippa, *First Son to* Philip *the Tetrarch.* XXII. Agrippa II. *a Commander of the* Roman *Troops under* Trajan. XXIII. Berenice, *Daughter to* Agrippa II. *a Great Queen.*

§. 1. *The*

§. 1. *The Actions of* Herod I. *Sirnam'd the* GREAT.

I. AS Kings make their Subjects either happy, or unhappy, it is neceſſary to give a Character of the laſt Princes that govern'd *Judæa*, to have a true Idea of its Condition, and to ſee whether they have contributed to the Ruin of a Nation, that was under their command. The *Herods* were thoſe famous Princes equally odious to the *Jews*, becauſe they were Foreigners, and to the *Chriſtians*, becauſe they perſecuted the Church at its birth. They are not perhaps ſufficiently known; for they are often look'd upon as abſolute Monarchs of all *Judæa*, and their Birth is conteſted, in order to find in their Family the accompliſhment of this Oracle of *Jacob*, that the Scepter of *Judah* ſhould be broken when the Meſſiah appear'd. A bold and able Critick hath ſome years ago publiſhed a New Syſtem of the Houſe of *Herod*. He believes him an *Athenian*, becauſe he is call'd in ſome Inſcriptions, *Benefactor of* Athens, and that in *Cæſar*'s time, there was really one *Herod* in that City: As the *Athenians* commonly preferr'd *Plato*'s Philoſophy to all others, he affirms, That this Prince was a Platoniſt; and as Kings ſpread their Opinions in their Dominions, he doth not doubt, but *Herod* becoming King of *Judæa*, ſettl'd the Platoniſts there. He fancies that theſe *Jewiſh* Platoniſts form'd the Sect of the *Herodians*; and that the *Sadducees* and the *Herodians* were the ſame, ſince the Scripture names one Sect for the other: and thence he concludes, that the *Sadducees*, and *Plato* had the ſame Opinions concerning the Nature of Angels and Spirits. In a word, he overſets all the Genealogy of *Herod* the Great to eſtabliſh a new One. The Jews too unmercifully beſpatter that Family, *whoſe Reign, which is that of Proſelites*, is very odious to all their Writers.

As for me, I deſign to be impartial. I will repreſent the Birth of theſe Princes, their Religion, their Authority, and the Limits of their Kingdom; and as I ſpeak of what is moſt remarkable in their Lives, we'll diſcover the firſt Spring of the Misfortunes of the Jews, and one of the Cauſes of their Ruin. We'll alſo ſee the irregular Conduct of the Jewiſh Church, which involv'd it ſelf into thoſe Calamities under which it as yet groans.

Ariſtobulus, one of the *Aſmonæans*, tir'd with being Head of the People, as his Anceſtors had been, aſſum'd a Diadem, and the Title of King. But he did not long enjoy them. For having put his own Mother and one of his Brothers to death, the Remorſe of ſo wicked a Crime ſoon brought him to his Grave. *Alexander*, whom he kept in Chains, came out of Priſon to aſcend the Throne. This Prince was oblig'd upon a Politick Account to ſacrifice one of his Brothers. He wag'd War againſt *Ptolomy*, who wou'd have reduc'd him to the laſt Extremity, had not *Cleopatra*, who was jealous of her Son's Progreſs, come timely to his Aid. The King of the Arabians drew him into an Ambuſcade, beat his Army, and had it trampl'd under his Camel's Feet. His own Subjects revolting againſt him, call'd a Foreigner to their Aſſiſtance. Their Battles were bloody, and this unhappy Prince in ſix years time was the Cauſe that near fifty thouſand Jews loſt their Lives. His Widow having gain'd the Affections of the People by her religious Zeal, and Complaiſance for the Phariſees, might have peaceably Reign'd, had not her two Sons taken up Arms to diſpute the Crown and Kingdom. *Hircanus*, who was naturally weak, and ſoft, immediately left the Empire to his Brother; but being exaſperated by the Counſels of *Antipater*, *Herod*'s Father, who had a great Influence over him, and who cou'd expect no favour from his Competitor, he ſecretly retir'd to *Aretas* King of *Arabia*. *Scaurus Pompey*'s Lieutenant General being inform'd of the Diviſion of theſe two Brothers, drew near *Judæa*, that he might make uſe of ſo fair an Opportunity either to enrich himſelf, or conquer that Country for the Romans; and he was not miſtaken. For *Ariſtobulus* ſent him three hundred Talents. Each * Talent was worth three thouſand Sicles, and every Sicle thirty French Sols; ſo that the three hundred Talents amounted to near fifteen hundred † thouſand Hores. This was a prodigious Sum for a Man, who had ſcarce ſat on the Throne, been lately baniſh'd by his Brother, and was very happy that he had not been taken Priſoner. The Roman General ſpoke in *Pompey*'s Name, threaten'd the King of *Arabia* with an Invaſion, and oblig'd him to retire. *Pompey* himſelf came into *Judæa*, and being made Umpire of their Quarrel, he was offended at *Ariſtobulus*'s Haughtineſs, who being jealous of his Royal Dignity, wou'd not expoſe his Majeſty. So that *Pompey* declar'd for *Hircanus*, carry'd him back to *Jeruſalem*, and beſieg'd that City, which immediately ſurrender'd, becauſe the wiſe or faint-hearted within prevail'd over *Ariſtobulus*'s Party. Theſe retiring into the Temple, bravely defended themſelves. But *Pompey*, after three Months Siege, at laſt took the Temple. He regulated every thing as an abſolute Conqueror. For he order'd that thoſe who had either excited, or adviſ'd the War, ſhou'd loſe their Heads, impos'd a Tribute on the City of *Jeruſalem*, reſtor'd to the Governour of *Cœlo-Syria* all the Towns taken by the Jews, and to *Samaria* and a great many Maritime Towns, their former Liberty. I cannot therefore conceive, why ſome ‖ will not have, that *Pompey* was Maſter of *Judæa*, ſince he acted as a Sovereign. Wou'd the Jews have ſuffer'd him to diſmember ſo many Cities from their Dominions, if they had been able to oppoſe him? This Conqueror carry'd all before him; and Judæa *as well as* Syria, *from the Frontiers of* Egypt *as far as the* Euphrates, *was left with two Legions under the Care of* Scaurus, *to prevent Inſurrections*. He alter'd the Government, and was the firſt Founder of the Sanhedrim, that became afterwards ſo famous.

II. This was the beginning of their Misfortunes. *Cæſar* looking upon *Ariſtobulus* as a Man fit to ſecure him *Syria*, and the neighbouring Provinces, ſet him at Liberty. He immediately ſent him with two Legions to ſeize upon them. But *Pompey*'s Friends kill'd him in his March, and his Son *Alexander* had his Head cut off at *Antioch* by *Scipio*'s Order. *Antigonus*, who only remain'd of all his Children, complain'd to *Cæſar* againſt *Antipater*, *Herod*'s Father, and Prime Miniſter to *Hircanus*, but who Reign'd in his Name. But this Miniſter opening his Gown, and ſhewing his Body full of Wounds, repreſented ſo pathetically his Services to the Romans, that *Cæſar* augmented his Authority inſtead of depriving him of it.

Thus Fortune pav'd the way to *Herod* to aſcend the Throne. *Antipas* begun to raiſe his Family, which had always been mean and obſcure. He went out of *Aſcalon*, where he had been Servant to a Prieſt, and advanc'd himſelf ſo much at *Alexander Jannæus* his Court, that he became Governour of *Idumæa*. He manag'd ſo well his Countrymen, the *Aſcalonites*, and thoſe of *Gaza*, who were their Neighbours, and the Arabians, that he ſtill grew more in Favour. He left his Son *Antipater* rich and powerful, who was

* Harduin de numm. Herod. † *About a Million of Pounds Sterling.* ‖ Harduin.

afterwards

afterwards *Hircanus* his Favourite. As his Master was not very fit for Business, and had for his Competitor an able and vigilant Brother, *Antipater* became absolutely necessary to him. *Cæsar* having settl'd his Authority by keeping *Hircanus* in the High Priesthood, he laid some new Projects to raise his Family. He boldly begun by dividing the Command of *Judæa* between his two Sons, *Phasaëlus* and *Herod*, who was then but a Youth. He gave the Government of *Jerusalem* to his eldest Son; and sent *Herod* into *Galilee*, who gain'd the Affection of the People by putting to death *Ezechias* the Ring-leader of Robbers, who for a long time had ravag'd all the neighbouring Provinces. *Alexander*, *Aristobulus* his Son, whom *Pompey* was carrying to *Rome* to honour his Triumph, found means to make his escape, and having soon gather'd some Troops, he unexpectedly surpriz'd his Uncle, and declar'd War against him. *Gabinius*, who had succeeded *Scaurus* in the Government of *Syria*, came to assist *Hircanus*, and beat the Rebels. After *Cæsar*'s Death, *Antipater* sided with *Cassius*, and supply'd him with vast Sums of Money, which his Friends and Children rais'd for him. This able Statesman, after he had follow'd *Pompey*'s Party, declar'd for *Cæsar*. But he favour'd *Cæsar*'s Murderer, whilst he thought that he might become Master of the Republick. We'll see hereafter that *Herod* trod so exactly in his Father's Steps, that he did the same thing for *Augustus*.* He always sided with the Conqueror; and it was by these Artifices, that he depriv'd the *Asmonæans* of the Crown, and maintain'd his Usurpation. Let us go on with his History.

III. *Antigonus* having gather'd together those that were well-wishers to his Family, and obtain'd some Troops from the *Tyrians*, endeavour'd to revenge the Death of his Father *Aristobulus*, who was Brother to *Hircanus*. He begun to ravage *Galilee*, and made himself Master of three or four Castles; but *Herod* drove him out of them, sent the *Tyrians* home, beat *Antigonus*, and return'd in triumph to *Jerusalem*, where *Hircanus* and the People receiv'd him with great Applause.

He afterwards went to *Anthony*, after the defeat of *Cassius*, and prevented his Accusers, who were not heard, because *Herod* had brib'd his Judge. New Complaints were exhibited against him, when *Anthony* was going into *Bithynia*; but instead of admitting of them, he gave the Government to *Herod*, and to his Brother, whom he made Tetrarchs upon *Hircanus*'s extraordinary Character of their Conduct: So that the two Brothers shar'd *Judæa* between them; and this Countrey was not divided into four Parts, as some think, grounding their Conjecture on the Name of Tetrarch.

Antigonus, who was back'd by the *Parthians*, made War against them, and so cross'd their first Rise. The *Parthians* made themselves Masters of the Temple, and having very treacherously seiz'd upon *Hircanus*, and *Phasaëlus*, Brother to *Herod*, they sent them to their King. *Phasaëlus* could not bear his misfortune; and as he cou'd not stab himself because he was manacl'd, he knock'd his Head against a Wall, and dy'd of his Wounds. *Antigonus* poison'd the Remedies that were design'd for him; but he refus'd them all, and wou'd do nothing to preserve his own Life. He was well pleas'd to die, when he heard that his Brother had escap'd the Enemy, and might one day revenge his Death. *Hircanus*, who was of a milder disposition, patiently waited the time, that God had appointed for his Liberty and Death. *Herod* fled to *Rome* by the way of *Egypt*; he thought himself undone, and sollicited the Kingdom for *Aristobulus*, *Mariamne's* Brother, Grand Son to *Hircanus*, and of the *Asmonæan* Family: But *Augustus* and *Mark Antony*, whose Protection he had bought, gave him the Kingdom, which he beg'd for another. He return'd forthwith to drive out his Rival by force of Arms: He was but little succour'd by the *Roman* Generals, who were brib'd. But he overcame all these Obstacles by his Vigour, Courage, and Diligence. *Mark Anthony*, who was still his Patron, sent *Sosius* at the head of Eleven Legions, and Six thousand Horse, which, back'd with *Herod*'s Army, who fought for a Kingdom, whereof he already had the Title, went to besiege *Jerusalem*. The Nation by this intestine quarrel, felt all the mischiefs of a Civil War, and was expos'd to the avarice and oppression of the *Romans*, who inrich'd themselves with their Spoils. They generally sided with *Antigonus*, and being shut up in the Temple, boasted that God wou'd not forsake them. However they were mistaken; for God declar'd himself against his Temple, and those that fought for the defence of his Altars. *Jerusalem* was taken, and the *Romans* reveng'd themselves, because they thought that it held out too long. The Soldiers believed, that by massacring the People, they shou'd lessen their Enemies; so that the Slaughter was great: And *Antigonus* himself fell into the Victor's Hands, who nevertheless upbraided him with Cowardice, and call'd him a Woman. He sent him Prisoner to *Antioch*, where *Mark Anthony* order'd him to be crucify'd. *The* Jews, *says* Dion †, *a Nation very furious, when exasperated, did the* Romans *a great deal of mischief, but were still the greatest Sufferers.* Mark Anthony *gave their Kingdom to a certain* Herod I. *caus'd* Antigonus *to be whipp'd, and hung on a Cross, and he is the first King that ever was thus executed.* Thus the Reign of the *Asmonæans* ended: They seiz'd upon the Crown, tho' they had no right to it, since they were of the Tribe of *Levi*; and *Herod* depriv'd them of the Kingdom. *Hircanus* was as yet living, and the Jews are in the wrong to say that *Herod* fell upon him at his return from *Parthia*, and was not easy till he was kill'd; for this Prince us'd *Hircanus* very civilly, and gave him the upper hand in the Council. It was several years after his return, that he accus'd him of holding a correspondence with *Malchus* the *Arabian*, and put him to Death upon Suspicion. It is only true, that *Hircanus* had not then the Supream Power in *Jerusalem*, and that * *Herod* reign'd there as a Conquerour.

V. A Man had a nice Game to play to keep his Ground among the frequent Revolutions of the *Roman* Empire, which often shifted its Competitors and Masters. *Herod*, as yet tottering upon his Throne, cou'd expect no favour from *Augustus*, since he had been so faithful to *Mark Antony*. He had once a mind to kill *Cleopatra* in his Palace, who was in love with him, and he advis'd *Anthony* to do the same thing: But these selfish Projects, which were never put in Execution, were not enough to appease *Augustus*, who carried all before him since the Battle of *Actium*. *Herod* waited upon that Prince at *Rhodes*, and instead of humbling himself before that Emperor, and of beging Pardon, he enlarg'd on his Services to *Anthony*, who had been his Benefactor. He laid down his Diadem before the Victor, and beseech'd him to judge of his Gratitude and Loyalty, assuring him, that if he receiv'd the Crown from his Hands, he wou'd be as faithful to him. *Augustus* was mov'd by his greatness of Soul, and gave him back his Kingdom. *Herod* afterwards receiv'd this Prince magnificently at *Ptolomais*, and besides what he gave to his Army, and the chief Officers of the Court, he presented him with 800 Talents. Being thus confirm'd by *Augustus* in his Authority under the Seal of the Senate, he grew very formidable in all *Judæa*.

† Dio. 3 Hist. l. 49. p. 462. * Ganz. Chronol. an. 724 p. 83.

VI. This

VI. This Prince was vigilant, brave, skilful, magnificent, and a good Politician. He forgot nothing, that cou'd pleaſe his Maſters, and lay'd out vaſt ſums of Money for the ſake of *Agrippa* and *Auguſtus*, in whoſe Honour he built ſome Cities, and chang'd the name of *Samaria*. He celebrated ſome publick Games which made the People, who ſuſpected theſe new Shews, murmur. He new-built the Temple, and made it more noble, and larger than it was before, that he might gain the Affection of the *Jews*, and make them believe that he was very zealous for their Religion. However, as he made uſe of the ſame Materials, and preſerv'd ſome parts of the Ancient Building, his Structure is confounded with that of *Zerubbabel*, and the *Jews* themſelves reckon but *two Houſes*. That *Baba*, a Diſciple of *Schammai*, perſwaded him to erect this Temple, in order to expiate his having Maſſacred all the Counſellors of the *Sanhedrim*, is only a Figment of the *Rabbins*; and ſo is what they pretend *, that God work'd a Miracle in his behalf; and that it rain'd all night at *Jeruſalem*, whilſt the days were clear and dry, that the Workmen might finiſh this Monument of *Herod's* Piety. Some Chriſtians † on the contrary contend, that he never rais'd that *Edifice*, and that he was no more concern'd in the adorning of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, than of the Capitol; and that this Honour is beſtowed upon him, only to have more reaſon to call him *Great*. But I do not know upon what grounds this Conjecture is built. Several noble Structures of his are ſufficient Arguments of his Magnificence, and the Temple he built at *Samaria*, is enough to make us believe, that he had a hand in that of *Jeruſalem*. The Inhabitants of *Judæa* hated him mortally, notwithſtanding he rebuilt their Temple, and diſtributed a prodigious quantity of Corn among them, in the time of a very hard Famine, (as their modern Hiſtorians acknowledge.) And if the Nation ſuſpended their Hatred whilſt their Wants and his Charity laſted; it was as inveterate as ever when the Dearth was over. It cannot be deny'd but that he was cruel; ſince the beautiful *Mariamne's* Grand Father, Brother, and two Sons, felt the dire effects of his Fury; and tho' he loved her to diſtraction, he baſely murder'd her. His Son *Antipater*, after he had for a long time been his Darling and Favourite, became at laſt the Object of his Cruelty. For he had his Throat cut in Priſon, even when he was a dying; and too credulouſly hearkening to his Siſter's Stories, who conceal'd her barbarous Temper under the ſhrowd of Loyalty, he fill'd all his Houſe with Blood. Far from ſubmitting to the *Sanhedrim*, he put two high Prieſts to Death, and depos'd four. Jeſus Chriſt being born towards the latter end of his Reign, he endeavour'd to involve him in the general Maſſacre of the Children of *Bethlehem*. Theſe Infant-Martyrs are reckon'd to be 14000 in Number, upon the Authority of an *Ethiopian* Manuſcript; and ſome reckon them 144000, becauſe they are ſuppoſed the Souls of thoſe Infants mention'd in the || Revelations of St. *John*. But it is impoſſible, that ſo ſmall a City as *Bethlehem* contain'd ſo many Children of two years of Age. Neither muſt we admit what ſeveral Fathers, and among them *Origen*, *Gregorius Niſſenus*, St. *Baſil*, and *Cyril*, ſay, that *Herod* kill'd *Zachary* between the Porch and the Altar, becauſe this Father of *John Baptiſt*, and a Prophet had foretold the Birth of the Meſſiah, and hid his Son, whom *Herod* thought the Meſſiah, by reaſon of the Prodigies that happen'd at his Birth. This Prince hath no need to be charg'd with any imaginary Barbarities ſince he hath enough to anſwer of his own. As he was perſwaded, that the People who hated him wou'd ſhout for Joy at his Death, he reſolv'd to force them into Tears, by commanding his Siſter, who was as cruel as he, to cut the Throats of all the Nobility of the Country, which he had conven'd at *Jericho*, where he lay ſick. But *Salome* durſt not execute this dreadful Sentence; and made it a high Compliment to them, that ſhe diſobey'd her dying Brother's Orders. God, even in this Life, inflicted ſo ſevere a Puniſhment upon him, that it is reported, he attempted to haſten his Death by ſtabbing himſelf with a Knife.

§. II. *The Birth and Religion of* Herod.

VII. THe *Jews* ſhou'd ſtand up for *Herod's* Memory and Birth, ſince they wou'd thereby enervate the Objection, which the Chriſtians raiſe from this Foreigner's being promoted to the Throne of *Judah*. For theſe commonly conclude, that ſince *Herod* was a Stranger, the Scepter of *Judah* was departed, and that the Meſſiah was to appear in his Reign. But the *Rabbins* forſake their Intereſt, and ſacrifice it to their hatred of the Memory of that Prince. They maintain, that he was an *Idumæan*, *Slave to the Aſmonæans*, who falling in love with a Daughter of that Family, heard a Voice, that told him, *Happy the Man, who will revolt this minute*, and that he immediately cut his Maſter's Throat. The Princeſs, who remain'd alone, went up upon the Platform of the Palace, call'd the People to her Aid, and threw her ſelf down. But *Herod ſtill in love with her, hid her for ſeven years in Honey; ſome affirm that he knew her then, but others deny it.* They add, that *Herod*, who was by Birth an *Idumæan*, became a Proſelyte, but that by the Law Proſelytes were excluded from the Crown, and all other publick Employs; and that tho' his Father had already imbrac'd the Religion of *Moſes*, his Mother, who was an *Arabian*, debar'd him from the Throne, ſince Children follow their Mother's Condition; *Partus Ventrem ſequitur.*

Jeſus Chriſt's Relations did affirm, that *Antipas*, Grand Father to *Herod*, was Keeper of a Temple of *Apollo*, and that his Son being taken by the *Idumæans*, the Keeper, who wanted Money to redeem his Son, let him remain a Slave. *Africanus* related this Teſtimony as an undoubted truth; and *Euſebius* *, who did what he cou'd to vilify the Birth of *Herod*, hath copy'd him. Some fruitleſs Attempts have been made to correct the Text of this † Hiſtorian, by Subſtituting the title of Prieſt, and razing out that of Keeper or Servant. For beſides, that ſuch Attempts are bold, theſe plainly thwart *Euſebius's* Intention, who deſign'd to tarniſh *Herod's* Glory, to draw from thence ſome Inferences for the Chriſtian Religion; St. *Epiphanius* adds a degrading Circumſtance to *Euſebius's* Story. For he aſſerts, that *Antipater* and his Son did not think to become *Jews*, till they ſaw that their Religion clog'd their Riſe. Moſt of the Fathers |||| have follow'd this Opinion; and Modern Authors have highten'd it, that *Herod* might appear a greater Foreigner than he was. *Scaliger*, who thought it a Prejudice, fell into the other Extream, and hath labour'd hard to extol this Family. He maintain'd that *Herod* was a *Jew* ſince his Anceſtors had embrac'd the *Jewiſh* Religion. Nay, he ſuppoſes, that his Mother, who was an *Arabian*, became a Proſelyte, becauſe the *Aſmo-*

* Ganz. Chonol. an. 742. *p.* 85. † Harduin de Nummis Herodiadum. || Apoc. 14. 1. * Euſeb. *l.* 1. *c.* 7. † Erycius Phalitran. Syntagm. Differ. apud Grævium, *p.* 440. leg. ἱερεύτε, *inſtead of* ἱερέλε, *Prieſt inſtead of Servant to a Prieſt.* Harduin de Nummis Herod. |||| Epiph. Hær. 20. *p.* 45 Juſtin. Mart. Dial. *p.* 272. Cyril. Alex. Glaphyr. in Geneſ. *c.* 7. *p.* 223. Caſaub. Exercit. in Baron. *p.* 44. Serrarii Herodes, *p.* 20. Scalig. in Euſeb. Chron. *p.* 150.

næans

næans had renew'd the Law againſt mix'd Marriages. But let us examine theſe Opinions, and cull the Truth out of them.

VIII. We muſt not wholly deſpiſe the Tradition of Jeſus Chriſt's Kindred, who liv'd in *Judæa* a little after the fall of the Houſe of *Herod*, and could be better inform'd than Modern Writers. For it is not impoſſible, that *Herod*'s Grand Father was Keeper of a Temple of *Apollo*. This can't be apply'd to *Antipater*, but may be true of *Herod*'s Grand Father, who was the firſt Perſon of Note, and made his Family conſiderable. So that *Antipas* liv'd originaly in *Aſcalon*, which was the true Birth-place of the *Herods*, who had always a tender regard for that City. For *Antipas* being Governour of *Idumæa* under *Alexander Janneus*, was very kind to *Aſcalon*, which had haughtily withſtood his Maſter. Nay, it ſeems, that he reſerv'd it as a place of Refuge, in caſe he was diſgrac'd. *Herod* could not perſwade *Auguſtus*, who had given him ſo many Countries, to beſtow this City upon him. However *Herod* lov'd it more than any City of *Judæa*. For he built there ſome noble *Baths*, and a Royal Palace, which he bequeath'd to his Siſter *Salome*. This Preference and Affection of *Herod* for *Aſcalon*, which was without his Frontiers, confirm the general Tradition, that he was Originally an *Aſcalonite*. The *Talmudiſts* will have it, that part of this City and Neighbouring Places depended on the Holy Land.

There was in it a Temple conſecrated to *Idols*, and therefore it was reckon'd a *Heatheniſh City*, but the *Jews* had likewiſe ſome Juriſdiction there. The *Rabbins* call'd it * *their City*; *they waſh'd themſelves, eat and bought Corn in that Place.* There was even a Faſt enjoin'd at *Jeruſalem*, becauſe it was one day obſerv'd, that there was a Blite upon the Corn of *Aſcalon*, and that it was fear'd leaſt the whole Harveſt ſhould be loſt. The moſt zealous Sticklers for *Herod*, and among them *Scaliger*, might have made uſe of theſe Arguments, to prove, that *Antipas* might have been a *Jew* tho' he was born in *Aſcalon*; but *Joſephus* and the Scripture aſcribe it to Heathens, who worſhip'd *Dagon*. The *Jews* had no power in that City, and *Auguſtus* refus'd it to *Herod*, who earneſtly beg'd it.

Antipas coming out of *Aſcalon*, and being made Governour of *Idumæa*, was in all likelyhood oblig'd to embrace the *Jewiſh* Religion, when *Hircanus*, who conquer'd this Province, forc'd all the Inhabitants to receive the Law of *Moſes*: *Antipater* follow'd his Father's Religion, or at leaſt he embrac'd *Judaiſm*, according to *Joſephus*, who makes him a Proſelyte. And indeed it is not likely that a Heathen was Prime Miniſter to the high Prieſt, and yet that Paganiſm and Idolatry were never laid to his charge. He brought up *Phaſaelus* and *Herod* in the boſom of the ſame Church, which deſtroys the Opinion of St. *Epiphanius*, who affirms, that both Father and Son only chang'd their Religion for Preferment.

This Prince was then *a Demy Jew*, as *Antigonus* call'd him. He was a *Jew*, and Incorporated into that Nation, ſince his Grand Father and Father had already profeſs'd the Law of *Moſes*, and been prefer'd to the firſt Employments of the Commonwealth. But he was not a *Jew* deſcended from the Poſterity of *Abraham*, nor from the Tribe of *Judah*, ſince he was originally an *Aſcalonite*, and his Grand Father had been a Heathen.

IX. This plainly appears from a Law Suit, which the *Jews* and the Inhabitants of *Cæſarea* had. The firſt pretended a Preference in that City, becauſe it was built by one of their Nation. And indeed *Herod* was the Founder of it, and the *Syrians* did not deny theſe two Facts. So that *Herod* was at that time a *Jew* both by Birth and Religion. The *Syrians* did not examine whether he deſcended from *Abraham* by the Tribe of *Judah*, becauſe that ſignify'd nothing to them, but they granted their Adverſaries, that he was a *Jew* by Birth and Religion, which is an evident Demonſtration againſt the *Jews*, and moſt part of Chriſtians, that *Herod* was not a Proſelyte, but a *Jew* by Birth. In vain ſome endeavour to make *Joſephus* contradict himſelf here, to conclude from thence that his Book is ſpurious. It is true, that this Hiſtorian hath confuted *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, who plac'd *Antipater*, *Herod's* Father, among the *Jews*, altho' he was a Proſelyte; but he doth not here contradict himſelf, nor deny what he had affirm'd. Beſides, ſince he only relates the Law Suit between the *Syrians* and *Jews* of *Cæſarea*, without deciding it; is it not ſtrange, that a Critick who animadverts even on Words, which do not appear Greek to him, hath miſtaken the Plea of the *Jews* of *Cæſarea* for a Deciſion, and made uſe of his miſtake as an Argument to prove *Joſephus*'s Book ſuppoſititious, even when this Hiſtorian ſays nothing of his own, and only relates what others have ſaid?

X. The ſame Critick advances a Conjecture, which is both new and bold. For he makes him an *Athenian*, becauſe there were ſeveral Perſons of that name in *Athens*, and that this City call'd this Prince its *Benefactor*. In what ever Provinces the *Greeks* and *Romans* extended their Empire, ſome were call'd by the Name of *Herod*. This name was common in *Athens*, and elſe where. *Cicero* ſpeaks of a pitiful Author of that name, who often wou'd tire *Atticus* with the reading of his Compoſures. On the contrary, *Photius* quotes one *Herod*, an excellent Greek Poet. But there was one more Famous under *Antoninus*, who became *Marcus Aurelius*'s Tutor, and was Conſul, according to Cardinal *Noris*, in 139, or 140. This Man was very haughty and proud, as it appear'd in his Conteſt with the *Athenians* before *Marcus Aurelius*. For inſtead of pleading his Cauſe, he upbraided this Emperour with ſacrificing him to a Woman and two Children, becauſe the Empreſs and her Children had ſolicited againſt him. Yet as proud as he was, he did never boaſt of being related to the *Herods* of *Judæa*, who had but lately been Kings. Two Inſcriptions were found ſome Years ago at *Rome*. *Cauſaubon* was impos'd upon by them, and believ'd them to be of *Herod* King of *Judæa*, becauſe they bore his name: But *Arcudius* more happily diſcover'd the Perſon we now mention, who was *a Prieſt to the Emperours in his Country*. He was born at *Marathon*, and having made uſe of the Treaſure that his Father found, built ſome noble Structures at *Athens* and *Megara*, whereof the Ruins are ſtill to be ſeen, † and it was to acknowledge this Favour, that this laſt City had an Inſcription ingrav'd, calling him its Benefactor.

ΕΠΙ. ΕΥΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ. ΚΑΙ. ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ. ΤΗΣ.
ΠΡΟΣ. ΤΗΝ. ΠΟΛΙΝ.

Herod Atticus was a Stanger in *Megara*, and yet the Citizens of that City call'd him their Benefactor in this Inſcription. Why then will not ſome have it, that the *Athenians* did give this ſame Title to *Herod* King of *Judæa*, ſince according to *Joſephus*, *he had been very bountiful to their City*. Muſt one be born in a place, to be call'd Benefactor of it? His dependance upon the *Romans* did not debar him from being kind to the Greek Cities, ſince *Herod Atticus*, who was but a private Man, and an Orator, had the liberty to do it? Why might he not have made ſome Treaties with them, as well as with the City of *Antioch*? If People have a mind || to derive *Herod's* Pedigree from another *Herod*, it wou'd be more reaſonable to look

* V. *Lightfoot* Cent. Chor. Matth. Præf. *p.* 31. † Wheeler's *Voyages. t.* 1. *p.* 484. || A. Gell. noct. Att. *l.* 21. *c.*2. *p.*2. Joſeph. le belle, *l. c.* 1. *p.* 749. Trebell. Pollio de Trig. Tyr. *c.* 15. *p.* 593.

for

for it among the *Palmyreni*, where one *Herod* made himself Emperour, with his Father. For it is more probable that he shou'd have come from *Palmyrena* into *Judæa*, than from *Athens*. But we must not look out for some *Herods* to trace his Genealogy; for it was not the name of his Family. If *Herod* came Originally from *Athens*, we ought to find there an *Antipas*, and an *Antipater*, who were Father and Grand Father to this Prince, who took another name. Father *Harduin* never thought of this.

It is also pretended, that *Herod*'s Mother being an *Arabian* Woman, that excluded him from the Crown; and therefore *Scaliger*, to obviate this Objection, transforms *Cypros* into a Proselyte: But there was no need of this Conjecture. For the prohibition of mixt Marriages was so often overlook'd, that it is not likely that *Antipater* made a scruple to marry an Idolater. Besides, of how many Kings do we read in the Old Testament, who were born of these sorts of Marriages, and yet were not depriv'd of their Right to the Succession of the Crown? *Absalon* was Son to an Infidel, and notwithstanding his Birth, the People proclaim'd him King. It may be objected, that this was only a Popular Commotion; but *Roboboam*, who was Son of *Mahama* an *Ammonite* succeeded *Solomon*, notwithstanding that it was intirely against the Laws to Marry an *Ammonite* Woman, and that the *Ammonites*, even to the Tenth Generation, were excluded * from the Church. *Jeroboam*, being at the head of the Ten Tribes, never alledg'd this flaw in his Birth to ground their Separation and Revolt. The *Rabbins* say that *Solomon* made all his Wives Proselytes; but this is contradicted in holy Writ, where we read, that this Prince, far from converting his Wives, embrac'd their Religion, and erected some Temples and Altars to their false Dieties. Why shou'd *Herod* be deny'd a Privilege, which was before granted to the ancient Kings of *Judah*? Farther, it is a rash thing to make the Interpretation of *Jacob's* Oracle depend on a Maxim peculiar to some Civilians and Places, that *the Son follows the condition of the Mother*. For that is not a Maxim of the natural Law; and the contrray is often practis'd. To conclude, the *Rabbins* can't say, that *Herod* was Servant to the *Asmonæans*, for this Title can at most be giv en, but to his Grand Father *Antipas*; as for him, he was made in his Youth Governour of *Galilee*, and his Father was one of the greatest Men of the whole Country. Three Generations are enough to wipe off the Imputation of a mean Extraction, and to make a Family honourable. Let this suffice for his Birth and Pedigree, which have occasion'd several warm disputes among Ancient and Modern Writers. For when the naked Truth is expos'd to view, it plainly appears that he was a Jew born. Let us examine upon what Title he enjoy'd the Kingdom. 1. Whether he was King of all *Judæa*, which some Criticks dispute. 2. Whether he was Vassal and Tributary to the *Romans*, which, tho' true, is deny'd by others.

§ 3. *The Extent of* Herod's *Dominions.*

XII. SOme † pretend, that *Augustus* gave the Kingdom of *Judæa* to *Herod*, only to pay him the Interest, and Principal of a vast Sum of Money which *Mark Anthony* and he had borrow'd; that *Archelaus* continu'd to reign for some Years, because the Debt was not wholly paid; but that when full Payment was made, the Pawn was taken from him; and that this appears the more likely, because *Julius Cæsar* had already receiv'd some considerable Sums from *Herod*. So that *Herod* was rather the Farmer, than King of *Judæa*. But this is a mistake: For that *Herod*, who lent about 8571 *l.* Sterling to build *Marathon*, was neither Son to *Antipater*, nor King of *Judæa*, but a Citizen of *Athens* of that name. Neither is it true that *Cæsar* borrow'd that Sum of him; the *Athenians* made only use of the Interest that this Country Man of theirs had with *Cæsar* to obtain this Money, that had been drawn out of his Province, and coin'd at *Genoa*, which was design'd to build *Marathon*. But suppose it was true, that *Julius Cæsar* borrow'd about 8571 Pounds of *Herod*, can it be concluded from thence that *Anthony* and *Augustus* ran so much in Debt with him, that to pay it they gave him *Judæa*, from whence such prodigious Sums cou'd be rais'd? *Herod* frequently made some considerable Presents to *Anthony* and *Augustus*, but it doth not appear that they contracted with him as his Creditors. On the contrary, when *Augustus* might have taken above 160000 || Pounds, which *Herod* had bequeath'd to him in his Will, he generously return'd that Money to his Children. A Man who is oblig'd to Mortgage Kingdoms to pay his Debts, will never do this. Lastly, if *Augustus* pawn'd *Judæa* and *Samaria* to *Archelaus* for nine or ten Years, how came he to give part of this Kingdom to *Herod* and *Philip* for a longer time, and even for Life? So that it is plain, that far from designing to discharge a Debt which he had contracted a long while before with *Mark Anthony*, to carry on their Interest, he only comply'd with *Herod's* last Will and Testament. And therefore *Herod* held from *Augustus* the Kingdom of *Judæa*, as other Kings, who were Vassals to the Empire.

XIII. *Herod* the Great was King of all *Judæa*; and all the Provinces, over which his Sons were Tetrarchs, where under him. But some will not allow this. For ||| a famous Critick asserts, that only *Samaria* and *Judæa* fell to this Prince's share; but that *Galilee* and *Trachonitis* were never under his Jurisdiction; because he only built some Fortresses in the two first Provinces. " These Forts were the undoubted " marks of his Loyalty, which had been requir'd of " him in other Places as well as in *Judæa*, had they " been under his Government; and since he built none " there, it must be acknowledg'd that *Zenodorus* was " Tetrarch of *Ituræa*, *Trachonitis*, and *Galilee*, and that " he liv'd till the Reign of *Philip* and *Herod* the Se- " cond who succeeded him, because they had been " cunning enough to be ally'd to him, tho' it is hi- " therto unknown whether it was by Marriage, or " otherwise. So that, according to him, *Herod* the Great's Children only were Masters of these Provinces, and *Josephus* ascrib'd them all to their Father, meerly because he had a mind to enlarge the Frontiers of a Kingdom, which seem'd too small for one whom he design'd to dignify with the Title of *Great*.

Here are a great many Conjectures heap'd upon one another, but upon what grounds? *Dio* relates, that at the birth of *Caius*, *Augustus gave* Herod I. *Trachonitis, whereof one* Zenodorus *was Tetrarch*. None can suspect this Foreign Historian, who confirms *Josephus*'s relation. This last gave a Copy of *Herod*'s last Will, and he inserts there *Galilee* and *Trachonitis* as bequeath'd to his Sons. St. *Luke* agrees with *Josephus* in this, and names *Herod's* Children, as being in possession of the Territories assign'd them by their Father. Can then a meer Conjecture invalidate so many matters of Fact? For we are only told that *Zenodorus* out-liv'd *Herod* the Great; and that this

* Deut. 23. 3. † Harduin de Numm. Herod. || *The Latin Translation mentions only* 50 *Talents. But it is a mistake. For the Original says five Hundred Talents. The Translator read* [illegible] *instead of* [illegible]. *Every Talent was worth something above* 321 *Pounds; so that it amounted to about* 160500 *Pounds Sterling.* ||| Harduin Ibid.

Prince's Children were his Heirs; becauſe they were ally'd to him. But it muſt be gueſs'd, that *Zenodorus* liv'd ſo long. Farther, how doth it appear that *Herod's* Children were related to him? This is another Conjecture without Proofs. Tho' it were certain, that they were ally'd to him, yet that doth not prove their Right to his Inheritance, ſince the *Tetrarchat* depended on *Auguſtus* his Will, and that *Zenodorus* was but * the Emperor's Farmer. And indeed after *Cleopatra*'s Death, *Zenodorus* rented it. But Farmers do not diſpoſe by Will of their Lords Lands, and their Heirs have no Right to Claim them. But ſome of *Zenodorus* his Medals are produc'd, having a Head with the Title of *Tetrarch*. Whereas *Herod's* Medals have no Human Figure upon them, which, as is pretended, proves that the firſt rul'd out of *Judæa*, where Images were allow'd, and that *Herod* was confin'd within the Territories of *Samaria* and *Jeruſalem*, where it was a crime to have the Heads and Pictures of Men Ingraven upon Coins. But theſe Medals are nothing to the purpoſe. For, without inquiring whether *Herod*, who ſet up a *Golden-Eagle* upon the Gate of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, was ſo ſcrupulouſly nice, as not to put his Head upon his Medals; there are ſo few Medals of that Prince now extant, that we can draw no conſequences from this, which is preſerv'd for a Thouſand that are loſt. I grant theſe two things; the firſt, That *Zenodorus*'s Territories were without *Judæa*. The 2*d*. That what he enjoy'd was not given to *Herod*, but a long time after this laſt had ſway'd the Scepter of *Judæa*. And indeed *Dio* reckons ten Years, and *Zenodorus* might be dead at that time. It is falſe that he out liv'd *Herod*, and we have no manner of proof that he liv'd, nor any Monument of his, ſince the Year 723 of *Rome*.

This matter † may eaſily be unravell'd. *Ptolemy* taking advantage of the Diviſions in *Syria*, ſeized upon *Ituræa*, *Heliopolis*, *Marſyas*, and *Chalcis*. He left his Conqueſts and Uſurpations to his Son *Lyſanias*, and it was he who call'd *Abylene* by his Name. The *Romans* having made themſelves Maſters of that Country, *Mark Anthony*, who favour'd *Lyſanias*, left him the poſſeſſion of what Territories he enjoy'd, and gave him the Title of King. But ſome time after *Cleopatra* deſiring to have *Arabia* and *Ituræa*, this Prince was impeach'd, and under pretence that he had a deſign to make an Alliance with *Pacorus* King of *Parthia*, he was depriv'd both of his Crown and Life. *Cleopatra* ſucceeded him, but having made a Tragical end, *Auguſtus* re-united her Dominions to the Empire, and Farm'd them to *Zenodorus*, who call'd them by his name They then were call'd the *Houſe of Zenodorus*. But this Farmer being dead, *Herod*, who found that theſe Lands lay conveniently for him, obtain'd them of *Auguſtus*, in the Year 734. and three Years before the Birth of our Saviour, ſo that *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis* were under *Herod*'s Government, and therefore he left them to his Children by his Will, which he ſubmitted to *Auguſtus*, and St. *Luke* confirms this Partition.

Joſephus obſerves, that *Philip* had but part of the Houſe, or Government of *Zenodorus*; becauſe *Auguſtus* had taken *Abylene* from it, and given that Country to *Lyſanias*'s Grand-Son, whoſe Name was alſo *Lyſanias* St. *Luke* names him, when he ſets down the Epocha of St. *John Baptiſt's* Preaching. For he then ſays, || that he was *Tetrarch* of *Abylene*. *Ptolemy* |||| places *Abyla* among the chief Cities of *Syria*, and call's it *Abyla* of *Lyſanias*. Some pretend, that this *Lyſanias* was Son to him, whom *Mark Anthony* put to Death; but he was dead ſixty Yeary before. So that it is more probable, that he was his Grand-Son. *Joſephus* * adds, that *Philip* had alſo ſome Lands near *Jamnia*, which embroils this matter, becauſe this City, Situate on the *Mediterranean Sea* near *Lydda*, was very far from his Kingdom. This palpable fault is corrected in the *Joſephus* that is now Printing in *England*; which † ſays, that the Lands that were near *Jamnia*, and formerly belong'd to his Father, were alſo given to *Philip*. This Correction is eaſy; but ſince there was a large Town in *Galilee* call'd *Jamnia*, which *Joſephus* || fortify'd at the beginning of the War; becauſe of its Situation, it is better to ſay that *Zenodorus* had there ſome Lands, which were poſſeſs'd by *Herod*, and added afterwards to *Philip's* Tetrarchat.

A great Streſs is alſo laid on *Herod's* not building any Citadels either in *Galilee* or *Trachonitis*, altho' he was bound to do it, as an undoubted Argument of his Loyalty. But this is a groundleſs and falſe Conjecture. For, 1. *Herod* made War with the Inhabitants of that Country, who were great Robbers, and afterwards built there ſome Forts to keep them in awe. 2. It doth not certainly appear that *Herod* rebuilt *Samaria* to be a cautionary Town to the *Romans*, but that it was for his own ſafety, and only call'd it by *Auguſtus*'s name, out of reſpect to that Emperour. But tho' the Romans had requir'd this mark of his Fidelity in the heart of *Judæa*, there was no neceſſity, that they ſhou'd exact the ſame thing on the Frontiers, that were nearer to *Syria*, and the Roman-Garriſons. In a word, *Herod* II. who enjoy'd *Galilee* upon the ſame Title, as his Father had *Samaria*, built there no Cittadels that were call'd by *Auguſtus*'s name. This can't be deny'd. So that to ſay, that *Herod* the Great was ſubject to the *Romans*, and that his Son who was only a *Tetrarch*, was more independent, and had *Galilee* upon better Terms than he, is, without ſenſe and reaſon, to confound every thing. A great many matters of Fact are contradicted here, but not prov'd to be falſe; and if they were, the Inference that is drawn from thence wou'd not be the more certain; and it muſt be unknowledg'd, that *Herod* was King of all *Judæa*, and enjoy'd that Kingdom as a Vaſſal and Subject of the Roman Empire. This is what muſt be prov'd.

§ 4. Herod's *Subjection to the* Romans *prov'd.*

XIV. S*Caliger* pretends that |||| *Herod* was not Tributary to the *Romans*, becauſe *Mark Anthony* decided, that it was to no purpoſe to beſtow the Royal Authority on any body, if he cou'd not make uſe of it. Farther, how likely is it that *Auguſtus*, who call'd this Prince his Friend, and did nothing without his advice, wou'd make him a Vaſſal? St. *Jerome* † pretends, that *Judæa* was not Tributary till *Archelaus* was baniſh'd. *Scaliger* adds, that when *Herod* referr'd the Condemnation of his Children to *Auguſtus*, he then willingly diveſted himſelf of the Right of Father and King, which ſufficiently impower'd him to put them to Death; and that he did the ſame thing when he made *Auguſtus* Executor of his laſt Will and Teſtament.

In anſwer to this. Firſt, it was the Cuſtom of Generals, and eſpecially of *Pompey*, to make all the Provinces that they Conquer'd, Tributary. Hiſtory ||

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* Εμεμίδωτη, Joſeph. † Scaliger in Euſeb. Caſaub Exercit. in Bar. 13. || Luke 3. 1. |||| Ptol. *l.* 5. *c.* 15. * Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 2. *c.* 4. † Τὰ σὲι, *they read* ἡ τὰ σὲι; or τὰ τὶ σὲι, & circa. Id. de vitâ, *p.* 1013. || Joſephus Ant. *l.* 16. *c.* 13. *p.* 570. |||| Scal. Not. ad Euſeb. *p.* 163. † Hier. *in* Math. 17. || Velleius Paterc. *l.* 2. Appian. in Syriac. Ulpianus in Digeſto, *l.* 50 Tit. de Cenſibus, *l.* 2. *n.* 3.

tells

tells us, that *Pompey* made *Syria* tributary, and oblig'd the *Syrians* to pay the hundredth Penny. Besides this first Tax they paid a Capitation, which begun at Fourteen, and ended at Sixty five Years of Age. Why should *Judæa*, which border'd upon *Syria*, have been more exempted than this last Province?

Farther, *Appianus* * positively says, that *Mark Anthony* having appointed *Herod* King of *Idumæa* and *Samaria*, *made him tributary*. It is nothing to the Purpose, whether this Historian is a *Plagiary*, or not. For it is still certain, that we ought to prefer in this Case, the Testimony of a Man who liv'd under the Empire of *Adrian*, and had read the ancient Relations of those Times, to the blind and uncertain Conjectures of a Modern Critick.

Some have try'd to correct *Appianus*'s Text, and make him say, that *Mark Anthony* order'd several Kings, of his own making, *to be under Arms in the Posts* which he had assign'd them. People must be very bold to make such Corrections as this: For *Pompey* had already made *Judæa* tributary; and it was still so when *Anthony* gave *Herod* that Kingdom. So that *Appianus* was in the right to say, that it was given *Herod*, upon Condition that *he should pay the Taxes that were laid upon it*. The Kings of *Pontus*, *Pisidia*, and *Cilicia*, that *Anthony* made at the same time, were tributary. How then can *Herod* be separated from these Kings, with which he is join'd by *Appianus*? Nay, after the Alteration of two Words in *Appianus*'s † Text, it doth not answer their Design, since *Anthony* gives no Orders to take up Arms; so that it is in vain for them to correct this Historian, to make him favour their Opinion: For all that they make him say, is only, *That* Anthony *constituted such Kings as he thought fit for the order'd Motion*, which is not Sense. Or at least to make it so, we must supply a great many Things, to understand thereby, that *Anthony* made *Herod*, *Darius*, and *Mithridates*, Kings, only upon Condition, that they should raise some Troops, and be always in Arms, because he was going to wage a War with the *Parthians*. Would it not be much more reasonable, to acknowledge fairly, that *Appianus* look'd upon *Herod* as a tributary Prince, than to deny it upon so slender Grounds?

It is so plain a Case, that *Judæa* was tributary to the *Romans* under *Herod*, that as soon as he was dead, the Emperour's Agent in *Syria* set out to take an Account of his Goods, and seal them. All that *Archelaus* cou'd do to prevent it, was to beg of *Varus*, to stay till *Cæsar* had order'd how they should be dispos'd of. The Agent stay'd some time at *Cæsarea*; but at last he went to *Jerusalem*, and endeavour'd to seize upon the Money and Forts. He was oppos'd; yet none in the main doubted, ‖ but that *the Ward of his Goods belong'd to* Augustus. Independent Kings are not treated at this rate. The same thing was done when *Archelaus* was condemn'd: What Estate he had in *Judæa* was first confiscated, and then farm'd out. Besides *Josephus* affirms, that a Capitation had been for many Years settl'd in *Judæa*, since he remonstrated to the Jews of *Jerusalem*, *That their Fathers had pay'd it to the Ancestors of the* Romans, *that then exacted it*. The *Chaldee* Paraphrast, who writ either before the coming of Jesus Christ, or according to others in the Reign of *Tiberius*, explaining one of *Habakkuck*'s Prophecies, says, *That the* Romans *shall be destroy'd, and shall not oblige the Citizens of* Jerusalem *to pay Taxes*. No body foretels, that People shall be deliver'd out of a Calamity, that never happen'd to them: So that Taxes must have been exacted by the *Romans* for many Years; since to have them abolish'd, was look'd upon as a Favour from Heaven; which was foretold by the Prophets. Lastly, Christ, at the Passage of *Capernaum*, paid a Didrachm.-- Was it true, as some Criticks pretend, that this Tribute was not impos'd till *Archelaus*'s Death, and only in the Country under his Jurisdiction, which was then re-united to the Demesns of the Empire, there had been no Tax-Gatherers to receive it in *Capernaum*, a City of *Galilee*. To pretend, that this City was part of his Dominions, is to confound the Limits of the *Tetrarchats*, and the Partition made by *Herod*, and confirm'd by *Augustus*, who bestow'd *Galilee* on *Herod* the *Tetrarch*. Lastly, The Question, which the *Herodians* put to Jesus Christ, Whether *Tribute was to be paid to* Cæsar, is a plain Confirmation of the Emperour's Right to it, and that *Judæa* was always tributary, since the time that *Pompey* subdu'd it. St. *Jerome* |||| contradicts himself, since he confesses in another place, that *Augustus* oblig'd *Judæa* to pay Tribute; and that it was for that Reason that the whole Empire was describ'd.

XV. *Judæa* was not only tributary in the Reign of *Herod*, but this Prince also depended upon the *Romans*: For it was to them that the Jews complain'd against him. They accus'd him twice before *Mark Anthony*; and this Prince was oblig'd to go himself to answer their Accusations, or rather to bribe †† this Judge, who refus'd to hear his Accusers, and order'd some of the most obstinate to be crucify'd. A Man can't be a Sovereign who pleads his Cause before a Roman General, and is oblig'd to answer what Accusations his Subjects lay to his Charge, and to bribe his Judge. Yet *Herod* did then manage every thing as he pleas'd in *Jerusalem*, jointly with *Hircanus*, whose Name he only borrow'd.

Farther, when *Herod* was a Fugitive, he was forc'd to go to *Rome*, to receive the Crown from *Mark Anthony*'s and *Augustus*'s Hands, who carry'd him between them to the *Capitol*, that they might make the Dignity, which they conferr'd upon him, the more honourable. So that there was a Necessity, before he could claim a Right to the Crown, that he should obtain it from those that were Masters in *Rome*. This is so true, that after the Battle of *Actium*, and *Anthony*'s Defeat, *Herod*, who was afraid to lose his Crown by this Revolution, waited upon *Augustus* at *Rhodes*, and there laid down his Diadem. He vindicated his Behaviour and Fidelity to *Anthony*, and his Presents appeas'd the Conquerour as much as his Undauntedness. A King who is oblig'd to act that Part, and to depend upon the Freaks of Fortune, is not a Sovereign Prince. It must be own'd, that he was at that time neither a *Friend* nor *Equal* to *Augustus*; but that he depended upon him, as a Vassal accus'd of Felony depends upon his Lord, and is afraid to be punish'd by him.

Being falsely accus'd by *Scyllæus* the *Arabian*, who had debauch'd *Salome*, and thought to have marry'd her afterwards, he fell under *Augustus*'s Displeasure. For *Scyllæus* exasperated, that he was refus'd contrary to his Expectation, went to *Augustus*, and exhibited several Complaints against *Herod*. So that all Accusations against this Prince were always carry'd to *Rome*. *Scyllæus* being convicted of Malice, was sent back into his own Country, first to pay there his Debts, and then to be punish'd. Altho he was condemn'd to die, yet he meditated Revenge, and hired two Ruffians to kill *Herod* the *Great*. He ought then to have been Master and Judge of the Crime: Nevertheless the Cause was carry'd before *Saturninus*, Governour of *Syria*, who took Cognizance of it to

* Appian. de Bell Civil. l. 5. p. 151. † Appianus *says, speaking of* Mark Anthony, ἐπὶ λόγοι ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς ὧν ἐδοκίμασεν, ἐπὶ φορείοις ἅρα τεταμένοις πομπὴ ἐγένετο, &c. They correct and read ἐπὶ φορείοις ἅρα τεταμένους: φορὰ, *signifies* gestatio impetu, Petit. Var. lect. c. 18. p. 256. ‖ Joseph. de Bello, l. 2. p. 776. |||| Hieron. in Matth. 22. †† Joseph. Ant. 14. c. 23. p. 392, 494.

his Prejudice. Can one be call'd a Sovereign Prince, who is liable to be depos'd at Pleasure, and forc'd to plead before a Subaltern-Judge (that was only Governour of a Province) against a Man that hath attempted upon his Life?

Herod ought to have been absolute Master in his own Family. *Scaliger* doth not omit to extol this Paternal and Royal Authority, which gave him a Right over his Childrens Lives. Nevertheless he had not that Authority, I confess, that this Prince,—— Who pleaded with so much Heat against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, his two Sons by *Mariamne*, whom he accus'd to have plotted against him, declar'd * to *Augustus*, that he had not been willing to make use of his *Paternal and Regal Right against those unnatural Sons; but chose rather to carry them at the Feet of their common Benefactor.* He repeated the same thing before his Judges, and alledg'd the Law of his Country, which enjoins the Inhabitants to stone a Son who is accus'd by his Father, when he hath made the Signal, by putting his Hand upon his Son's Head. This Argument is rather grounded on the Paternal Authority, than on the Power of Kings. Why doth he not rather insist on his Regal Power? Besides, we must here rather consult the Behaviour of this furious and exasperated Father than his Words. 1. If he durst have punish'd his Sons himself, would he not rather have done it, than delay'd their Punishment, by accusing them at *Rome* before a Judge, who might perhaps absolve them? Parricide is a Crime of so black a Dye, that a King doth not expect a Sentence from Foreigners against it, when he can punish it in his Court; and especially one of *Herod*'s Temper, who was strangely prepossess'd against his Children; and the most outragious Man in the World, when he met with any Opposition. 2. *Augustus* judg'd with more Moderation and Equity than he. He pity'd this Father, if he was so wretch'd as to have such Children, and declar'd, † that *he left it to him, to put them to Death*, if he thought fit, in case they were found guilty of Parricide; and to inflict a milder Punishment, if it appear'd that they only design'd to withdraw from his Court. So that this Power of Life and Death over the accused Princes properly belong'd to *Augustus*, who gave it to *Herod*; and this last cou'd not exert it before such a Grant, without being obnoxious to the Court of *Rome*. *Augustus* wavering in his mind, wou'd neither approve the Crime, nor leave it to *Herod's* Judgment, but appointed 150 Judges, and at the Head of them *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, Father in law to one of the accus'd Princes, to determine that Cause. But as *Herod* was afraid that this Prince wou'd favour his Sons, he did not let him know the Day appointed to proceed to Sentence. The Emperour order'd that they shou'd not meet at *Jerusalem*, but at *Berytus*, where the *Romans* had a Garrison. *Herod* pleaded before them as Plaintiff, and shew'd more his violent Passion, than the Justice of his Cause. *Saturninus*, who was the first Judge and Governour of *Syria*, voted for a very mild Punishment, and was follow'd by his three Sons; but *Volumnius* having given his Opinion for Death, carry'd it by the Majority of Votes; so that notwithstanding what *Herod* boasted of his Paternal and Royal Authority, he was only Plaintiff in this Cause, and forc'd to obtain leave from *Augustus* to have his Children condemn'd. The Judges appointed for that purpose were *Romans*, and they decided the Fate of his Family. —— *Augustus* was in the right to say that it was better to be *Herod's* Hog, than his Son; but *Scaliger*, was in the wrong to blame *Macrobius*, for ascribing this Saying to that Emperour. For it is clear enough that *Augustus* inclin'd to Clemency; and that *Herod* by his Heat and Passion, or Bribes, and Cunning, got the Judges to pronounce against his Sons.

The same thing happen'd in *Antipater's* Plot. One wou'd think, that *Herod* shou'd have remember'd what he underwent, when he referr'd *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*'s Trial to *Rome*; and therefore have taken then care to avoid the like Delays, and the shame of appearing to plead his Cause before the Governour of a Neighbouring Province. Nevertheless he was forc'd to proceed again the same troublesome way. He accus'd, *Antipater* Pleaded his Cause before *Varus*, who transmitted the Proceedings to *Rome*, and this exasperated Father durst not punish an ungrateful and rebellious Son, till his Ambassadors obtain'd leave from *Augustus* to do it. It can't reasonably be said that this was done voluntarily, and out of meer complaisance to the Emperour. For that doth not suit with the temper of Kings, and particularly with that of *Herod*, who was intolerably jealous of his Authority, both in his Kingdom and Family.

In a word, *Scaliger* may insist, as long as he pleases, that *Herod* cou'd have bequeath'd his whole Kingdom to one of his Children, but no body will believe him, when *Archelaus*'s Steps appear. *Aretas* King of *Arabia* having presum'd to anticipate *Augustus*'s Will, and to take the Title of King without his Approbation, this Emperour, to punish him, was going to bestow his Crown on *Herod* the Great, when he receiv'd *Aretas*'s submissive Letters. This Example made *Archelaus* refuse the Crown, and go to *Rome*. *Augustus* was Judge of the *Will*, according to *Eusebius*, whom *Scaliger* hath no reason to quote in his behalf. When he dispos'd of the Inheritance, he had, as it was Customary, some regard to the Will of the Testator. However he might have alter'd it; and this the Heirs knew, since they all went to plead before him about their Father's Will.

Herod was then King of *Judæa*, but not an Independant and Sovereign Prince, as its Ancient Kings were. Thus *Jacob*'s Oracle drew towards its Accomplishment, and the Scepter was by degrees remov'd from *Judah*, till it was wholly taken away.

§. 5. *The Reign of the Posterity of* Herod.

1. Archelaus *Ethnarch of the* Jews *at* Jerusalem, Samaria *and* Idumæa.
2. Herod II. Tetrarch *of* Galilee *of* Peræa.
3. Philip Tetrarch *of* Ituræa, Trachonitis, *all Sons and Successors to* Herod *the Great.*

XVI. HErod the Great dy'd at 70 years of Age, hated by his Subjects. He design'd in order to keep up the Grandeur of his Family, to leave his Kingdom to *Antipas*, one of his Sons; but he alter'd this Resolution, and divided it between his three best beloved Children.

Archelaus was to have *Judæa* and *Samaria*, which made *Joseph* afraid to return to *Jerusalem* with Christ, who was as yet a Sucking Child, lest the Son shou'd have Inherited both the Hatred and Cruelty of his Father. And therefore he transported that Infant into *Galilee*, where none of *Herod* the Great's Children were. For *Herod* II. or *Antipas*, who was afterwards *Tetrarch* of that Country, was still in *Rome*, solliciting the Emperour to bestow the whole Kingdom upon him, according to his Father's first Will. Besides *Archelaus* was dreaded from the beginning. For he put three Thousand Men to Death, who were retir'd into the

* Joseph. Ant. *l.* 16. *c.* 7. *p.* 556. † Joseph. Ant. *l.* 16. *p.* 577. Αὐτῷ γὰρ ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταυτήν.

Tem-

Temple. The Jews for that Reaſon prefer'd *Antipas* to him; becauſe he was of a milder Diſpoſition. So that there was leaſt danger to be fear'd under this Prince, in whoſe Dominions Chriſt was very quiet whilſt he liv'd in *Galilee*. It is* ſaid, "That Chriſt "always fear'd this ſame *Archelaus*, who was his "Enemy; but that this Prince dying eight years af- "ter our Saviour's Birth, as it appears by a Medal, "where *Judæa* is repreſented under the Figure of a "Palm-Tree, and hath the name of *Cæſar*, inſtead "of that of *Archelaus*; Chriſt grew bolder, and from "that time began to go up to *Jeruſalem*. The Evan- "geliſts make him too Old, when they ſay, that he "was *Twelve years Old* when his Parents carry'd him "into the Temple, and *this ought to be underſtood of* "*the four preceeding years, whilſt he had nothing more to* "*fear*. A Man muſt be very fond of Conjectures to produce this. For without wrangling about the time of *Archelaus*'s Depoſition, which only happen'd the Tenth year of his Reign, it is enough, that the Holy Writers introduce Chriſt into the Temple only at Twelve years of Age, to deter a Man from preſuming to anticipate that time without any man- ner of neceſſity. Chriſt had other Reaſons than the dread of *Archelaus*, to remain in the Country, and not appear in the Temple till he was in a condition, to Teach. Beſides, was not his tender Age unfit for ſo long a Journey, a ſufficient Reaſon to keep him there till he was Twelve years Old, as the Evange- liſts inſinuate? Why ſhou'd they then be contradicted, or the uſe of Terms alter'd, and twelve years tranſ- form'd into eight?

XVII. *Archelaus* after his Father's Death took the Adminiſtration of the Government, but proviſionally, and did not preſume to accept of the title of King, be- cauſe it was not confirm'd from *Rome*, which beſides that his power was more circumſcrib'd than that of his Father, ſhews that he remain'd a Vaſſal to the Empire.

Theſe four Circumſtances of his Life prove the Truth of our Aſſertion. For firſt he durſt not take Poſſeſſion of the Crown, unleſs he had *Auguſtus*'s Ap- probation. Notwithſtanding that the Soldiers pro- claim'd him King, and the City of *Jericho* offer'd him a *Diadem*, yet he wou'd accept of nothing, till he knew the Emperour's Pleaſure. This was ſo tickliſh a Point, and every body was ſo convinc'd, that the Crown was wholly at *Auguſtus*'s Diſpoſal, that *Herod* accus'd his Brother of having condemn'd ſome Muti- neers to die, and taking the Diadem that was offer'd to him, tho' he had not the Confidence to put it upon his Head.

Secondly, All thoſe, who by *Herod* the Firſt's Will were concern'd in the Government of *Judæa*, plead- ed before *Auguſtus*'s Tribunal. *Herod's* Counſellors alledg'd, that his Brother had anticipated the Em- peror's Deciſion; and this frighted *Archelaus* to that degree, that he fell down at *Auguſtus*'s feet, and in that humble Poſture, which is ſo unbecoming a King, beg'd his Protection. His Submiſſion mov'd the Em- peror, who told him, *that he was worthy to Reign*, and this ſaying was taken for a Sentence in his behalf. However fifty Deputies from the Jews thought to oblige the Emperour to alter his Reſolution, by de- claring that they wou'd rather be under the Govern- ment of *Syria* than of *Herod's* Family. But *Auguſtus* gave *Archelaus*, *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Idumæa*, with the Title of Ethnarch, or Prince of the Nation; and only promis'd to make him King, *if he made himſelf wor- thy of it by his Virtue*. *Ruffinus* † makes *Auguſtus* ſpeak with leſs Generoſity, and more Selfiſhneſs, for he makes him ſay, that *he would make him a King, if his Services deſerv'd it*. Let it be how it will, all theſe Circumſtances manifeſtly prove, that *Judæa* was ſub- ject to *Auguſtus*. A Son durſt not ſit in his Father's Throne, nor put his Will in execution, till he hath receiv'd Directions from that Emperor. The Co- heirs not agreeing about the Partition of his King- dom, which they were to inherit, go to *Rome* to have their Diſputes decided. The Subjects declare, that they wou'd rather be under a ſimple Governour, than under *Archelaus*, and they make this Declaration to *Auguſtus* himſelf. Had they done it, if their King- dom had not already been ſubject to the *Romans*? Had they apply'd to *Auguſtus*, if they had not been at his diſpoſal? In a word, this abſolute Prince ſpeaks, and proceeds to Judgment, and only makes *Archelaus* an Ethnarch, with a Promiſe to raiſe him one day to the Crown.

So that there was then no King, no Sovereign in *Judæa*. *Salmaſius* * believ'd, that *Auguſtus*'s Promiſe made *Archelaus* a King, and ſo did *Baronius*; and they were confirm'd in this Opinion by the Evange- liſts, who always call'd him *King of Judæa*. But this indeterminate and general Title of King was often given to honour ſome who had neither Kingdoms, nor Subjects; the Emperour's Sons in Law, and Prin- cipal Officers of the Empire have often aſſum'd it. *Agrippa* I. †, undoubtedly knew, that his Uncle *Philip's Tetrarchat was not a Kingdom*. Nevertheleſs he call'd it by that name when *Caligula* beſtow'd it upon him. So that we muſt not think it ſtrange, that the holy Pen- men have out of reſpect call'd *Archelaus* King, altho' *Auguſtus* had only made him an Ethnarch; and this *Joſephus*, who ought to have been throughly inform'd of it, poſitively ſays.

What follows, ſhews yet more plainly the Empe- rour's Power in *Judæa*. *Archelaus* made an ill uſe of the Authority he was intruſted with. For he was very harſh to the City of *Jeruſalem*, and did not ſpare even the High-Prieſts. *Samaria* too ſmarted under him. But the Great Men of the Nation, tir'd with his vexatious Proceedings, complain'd againſt him at *Rome*, where he was condemn'd to be Ba- niſh'd. St. *Jerome* ſays, that he was exil'd to *Lyons*, but he dy'd at *Vienna*, where he was confin'd. His Eſtate was confiſcated, and that part of *Judæa*, which *Archelaus* enjoy'd, reduc'd into a Province un- der the Command of *Coponius*. Kings, that are ac- cus'd before an Emperour, and baniſh'd, that forfeit all their Goods, and are oblig'd to ſubmit to a Sen- tence pronounc'd againſt them, and to die in Exile, are but *Precarious* Kings. It is pretended, that the Ac- compliſhment of the Oracle of *Jacob* ought to be fix'd to *Archelaus*'s Down-fall. When the Jews ſaw *He- rod* upon the Throne, they believ'd, that the *Scepter was departing*; becauſe they ſaw a Foreigner wear the Crown of *Judæa*. But they were miſtaken, ſay ſome; for this did not happen till *Archelaus* was baniſh'd, and *Judæa* reduc'd into a Province, with a Governour ſet over it. In the main, *Herod* was no Foreigner, and *Archelaus* was never King. *Judæa* was not long a Pro- vince, ſince *Agrippa* I. ſat on his Grand Father's Throne. So that it is more reaſonable to admit the Remark we have already made, that the Scepter was departing, and breaking, becauſe *Judæa* was always tributary under theſe two Kings as well as under the Ethnarchs, and they were themſelves Vaſſals to the Emperour, whoſe Commands they were forc'd to o- bey. *Herod* the Great was the firſt King of *Judæa* that was a Subject of the Empire, and his Succeſſors continu'd ſo till the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and at which time the Oracle was wholly fulfill'd. But as this Accompliſhment went on but by degrees, it may be obſerv'd, that when *Archelaus* was baniſh'd,

* Harduin de Numm. Herodiad, *p.* 38. † *He had read, in* Joſephus, πρὸς ἀντὸν, id eſt, Auguſtus; *whereas it is* πρὸς ἀντὸν, *that is, Virtue.* * Salmaſ. exerc. Plin. *c.* 35. *t.* 1. *p.* 406. † Agrippa Ep. ad Calig. apud Philon. *p.* 802.

and

and *Judæa* made a Province, it was brought very forward. The supream Power was devolv'd upon the *Romans* during Christ's Life, and at his Death.

XVIII. The holy Penmen speak often of *Herod* II. surnam'd *Antipas*. It was he, who run away with *Herodias*, and put to Death *John* the *Baptist* at that infamous Woman's Request. Our Saviour calls him a *Fox*, and he appear'd before him at *Jerusalem*. He had no Authority in that City, and came there only as a Stranger to the Festival of the Passover. But *Pilate* sent him the Son of God out of Complaisance; because he was inform'd that he was of *Galilee*, which fell to this *Herod*'s Share. The Evangelists give him the Title of *King*, and the Jews relate, conformably to this, that the *Romans* having sent a powerful Army to carry *Archelaus* away, *Herod* II. reign'd in his stead with as much Power as his Grand Father. But the Jews are palpably mistaken. It is certain that *Herod* the Great, willing to maintain the State of his Family, once design'd to leave his Kingdom to *Herod* II. He left it to him by a Will, that was carry'd to *Rome*. But he afterwards revok'd this Will. The Brothers pleaded their Cause before *Augustus*. *Herod* II. insisted on the Validity of the first Will, that made him Heir to the whole. Whereas *Archelaus* maintain'd against him, that the last Will cancell'd all former Legacies, and was only to be observ'd; and he carry'd his point. *Herod* II. was never then King, and had only his Share in *Galilee* and *Peræa*, with the Title of Tetrarch. This is so evident, that this Prince at last ruin'd himself by coveting a Crown. For *Herodias*, of whom he was always fond, cou'd not endure, that *Agrippa* shou'd wear a Diadem, and have the Retinue of a King. And therefore she perswaded her Husband to go to *Rome*, and beg the same Privilege of the Emperour. But *Agrippa*, against whom this Petition was preferr'd, having prov'd that his Uncle had an Arsenal full of Arms for Seventy Thousand Men; that he was making a secret League with *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*; and that he had plotted with *Sejanus* against *Tiberius*, he was banish'd to *Lyons*, whence he went into *Spain*, where he dy'd of Grief, notwithstanding that the Jews * affirm that he made himself Master of that Country, and expell'd thence its true King; because he had run away with his Sister-in-Law. So that *Herod* II. was never a King but only a Tetrarch, whose Dominions were very small; and the Evangelists call him King only out of respect, and perhaps to comply with the Language of the Jews of his Court.

The Jews, who maintain that this Prince reign'd over all *Judæa*, prove it by the Murder of the High-Priest *Jonathan*, or *Jochatan*, whom he put to Death; because he upbraided him with his Marriage with *Herodias*. But the *Rabbins* ascribe to their High-Priest an Honour which is only due to *John Baptist*'s Zeal. It is certain that in the time of *Herod*, there was a High-Priest call'd *Jonathan*, but this Prince did him no harm; and he cou'd not do him any, since being only Tetrarch of *Galilee*, he had no Authority in *Jerusalem*. It was *Vitellius*, who depos'd this *Jonathan*. There was some time after another *Jonathan*, whom *Felix* put to Death; this High-Priest upbraided perhaps *Drusilla* with having basely abjur'd the Law, and elop'd from her Husband, as *Herodias* had done, to marry a Pagan Governour. The Jews, who are not exact Chronologers, have confounded these two *Jonathans*, and the Elopement of *Drusilla*, with that of *Herodias*; because they were like one another; and believ'd that it was *Herod*, and not *Felix* that kill'd this High-Priest. We need not wonder at it, since St. *Epiphanius* hath said, that this *Herod* II. was Son to *Archelaus*, and that he succeeded his Father in the ninth Year of his Reign: He was for all that Son to *Herod* the Great, and Brother to *Archelaus*; but never his Successor. *Herod* II. was so far from being Sovereign Prince of *Judæa*, that he was oblig'd to receive his Tetrarchat from the Hands of *Augustus*, and when he desir'd the Royal Title and Diadem, he was forc'd to go to *Rome* to beg that favour, which was the cause of his Banishment and Ruin.

XIX. *Philip*, third Son to *Herod* the Great, embroils mightily the History of this Family; because *Josephus* and the Holy Writers can't easily be reconcil'd. These last make *Herodias* Wife to *Philip*; and *Josephus*, who ought to be well acquainted with this Family, assures that she was *Herod*'s Wife, when she was taken away by Force. Some have thought that there was a fourth Son of *Herod*, who had no Share in the Distribution of the Tetrarchats, and liv'd as a private Man till *Vespasian*'s time, and was 80 Years Old; and that *Josephus* sent him his Works to be examin'd. But this new Son of *Herod* the Great hath often been rejected, as a Man that never had a Being; and those that fancy, that *Josephus*'s Work is spurious, and compos'd by an Author, who understood neither Greek, nor Hebrew, and hath not only † made some Solæcisms in the Greek Tongue, but also let some *Gallicisms* slip in his Writings, do not fail to make an advantage of this. Nevertheless, upon an exact Scrutiny, we find no contradiction in *Josephus*. This *Herod* from whom his Brother the Tetrarch took *Herodias*, can't be *Philip* Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*; since *Josephus* tells us, that the first was Son to *Mariamne* the Daughter of one *Simon*, who was made High-Priest, that the King might not be disgrac'd by being ally'd to him; whereas *Philip* the Tetrarch was *Cleopatra*'s Son. Farther, he clearly distinguishes these two Brothers. For speaking of the Rape of *Herodias*, he observes, that *Herod* the Tetrarch *went to his Brother* Herod, Mariamne's *Son's House*. So that it is plain that it was not *Philip* the Tetrarch's Wife, that was taken away. And it is no wonder that this *Herod*, *Mariamne*'s Son, is no where nam'd in History, or in his Father's Will. For his Mother unluckily Plotting with *Antipater* against *Herod* the Great, her Husband and King, She was shamefully expell'd out of the Palace, and her Son, *who was one of his Heirs, was then struck out of the Will. Simon*, *Mariamne's* Father, lost the High-Priesthood, and his Brothers, or Uncles, were involv'd in his misfortune. Neither ought we to think it strange, that *Herod* was never reconcil'd with this Son. For in the main he fell in love with a Citizens Daughter of *Jerusalem* and marry'd her; and People are commonly asham'd of such Marriages, and do what they can to obliterate them. Besides his foolish Amour, he had a new Reason to do this. So that *Herod* left a Son that he had disinherited, and as he lead a private Life, no notice is taken of him in History. How many of *Herod*'s Children have had the same Fate? Is *Phasaelus*, *Pallas*'s Son, well known? A Critick || assures, that *Herod* lov'd him better than any of his Children for the sake of his Brother *Phasaelus*. But who hath said this before him? Is a third *Herod*, *Cleopatra*'s Son, known? In a Word, it is not a wonder, that this *Herod*, *Mariamne*'s Son, that was disinherited, shou'd also bear the Name of *Philip*, to distinguish him from so many others of this Family. *Josephus* doth not say it; but he doth the same thing for *Herod Antipas*, whom he only calls *Herod* the Tetrarch, when he relates his Visit to his Brother, and took away his Wife from him. Nevertheless every body knows, that *Herod* the Tetrarch was also nam'd *Antipas*. *Josephus* was

* Ganz. Tsemach. David, *p.* 89. † Harduin de Num. *hath put* Ἀγριππᾶ *instead of* Ἀγριππᾶ; *and speaking of* Agrippa, *he says, the* Great Agrippa. || Montacut. App.

not unacquainted with it; ſince he calls him by that Name in other Places of his Hiſtory. He might then have ſaid nothing of the Name of *Philip*, as he did here of the Name of *Antipas*.

Let it be how it will, there was a third Son of *Herod* the Great, Nam'd *Philip*, *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*, and an honeſter Man, and more Fortunate than his Brothers. *Varus* ſent him to *Rome* to back *Archelaus*, whom the Deputies of *Judæa* had a mind to turn out of the Government. But his aim, when he undertook that Voyage, was to obtain it for himſelf, in caſe his Brother loſt it. But he cou'd never obtain of *Auguſtus*, but the little Tetrarchat which his Father left him, where he liv'd quietly. Some make him a marry'd Man, and ſay that his Wife's Name was *Salome*, but this is a Fiction, and he dy'd without Iſſue. *Joſephus* * fixes his Death in the 20*th* Year of *Tiberius*; but this is a Fault, that is crept into the Text ſince the Latin Tranſlation. For he plac'd it in the 22*d* Year of this Emperour, which agrees with the 37 Years, that *Joſephus* ſays *Philip* rul'd in his Tetrarchat, which was given him by *Auguſtus* but in the 43*d* Year of his Reign. His Tetrarchat did not return to his Brothers, as is uſual where there is a Right of Inheritance.

§. 6. *Conjectures concerning* Agrippa.

1. Herod Agrippa *the Great.* 2. Agrippa *II.* 3. Berenice.

XX. *Agrippa* mention'd in the New-Teſtament was Grand Son to *Herod* the Great by *Mariamne*. His Father *Ariſtobulus* Marry'd *Berenice* his Couſin German. I can't imagine why a famous † Commentator on the *Acts* of the Apoſtles makes her a Daughter of *Herod*. For She was this Princes Niece by *Salome* his Siſter, who was ſo remarkable for her Cruelties and Infamies. For She ruin'd her Son in Law, and was the cauſe of his Death, being angry that he envy'd his Brother's good Fortune, and had ſpoken ſlightingly of her. *Agrippa* was left a Minor under the Tuition of his Mother, who took care of his Education; and kept in with *Salome*, altho' She contributed to her Husband's Death. She went to *Rome* to maintain her Son's Right before *Auguſtus*, and was eſteem'd by him. She contracted a Friendſhip with *Antonia*, Old *Druſus* his Wife; and this Intimacy was the cauſe of her Son's Promotion. All theſe matters of Fact appear unqueſtionable, when we read *Joſephus*. But a Genealogy hath lately been publiſh'd of *Herod's* Family, and particularly of *Agrippa's* Branch, which contradicts all the Notions that we had hitherto of it. As this Genealogy, which wholly alters the Hiſtory of thoſe Princes, is invented by an Ingenious and Learned Critick, it is requiſite that we ſhou'd examine it, that we may know the Perſons before we begin their Hiſtory. For it wou'd not be fair to deprive the Reader of what is moſt material in this new Genealogy; and altho' I prefer the common Opinion, yet it is juſt, that I ſhou'd conceal nothing from him, that he may be at Liberty to embrace that Opinion, which he ſhall think beſt grounded.

This Critick maintains, that *Herod Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, is the ſame *Agrippa*, I have juſt now ſaid was Son to *Ariſtobulus*, and Grandſon to *Herod*. || "The "Holy Writers, ſays he, never ſpeak of *Agrippa*. "However, as this Name was better known than "that of *Herod*, ſince we find it in ſome Medals, "they had not forgot it, or preferr'd another to it, "had it exiſted in their time. So that it was intro-"duc'd in Holy Writ, for two Reaſons. Firſt, that "the Reign of *Herod* the Tetrarch may not be too "much prolong'd; and this Reign is conſiderably "ſhorten'd by ſubſtituting his Nephew in his room. "Secondly, As it was obſerv'd, that there were "two *Agrippa's* in *Herod*'s Family, in one of whoſe "Reigns *Jeruſalem* was taken; that this firſt *Agrippa* "might be the more conveniently plac'd, a Son of "*Ariſtobulus* hath been ſuppos'd, to whom ſeveral "things in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles are aſcrib'd, "altho' he cou'd have no hand in them ſince he never "was in being. It was the ſame *Herod* the Tetrarch "before whom Chriſt appear'd, who impriſon'd "St. *Peter*, perſecuted the Church to pleaſe the Jews, "and dy'd a ſhort time after, being ſmitten by an An-"gel; becauſe he was well pleas'd with the Acclama-"tions of the People, that cry'd out the *Voice of a God.*

He ſays farther, that *Herod* the Tetrarch, whom without any Grounds he calls *Agrippa*, did not profeſs the Religion of *Moſes*: That he went up every Year to *Jeruſalem* at the Feſtival of the Paſſover, as a great many Heathens did; who went out of *Galilee* to worſhip one God. For as they were Platoniſts, they eaſily acknowledg'd the Unity of God: That if he perſecuted the Church, it was not upon a Religious Motive, but *to pleaſe the Jews*. He wou'd have done it out of a Zeal for the Law, had he believ'd it of Divine Inſtitution; but being *a cunning Fox*, he only acted out of Complaiſance to the *Jews*. For he was a Heathen: He pretends that *Pagan* Religion hinder'd him too from Marrying *Herodias*, whom he had not taken by force from his Brother during his Life, as is commonly thought. For the Greek word ‖‖ of the New-Teſtament ſignifies a Woman, that is *become free*, by her Husband's Death: That to take away a Prince's Wife is an unprecedented thing; that the Jews being the only People, that had the Privilege to marry their Brother's Widows; *John* the *Baptiſt* was in the right to upbraid *Herod* with this Marriage, ſince he was a *Pagan*; that he liv'd at *Cæſarea*, and his Place of Abode ſhews his Religion and Heatheniſm. For his Father built this City only for the uſe of the *Romans*, who had a Garriſon in it.

Laſtly, This *Herod* the Tetrarch, continues he, never rul'd in *Judæa*. For *Galilee* fell to his Share; and the Perſecution, which he begun againſt the Church at *Jeruſalem*, ought not to be objected, as if he had been King of that Place, ſince the Hiſtory of the Acts ſays, that this Perſecution was rais'd againſt *ſome of the Church*, that is, againſt ſome *Galileans*, whom he had arreſted. Thus what the generality of Hiſtorians aſcribe to *Agrippa*, this Critick aſcribes it to *Herod* the Tetrarch. Let us now ſee how he deſcribes his own *Agrippa*.

XXI. *Agrippa*, ſays he, was not Son to *Ariſtobulus*, or to *Herod* the Great, as is commonly believ'd. But he was deſcended from *Herod Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, or rather from his Brother *Philip*. This Prince dying a Year before Chriſt, left *Julius Agrippa* too Young to take Poſſeſſion of the Government. *Herod* the *Tetrarch* Marry'd *Herodias*, that he might both become Husband to the Lady that he lov'd, and Guardian to his Nephew, and thereby Maſter of all the Provinces that were ſubject to him. But dying ten Years * after his Brother, he left his Pupil too young to ſucceed his Father and Uncle: But nine Years after, in the Year of our Lord 51, the Emperour *Clau-*

* Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 18. *c.* 6. *p.* 625. † Cornel. à Lapide. in Acta 25. 13. *p.* 363. ‖ Harduin de Numm. Herod. paſſim.
‖‖ Γυναῖκα * An. 42.

dius

dius gave him all their Dominions. He re-united *Galilee*, whereof *Herod* had been Tetrarch, to *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*, which belong'd to his Father; and tho' his Kingdom was but ſmall, he yet aſſum'd the Title of *Great King*. He took even advantage of the troubles in the Reign of *Nero*, to coin Money without the Figure of the Prince; but *Veſpaſian* puniſh'd him for it, and ſoon reduc'd and humbl'd him.

It was before this *Agrippa* I. that St. *Paul* pleaded his Cauſe; and in his Reign that *Jeruſalem* was taken by the *Romans*. He was a Heathen, ſince we ſee in one of his Medals a Creſcent, which is the Symbol of *Venus*, with a horn of Plenty; but we muſt not think it ſtrange, that he is well acquainted with the Rites of the Jews, and that he preſſes St. *Paul* to talk to him of the Meſſiah. For the Heathens expected that King of the Univerſe, fortold by the Prophets, and went often to worſhip in the Temple, without loading themſelves with the burden of Ceremonies, which they thought uſeleſs, or worſhipping Chriſt, whoſe Croſs was Folly to them.

XXII. This Prince liv'd after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* till the Year 79; at leaſt it is likely that he dy'd at that time, ſince we find none of his Medals after that. He reign'd 29 Years, and *Philo* was in the wrong to make him rule 30 Years. He is guilty of a groſſer Fault; For he affirms, that he was the laſt *Agrippa* deſcended from *Herod*'s Family; whereas he left a Son who bore his Father's Name, and preſerv'd the Title of King, tho' his Kingdom is unknown. For *Galilee* was taken away from him, ſince it is not found in his Medals; as neither *Judæa*, nor *Samaria* in thoſe of his Father's; and as we diſcover in the ſame Medals a *Pavillion*, or Tent, there is ſome ground to believe, that he was only a Commander of *Roman* Troops in *Judæa*. For a Tent denotes his Office of General. It may perhaps be pretended, that this Tent denotes the Feaſt of the Tabernacles; and that the Ears of Corn in the Reverſe repreſent that of the Unleaven'd Bread and Pentecoſt: But that wou'd be abſurd; for the City of *Cæſarea* ſtamp'd alſo a Medal for *Alexander Severus*, with three Ears of Corn in it, that cannot be apply'd to theſe Feſtivals.

XIII. *Agrippa* II. dying in the firſt Year of *Trajan*, left a Daughter call'd *Berenice*, to whom this Prince reſtor'd *Galilee* and *Ituræa*, which her Father cou'd never obtain. The *Athenians* therefore, who ſtamp'd a Medal for this Princeſs, call her,

Julia Berenice, *Great Queen, Daughter to King* Agrippa, *Deſcended from the Great Kings Benefactors to this City.*

And the Royal Family of the *Herods* ended in her.

CHAP. III.

A Continuation of the ſame Subject.

A Refutation of what is ſaid of Agrippa *the* I. *and* II. *and of* Berenice. *Their Birth, Religion, and the Extent of their Kingdom.*

I. *Agrippa* I. *is not* Herod Antipas. II. *Proofs, that confirm it.* III. *From* Strabo. IV. *From* Euſebius *and St.* Jerome. V. *Three Medals produc'd by* Harduin. VI. *St.* Luke *explain'd.* VII. Philo *and* Juſtin Martyr *examin'd.* VIII. *He was not* Philip *the* Tetrarch's *Son.* IX. *Whether he was a Heathen.* X. *The* Herods *that were Heathens differ'd from* Agrippa. XI. *His Perſecution of the Church.* XII. *Whether he Marry'd* Herodias. *That Marriage explain'd.* XIII. *The Extent of his Kingdom.* XIV. *A Diſpute againſt* Herod *the* Tetrarch. XV. *His Dominions augmented by* Claudius. XVI. *He becomes King of* Judæa. XVII. *He was Vaſſal to the* Romans. XVIII. Judæa, *reduc'd into a Province after his Death.* XIX. Agrippa *the Second's Years exploded.* XX. *Whether he was a Heathen.* XXI. *Whether he was only a* Roman *General.* XXII. *Proofs that he never was King of* Jeruſalem. *His Authority over the Temple.* XXIII. *The Death of St.* James *examin'd.* XXIV. *His Love for the Jews.* XXV. *The Calumnies which the* Tyrians *invented againſt him. His Strongs-holds beſieg'd. He is at the Siege of* Jeruſalem. XXVI. *The Duration of his Reign. A Fault of* Euſebius. *Some things to be clear'd about the time of his Death.* XXVII. *He liv'd till the 49th Year of our Lord.* XXVIII. *A difficulty taken from ſome Medals.* XXIX. Berenice *a Queen.* XXX. *Proofs, that She was* Agrippa's *Siſter.* XXXI. *Her Devotion, and Love for the Jews.* XXXII. Herod's *Houſe was not deſtroy'd by a Judgment of God.* XXXIII. *Three Conſiderations on the Royal Power of that Family.*

Herod Agrippa *Surnam'd the* GREAT.

§. 1. *His Birth.*

1. THe new Conjectures concerning *Agrippa*, mention'd in the preceeding Chapter, oblige us to examine three things in his Life, *viz.* his Birth, his Religion, and his Kingdom.

Firſt, we ought not to make him a Son of *Herod* the Great, or to confound him with *Herod* Tetrarch of *Galilee*; becauſe they were two very different Perſons. The Tetrarch's Mother was a *Samaritan* of mean Extraction, who never thought to go up to *Rome* to make her Court, and get into the *Emperour*'s Favour. Whereas *Agrippa*'s Mother was *Berenice*, Niece to *Herod* the Great, who contributed very much to her Son's Fortune, by the Means of *Antonia*, *Druſus*, and the Emperour *Claudius* his Mother, with whom She was very intimate: *Herodias*, Famous for her Elopement, had marry'd the Tetrarch, and through her Ambition, and Jealouſy againſt *Agrippa*, ruin'd her Husband. Whereas *Agrippa*'s Wife was *Cypros*, a generous Woman, who lov'd him intirely, ſacrifit'd all for the ſake of her Husband, and mortgag'd her Eſtate to ſupply his prodigious Expences. It may be objected, that an Impoſtor relates theſe things. But how had he invented them without any Reaſon or Neceſſity? Why had he ſubſtituted a falſe *Agrippa*, and diſguis'd the true *Herod*? For what reaſon doth he name his Mother, and Wife, and diſtinguiſh their Actions? The Impoſtor, who ſaw an *Agrippa* in the Hiſtory of the Jews, had no need to recur to all theſe Fabulous Events, which might have betray'd him. It was enough that he ſpoke of his Perſon, without ſpeaking ſo confidently of his Alliances.

Had it not been more eaſy for him to have prolong'd *Herod* the Tetrarch's Life and Reign, than to have ſubſtituted, upon his bare Authority, a Man that never had a Being? *Joſephus* is rejected as a diſguis'd Im-

Impoſtor. But that is not ſufficient. For we can't admit of this Accuſation, unleſs it be back'd by either ſolid, or probable Arguments, which are wanting here. His Romance muſt at leaſt be very old, and have been begun even in *Tiberius*'s Time, when the Events were freſh and preſent.

2. And indeed *Joſephus* is not the only Writer that ſpeaks of them. For St. *Luke*, who writ * the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, diſtinguiſhes two *Herods*; one a Tetrarch, and the other King of *Jeruſalem*. Nay, he ſpeaks of the Tetrarch, after he hath ſpoken of the King. So that we muſt confeſs, that there were two Men of that Name, of different Characters and Dignities. The Tetrarch, with whom *Manaen* was brought up, deſpis'd Chriſt, when *Pilate* ſent him to that Prince, who perſecuted the Church at *Jeruſalem*. This King was our *Herod Agrippa*. *Dio* deſcribes him, when he ſays, † *That* Agrippa *was Grand-ſon to* Herod; *that* Tiberius *put him in Priſon*; *and that* Caligula *gave him his Grand-father's Kingdom*. Nothing can better agree with what *Joſephus* relates.

3. *Strabo* ‖ agrees alſo with him. For Firſt, he makes *Anthony* and *Auguſtus* give *Herod* the Great the Title of *King*, and ſpeaks of his Misfortune in his Family; ſince he ſays, that part of his Children periſh'd by his Order, and the Reſt divided his Eſtate. Secondly, He mentions a *Berenice*, Daughter to *Salomé*, who was honour'd by the Emperour; and ſhe is that Mother of *Agrippa*, whereof we have already ſpoken. Thirdly, Inſtead of calling *Herod*'s Children Kings, he only calls them Tetrarchs, and obſerves, as well as *Joſephus*, that they had much a-do to obtain the Tetrarchat. Fourthly, He ſays, that *Archelaus* dy'd among the *Allobroges*, and ſo doth *Joſephus*. Fifthly, Theſe Hiſtorians only differ concerning the Death of *Herod* the Tetrarch; who, ſays *Strabo*, obtain'd, with much a-do, to be recall'd Home, whereas he dy'd in Exile, and had only the Liberty to go into *Spain*. However this Conformity between the *Pagan* and *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian is a full Vindication of the laſt. The great Difference which we obſerve between *Herod* and *Agrippa*, conſiſts in the Title of King, which this laſt obtain'd of *Claudius*, and the other never had. This Difference is clearly expreſs'd by *Strabo*, ſince he *only* makes Herod *a* Tetrarch, *who had much a-do to obtain that Dignity*; whereas *Caligula* and *Claudius* prevented *Agrippa*'s Requeſts, heap'd many Favours upon him, and made him really a King.

4. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerome* are two other Witneſſes |‖‖| of what we aſſert. Their Teſtimony will perhaps be recus'd; becauſe they have not always ſpoken accurately on this Subject. But their Ignorance of ſome particular Matters of Fact, doth not hinder their living in the IV. Century, and agreeing with *Joſephus* in the controverted Articles. The Hiſtory of *Joſephus* muſt then have falſly been aſcrib'd to this *Jew* before the IV. Century, and much before too; ſince what he relates came to *Euſebius*, and St. *Jerome*'s Knowledge, and was even known to *Strabo*, who liv'd in *Tiberius* his Time. The greateſt Fault that *Euſebius* hath committed in this Matter, and which is adopted by St. *Jerome*, is, That he was deceiv'd by the Term of Tetrarch. For he believed, that this Title being given to *Herod*'s Children, denoted, that his Kingdom was divided into four Parts; and therefore he reckons four Sons Heirs to this Prince, adding *Lyſanias* to thoſe we have mention'd; becauſe that *Lyſanias* was alſo Tetrarch, and that his Tetrarchat was given to *Agrippa*. He is alſo miſtaken in the *Chronology* of theſe Princes, as if *Herod* had not taken Poſſeſſion of *Galilee*, till *Archelaus* was baniſh'd. We take notice of theſe Faults of *Euſebius*, that it may not be thought, that we blindly follow him. He is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Agrippa* was *Herod*'s Son; for he only was his Grand-ſon. He makes him go up to *Rome*, and *Scaliger* ſays the ſame thing upon his Authority; whereas he ſent thither an Ambaſſador. It was not properly to accuſe his Uncle, but to oppoſe his having the Title of King, which the other pretended to obtain: He was not caſt; for he had his Uncle baniſh'd, inſtead of being clap'd in Priſon. In a Word, *Euſebius* is in the wrong about the Time of this Event. But tho' he is miſtaken in the Circumſtances, yet his Narrative is in the main true. For *Herod* and *Agrippa*, both the Uncle and Nephew, according to him, were ſo different Perſons, that they had a Law-ſuit at *Rome*, before the Emperour, wherein *Agrippa* accus'd his Uncle of ſeveral Crimes, as of having been in *Sejanus*'s Conſpiracy, and made a good Proviſion of Arms. Two Men, who plead ſo warmly againſt one another, can never be one Perſon. *Euſebius* obſerves beſides, that *Caligula* freed *Agrippa* from his Shackles and Priſon, *and ſent him to be King of the* Jews. This Expreſſion is not exact, for he was not immediately King, but he became one afterwards. However it is very natural to call a Man by the moſt honourable Title he ever had. Let it be what it will, *Euſebius* agrees with *Joſephus* concerning *Agrippa*'s Priſon. In a Word, *Euſebius* allows but ſeven Years to *Agrippa*'s Reign, and *Joſephus* reckons no more, and gives him too a Son, call'd *Agrippa* II. ſo that, tho' they vary in ſome things, they agree in the main.

5. Father *Harduin*, who draws moſt of his Arguments from Medals and Inſcriptions, produces Three which cannot be explain'd but by *Joſephus* his Hiſtory. In the Inſcription diſcovered in the Iſland of *Cos*, *Philo* declares, that he honours *Herod the* Tetrarch *his Gueſt*, *his Friend*, *Son to King Herod*. Here is a Diſtinction of Dignities. The Father is *King*, and the Son only a Tetrarch. 2. *Herod* himſelf cauſing a Medal to be made for *Caligula*, takes only the Title of Tetrarch. However there is a ſecond Medal in Honour of *Claudius*, wherein *a King* Herod, *and Friend to Claudius* is ſeen. 3. There is a Third, wherein theſe Words are read, *The Great King* Agrippa, Claudius *his Friend*. Theſe Medals are eaſily explain'd by our Opinion. For *Herod* the *Tetrarch* is ſeen there, who to flatter *Caligula*, and obtain from him the Title of King, cauſes a Medal to be made in his Honour; but he never calls himſelf *King*, becauſe he never was one, and is diſtinguiſh'd by that from his Father. Whereas in the ſame Medals *two Kings*, *Friends to Claudius*, are ſeen, one was *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, and the other his Brother *Agrippa*, who, having both receiv'd their Crowns from this Prince, ſhew'd thereby their Gratitude and Affection to him. Father *Harduin* is in the wrong, to ſay that the Kingdom of *Chalcis* was not conſiderable enough, to warrant the Prince, that ſway'd its Scepter, calling himſelf *Claudius*'s *Friend*. For this Civil Term only ſhews, that his Gratitude was grounded upon his Friendſhip; and *Philo*, who was but a private Man, in the ſame Senſe ſtyl'd himſelf *Herod* the *Tetrarch*'s *Friend*. However, without examining the Extent of this Kingdom, which was really confin'd within a Valley. *Dion* * aſſures, that *Claudius* had conferr'd on this *Herod*, the Honour of the Pretorſhip, a Right *to come into the Senate*, *and the Privilege to thank the Senators in* Greek. Theſe diſtinguiſhing Marks of Favour, were more than ſufficient to warrant his calling himſelf *Claudius his Friend*. Three different

* Acts 12. 1. & 13. 1. Hieron. Chron. p. 159.
† Dio Caſſ. l. 59. p. 74.
* Dio Hiſtor. l. 60. p. 770.
‖ Strabo Geogr. l. 16. p. 884.
|‖‖| Euſebius, Chron. p. 190.

Perſons are diſtinguiſh'd in theſe three Monuments, who differ both in their Names and Qualities. 1. *Herod* the Tetrarch, who never was a King. 2. *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, *Claudius* his Friend; becauſe he had beſtow'd that Kingdom upon him. 3. *Agrippa*, better known to the Emperour, under that Name, than that of *Herod*, who was *Great King*, *and* Claudius *his Friend*; becauſe the Emperour had been particularly kind and bountiful to his Family.

But if we admit Father *Harduin*'s Genealogy, we muſt make *Herod* a new King, altho' he never was but a Tetrarch. We muſt prolong his Life to the third Year of *Claudius*, notwithſtanding he was baniſhed, and dead in *Caligula*'s Reign. We muſt annihilate *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, *Agrippa*'s Brother: In a Word, we muſt place *Agrippa*'s Preferment in the 51ſt Year of Jeſus Chriſt, a long time after his Father's, and Uncle's Death. Thoſe that make this Alteration, muſt needs be mightily puzl'd, and their Plan agrees neither with *Dion*, whom we have quoted, nor with the Genealogies of the *Herods*.

6. The ſtrongeſt Argument alledg'd by this Father, to transform *Agrippa* into *Herod*, is, That the Holy Pen-men only ſpeak of *Herod*, and never call him either *Antipas*, or *Agrippa*.

He makes it a Point of Religion, to ſpeak exactly as they do, to baniſh *Antipas* and *Agrippa*, and to acknowledge in all the Hiſtory of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* but one *Herod*, who was a Tetrarch. I am very glad to find a Man, whoſe Religion levels Tradition with the Scripture, afraid to deviate from Holy Writ, and even ſcrupulouſly to ſtick to proper Names. But we have Reaſon to ſuſpect the Reſpect that is ſhew'd the Apoſtles for bare Names; when the Perſons that pretend to ſhew it, either add, or receive ſeveral Tenets, that are added to their Writings. For their Difference doth not proceed from a real Deſign, to follow exactly the Apoſtles, but rather to father their Whims and Conjectures upon them. Father *Harduin* muſt acknowledge two Things; One, that the *Jews* had often two Names; Thoſe that wou'd deny it, muſt contradict ſeveral Matters of Fact. For *Alexander*, old *Hircanus*'s Son, was call'd *Jannæus*; *Hircanus*, *John*; and *Onias*, *Menelaus*; St. *Matthew* was alſo nam'd *Levi*; and *Simon*, *Cephas*. Theſe two Names are often put together; but ſometimes they are put ſingle, and moſt of thoſe that ſpeak of *Alexander Jannæus*, give him but one of his Names. For People are only exact, when they think it abſolutely neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the Perſons they mention. The two *Herods* in Queſtion, had each two Names: The Uncle, who was *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, was call'd *Herod Antipas*; and the Nephew who became a King, and a *Great King*, was call'd *Herod Agrippa*. He bore the Name of his Family, and being a long time at *Rome*, he took another Name, that was very famous in that City. He was better known in *Judæa*, by the Name of his Family, and in *Rome* by that of *Agrippa*. St. *Luke*, who writ but a ſhort Epitomy, and ſpoke but once of this *Herod*, did not trouble himſelf to ſet down his two Names. Is not this a very common thing among Hiſtorians? He gives him the Name of his Family, which was ſo odious to the Chriſtians, for the Maſſacre of the Children of *Bethlehem*, and for his Uncle's inſulting Carriage to Jeſus Chriſt.

Neither can Father *Harduin* deny, but that the Name of *Julia* was receiv'd into *Agrippa*'s Family. For he himſelf produces a *Greek* Inſcription, wherein *Berenice* is call'd *Julia Berenice*. Nevertheleſs, St. *Luke*, who ſpoke of that Princeſs, doth not give her that Name. Shall we conclude from thence, that there never was a *Julia Berenice*, and that either this Lady never had a Being, or that ſhe ought to be confounded with another; becauſe St. *Luke* doth not call her by her two Names, and eſpecially by a Name that was ingrav'd in Marble and Stone, (*viz.*) the Name of *Julia*? Shall we ſcruple to deviate from the Apoſtles, and ſay that the Inſcription at *Athens* is falſe; becauſe we ſee in it a *Julia Berenice*, unknown to St. *Luke*, who only calls her *Berenice*, when he introduces St. *Paul* ſpeaking before her Brother *Agrippa* II?

7. It is beſides pretended, That *Philo Judæus* had already confounded *Agrippa* I. with *Herod* the Tetrarch; becauſe, when he reckons the Kings of that Race, he places at their Head *Herod* the Great, *Archelaus*, *Herod*, who reign'd 42 Years, in whoſe Reign he was ſent to *Rome*; *and laſtly* Agrippa, *who was the laſt of all.* But every Body is now convinc'd, that *Annius* of *Viterbo*, compos'd this Book, Entitul'd, † *Of the Times*, and adorn'd it with the Name of *Philo*; ſo that what he ſays goes for nothing. Beſides this Impoſtor is groſly miſtaken in the Succeſſion of theſe Princes; ſince he hath rather preferr'd *Euſebius* to *Joſephus*, for the Years of their Reigns, and the Deputation of *Philo*, who cou'd not go to *Rome* to be plac'd before *Caligula*, in the Year 781; becauſe he was not as yet Emperour. Nevertheleſs, to keep up *Philo*'s Character, he ought to have ſaid, that *Agrippa* was the laſt King; ſince that *Jew*, who was ſeventy Years old, when he was deputed to *Rome*, ſaw afterwards no other Chief of his Nation. For *Agrippa* out-liv'd him, and *Agrippa* II. never was King of the *Jews*. ‖ *Juſtin Martyr* is alſo quoted to little purpoſe. For this Father did not confound our *Agrippa* with *Herod* the Tetrarch, and his Fault lies in making this Tetrarch Heir to his Brother *Archelaus* in the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; becauſe *Pilate* did him the Honour to ſend him Jeſus Chriſt, when he was in that City, to celebrate the Paſſover. So that we find nothing either among Impoſtors (for this Critick pretends, that *Juſtin Martyr*'s Works are ſuppos'd, as well as thoſe of *Joſephus*) or in the Sacred Writers, who are the only that his Severity hath hitherto ſpar'd, to warrant his Alteration of the Genealogy of the *Herods*.

8. To conclude, he cannot make *Agrippa* a Son of *Philip*, unleſs he will pretend his Conjecture to be ſelf-evident. For it doth not appear, by any Place of either genuine or ſpurious Hiſtories, that this third Son of *Herod* left any Children. So that he muſt be acknowledg'd a Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and deſcended from *Mariamne*, that illuſtrious Sprig of the Family of the *Aſmonæans*: And therefore he boldly affirms, * "That *Jeruſalem* is his native Country; "that his Grand-father, and Great Grand-father "were Kings of it; and that even ſome of them "had been Chief-Prieſts, a Dignity which they valu-"ed more than the other; becauſe the Chief-Prieſt-"hood is as much above the Crown, as God is above "Man. None of *Herod*'s Family was ever High-Prieſt in *Jeruſalem*. Nay there was but one King there of that Race. Durſt then *Agrippa* writing to his Maſter lye ſo boldly, and reckon among his Anceſtors ſo many Kings, and ſo many Chief-Prieſts too, altho' not one of them had enjoy'd the Prieſthood? What he ſays is true indeed, if, inſtead of making him a Son to *Philip*, or confounding him with the Tetrarch of *Galilee*, we acknowledge, that he was deſcended from the *Aſmonæans*, by *Mariamne* his Grand-Mother, whereas his Words were nothing but Lyes, if he was *Philip*'s Son, or *Herod* the Tetrarch.

† Jedidæus de Temporibus. ‖ Juſtin. Dial. p. 331. * Agrippæ Ep. apud Philon. de leg. p. 796.

§. 2.

§. 2. *His Religion.*

9. WE ſhall not inſiſt ſo long on the Religion of the *Agrippa's*, as we have done on their Birth. Father *Harduin* makes of all theſe *Herods* ſo many Heathens: * "*Plato*'s Diſciples, who only "went up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip one God accord- "ing to their Maſter's Doctrine, without obſerving "the Ceremonies of the Jewiſh Religion, which they "thought uſeleſs. This is prov'd by two Places of "Scripture: one teaches that *Herod* begun to perſe- "cute *certain of the Church, and ſeeing that it pleaſed the* "*Jews, he apprehended St.* Peter. It was not out of a re- "ligious Zeal, that *Herod* became a Perſecutor; but "becauſe he had a mind *to pleaſe the People*; as *Pilate*, "who finding no Crime in Chriſt, yet had him "Crucify'd upon the ſame Motive. Beſides St. *John* reproach'd this *Herod*, that it was not lawful for him to marry *his Brother*'s Widow, becauſe being a Heathen he cou'd not enjoy a Privilege which God had only granted to the Jews.

10. We can't deny but ſome *Herods* were *Pagans*, ſince an Inſcription was found in the *Appian* way, which hath the undoubted Marks of *Paganiſm*.

Herod *hath Conſecrated to you this Holy Ground:*

Ὑμῖν γὲ Ἡρῳδὴς ἱερὴν ἀνὰ χαῖαν ἔϊκε.

But this name was common among the *Parthians*, *Palmyreni*, in *Syria*, at *Rome* and *Athens*. Not only *Joſephus*, but alſo *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Philoſtratus*, *Trebellius Pollio*, *Appianus*, *Juſtin*, *A. Gellius* have mention'd it †, and a Greek might have left this Monument of his Devotion in *Italy*. So that there is no neceſſity to aſcribe it either to the *Herods*, or to *Agrippa*. *Joſephus* ‖ maintains, that this Prince was ſo devout, that he never miſs'd a day without Offering ſome Sacrifices in the Temple, in imitation of that Emperour, who thought a day loſt wherein he had not oblig'd ſome body. He was alſo a ſtrict Obſerver of the Cuſtoms of his Anceſtors. Father *Harduin*, will no doubt reject *Joſephus*'s Authority; but will he too reject ‖‖‖‖ *Petronius* his Letter to the Inhabitants of *Dor*, whereof we have a Copy? Theſe, who inhabited a little City in the Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, ſituate on the Sea-ſide, had plac'd one of the Emperour's Statues in their Synagogue. It was a dangerous thing to oppoſe this; becauſe Princes, who are jealous of this Honour, do not trouble their Heads whether it be an Infringement of a Foreign Religion. This Action ſtir'd up *Agrippa*'s Zeal, who believ'd his Religion loſt by it. He writ about it to the Governour of *Syria*, who favourably receiv'd his Complaints, and remonſtrated the thing at large, to the Inhabitants of *Dor*. There can't be a greater and more Authentick Argument of *Agrippa*'s Religion and Piety, who run the risk of diſobliging his Benefactor by following the Dictates of his Conſcience. Will he alſo refuſe a Letter * of the ſame *Agrippa* to the Emperour *Cajus*, which *Philo* hath preſerv'd? He draws his own Picture in that Letter, and he pleads for the Jews, and ſhews a great Zeal for the Cuſtoms of his Anceſtors, and the Church wherein he was brought up. Wou'd not one think this enough to prove, that *Agrippa* was a Jew; that he never was a Heathen; and that what is offer'd to prove him a Pagan, is only grounded upon too very frivolous Conjectures?

11. It is true, that *Herod* Perſecuted St. *Peter to pleaſe* the Jews. His Zeal proceeded from a Human Motive, but doth it follow from thence, that he was a Heathen? Is it ſo rare a thing for a Man to perform the Duties of his Religion upon ſome Criminal motives of Ambition, and vain Glory; and a deſire to get the Applauſe of the Clergy and People? A certain Prince, who is a Perſecutor, is accus'd of having acted upon theſe Principles. Father *Harduin* and his Aſſociates have had as great a hand in the Barbarities committed in the laſt Century, as the Phariſees and the People had in *Agrippa*'s Cruelty. He had a mind to pleaſe them; and yet can it be ſaid, that he is a *Lutheran*, or a *Calviniſt*? Beſides St. *Luke*'s Words are diſtorted to make room for a falſe Inference. This Holy Hiſtorian diſtinguiſhes two degrees in *Herod Agrippa*'s Perſecution; the Beginning, and the Continuation of it. He began of himſelf to perſecute the Church, and put St. *James* to Death of his own head; ---- But when he ſaw that the People reliſh'd the Torments of the Saints, he caus'd St. *Peter* to be ſeiz'd, that he might pleaſe them with another Barbarous Execution. St. *Luke* obſerves diſtinctly theſe two things. So that this Critick muſt ſay, that *Agrippa* was a Jew when he put St. *James* to Death; and that he became a Heathen, when he committed St. *Peter* to Priſon; ſince it was then that *he deſign'd to pleaſe*, and that it is this deſign of *pleaſing* which he looks upon as an Argument of *Paganiſm*.

12. *Herodias* her Marriage is a more odd proof of *Herod's* being a Heathen. It is deny'd that this Prince took her away from his Brother the Tetrarch; becauſe this attempt wou'd have made a great Noiſe. But this Objection is of no Force againſt us; ſince we maintain, that *Herodias* left but a private Man, who had neither Power nor Authority enough to make War. It may be ſaid, that *Clovis* the Great, the *French* Hero, was born in ſuch a Wedlock. His Mother *Baſina* was a King of *Thuringia*'s Wife, at whoſe Court *Childeric* took Sanctuary. She went into *France* to follow her Lover, who marry'd her, notwithſtanding her Husband, whom ſhe had forſaken, was then alive. It is true, that Father *le Cointe*, jealous of *Clovis*'s Glory, acts here the ſame part as Father *Harduin*. He runs down *Aimoin*, who relates this Fact, as this runs down *Joſephus*, who relates the other. He quotes a German Law againſt Adultery, mention'd by *Tacitus*, as this inſiſts on the Law of *Moſes*. In another ſenſe, he pretends that *Childeric* did not marry *Baſina*, but after the King of *Thuringia*'s Death, as this ſays that *Herod* marry'd his Brother's Widow. In a word, the Arguments of both run upon Conjectures. But is that enough to be believ'd? It is certain, that the King of *Thuringia* did not declare War againſt *Childeric*, as *Herodias* her Husband did not againſt his Brother; and indeed ſuch Women deſerve to be deſpis'd, and that their Husbands ſhou'd think themſelves happy to be rid of them. Thoſe *Menelaus's*, that run after *Helena's*, are incorrigible Fools. So that it is evident, that *Herodias* was taken away from her Husband. Let us examine whether *Herod* was a Heathen.

Father *Harduin* ſuppoſes, that *John* the *Baptiſt* gave himſelf the trouble to make ſome Exhortations to a *Pagan* King; which is repugnant to the Oeconomy of thoſe times, wherein the calling of the Gentiles was not as yet begun. What intereſt cou'd *John* the *Baptiſt* have, to condemn a Marriage allow'd by the Law, and not exclaim againſt the Idolatry of this Prince,

* Harduin, *p.* 55. † Cicero Ep. Plut. in vita Anton. Philoſt. vit. Sophiſt. *l.* 1. *p.* 536. Trebell. de Trig. Tyran. *c.* 15. Appian in Syria, *p.* 83. ‖ Joſeph. Antiq. *l.* 19. *c.* 7. p. 577. ‖‖‖‖ Petron. Ep. apud Joſ. ibid. *c.* 6. *p.* 575. * Agrippa Ep. apud Philon. de Legat. *p.* 697. *&c.*

which was a more enormous Crime. Did he intend to save *Herod*? But that was not the way to begin his Conversion. He shou'd rather have first induc'd the Tetrarch to have forsaken Idols and the *Pagan* Religion, than *Herodias*. Farther, who hath told him, that the Heathens were more forbid, than the Jews, marrying their Brother's Widows; and that what was lawful for some, was for others a Crime, which deserv'd Eternal Damnation, and so severe a Reproof, that it occasion'd the Martyrdom of the Person that made it? *John* the *Baptist* was in the right to condemn *Herod*, who kept an Adultéress; and *Herodias*, to fear the Dissolution of so impure a Marriage, if it be true as we assert, that she was Wife to *Herod*'s Brother, and had elop'd from her Husband. But if she had done nothing, but what was every day practis'd among the Jews, and authoriz'd by their Law, then *John* the *Baptist*'s Zeal was Impertinent, *Herodias*'s Fear groundless, and *Herod*'s Fury against the Preacher ridiculous. Besides granting, that what Father *Harduin* supposes be true, yet that doth not concern *Agrippa*, whose Sister *Herodias* was, but never his Wife.

§. 3. *The Extent of his Kingdom.*

13. FAther *Harduin* finds a great many Difficulties every where. We have seen *Agrippa*'s Religion, let us now examin the extent of his Kingdom, his dependance during his Life; and the Homages he was forc'd to pay to the Emperours.

Agrippa was Educated in *Rome*, where he omitted nothing to insinuate himself into the favour of *Drusus*, Son to *Tiberius*, and presumptive Heir to the Empire. But his sudden Death blasted all his hopes. He ruin'd himself to please *Drusus*, and after this Prince's Death, he was forc'd to withdraw from Court, to borrow Vast summs of Money in order to return thither; and the success of this was at first a troublesome Prison. He seem'd to wish *Tiberius*'s Death, and *Caligula*'s Promotion; and that was sufficient to exasperate a Prince, jealous to the highest degree, who kept him Prisoner as long as he liv'd. *Caligula* remember'd that *Agrippa* had suffer'd for his sake, and after he had set him at liberty, put a Diadem upon his Head, gave him the Tetrarchat vacant by his Uncle's Death, added to it that of a certain *Lysanias*, and of these two made a Kingdom. This is the *Lysanias* whom *Eusebius* * makes Heir to a fourth part of *Herod* the Great's Succession, as if he had been his fourth Son. He quotes *Josephus* for his Voucher; but this second mistake is more visible than the first. For *Josephus* says nothing like it. *Lysanias* was Tetrarch of *Abylene*, when *John* the *Baptist* begun his Ministry. His Lands were re-united to the Demesns of the Empire after his Death. But *Caligula* made a Present of them to *Agrippa*. Thus the Tetrarchats of *Lysanias* and *Philip*, re-united in *Agrippa* with the title of King, were the first Steps of his Preferment; or if you will, his first Kingdom under *Caligula*, which he enjoy'd seven Years.

14. *Herod* the Tetrarch, who had a mind to be a King as well as his Nephew, and was prompted by his Wife's Jealousy, went to *Rome* to beg a Crown. Being banish'd upon his Nephew's Accusations, the same *Caligula* gave *Galilee*, and *Herod*'s Tetrarchat to *Agrippa*, and this was the second Step of his Elevation. He made a good use of his Prosperity, and forgot neither his Religion, nor Country. For *Caligula* having order'd, that his Statue shou'd be plac'd in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and sent *Petronius* in *Judæa* to oblige the People, by the fear of his Arms, to receive it; *Aristobulus*, *Agrippa*'s Brother, not only appear'd at the Head of the Deputation to the Governour of *Syria*, who was already upon his March with his Army; but also *Agrippa* spoke generously to *Caligula*, and when he might have ask'd him any thing else to aggrandize himself, he only besought the Emperour to repeal the Edict *concerning the Statue*, which *Caligula* cou'd not refuse him. Our Critick denies this, because it affords another Argument to prove, that *Agrippa* was a Jew; and he says that *Caligula cou'd not require to be ador'd as a God, since the Senate had not even declar'd him an Emperour.* It is in vain to alledge *Josephus* † against him, since he will not acknowledge his Authority. And therefore I will otherwise prove both his Reasons to be false. 1. *Caligula* was call'd *Augustus*, and Father *Harduin* hath publish'd some Inscriptions, one done by *Herod* the Tetrarch in Honour of

Cajus Cæsar Germanicus Augustus.

So that *Caligula* stil'd himself *Augustus* and *Cæsar*. He declar'd himself Emperour, and supposing that the Senate had not consented to it, it is enough that this Prince appropriated to himself all the Rights and Honours of the Empire, or receiv'd them from the Tributary Princes of the Empire. 2. *Tacitus* ‖ relates too, that *Caligula wou'd have his Statue in the Temple, which oblig'd the Jews to take up Arms.* Thus the second Fact, which *Harduin* questions, is prov'd by a *Pagan* Author, unless he will also pretend that *Tacitus*'s History is spurious.

15. The Emperour *Claudius*, who had a great kindness for *Agrippa*, enlarg'd considerably his Kingdom: For *Agrippa* advis'd him to despise the Remonstrances of the Senate, that endeavour'd to hinder him from Seizing upon the Empire; and *Claudius* thought himself oblig'd to acknowledge a seasonable Counsel given him at the time that the Proceedings of the Senate stagger'd all his Friends. Father *Harduin* laughs at a Foreign Prince, deputed by the Senate of *Rome* to advise *Claudius*, when he was as yet unresolv'd what to do; and he reckons this as one of *Josephus*'s ‖‖ Fables. But it is not enough to deny this Fact. For he cannot oppose any thing certain to out-weigh *Josephus*'s Authority.

16. The Senate was mightily puzl'd after *Caligula*'s Death. Some absconded; others caball'd for themselves. They differ'd in their Opinions, as it happens in unexpected Interregnums, especially where there seems as yet some shadows of Liberty, and means left to recover it. The Senate being inform'd, that *Agrippa* made a considerable Figure in the rising Court of *Claudius*, summon'd him before them. He appear'd, spoke, and had himself nam'd among the Deputies of the Senate, as being a Friend of *Claudius*, that had a great influence over him. I see here nothing but what is usual, when People are puzl'd and wavering between hope and despair: For then they make use of every thing, that may determine the Party they design to seduce, or perswade; and *Agrippa* being remarkable for his Parts and the Favour of the new Prince was not to be over-look'd at that juncture. *Claudius* rewarded him for his advice, (which confirm'd him in his Resolution to seize upon the Empire,) and gave him *Judæa* and *Samaria*. Thus he was restor'd to his Grand-Father's Kingdom. He truely became *a Great King*, and therefore he takes this Title but in the Medals, which he Stamp'd in *Claudius* his Reign.

16. He had no Authority in *Jerusalem*, whilst *Ca-*

* Euseb. Hist. *l.* 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 27. † Joseph. *l.* 18. *c.* 11. *p.* 643. Hard. ibid. ‖ Tacit. Hist. *l.* 5. ‖‖ Joseph. Ant. *l.* 19. *c.* 3. *p.* 671.

ligula

ligula liv'd, and when this Emperour wou'd have his Statue ſet up in the Temple. For then inſtead of oppoſing this Novelty in his Kingdom, he acted as a Supplicant for the Jews. But he was Maſter of *Jeruſalem* under *Claudius*, not only becauſe *Joſephus* affirms it; but becauſe *Dio*, who cannot be ſuſpected, ſays too, that he enjoy'd his *Grand Father's Kingdom*, whereof *Jeruſalem* and *Samaria* were the beſt part. In a word, it appears by the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles, that he ſhew'd his Authority in that City by his Perſecution of the Chriſtians there. Perſecution ſeem'd Hereditary in that Family, and this Prince wou'd not degenerate.

Aſcalonita necat pueros; Antipa Johannem;
Agrippas Jacobum, mittitque in carcere Petrum.

Father *Harduin* ſays, that he only perſecuted ſome Apoſtles, as St. *James* and St. *Peter*, who being *Galileans*, were every where under his Juriſdiction. But, 1. He forgets, that St. *Luke* doth not only name St. *James* and St. *Peter*; *but certain of the Church.* Were all theſe Holy Men who were perſecuted by *Agrippa*, *Platoniſts* as well as he, and Originally *Galileans*? Why will Father *Harduin* have none of them Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, or of ſome other Towns of *Judæa*? He ſuppoſes that his Perſecution was confin'd to two Apoſtles, but St. *Luke* ſays the contrary. 2. It is not true that the *Galileans* depended upon *Agrippa*, in whatever Country they were. Princes cannot exerciſe their Juriſdiction over their Subjects, but in their own Dominions. *Pilate* ſent Chriſt to *Herod* the Tetrarch only to honour him; and this Prince was ſo ſurpriz'd with that Civility, that he was reconcil'd with the *Roman* Governour, and therefore the Evangeliſt ſays that *they became Friends.* 3. *Herod* would have put Chriſt to Death, whilſt he preach'd in *Galilee*; but he was adviſ'd to remove to another Place to avoid Perſecution. But he did not dare to condemn him in *Jeruſalem*; and inſtead of uſing his Authority againſt Chriſt, he ſent him back to his proper Judge. But *Agrippa* ſpeaks, and acts as having the ſupream Power. He orders the Head of one Apoſtle to be cut off. He claps another in Priſon; and when St. *Peter* was miraculouſly reſcu'd from his Fury, he puniſhes with the utmoſt ſeverity the Guards that he had ſet over him. Were all theſe Guards *Galileans*, and under the Tetrarch's Juriſdiction? Some of them might be Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, or of the Neighbourhood: And yet *Herod Agrippa* puniſhes them all alike, and plainly demonſtrated that he had a power of Life and Death in *Jeruſalem* as well as in *Galilee*.

This Prince and *Great King* was however Vaſſal to the *Roman* Emperours. For he enjoy'd his Territories only by the liberality of *Caligula* and *Cladius*, who rewarded him for his Affection to them. So that his Kingdom was but their Bounty. He was Heir to none of his Uncles, and he cou'd not take poſſeſſion of any of their Tetrarchats before he had Patents from the Emperours for that purpoſe. Notwithſtanding *Agrippa*'s credit with *Claudius*, as ſoon as this Emperour was inform'd, that he was rebuilding the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, he commanded him to leave off his Undertaking, which brought his Loyalty in queſtion; and he was forc'd to obey. In fine, *Marſus* Governour of *Syria*, coming to *Berytus*, where there was a great Congreſs of Kings, to viſit *Agrippa*, this Prince was oblig'd to go out of the City, a great way to receive him, *in order to obſerve the reſpect due to the Romans.* *Joſephus*, * a Hiſtorian very jealous of the Glory of his Nation, relates this. *Marſus* perform'd another act of Authority. For fearing the Union of theſe Princes, he order'd them to ſeparate, which was a great Mortification to *Agrippa*. But he was forc'd to bear it patiently; It cannot be doubted, but the Greateſt Kings of *Judæa* were Vaſſals, ſince they gave way to the *Roman* Governours.

2. *AGRIPPA* II.

18. *Agrippa* dy'd † ſoon after this Congreſs. For God inflicted an exemplary Puniſhment upon him; becauſe he heard with too much complacency the Acclamations of the People, which, charm'd with his Majeſty and Eloquence, cry'd out, *The Voice of a God.* God, who hath often tolerated much greater Impieties in *Pagan* Princes, cou'd not bear this in a Jew, who own'd his Being and Unity. He left an only Son of 17 Years of Age, and call'd by his Name. *Euſebius* ‖ affirms, that *Claudius* gave him his Father's Kingdom. On the contrary, *Tacitus* ‖‖ maintains that *Judæa* was added to the Government of *Syria*, *Judæa Syriæ addita.* But they are both miſtaken. For *Claudius* had a mind to make *Agrippa* II. ſucceed his Father, but his Miniſters finding him too Young to govern a Kingdom ſo ready to revolt, and full of different Factions, perſwaded him to alter his Reſolution; and *Agrippa* II. never enjoy'd the whole Kingdom. Beſides *Judæa* * was not annex'd to *Syria*; but was made a Province, that depended upon the Emperour, unleſs you will ſay that the Governours of *Judæa* were under the Governours of *Syria.* This was a new degree of dependence more heavy, to be wholly ſubject to Idolatrous Governours, whoſe Covetouſneſs and Extorſions oblig'd at laſt this wretched Nation to take up Arms.

19. The Jews relate, that *Agrippa* II. hearing theſe words of *Deuteronomy* read, † *Thou mayeſt not ſet a Stranger over thee, which is not thy Brother*, wept bitterly; becauſe he thought himſelf thereby excluded from the Crown. But the Jews, who ſaw him all in Tears, and lov'd him, cry'd out, *Fear not, O* Agrippa, *thou art our Brother.* Some apply this to *Agrippa* I. but the *Rabbins*, and moſt Chriſtians, with leſs Senſe and Reaſon, aſcribe this to the Son. And indeed one is puzl'd to gueſs, how this Scruple came into *Agrippa*'s Head, ſince his Great Grand Father was already a Jew. Criticks are very nice in their Inquiries how the Jews cou'd anſwer *Agrippa*, that he was their Brother; and they obſerve, that according to the conſtant Maxim of the *Talmudiſts* ‖, *the Mothers give their Children a Right to the Covenant of God, and the Honour of being a Jew.* Conſonant to this Maxim, they pretend, that *Ariſtobulus* was a Jew, ſince he was deſcended from *Mariamne*. But *Agrippa* the firſt had not the ſame advantage, ſince *Berenice* his Mother was *Salome*'s Daughter, and Grand Daughter to one *Cypros* an *Arabian* Lady. To conclude, *Agrippa* II. was happier than his Father, for he marry'd a Grand Daughter of *Mariamne*, who therefore was by Birth a Jew. So that he was a Brother to the Jews. How many Niceties to no purpoſe! The Maxim of the *Talmudiſts* is falſe. For moſt of the old Kings of *Judæa* came from Idolatrous Women, and *Rehoboam*, *Solomon's* Succeſſor, was one of theſe. To proceed, *Salome*, *Herod* the Great's Siſter, was a Proſelyte, or rather a Jew born as well as he. Her Daughter *Berenice* was ſo much the more ſo too; and *Agrippa* I. who ſprung from that Wedlock, cou'd not be look'd upon as a Foreigner. Neither is it likely that *Agrippa* II. ever doubted of

* Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 19. *c.* 7. *p.* 677. † An. Ch. 44. Claud. 4. Æt 54. *after he had Reign'd in* Ituræa, *&c.* 7 *Years*; *in* Galilee 4 *Years*, *in* Jeruſalem 3 *Years*. ‖ Euſeb. Chron. *p.* 160. ‖‖ Tacit. Ann. 12. *p.* 155. * Joſeph. Ibid. *p.* 680. † Deut. 17. 15. ‖ V. Seld. de Jure Nat. *l.* 5. *c.* 22. *p.* 690.

his

his Birth. Whence cou'd he frame that doubt; ſince he ought to know his own Mother? His Tears were only invented by the Jews, Enemies to the Family of the *Herods*, and who were only well affected to the laſt of that Race; becauſe he was mightily concern'd at their Misfortunes. And this conjecture is ſo much the better grounded, becauſe *Agrippa* II. cou'd not ſhed Tears, by reaſon that he was incapacitated from governing that Kingdom. For it was not in the Power of the Jews to give it, and they receiv'd for their King whoſoever was ſent to them from *Rome*. The *Roman* Emperour never gave *Agrippa* II. either *Jeruſalem*, or *Judæa*, why then had he cry'd for a Kingdom, which he had not?

20. It appears, at leaſt by this Relation, that the Jews always believ'd, that *Agrippa* was of their Religion; and indeed St. *Paul*, * who pleaded his Cauſe before him, teſtify'd of him, *that he was expert in all the Queſtions and Cuſtoms which were among the Jews.* Beſides he ſpeaks *of our Twelve Tribes, and of the hope of our Father:* So that he ſpoke to this Prince as being of the ſame Religion. In a Word, St. *Paul* tells him, *King* Agrippa, *believeſt thou in the Prophets, I know that thou believeſt.* And he believed in them ſo much, that he became almoſt a Chriſtian. It was, ſays *Baronius*, the Jealouſy of an Evil Spirit, that prevented his Converſion, by inducing the King to break up abruptly the Company. God wou'd not have it ſo; and the conqueſt of an Inceſtuous Perſon, who had his Siſter *Berenice* upon the Tribunal with him, had not done the Church ſo much Honour, as *Baronius*, who is fond of Crowns, believ'd. Nevertheleſs ſome deny, that he was a Jew, and make him too a Pagan, upon the ſcore of a Medal which he ſtamp'd, and bears the Figure of a Woman with a Creſcent, which is the Image of *Venus*, holding a Horn of Plenty, becauſe She is the Goddeſs of Generations. But this Medal doth not prove what is alledg'd. For without taking notice that the Chriſtians have often borrow'd ſome Symbolical Figures from the Heathens, without embracing their Religion; the Horn of Plenty denotes there *Judæa*, which the ſame *Agrippa* repreſented by three Ears of Corn in other Medals, publiſh'd by Father *Harduin*; and the Woman that holds this Horn, hath a Creſcent upon her Head to repreſent the Moon, which for ſo many Ages was thought to have a great influence over Harveſt, and the Fertility of the Earth. So that this innocent Symbol is not a mark of Paganiſm, able to weigh down St. *Paul*'s Teſtimony.

21. Father *Harduin* will no more allow him his Kingdom, than his Religion and Siſter; and he makes him a *Roman* General, with the Title of King without a Kingdom. But we muſt obſerve four things. 1. *Agrippa* had no Kingdom till his Uncle the King of *Chalcis* his Death, which happen'd the 48*th* Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*. *Baronius* plac'd in the ſame Year the beginning of *Agrippa* II. his Reign. But a learned Critick hath convinc'd him of a miſtake † by ſhewing, that the Kingdom of *Chalcis* was not given him till the next Year. *Chalcis* was a City and a Valley between *Mount Libanus* and *Antilibanus*. *Strabo* ſays ‖ that *Marſyas* was a ridge of Hills or Mountains, between which *Chalcis* was. But *Polybius* |||| makes it a Valley, and ſeems to be more in the right. 2. Four Years after * he was depriv'd of that Kingdom, by the ſame Emperour that had beſtow'd it upon him; but he amply † rewarded him for it, by confering upon him the Tetrarchat of his great Uncle *Philip*, and adding to it, that of *Lyſanias*. 3. *Nero* augmented that Kingdom with part of *Galilee*. He gave him *Tiberias*, and ſome Villages on the other ſide of *Jordan*. Such a Kingdom as this is not hard to be found, ‖ and thoſe that have a mind to ſee it, do not look out for it in vain. 4. We ought not now to think it ſtrange, that *Galilee* is not found in his Medals, as in thoſe of his Father; becauſe the Son had but part of it; whereas the Father enjoy'd it all.

22. However *Agrippa* never had a regal Power in *Jeruſalem*. St. *Paul*'s Proceſs is enough to prove it. It was begun before *Felix* Governour of *Judæa*; and it was he who order'd the Informations to be made, and ev'ry thing elſe; and had ſet him at Liberty, if the Chriſtians wou'd have laid down a Sum to redeem him. After *Felix* was recall'd, *Feſtus coming into the Province* as Governour of it, St. *Paul* was ſtill accus'd before him, who declar'd ||||, that he was before *Cæſar*'s *Tribunal*, and that he appeal'd to the Emperour. *Agrippa* came with his Siſter *Berenice* to pay his reſpects to the new Governour, who was ſo complaiſant as to give him an opportunity to hear St. *Paul*, altho' upon his Appeal the Caſe was tranſmitted to *Rome*; ſo that *Agrippa* ſtoop'd to the Governour, to whom he made his Court, and had no right to hear or judge thoſe that were accus'd upon the ſcore of Religion. The Jews who were St. *Paul*'s Adverſaries, durſt never have accus'd their King, if *Agrippa* had been ſo. Their Duty had oblig'd them to commence their Suit before him; beſides, they might ſooner expect, that he wou'd condemn a Man, who preach'd the Abolition of the Law, than a Pagan unacquainted with that Controverſy, and an Enemy to their Religion. So that they pleaded before *Feſtus* only becauſe they cou'd not avoid it, and that *Agrippa* had no Authority over them.

However he did four remarkable things, which ought not to be taken for Acts of Sovereignty. 1. He built in *Jeruſalem* a Palace, in the ſame Place where that of the *Aſmonæans* was formerly. It had a very fine Proſpect; for not only the City, but alſo *what was done in the Temple*, was ſeen from thence: This Edifice ſtirr'd up the Jews, who believ'd that their Myſteries and *Sacrifices* were profan'd, by being expos'd to View; and to prevent it, they built an high Wall, that hinder'd the ſight from the Palace. *Agrippa*, back'd with *Feſtus* the Governour's Authority, order'd the Wall to be pull'd down; but the Citizens having ſent ſome Deputies to *Nero*, this Emperour decreed, that it ſhou'd remain. It muſt not be concluded; becauſe *Agrippa* had a Palace in *Jeruſalem*, that he was King of that City, ſince his Authority was ſo inconſiderable there, that the People depriv'd him of the Proſpect of his Houſe, and he was oblig'd to comply with the Prince's Order in favour of the Bigots. 2. He had the Adminiſtration of the Temple, and a Right to appoint or depoſe the Chief Prieſts, which he did ſeveral times. This ſeems an Act of Sovereignty; but his Uncle *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, obtain'd this Privilege of *Claudius*, and had it continu'd in his Family. Now this King of *Chalcis* was very far from having the Supream Power in *Jeruſalem*. So that this Privilege is no Argument that *Agrippa* II. was King in that City. 3. *Agrippa* alter'd the Habit of the Singing Men, at leaſt he permitted them to leave off their uſual Garments, and wear Linen Cloaths as the Prieſts, and at the ſame time augmented their Number. For he allow'd part of the Levites, who were employ'd in the Temple, to learn to ſing as well as the others. He thought to have thereby ſignaliz'd his Adminiſtration; but he was miſtaken. For theſe Alterations ſcandaliz'd the People, who are not always well pleas'd with Innovations, in Religion. However the

* Acts. 26. † Pagi Crit. ad an. 48. ‖ Strabo Geogr. *l.* 16. |||| Polib. Hiſt. *l.* 5. *p.* 390. * An. 52. † Joſeph. *l.* 20. *c.* 5. *p.* 693. ‖ Id. *p.* 693. |||| Acts 24, & 5.

Jews

Jews were forc'd to bear with them, becauſe *Agrippa* depoſing the Cheif-Prieſts as he thought fit, had thereby a very great influence upon whatever concern'd the Temple and their Religion. Beſides they were very much oblig'd to him; becauſe he had obtain'd of *Claudius*, that the Prieſts ſhou'd have the Privilege to keep the Pontifical Robe, which was commonly kept in the Citadel, wherein there was a *Roman* Garriſon. As this Robe, which had the Breaſtplate adorn'd with twelve Pretious Stones, was look'd upon as a Pledge of the Loyalty of the Jews, who cou'd not without it Celebrate their moſt Solemn Acts of Worſhip, the *Romans* had often ſeiz'd upon and lock'd it up. But it was reſtor'd to them, when there was no fear of any Sedition among them. But *Fadus* Governour of *Judæa*, attempted in the Year 45. to take it away from them; They ſent Deputies to *Rome*, and young *Agrippa* who was there, back'd ſo well his Country-Mens Petition, that they return'd home pleas'd with their Succeſs. 4. In a word, he took care to make an end of the building of the Temple, and to add ſome new Buildings to it, and employ'd eighteen Thouſand Workmen upon it. He might have repair'd *Solomon*'s Gallery that was ready to fall down, but he durſt not, and put his Work-men upon paving the City. But *Agrippa* only executed *Claudius*'s Order, who had appointed him to take care of that work. Beſides whatſoever he did at *Jeruſalem** concern'd only the Temple and Religion; and can't be a ſufficient Argument that he was inveſted there with a Sovereign Power.

23. However he might ſtill be thought to have had the Supream Authority in *Jeruſalem*. For when the High-Prieſt *Ananus* had condemn'd St. *James* and ſome other Chriſtians to Death, the Jews, who did not approve that Action, ſent ſome Deputies both to this Prince and to *Albinus* Governour of *Judæa*, to complain of the Cruelty of this Prieſt, who was a *Sadducee*; and upon their information *Agrippa* depos'd him. But we need but obſerve how *Joſephus*† relates this particular, to be convinc'd, that *Agrippa* did not exerciſe a Royal Authority. For the Jews did two things. 1. They inform'd *Agrippa* of the High-Prieſt's Barbarity, and this Prince depriv'd him of the High-Prieſthood; This was in his Power; ſince he had Inherited of his Uncle the right of chuſing and depoſing the High-Preiſts. 2. The Governour of *Judæa* acted in another manner. For the Deputies repreſented to him, that *Ananus* had taken advantage of his abſence, and that the High-Prieſt had no Authority to put a Criminal to Death without his Approbation. *Albinus*, convinc'd of the extent of his own Power, threatn'd to puniſh the High-Prieſt, becauſe he had incroach'd upon it. So that they deſir'd *Agrippa* to depoſe him; becauſe that was his Province: But they repreſented to *Albinus*, that ſome Perſons accus'd were put to Death contrary to Law, becauſe it was done without his Knowledge and Licence. So that the Right of Life and Death belong'd to the Governour; becauſe he properly repreſented the Perſon of the Sovereign. *Joſephus* condemns this cruel Proceeding of the High-Prieſt, and aſſures at the ſame time, that thoſe whom he had put to Death *were convicted of Impiety*, or rather *of having tranſgreſs'd the Laws*. He did not look upon St. *James* as being Orthodox, or give the Chriſtian Religion a very honourable Teſtimony: But yet he was an Enemy to Perſecution, and gave another Inſtance of his Moderation, when two of King *Agrippa*'s Officers were in his own Government, and that the People wou'd force them to be Circumciſed, he ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it, becauſe he did not believe, that any body ought to be compell'd upon the account of Religion.

Hegeſippus relates quite otherwiſe the proceedings of *Ananus*, and of the Jews. But his Narrative is ſo Romantick, that tho' this Hiſtoriographer was a Chriſtian, I like as well the plain and natural Relation of the Jew. Some endeavour to find out what he meant by the queſtion, that was put to St. *James*; *What was the Gate of Chriſt? Valeſius*, who fancies that Repentance was the Gate of *John* the *Baptiſt*, and the Trinity, that of Chriſt, is too ſubtle; but it ought rather to be look'd upon as a Jewiſh Expreſſion frequent among the *Rabbins*, who often ſpeak of the Gate of Heaven, or of Life, and underſtand thereby the Explanation of a Doctrine. *The Gate* of Chriſt was then the Explication of the Chriſtian Religion. But this Subject is liable to greater Difficulties; and St. *James*'s Fall from the top of the Temple without being kill'd, is one of thoſe Prodigies, which we dare not believe upon the Authority of ſo credulous an Author as *Hegeſippus*. *Joſephus* only ſays, that St. *James* was ſton'd to Death, and that is much more likely; becauſe that Puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe that chang'd their Religion. But to return to *Agrippa*.

24. That Prince was Beneficent and Liberal. He had a particular kindneſs for the City of *Berytus*, a *Roman* Colony where his Father had built a Magnificent Amphitheatre, and laviſh'd away a vaſt ſum of Money. He was a zealous Lover of his Nation; and he did not ſide with the *Romans* againſt them, till they deſpis'd the Counſels he gave them to prevent their ruin. And indeed *Neapolitanus*, who was ſent into *Judæa*, finding this Prince at *Jamnia* with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, that came to congratulate him for his return from *Egypt*, went with them all to *Jeruſalem*, to endeavour to perſwade the People to their Obedience. *Agrippa* was ſo Pathetical in his Harangue to them, that they immediately built up again the Galleries, which joyn'd the Temple with the Citadel, and the Remainder of the Tribute due to the *Romans* was rais'd. But oppoſing the Deputation, which they intended to make, becauſe he expected no relief from *Nero*; and adviſing them, to obey *Florus*, and wait patiently till that cruel Governour was recall'd, the People fell into their old Ferment; and this Prince having withdrawn from them, the Mutineers knock'd on the Head the Garriſon of *Maſſada*, a Fortify'd Caſtle near *Jeruſalem*. They pull'd down both his, and *Berenice* his Siſter's Palaces, burnt the publick Records, that they might draw into their Party thoſe, whoſe Debts they cancell'd by this Conflagration. The Troops, that *Agrippa* left, retir'd into the upper part of the Palace, where they were Storm'd, and came out upon Capitulation. But as for the *Romans*, who reſiſted ſome days longer in three Towers, and had Capitulated to march out without Arms, they were on a Sabbath day Sacrific'd to the Fury of the People, and *Metilius*, who commanded them, was the only Man that eſcap'd; becauſe he ask'd Quarter, and promis'd to make himſelf a Jew.

Agrippa waiting upon *Ceſtius* at *Antioch*, they March'd from thence with a good body of Troops: In their March towards *Jeruſalem*, ſome of the Inhabitants of *Lydda* that remain'd in that Town, whilſt the reſt were gone to celebrate in the Temple, the Feaſt of the Tabernacles, were plunder'd, and kill'd. A Party of Rebels ſtop'd them at *Gabaon*, and fell ſo furiouſly upon them, that they ſtagger'd and almoſt routed the Army. But *Agrippa*, whoſe conſtant Inclination was for Peace, ſent ſome Propoſitions to the Rebels, which divided them, and gave *Ceſtius* time to drive and purſue them as far as *Jeruſalem*. He beſieg'd the City; but he was oblig'd to raiſe the Siege, and retire, being purſu'd by the Jews, who overtaking him beyond *Gabaon*, kill'd him four Thouſand

* Joſ. Ant. *p.* 699. † Joſ. Ant. *l.* 20. *p.* 698.

Foot,

Foot, and four hundred Horſe. They had intirely defeated his Army, had he not put a Trick upon them. For he put four hundred Men in *Bethoron* to cover his March, and theſe were all put to the Sword.

25. *Veſpaſian* being ſent * to repair *Feſtius* his Loſs, and reduce the Rebels, *Agrippa* went as far as *Antioch* to receive him, and with him to *Tyr*, where the Inhabitants of that City openly complain'd againſt him. They accuſed him of being an Enemy to the *Romans*, and favouring his Nation. They maintain'd, that *Philip* his General had betray'd the Citadel of *Antonia*, and left the Legions to the fury of the Rebels. *Veſpaſian* took no notice of theſe Complaints, ſilens'd thoſe Citizens, who had not a due Reſpect for a Loyal King, and receiv'd the Troops which this Prince brought him. He enter'd into *Galilee* with an Army of Sixty Thouſand Men, and there beſieg'd and took all the ſtrong Cities. *Joſephus*, who commanded in *Jotapata*, made a Vigorous Reſiſtance; and by his good Conduct defended the Place for a conſiderable time. *Tiberius* attempted to do the ſame thing; and to heighten their Rebellion, they beat an Officer, that came to offer them Terms of Peace. But they had not been long unpuniſh'd, had not *Agrippa*, to whom this City belong'd, obtain'd of *Veſpaſian* to demoliſh part of the Wall inſtead of putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword.

Gamala was another City belonging to *Agrippa*, ſituate on the other ſide of the *Jordan*, which a party of Rebels had ſeiz'd upon. This Prince had it beſieg'd by his own Troops, yet cou'd not take it. *Veſpaſian* went thither in Perſon with him to put an end to a Siege that had laſted Seven Months. Peace was offer'd to them, but to no purpoſe. *Agrippa* who came near the Walls to be a Mediator, was wounded with a Sling. *Veſpaſian* was there in great Danger, and his Troops who had forc'd their way into the Town, were driven out with Loſs. But a Tower falling, and the *Romans* taking advantage of a Tempeſtuous Wind, which added Strength to their Darts, they made themſelves Maſters of it; and kill'd Four Thouſand Perſons, including Children, that were not ſpar'd; beſides Five Thouſand who had precipitated themſelves, that they might not fall into the Enemy's hands.

To conclude, *Agrippa* was oblig'd † to ſend his Troops to the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, and to come there himſelf to attend *Titus*. This Prince was in a wretched State, to be forc'd not only to be Witneſs of, but alſo to contribute to the deſtruction of his Country-men, and of *Jeruſalem*, that rebell'd againſt the *Romans*. *Veſpaſian* was well pleas'd with his Services at that diſmal juncture, and his unſhaken Loyalty to the Empire. He therefore enlarg'd his Territories, and beſtow'd the Honour of the Prætorſhip upon him. This is mighty wide of what the Jews ſay, that *Veſpaſian* being oblig'd to return to *Rome* before the end of the War, and ſuſpecting that this Prince kept a Correſpondence with the Beſieg'd, put him and his Son *Monebat* to Death. This is a double Miſtake; for *Monebat* is a Name, that is not known; and beſides that *Agrippa* never had a Son, he ſurviv'd the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and liv'd in *Rome* with his Siſter, a little before *Veſpaſian*'s Death.

26. *Euſebius* believ'd that *Agrippa* the Second's Reign begun at his Father's Death, and ended at the ruin of *Jeruſalem*. And therefore he makes him reign Twenty Six Years, which cannot be reckon'd but ſince the Death of *Agrippa* I. and he maintains || that *Veſpaſian* after that clear'd *the Kingdom of thoſe Foreigners*. But he is miſtaken. For *Agrippa* was not a King till the Death of his Uncle *Herod* King of *Chalcis*. He never reign'd in *Jeruſalem*, and thus he loſt by the deſtruction of that City, but the Government of the Temple, and the right of naming the High-Prieſts. In a word, he ſurviv'd a long time the Ruin of his Country. *Agrippa* ſtamp'd a Medal for *Veſpaſian* after the taking of that City, which proves what we aſſert. For theſe Words are read upon it; *The Emperour* Veſpaſian, Cæſar, Judaicus, Elliacus, *in the Year* 21. *of* Agrippa. Thus Father *Pagi* ||| tranſlates this Medal, which he had read in Greek in *Uſher*. But this ſhews, that this excellent Critick did not underſtand Greek; and that we are not to depend upon the ableſt Men's Tranſlations. Every thing ſeem'd to warn him of his Fault. For he ſaw a Woman crying under a Palm Tree, which plainly repreſented *Judæa*, after it was conquer'd. He cou'd not gueſs, what the Title of *Elliacus*, given to *Veſpaſian*, meant. But he might have eaſily ſeen that there was in the Original, to *the Emperour* Veſpaſian *Cæſar*, after *the taking of* Judæa, in the Year 21. of *Agrippa*. This time of *Agrippa*'s Reign ſet down in a Medal, ſhews *Euſebius* his Fault. For if he had reign'd but 21 Years when *Jeruſalem* was taken, and if this ſame Reign laſted 26 Years, as *Euſebius* pretends, according to his Calculation, this Prince muſt have ſurviv'd the ruin of *Judæa*, and preſerv'd the Title of King five Years after it. *Euſebius* is alſo in the wrong to make him a Stranger, ſince his Father, and Grand-father were Jews.

People are puzl'd to fix the Year of his Death; and herein lies the difficulty. *Juſtus* of *Tiberias* writ the Hiſtory of the War of the Jews, whereof he was a Witneſs; and *Joſephus* accuſes him of having inſerted ſeveral Facts contrary to *Titus* his Memoirs, and of not daring to publiſh it but Twenty Years after he compos'd it, when *Titus* and *Agrippa*, who cou'd have convicted him of Falſhood, were dead. So that *Agrippa* muſt be dead, when *Joſephus* writ his Life, and as he dedicated it to *Epaphroditus*, *Nero*'s Favourite, whom *Domitian* put to Death the 95*th* Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*, it is concluded that *Agrippa* was dead ſome time before. Nevertheleſs the ſame *Juſtus* of *Tiberias* made a Chronicle of the Kings of *Judæa*, which ended at *Agrippa*'s Death. He ends it in the Third Year of *Trajan*. So that there is ſome ground to conclude, that *Agrippa* liv'd till that time, and *Photius* * poſitively ſays it. The Learned *Pearſon* †, back'd by a very able Diſciple, hath endeavour'd, by correcting the Text of *Photius*, to take off the difficulty; but it is agreed, that this Correction is falſe, and that the Name of *Titus* ſhou'd be there inſtead of that of *Veſpaſian*, which he puts in. But neither of theſe connections can ſubſiſt but by abridging the Hiſtory of *Juſtus* of *Tiberias*, as well as the Life of *Agrippa*, which is very inconvenient.

Medals do much intangle the matter. *Scaliger* || and the famous Mr. *Spanheim* have publiſh'd ſome, which not only make *Agrippa* reign Twenty Nine Years; but alſo repreſent the Face, and have the Name of *Domitian*, which makes ſome preſume that *Agrippa* liv'd under that Prince. In anſwer to this it is ſaid, that ſome Cities, to flatter *Agrippa*, anticipated the Years of his Reign, as *Euſebius* hath done, and reckon'd it from his Father's Death. According to this Calculation the Twenty Ninth Year of his Reign, wou'd fall in the 72*th* Year of Chriſt. But what reaſon cou'd ſome Cities have had, to make a Private Man a King, eſpecially ſince *Agrippa* never inherited his Father's Kingdom? As *Euſebius* did it only through Ignorance, the ſame thing ſhou'd alſo

* An. 67. † An. 70. || Euſeb. Chron. Gr. an. 71. *p.* 192. ||| Pagi Crit. an. 70. *p.* 67. Uſſer. an. *p.* 687. * Phot. Bibl. cod. 33. † Pearſon op. Poſth. & Dodwell: *p.* 173. || Scalig. Not. in Chron. Euſeb. *p.* 182. Spanheim de Præſt. Num. Diſſert. 9. *p.* 864. Dodwell Ibid.

be

be ſaid of the Cities that ſtamp'd theſe Medals, which cannot be done without raſhneſs. Beſides, this only ſolves half of the difficulty; ſince *Domitian* is ſeen on thoſe Antient Monuments. *Domitian* is indeed ſaid to be there repreſented very young, and had not the Title of *Auguſtus*. So that theſe Medals might have been ſtamp'd in his Father's and Brother's Reigns. But this is a miſtake. For without examining whether a Face ingraven on a Medal certainly denotes the Age of the Perſon, Father *Harduin* hath publiſh'd ſome other Medals of *Agrippa*, whereon *Domitian* is ſtil'd *Auguſtus*, which leaves us no room to doubt, but that he liv'd in his Reign.

27. Might it not be ſaid, that *Agrippa* II. did not die till the 94*th* Year of Chriſt, and the 14*th* of the Reign of *Domitian*? And indeed we are oblig'd to prolong to that time this Prince's Life; ſince we ſee a Medal where that Year is ſet down; and *Agrippa* ſtamp'd it to congratulate *Domitian*, who had that Year vanquiſh'd the *Parthians* and *Arabians*. This Emperour receiv'd a great many Congratulations upon the ſucceſs of his Arms; ſeveral Cities diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on that occaſion; and *Agrippa* did not forget to make his Court too. *Joſephus* might have publiſh'd his Life that Year, and dedicated it to *Nero*'s Favourite, who was not ſentenc'd to Death but the Year following. This agrees with his own Chronology. For having compos'd his Antiquities in the Year 93, he cou'd not take leſs than a Year to write *his Memoirs*; and in that interim *Agrippa* dy'd. So that he was oblig'd to ſpeak of him as of a Perſon deceas'd. There is no neceſſity to correct *Juſtus* of *Tiberias*. For he might have ended his Chronicle at the Death of *Agrippa*, which happen'd in 94. and yet have compleated his Work the third Year of *Trajan*, that is, four or five Years after. The Death of *Agrippa*, at which the Chronicle ends, is confounded with the Compoſition of the Work, which was compleated but ſome Years after. And indeed there is no reaſon to believe, that *Juſtus* made an end of his Work, juſt when *Agrippa* ended his Life. But that having ſpoken of theſe two things as of two different Periods of time, they were confounded together; and this commonly happens.

28. We muſt not however diſſemble an intricate Circumſtance that remains in Father *Harduin*'s Medals. It is fit that it ſhou'd be explain'd to induce the Criticks to make their Conjectures upon it. 1. One of theſe Medals, ſtamp'd the firſt Year of *Titus*, marks the 29*th* Year of the Reign of *Agrippa*. 2. There is another * ſtamp'd in the 6*th* Year of *Domitian*, wherein *Agrippa* reckons 26 Years *ex Senatus-conſulto*. 3. There are †, four others, wherein the Years of *Agrippa*'s Reign are reckon'd exactly as thoſe of *Domitian*. In one is a Pavilion with three Ears of Corn upon one Stalk, the common Symbol of the Fertility of *Judæa*; and in this five Years are found. The three Ears of Corn appear again upon another of the 6*th* Year, and upon another of the 9*th* Year; and in ſhort, Victory is ſeen on a Buckler the 14*th* Year of *Agrippa* and *Domitian*. This is the reaſon that ſome lengthen *Agrippa* the firſt's Life, till the beginning of the Empire of *Domitian*, that they might ſubſtitute to the firſt, another *Agrippa*, who was afterwards General of an Army, till the firſt or third Year of *Trajan*, at which time *Scaliger* and Mr. *Spanheim* place the Death of *Agrippa* Junior.

But ſince we have already ruin'd the Conjectures of theſe Criticks, we may add, that *Agrippa* had three Epocha's that differ'd from his Reign. The firſt, which cannot be queſtion'd, begun the 49*th* Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*; becauſe he was then made King of *Chalcis*. This Epoch agrees with the Medal ſtamp'd under *Veſpaſian*, which makes him reign 26 Years; and with that ſtamp'd three Years after under *Titus*, which makes him reign 29 Years in the 79*th* Year of our Lord.

The ſecond Medal, ſtamp'd under *Domitian*, cannot be ſo eaſily explain'd; becauſe, inſtead of increaſing the Years of *Agrippa*'s Reign, it leſſens and reduces them to the Number of Twenty Six, whereas they ſhou'd be Thirty Six. It might be ſuſpected, that there is a Λ in this Medal, which wou'd make up the number Thirty Six; and this doth not leſſen either the Learning, or Fidelity of the Gentleman that produces it, becauſe a Letter is often half worn out. There is but one part of the Letter ſeen, whereupon this Conjecture is grounded; and, as it cannot be fairly diſcern'd without a Microſcope, one may eaſily be miſtaken. There wou'd be no difficulty, was this Conjecture well grounded. For *Agrippa* had then reign'd Thirty Six Years. But without inſiſting upon this, *the Decree of the Senate*, *ex Senatus-conſulto*, which is ſtamp'd upon this Medal, ſhews, that *Agrippa* had receiv'd a particular favour from the Senate, and begun thence to reckon the Years of his Reign to pleaſe that Illuſtrious Body. I do not doubt but the Senate then confirm'd all the Donations made to him by *Claudius* and *Nero*. For notwithſtanding the Senate loſt a great deal of its Authority under looſe and tyrannical Princes, yet it preſerv'd part of it; and as *Auguſtus* conducted *Herod* the Great to the Capitol, that he might receive the Kingdom of *Judæa* from the Senate, *Agrippa* might have been confirm'd in it after the ſame manner. Be it what it will, this Term *ex Senatus-conſulto* denotes a particular Circumſtance of *Agrippa*'s Life. This puzzles even Father *Harduin*, who is oblig'd to invent I know not what Command, given him at that time in *Paleſtine*; but ſince this Command is only grounded upon Conjectures, and is altogether unknown; and that on the contrary *Agrippa*'s Crown is unqueſtionable, it is much more reaſonable to ſay, that the Senate ratify'd this Prince's Regal Power in *Galilee*, than to imagine a new Command, which no Hiſtorian hath mention'd. Thus *Caracalla*, who was nam'd *Cæſar* by *Severus* in the Year 197. waited till the next Year for the Decree of the Senate, before he wou'd take the Marks of the Imperial Dignity. If the Senate kept ſtill this Shadow of Authority in 197, it is not ſtrange, that it enjoy'd it in *Agrippa*'s time, and that this Prince ſtamps upon his Medals the Favour he receiv'd from that auguſt Aſſembly.

It is not hard to explain *Agrippa*'s reckoning the Years of his Reign from thoſe of *Domitian*'s Reign. For it was very uſual for Private Men and Cities, who deſign'd to flatter a Prince, to begin a new Epocha from the Date of his Acceſſion to the Empire. They thereby honour'd him, as if they only begun to be, and rule, when this new Prince aſcended the Throne. Thus *Herod* the *Tetrarch* dated the Years of his Adminiſtration from *Caligula*'s Reign; and thus the City of *Samaria* begun a new *Æra*, from the Reign of *Domitian*. The City of *Gaza* is ſuſpected to have begun a new *Epocha* at the time that *Adrian* paſs'd through it. *Agrippa* did the ſame thing. He begun again to reckon the Years of his Reign by thoſe of *Domitian*, ſo that it is no wonder, that in all thoſe Medals, which repreſent ſome Ears of Corn, and Victory, Six, and Fourteen Years are only given to this Prince; ſince he confounded the time of his Reign with that of the Emperour, whom he intended to Honour. If theſe Explanations are not convincing, I will gladly ſubmit to any that ſhall appear more plain. However it is certain, that *Agrippa* II. begun his Reign

* Chron. 86. † Harduin *p.* 18, &c.

in the Year 49. and dy'd the 94*th* Year of our Saviour, and that he never was King of all *Judæa*, which was what we had undertaken to prove.

3. *BERENICE.*

Great Queen, *in an Inscription of* Athens.

29. We shou'd be oblig'd to make here an end of the Catalogue of the Kings of the Jews, and of the Posterity of *Herod*, had not a new Queen, call'd *Berenice*, Daughter to *Agrippa* II. been discover'd, whom the *Athenians* stile in one of their Inscriptions, *Great Queen*, and whose Father dy'd but at the beginning of the Reign of *Trajan*. Were this Conjecture well grounded, it must be own'd, that the Kingdom subsisted in *Judæa* much longer than is commonly imagin'd.

I cann't guess, why *Eusebius*'s Chronicle is not quoted to strengthen this Opinion. For if on the one hand, he makes the Reign of the *Herods* end immediately after the taking of *Jerusalem*; on the other, he insinuates that *Agrippa* was *Berenice*'s Father. Then, says he *, dy'd Agrippa *King, and of* Berenice; her Father or Husband must be understood. St. *Chrysostome* understood the last, and yet *Agrippa* was neither. *Scaliger* is accus'd of having impos'd these Words upon *Eusebius*, which he had taken from the Chronicle of *Alexandria*; and it wou'd not be a surprizing thing, if the Author of this Chronicle, who is guilty of so many Mistakes, shou'd also be guilty of this. But whether this fault is charg'd to *Eusebius*, or to a more Modern Historian than he, it is still undoubtedly true, that *Berenice* was Sister to *Agrippa* II. with whom she is publickly accus'd to have committed Incest.

30. We will not quote *Josephus* to prove either of these Facts. For altho' he cou'd not be mistaken concerning Persons whom he knew very well, and was intimately acquainted with; yet he is recus'd as a suspected and ignorant Witness: And therefore we'll produce the Authority of Foreigners. *Xiphilinus*, who epitomiz'd *Dion Cassius*, calls † *Berenice Agrippa*'s Sister; and relates, that being come together to *Rome*, *Titus*, who was in Love with her, gave her an Appartment in his Palace, and was oblig'd to send her away to stifle the grumblings of the People, who were afraid lest a Jewish Woman shou'd ascend the Throne. So that *Berenice* was known in *Rome* for *Agrippa*'s Sister, and this is the Title, which the *Roman* Historians give her.

Juvenal confirms this, and even warrants the Accusation of Incest, which was laid to her Charge for so many Centuries, and is question'd at this time.

‖ *Deinde adamas notissimus, &* Berenices
In digito factus pretiosior, hunc dedit olim
Barbarus; Incestæ dedit hunc Agrippa Sorori.
Observant ubi festa mero pede Sabbata Reges,
Et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.

Father *Harduin* ‖‖ preingag'd his Readers upon this passage of *Juvenal*, when he work'd for the *Dauphin*. For he maintains, that this *Diamond* given to *Berenice*, was the Topaze mention'd by *Pliny*, which was sent to *Ptolemy Lagus* his Wife. But is it not evident, that *Juvenal* speaks of *Judæa*, *where the Sabbaths were celebrated, and People abstain'd from Swine's Flesh*? So that *Judæa* must be transform'd into *Egyyt* without any manner of reason, nay the Diamond set in a Ring, and worn, must be Metamorphos'd into so large and fine a Topaze, that a Statue of Four Foot high was made out of it, and set up in the Golden Temple. But this is not enough. For we must transform *Agrippa* the Jew into *Philemon* the Greek Governour of the Island *Topaze*. For it was he, who gave this Stone to *Berenice*, *Ptolemy*'s Wife; and yet *Juvenal* names *Agrippa*. Here are a great many Metamorphoses perform'd without any reason, or necessity. So that it is evident, that *Juvenal* accuses *Agrippa* of Incest with his Sister *Berenice*, and of having given her a Diamond Ring.

To avoid the Scandal of this Incest, *Agrippa* II. was oblig'd to marry her a second time. For she was first marry'd to his Uncle *Herod* King of *Chalcis*. But being weary of that Husband, she elop'd from him, and went to live with her own Brother, as she had done before. As for him, he took no other Wife; and those, who give him *Mariamne* for his Spouse, did not consider, that she was also his Sister, and that he bestow'd her on *Archelaus*, to whom she was betroth'd in his Father's time.

31. However *Berenice* pretended to a great deal of Piety. It is said, that Women who are inclin'd to be Kind, are the more prone to turn unto God: *Bereniee*, whose Passions were all strong, had her Hair cut, and went to pay her Vows at *Jerusalem*, with all the shows of Devotion, being mov'd with compassion for the Inhabitants of that City, who were barbarously us'd by *Florus*. She went bare Foot to sollicit a Relaxation of their Misery; but that Governour's Guards insolently repell'd her, and she narrowly escap'd being very ill used, pursuant to their Master's Orders against all those that attempted to speak with him. She afterwards apply'd her self to her Country Men, to endeavour to soften, and perswade them to return to their Obedience. But her Exhortations and Tears proving fruitless, she sided with the *Romans*; and thereby made her self odious to the Jews, who ravag'd her Territories. And indeed she was very Rich, and enjoy'd several large Towns in *Galilee*. *Josephus* drew from them a great quantity of Corn, and other Provisions for his Army. But she was rewarded for that Loss. For *Vespasian*, mollify'd by her Presents, found her so able a Woman, that he consulted her about State Affairs, and *Titus*, more charm'd with her Beauty, cou'd not be induc'd to forsake her. She flatter'd her self, that *Vespasian*'s Death wou'd give that Conquerour the Liberty to marry her. But *Titus* becoming Master of the Empire forgot his Amours, and private Pleasures. So that he sent her back to her Brother, unwilling to be any longer her Slave.

It is pretended, that she became Queen of *Judæa*, after *Agrippa* the Second's Death; because the *Athenians* call her *Great Queen*, *and* Agrippa's *Daughter*. But there is nothing extraordinary in this Attick Inscription, which Mr. *Spon* hath discover'd. For there is not one *Pagan* Historian, but gives her the Title of Queen. She was *Agrippa* the First's Daughter, as is seen in the Inscription. She was also a Queen, because she was Marry'd to *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, and afterwards to *Polemon* King of part of *Cilicia*, or *Pontus*. She preserv'd in her Widowhood the Title which she had during her Husband's Life. Besides, she made a Figure in the World considerable enough to be call'd *Great Queen* by those who intended to flatter her. The Greeks were not Niggards of their Praises, and the Wisest are apt to lavish them in the Publick Monuments they erect to some Persons. So that there was no Necessity, that she shou'd be Queen of *Galilee* to be call'd *Great Queen*. Besides, *Galilee*, being a Desart at that time,

* Eusеb. Chron. *p.* 192. Ὁ τῆς Βερενικῆς. in Plin. lib. 37. *c.* 8. *t.* 5. *p.* 392.

† Xiph. in Vespas. *p.* 222.

‖ Juv. Sat. 6. *v.* 156.

‖‖ Harduin

and

and ravag'd by the *Romans*, cou'd not be a great Kingdom. To conclude, she did not enjoy it, and the Inscription which is the only Proof alledg'd, is not enough to warrant that she had that Country, since neither the Title of Queen of *Galilee*, nor that Province are stamp'd upon her Medals, as upon those of *Agrippa* I. who was King of it.

The GENEALOGY *of the* Herods, *according to Father* Harduin, *confuted in the History of the Jews.*

Herod the Great, Ethnarch, and afterwards King of *Judæa* and *Samaria*; Originally of *Athens*; an Heathen; a Platonist and Saducee: He left Three Sons.

1. *Archelaus* King of *Judæa* and *Samaria*. Mat. 2. 22.

2. *Philip*, Tetrarch of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*, *Herodias*'s Husband, an Heathen, who left

Agrippa the Great, King of *Galilee*, *Ituræa*, &c. in whose time *Jerusalem* was taken. He was also an Heathen as the rest, and was marry'd to *Berenice*; *Acts* 25. He left

Julius Agrippa, the Emperour's Lieutenant, and General of the Imperial Troops, till towards the end of *Domitian*'s Reign. We see a Tent upon his Medals, and marks of Heathenism. He died the first Year of *Trajan*, leaving

Julia Berenice, the Great Queen. The City of *Athens* caus'd an Inscription to be Engraven in Memory of her Ancestors, who were Originally of it, and its Benefactors. She was the last Queen of the Jews.

3. *Herod* who was first Tetrarch of *Galilee*, and afterwards a *Great King*, Possessing *Philips*'s Tetrarchship, and designing to Marry *Herodias*'s Widow, an Heathen.

The GENEALOGY *of the* Herods *which is follow'd in the History of the Jews.*

ANtipas of *Ascalon*, where he was Servant to a Priest, being made Governour of *Idumæa* under *Alexander Jannæus*, embrac'd the Jewish Religion. He had a Son, call'd

Antipater, who govern'd *Judæa* under the Name of *Hircanus*, and at last made himself Master of it, being Supported by *Cæsar*. He had by an *Arabian* Wife, named *Cypros*, whom *Scaliger* makes a Jewish Proselyte, Three Children.

Phasælus, who commanded for some time at *Jerusalem*; but being treacherously deliver'd up to the King of the *Parthians* he killed himself.

Herod the Great, King of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, a Tributary to the Emperour, and a Jew.

He Married four Wives.

Salome, a passionate and loose Woman, who however kept up her Credit in *Herod*, exasperated him against his Children, and fill'd his House with Blood and Slaughter. Her Daughter was *Berenice*, the Mother of *Agrippa*.

1. *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Hircanus*, the only Person left of the House of the *Asmonæans*, and he put her to Death. She left

2. *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Simon*, whom he made High-Priest in order to obtain her. She had a Son.

3. *Maltace* a *Samaritan*. She left Two Sons.

4. *Cleopatra* of *Jerusalem*. Her Son was

Aristobulus, who died at the Instance of his Father, being accused with his Brother *Alexander*, of having conspir'd against him. 'Twas upon his account that *Augustus* said, he had rather be *Herod*'s Hog than his Son. He had married *Berenice* his Cousin German, by whom he left Three Children.

Herod Philippus, for he is known by these two Names. He had no share in his Father's Will by reason of his Mother, who was accus'd of conspiring against *Herod*, and divorc'd. He was Husband to *Herodias*.

1. *Archelaus* the Tetrarch of *Jerusalem*, who was never King. He was baniish'd and died in Exile.

2. *Herod Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*, to whom Christ was sent. He died in Exile.

Philip the Tetrarch of *Ituræa*.

1. *Agrippa* the Great, who was King of all *Judæa*, as his Grandfather. He was a Jew, zealous for his Religion, and a Persecuter of the Christians. He reign'd Seven Years, and died by the hand of an Angel. His generous Wife's Name was *Cypros*. He left

2. *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, the Friend of *Claudius*, and who obtain'd the Privilege of nominating and deposing the High Priest, and the Superintendency of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, tho' he was not King of it.

3. *Herodias*, who had her two Uncles *Herod Philip*, and afterwards *Herod Antipas* to her Husbands. She caused *John Baptist* to be Beheaded, and by her Ambition, occasion'd the Ruin of her Husband, who had stolen her.

1. *Agrippa* II. He was never King of *Jeruſalem*. He ſaw that City taken: Survived the Ruin of his Country, which he would have prevented by his Councels: He Died in the 94*th* Year of our Lord, and was the laſt King of the Jews.

2. *Berenice*, *Titus*'s Miſtreſs; Married to two Kings, and guilty of Inceſt with her Brother: The *Athenians* call her Great Queen in their Inſcription, becauſe ſhe was Married to two Kings.

We do not inſert in this Genealogy the other Branches of Herod's *Family, nor many Names which are not neceſſary to be known, in Order to underſtand their Hiſtory.*

32. Thus ended the Royal Family of the *Herods* in *Judæa*, after they had reign'd there above 130 Years. It is ſaid, that there was an exemplary Judgment of God upon them, as if this Family appear'd as a fine Flower for ſome time, which the Almighty lop'd off to puniſh their Crimes. But without excepting *Conſtantin*'s Family, there is hardly one that reign'd longer. Beſides the Kings of that Family out-liv'd their Kingdom, and the Nation was deſtroy'd whilſt *Agrippa* II. was as yet living in *Rome*. To conclude, *Herod*'s Family was not wholly extinguiſh'd. There were two powerful Branches of it remaining in *Armenia*. For *Herod* the Great * had two Sons by *Mariamne*; *Ariſtobulus*, from whom *Agrippa* I. and *Herod* King of *Chalcis* deſcended; and *Alexander* who had two Sons, *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, kill'd by *Tiberius*, and *Alexander*, who left *Tigranes* II. nam'd by *Nero* to ſucceed his Uncle. But this Branch of the *Aſmonæans*, deſcended from *Herod*, had two Misfortunes. One, that it forſook the Religion of its Anceſtors, and that being mix'd with Heathens it embrac'd their Religion; the other that it made a diſmal End. For young *Tigranes* was beaten by *Tiridates*, and forc'd to quit a Throne, which he cou'd not maintain. *Ariſtobulus*, Son to *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, was more Fortunate. For *Nero* plac'd him in the Leſſer *Armenia* with the Title of King, that he might help his Couſin, and ſome other Princes, to curb the *Parthians*. He maintain'd himſelf in the Kingdom that was beſtow'd upon him. Nay, he ſeems to have ſucceeded his Father; becauſe *Joſephus* calls him King of *Chalcis*. Some diſtinguiſh *Chalcis* and *Chalcide*, as being two different Countries; tho' near one another; and *Strabo* † ſeems to have done the ſame thing. But *Claudius* having depriv'd *Agrippa* of *Chalcis*, when he was in Favour, it is very likely, that he only did it, to give that Country to *Herod*'s Son, Couſin German to *Agrippa*. This *Ariſtobulus* even reign'd after the Conqueſts of *Titus*, and left Three Sons, *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Ariſtobulus*, whoſe Names *Joſephus* ‖ mentions only, becauſe he carried his Hiſtory no farther than the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. So that there is no reaſon to exclaim againſt a Family, that proſper'd for ſo long a time. The Jewiſh Nation had been happy, had they made uſe of *Agrippa*'s Advice.

33. We ſhou'd rather obſerve three things in the Reign of the *Herods*. 1. They cou'd not help the Fault of their Birth; they were by Religion Jews, and born in the Country. There is no reaſon to diſpute them theſe Advantages, by calling them as the *Talmudiſts*, and ſome Chriſtians after them do, *Proſelytes*, *Foreigners*, *Slaves*. It is certain that they Originally came from *Aſcalon*, or *Idumæa*, and were not deſcended from *Jacob*, or from the Antient Stock of the Jews. It is ſaid that *Herod* had a mind to burn the Genealogies, to hide his own. But this is not very likely. For after all the Books had been burnt, wou'd People have forgot that he came but lately into the Family of the *Aſmonæans*? Beſides, *Herod* had not ſo great a regard for the Jews, as to deſire to be deſcended from their Anceſtors; and he deriv'd his Right to the Crown, not from his Birth, but from his Valour, and the Donation of *Auguſtus*. It is then true, that the Oracle of *Jacob* drew nigh its accompliſhment; and that the Scepter, which ought to have been in the hands of his Poſterity, was wreſted from them to be given to another Family.

We muſt chiefly obſerve, that during our Saviour's Life, there was no King in *Judæa*. The Evangeliſts ſpeak ſo frequently of *Herod*'s Sons, as of ſo many Kings, that People are us'd to believe, that they were really Crown'd Heads. This is an old Errour, ſince *Euſebius*, who liv'd at *Cæſarea*, and copy'd ſome antient Monuments, fell into it. But it is nothing elſe but Inadvertency. For *Herod* the Great, who was truly a King, dy'd the ſame Year that Chriſt came into the World, after he had barbarouſly murder'd the Children of *Bethlehem*. His Son *Archelaus* never was a King, but only an Ethnarch; and after he had enjoy'd that Dignity Nine or Ten Years, he loſt it, left *Jeruſalem*, and all *Judæa*, under the Government of the *Romans*; and it was in that condition at our Saviour's Death. *Herod*'s other Sons were but Tetrarchs of *Ituræa* and *Galilee*, and had no Authority in the Territories of *Jeruſalem* and *Samaria*. *Agrippa* the Great reign'd but Three Years in *Jeruſalem*, God having ſtruck him by an Angel, and taken away his Life, to make an Example of him. Beſides *Jeſus Chriſt* dy'd under *Tiberius*, a long time before this Prince obtain'd the Kingdom of *Judæa* of *Claudius*. Kings diſappear'd at *Jeruſalem*, whilſt he who was ſo long expected there made his Entry, and the People ought to have been ſenſible, by the Bondage they groan'd under, that the Scepter was departed from *Judah*. To conclude, the Reign of the *Herods* was diſadvantagious to the Jewiſh Nation; becauſe having but a ſhadow of Authority, and always depending upon the *Roman* Emperours, who alter'd, put in, and depos'd theſe Kings as they pleas'd; they were oblig'd to keep the People in a ſervile Dependance. They were the Leeches, that ſuck'd the Blood of that poor Nation to enrich their Maſter's Favourites: They were oblig'd to build Cities and Cittadels, in Honour of their Benefactors, and to ſoften, by Preſents, and vaſt Sums, thoſe that ſeem'd exaſperated. Farther, they were to contribute to their Pleaſures, and Expences, and to bear the burden of the Crown, without enjoying the Advantages of it; ſince they ſtill groan'd under the *Roman Yoak*: However that was not the greateſt Misfortune of the Jews.

* Noldius de vit. & geſtis Herod. † Strabo lib. 16. ‖ Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 18. *c.* 7. *p.* 628.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Second Degree of the Ruin of the Jews.

The Corruption and Decay of the Jewiſh Church. The Power of the High Prieſts, and Kings.

I. *THE Law-giver, and Scepter taken away from* Judah. II. *The account which the* Talmudiſts *give of the Antient Government of* Judæa. III. *The Election of the King by the* Sanhedrim. IV. *They cou'd not chooſe a Foreigner.* V. *The Profeſſion, and Qualifications of thoſe that were to be Choſen.* VI. *The Anointing of Kings.* VII. *The Limits of their Power.* VIII. *The Right of Life and Death Examin'd.* IX. *The* Sanhedrim *had the Power to make War or Peace.* X. *They order'd the King to be whipp'd.* XI. *Several Divines that have adopted this Tradition.* XII. *A refutation of what hath been ſaid concerning the Election of Kings.* XIII. *Whether* Saul *was a King Elect. The true Origine of the Regal Power among the Jews.* XIV. *Remarks upon their Anointing, different from that of the* Rabbins. XV. *The Limits ſet to the Royal Authority, over-ſet.* XVI. David *and* Solomon *deſerv'd to be whipp'd.* XVII. *There was no Law, that enjoyn'd to whip Princes.* XVIII. *The Shame, that always attends that Puniſhment.* XIX. *The* Talmud *doth not enjoyn it.* Caſaubon's *Apology.* XX. *Why* Schickard *is refuted.* XXI. *Whether the King depended upon the High Prieſt.* XXII. *The Office of High Prieſt.* XXIII. *The true Authority of Kings.* XXIV. *They Reform'd the Church.* XXV. *They appointed Judges, and a Council.* XXVI. *They depos'd the High Prieſts.*

1. THE Oracle of *Jacob*, which threatn'd *Judah* with the loſs of his Scepter, and Legiſlator, when the Meſſiah ſhou'd appear, began to be accompliſh'd. *Herod* the Great, notwithſtanding, that he was a Jew both by Birth and Religion, was not of the old Stock of the *Iſraelites*, or of the Tribe of *Judah*, which alone had a Right to aſcend the Throne. There was no King in *Jeruſalem* when *Jeſus Chriſt* dy'd. The *Romans* were Maſters of *Judæa*, rais'd Taxes, ſent Intendants and Governours, and enjoy'd there all the Rights of the Crown: In fine, *Jeruſalem* was deſtroy'd, and the Scepter wholly taken away from that Nation.

The ſame Decay is obſerv'd in the Prieſthood: *The Law-giver was departing from between the Feet of* Judah. But that was done by degrees, and this Sacred Dignity, weaken'd by the depoſition of thoſe that enjoy'd it, was intirely aboliſh'd. The Oracles of the Prophets have their degrees of accompliſhment; So that the Explanation of them ought not to be fix'd to a certain Moment, as Interpreters do. We have ſeen the Sovereignty of the Jews moulder away by little and little. The High Prieſthood became in its turn, at the beck either of the *Romans*, or the Ruling Princes. The Jewiſh Church, which for a great many Ages, ſaw but one High Prieſt depos'd, had a new Head almoſt every Year: They were depriv'd of their Office; others (who bought it) were put into their room; and even thoſe who kept it longeſt, had ſo little Power, that they cou'd not ſuppreſs the Diſorders of Robbers and Zealots. The Church as well as the State, went by degrees to its Deſtruction. The Temple was at laſt burn'd down to the Ground; the Sacrifices were aboliſh'd, and the High Prieſthood extinct: And this we are going to ſhew; but before we do it, it is requiſite to examine, whether or no the frequent Depoſitions of the High Prieſts were Juſt or Tyrannical; whether the Kings had a Right to turn out thoſe who did not appear to them worthy of that Office; or whether they were not ſo many Incroachments upon the High Prieſthood. This Queſtion deſerves ſo much the more to be diſcuſs'd; becauſe Divines draw ſome Inferences from thence, to reconcile the Prieſthood and Empire in the Chriſtian Church.

2. The Modern Jews give us a Notion of their Antient Government, very different from that which we commonly have. For we conceive, that there was a King at the Head of the People, and a High Prieſt at the Head of the Church, on whoſe Lips *Knowledge and Truth dwelt*; that is, who was Judge of Controverſies. But upon the Authority of the *Talmudiſts*, a third Office hath been invented, (*viz.*) that of the *Naſi*, or *Prince* of the People, and Preſident of the Council. He preſided in the *Sanhedrim*; and whilſt the King took care of the Army, and War; and the High Prieſt of the Divine Worſhip, *this Prince* was the Depoſitary of *Tradition*. He reſolv'd Caſes of Conſcience, and taught the Oral Law, which *Moſes* had intruſted with the LXX. Elders: *Eſdras* is ſaid to have created this Office, and to have ſettl'd it in *David*'s Family: *Hillel*, who came from *Babylon* in the Reign of *Herod*, Thirty Years before *Jeſus Chriſt*, exercis'd it with a great deal of Honour: The Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* did not involve this Dignity along with it. For it ſubſiſted even when there was neither King, nor High Prieſt in Being. His Title was only alter'd. For then the Chief of the Captivity in *Judæa* took the Title of *Patriarch*, and in that Name govern'd all the Synagogues of the Weſt.

There was at *Jeruſalem* a Council of Seventy one Perſons, whereof the Preſident ſtil'd himſelf *Prince*. The Eldeſt Senator was call'd *Father of the Conſiſtory*, or of the Judgment. The Counſellors ſat according to the time of their Promotion, which was at firſt perform'd by the impoſition of Hands, that they might more exactly imitate *Moſes*. The High Prieſt was not preſent at it, but when he was Elected into it for his Merit: The King had no Vote there, leſt his Preſence ſhou'd confine the freedom of Voting. Far from having any Authority over the High Prieſt, as we imagine, the King almoſt wholly depended upon the Great Council, and its Preſident. The *Sanhedrim* choſe the Kings, ſet bounds to their Authority, and puniſh'd them when they tranſgreſs'd the Law. Thus the Jewiſh Doctors ſpeak.

3. They affirm too, that God gave three Commandments to his People, which were executed at different times. 1. To deſtroy *Amalec*. 2. To build him a Temple. And, 3. To make a King: Thoſe that do not underſtand the Scripture, fancy that God was angry, that his People being weary of their antient Government, ask'd for another King. But God's Anger * proceeded wholly from their rejecting of *Samuel*. To be ſure, he wou'd not have left his choſen People without a King, ſince the Government of all the Eaſtern Nations was Monarchical. He wou'd have his People have

* Maimon. ex Thalm. in Halach. Melach. Schickard. Jus Reg. Hebræor. c. 1. p. 15, 17.

a King as well as Idolatrous Nations. But the choice of him belong'd to the *Sanhedrim*; and that this Election might be acceptable to God, the Grand Council did not as the *Persians*, refer it to the Neighing of a Horse, but they consulted the Urim and Thummim, whereby God declar'd whether he approv'd their choice.

4. To proceed, The Modern Jews tell us, that they cou'd neither elect a Woman, nor put her at the Helm of the Nation; since she is not fit to go to War, and it had been a shameful thing for the Holy Nation to be under her.

Apta quidem telæ, sed inepta est fœmina telo;
Indignumq; viris subdere colla colo.

Some Nations will rather have Queens than Kings; but it is perhaps, because People preserve their Liberty better under a weak Administration. Besides, some *Heroines* distinguish themselves from the rest of their Sex, by their Sense and Capacity. The *Sanhedrim* was to have a great regard to the Birth of the Person elected. The Scripture enjoyns the People to chose *one of their Brethren*, and this excluded * all Proselytes; tho' for several Generations incorporated in the Jewish Nation. Not only the Kings, but also all Subaltern Judges were to be Jews; none cou'd be a General, or a Captain, or even an *Overseer of the Waters*, unless he was sprung from the Holy Nation. The *Idumæans* seem'd to have a better claim than other Nations; because the Scripture calls them *Brothers to the Jews*, and indeed they were descended from *Esau*. The *Egyptians* for that reason are introduc'd bringing Presents to the Messiah, who receiv'd them kindly, because they gave often a Sanctuary to his People: But the *Æthiopians*, jealous of that Reception, complain to the Deliverer; because he admits Strangers † preferably to those who *are the Elder Brothers of the Nation*: And yet the *Idumæans* were excluded from the Crown of *Judæa* as well as other Nations, and the *Talmudists* look upon *Herod* the Great as a Foreigner, notwithstanding he Originally came from *Idumæa*.

5. The *Sanhedrim* was besides to take notice of the King's Family, and Employment: The *Masters* reckon a great many Professions, and Trades, that excluded from the Crown. The King was to be *neither a Coal-man, nor an Inn Keeper. Oh! that the best of Physicians go to Hell: For he lives splendidly; he doth not dread Sickness; he doth not break his Heart before God; he kills the Poor by denying him his Assistance.* They also excluded *Shepherds*, who fed their Flocks upon other People's Ground, *Camel-Drivers*, *Muckeers*, &c. However *Saul*, who took care of his Father's Asses *was made a King*. The Modern Jews are prepossess'd with this Opinion, that a Man must have been of a considerable Extraction to become a King, a Priest, or even a Prophet; and it was perhaps this Opinion that made them say even in our Saviour's time, *Is not this a Carpenter's Son*? As if the Son of so mean and poor a Handy-Craft, cou'd not be a Doctor. But this Opinion of theirs is erroneus; since *David* one of their Kings was a Shepherd; and *Amos* the Prophet a Cow-herd.

6. When the King, continue they, was chosen, he was left to the care of the High Priest, who anointed him; and made use for that purpose of the same Perfume, that was pour'd upon the Head of the Priests; but with this difference, that they made a St. *Andrew*'s Cross X on the High Priest's Head, whereas they drew the Figure of a Crown upon the King's Head. It is observ'd that the Kings of *Samaria* were anointed with plain Balsam only, which put a vast difference between those Princes; since the Oyl us'd for the Kings of *Judah* was Holy, and preserv'd in the Temple.

7. Altho' they shew'd a great deal of Respect to the King they had chosen; yet his Power was mightily abridg'd by the *Sanhedrim*, and the High Priest. For, 1. When a Senator ‖ appear'd before the King, he was bound to rise up, and to put him by his side. He did the same thing *for the Wise Men of* Israel, *and even for their Disciples, after the example of* Asa, *who seeing one, that was only a Scholar, rose from his Throne, kiss'd him, and said to him, My Master, and my Lord.* *Schickard* |||| who was well vers'd in this Matter, commenting upon these words of *Maimonides*, observes, that it was not strange, that the King shew'd that Respect to the Counsellours of the *Sanhedrim*; because they had a great Power in that Republican State, where they wholly dispos'd of all civil Matters; but that he was not oblig'd to shew so much deference to the Disciples and Wise Men; and that he only did Justice to their Merit. 2. The King cou'd summon to his Palace private Men, and even Prophets. For *Nathan* fell down before *David*; whereas the High Priest never went to Court but when he pleas'd: * *He sat down in the King's Presence, but the King was standing before him.* Some *Rabbins* † observe, that this was done only when the High Priest consulted the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and that then the King did not honour the Minister, but God Himself. Nevertheless *Maimonides*'s Words are general, and he grounds them on the Order, which God gave *Moses* to present *Joshuah* to *Eleazar* ‖, *And he shall stand before* Eleazar. 3. A King cou'd never renounce his Dignity. It was to no purpose for him to alledge his Infirmities, and other cogent Reasons. The *Sanhedrim* wou'd not hear them; because the Nation wou'd have thereby been disgrac'd; and he who is intrusted with the Government of the State, ought never to forsake it. 4. He was allow'd to have 18 Wives, and no more; because it is suppos'd that *David* had as many; Whereas private Men might marry as often as they pleas'd. But they made the King amends by allowing him some Concubines. The *Rabbins* put this difference between a Wife, and a Concubine; the first is marry'd by Contract, and hath her Dowry fix'd; Whereas the other is marry'd without a Contract, altho' all the usual Ceremonies of Matrimony are observ'd. The Prince was also forbid to have any Women, that were either Foreigners, or of another Religion: And to vindicate *Solomon*, who had so many Idolatrous Women, they pretend, that he converted them, and that they were all Proselytes. 5. Lastly, he was strictly enjoyn'd never to reveal the Secrets of the State to his Wives, lest they should betray him. But this prohibition was useless; because Women have the art to get the Authority, which the Laws deny them; and whilst Men make long and tedious Arguments upon their natural Rights and Privileges, those trample upon the Laws, and keep in their Chains those that brag that they are their Masters. *Solomon* is a plain Instance of this; and *Themistocles*'s Child was in the right to say, that he govern'd all *Greece*; because his Mother, who doated upon him, did what she pleas'd with her Husband.

9. The right of Life and Death seems an inseparable Prerogative of the Crown. But if these Doctors gave their King this Right, it was clog'd

* Ibid. *p.* 50. † Carpzov. Not. in Schickard. *p.* 51. ‖ Maimon. Halach. Melach. *c.* 2. |||| Schick. Jus Reg. Hebræor. *c.* 4. Theor. 12. *p.* 229. * Maimon. Halach. Melach. *c.* 2. † Rabbi Bechai in Bitur. al. Hattorah. fol. 22. apud Carpzov. Not. ad Schickard. Th. 13. *p.* 231. ‖ Numbers 27. 21.

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with ſome Conditions, which mightily weaken'd it. They ſay, that the King cou'd puniſh with Death a ſingle act of Diſobedience, tho' never ſo ſmall. If the Prince commanded an Officer to go any where, his bare refuſal was a capital Crime. But, 1. They obſerve too, that the King was oblig'd to exerciſe his Clemency as well as his Juſtice; and to conſider that by depriving the Criminal of his Life, he put many to Death. For the Scripture, ſpeaking of the Blood of *Abel*, ſays, * that *the Bloods of* Abel *cry'd*. And indeed it is not only the Blood of one Man †, but alſo that of the Children he ſhou'd have begotten, and of all his Poſterity, that cry'd for Vengeance. 2. The Puniſhment, which the King was to inflict, was preſcrib'd. The Jews had four ſorts of them; but the King cou'd only condemn Criminals to loſe their Heads. 3. After a Man was put to Death, his Eſtate was not always confiſcated; at leaſt this is a moot point. For *Maimonides* affirms, that the King *cannot ſeize upon the Eſtates of his Subjects, without being a Robber*, and gives him but the thirteenth part of the Plunder and Conqueſts of the People. But others put this difference between the *Sanhedrim* and the King; (*viz.*) the Goods of thoſe ſentenc'd to die by the *Sanhedrim* were reſtor'd to their Heirs; whereas the Succeſſion of thoſe condemn'd by the King belong'd to him. Theſe two Opinions may be reconciled, by ſaying, that the King cou'd not appropriate to himſelf the Eſtate of one, that was alive; But that the Confiſcation of his Goods was the ſequel of his Execution; and therefore *Ahab* cou'd not get into *Naboth*'s Vineyard till he had accus'd him of Blaſphemy; and he did not take poſſeſſion of it, till he was ſton'd to Death; becauſe by the Law his Eſtate was then forfeited to the King, who had a right to all the Goods and Chattels of thoſe that were executed. 4. Laſtly, The King was oblig'd to conſult the *Sanhedrim*, when he was to puniſh a Criminal with Death; which was a great abridgment of his Authority.

9. The Grand Council had alſo the Adminiſtration of Peace and War. They however diſtinguiſh'd two ſorts of Wars. Some were preſcrib'd by the Law, and others were only undertaken to promote the Glory of the Prince, and enlarge the Limits of the State. The Council's Advice was abſolutely neceſſary for the laſt; but as for the firſt, as they were poſitively enjoyn'd by God, the Prince might take up Arms without conferring but with his Privy Council. And indeed God commanded that *Amaleck* ſhou'd be deſtroy'd, becauſe they waited for the *Iſraelites* in their Paſſage, and ‖ *ſmote the hindmoſt of them*, even *all* that were *feeble behind them*. Thus our Interpreters have tranſlated, and what they ſay is natural enough. The *Amalekites* did what Enemies commonly do, who ſend Parties to follow the Rear of Armies, in order to ſurprize the Lazy, Sick, and all thoſe that go out of their Ranks. But the Jews cannot conceive, that this Hoſtility put any difference between the *Amalekites*, and *Idumæans*; ſince they were all of the Poſterity of *Eſau*. They find ſome greater Myſteries in this Text ⁂, and maintain, that the Tribe of *Dan*, unable to follow faſt enough the reſt of the Tribes, the *Amalekites* fell upon them *and cut their Tails*, that is, they threw the *Danites* Privy parts againſt Heaven, ſaying to God (to upbraid him with the Circumciſion, which he had enjoyn'd that Nation) *Take what thou haſt choſen*. An Inſolence like that of *Julian* the Apoſtate, who inſulted *Jeſus Chriſt* even in his defeat, and cry'd out, *Thou haſt conquer'd*, Galilean, *&c.* Others recurr to a Miracle, and affirm, that the miraculous Cloud inclos'd the Camp of the *Iſraelites*, as a Palliſadoe; but that thoſe who had a mind to eaſe Nature were forc'd to go out, becauſe the *Camp of the Lord was Holy*; and the *Amalekites* who were upon the Watch, kill'd all thoſe that went out. Beſides, theſe Unbelievers, who had been in *Egypt* to ſearch the Archives there, to learn the Names, and Order of the Tribes, call'd out to thoſe of *Ruben*, *Simeon*, and *Levi*; *Come, for we are your Brethren, and we deſign to treat with you*; and ſeveral of theſe three Tribes being impos'd upon, went out of the Cloud, and ſuffer'd immediately, for their Imprudence. The Cloud caſt out thoſe, that lov'd Women, or were prone to Idolatry, as the *Danites*, and the Idolaters cut all their Throats. Laſtly, they find four things in one Expreſſion that *Moſes* utter'd, concerning *Amaleck*: *They did not fear God*; that is, they made War againſt *Iſrael* without a cauſe, ſince they did not go through their Lands. They committed ſome acts of Hoſtility without any previous Declaration; attack'd the People, when they were faint and weary; and, in a word, laid in Ambuſcade to cut off thoſe who ſtaid behind: And theſe four things having exaſperated God, were enough to authorize the King to declare War againſt them, and purſue it till he had wholly deſtroy'd them. So that the King might of his own head lead an Army againſt the *Amalekites*, and wage War with them, without adviſing with the *Sanhedrim*. But as for a War deſign'd to make Conqueſts, or neceſſary for the defence of the State, the Prince was bound to leave it to the judgment of the Council. And therefore they apply to this Council, what *Jethro* ſaid to *Moſes*— *Every great Matter they ſhall bring unto thee.*

10. To conclude; If the King trangreſs'd the Law, the Council order'd him to be ſtrip'd and whip'd before them. * *Maimonides* poſitively ſays it. "Tradition teaches us, that the King ought to have "but Eighteen Wives; if he marries one more let "him be whip'd; if he hath more Horſes than he "needs for his Chariot, let him be whip'd; if he "heaps more Gold and Silver than he wants to pay "his Miniſters, let him be whip'd.

As this Sentence to be whip'd, abaſes the Majeſty of Kings, the Jewiſh Doctors are juſtify'd by the Example of *Henry* II. King of *England*, who ſuffer'd ſome Monks to give him Fourſcore Stripes to expiate his Crime, for putting *Thomas Becket* to Death, who diſturb'd the Peace of his Kingdom. They add, that this Puniſhment was not ignominious among the Jews; becauſe it was inflicted as a Penance; that the Executioner did not lay hands upon the King; but that he choſe himſelf the Perſon that was to whip him; and that he immediately re-aſſum'd his Dignity as ſoon as he had undergone the Puniſhment. None but the Preſident of the Council was degraded after he was whip'd, and oblig'd to ſit at the lower end of the *Sanhedrim*. This is what the *Talmudiſts* relate of the old Kings of *Judah*, and which I have faithfully ſet down. But let us examine whether their Narrative be true.

11. Four ſorts of People have adopted theſe Notions of the *Talmudiſts*. 1. The declar'd Enemies of the Majeſty of Kings; as for example *Milton*, who hath taken care to quote the cuſtom of the Jews, to vindicate the proceedings of the Parliament of *England*, that forc'd *Charles* I. to loſe his Head upon a Scaffold. 2. *Baronius*, who may be look'd upon as the moſt zealous Aſſerter of the Papal Power, made uſe of it, to eſtabliſh the Pope's Authority over Crown'd Heads. But he did not take notice, that, according to the ſame *Talmudiſt*, the High

* Geneſ. 4. 10. † Maimon. Halach. Sanhedr. *c.* 12. Ibid. *p.* 257. ‖ Deuter. 25: 18. ⁂ V. Carpzov. Not. ad Schick. Jus Reg. Hebr. *p.* 295. *&c.* * Maimon. Halach. Melach. *c.* 3. Schickard. *c.* 2. Th. 7. *p.* 150.

Prieſt

Prieſt was as liable to be whip'd as the King; and that he might even be put to Death, which the King cou'd not. In a word * he is oblig'd to deviate from thoſe he hath a mind to follow. For, according to the *Talmudiſts*, the High Prieſt was not Preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, but only Member of it, when he was choſen in it for his Merit. 3. Mr. *de Marca* makes up a third Party: He agrees † with the *Rabbins*, that God commanded that a King ſhou'd be choſen, before the People ask'd for one; that the *Sanhedrim* took cognizance of what related to Peace or War, and order'd the King to be whip'd; but he alſo ſubmits the High Prieſts to the *Sanhedrim*; and therefore, he argues ſtrongly againſt thoſe who aſſert, that the Chriſtian Religion is ſettl'd upon the Plan of the Jewiſh. 4. Laſtly, a great many Learned Men make a Scruple to depart from the *Rabbins*. *Seldenus* wou'd not venture to forſake them. For after he hath prov'd the dependance of Kings by the teſtimony of the Doctors ‖; he yet ſeems in another place to be wavering, and declares, *that he will decide nothing*. But *Schickard* hath writ a large Treatiſe upon this Subject, wherein he backs the opinion of the *Rabbins*; and this Learned Man hath even dazl'd the Judicious *Grotius*, who maintains ‖‖ the ſame thing. However we need but open the Scripture, which contains the Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Nation, to be convinc'd that the *Rabbins* do only give us ſome Platonick Ideas; and that thoſe Kings of *Judæa* who were Independant, had no ſuperiour Tribunal, that cou'd order them to be whip'd.

12. We'll examine in another place the origin of the *Sanhedrim*, and prove, that it was only eſtabliſh'd by *Gabinius* the *Roman* Governour; and that all the Preſidents of it that are reckon'd before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* are ſuppos'd. So that by ſtriking at the Foundation of this pretended Authority, we'll intirely overſet it. But without inſiſting on this general proof, whether we read the holy Scripture, or examine the Hiſtory of the Jews, we find no where, that this Grand Council alone had a right to choſe the Kings. Neither *Saul*, nor *David*, who firſt aſcended the Throne, were oblig'd to that Tribunal for their Exaltation. God ſent *Samuel* to elect them; and *David* reign'd but in *Hebron*, till all the People conſented to his Election. The Crown was hereditary in the Family of *David* until the Captivity of *Babylon*. *Judæa* was afterwards ſubject to the Kings of *Aſſyria*, to the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Syrians*, till the *Aſmonæans* freed the Jews from a Foreign Yoke. Had there been then a *Sanhedrim*, that had a power to choſe a King, they ought to have prefer'd one of the Poſterity of *David* to *Ariſtobulus*. They had been ſo much the more guilty to have tolerated that Uſurper; becauſe the *Prince* of the *Sanhedrim* was, as is ſaid, of the Family of *David*; and that his Dignity was but one ſtep from the Throne. So that it is not enough to aſcribe a right of Election to this Grand Council, unleſs it be confirm'd by ſome example. But far from it, this Council doth never appear, when there is occaſion to make a King of the Jews.

The *Sanhedrim* ought at leaſt to have hinder'd *Herod*, *an Idumæan*, *and Servant to the* Aſmonæans, from ſeizing upon the Crown of his Maſters. Nevertheleſs the Council acknowledges a ſecond time an Uſurper and a Tyrant, without making any oppoſition; and *Joſephus*, who brings *Herod* before this Tribunal, when he was Governour of *Galilee*, doth not ſay one word of this new Prince's being elected by the *Sanhedrim*, nor of the Reſiſtance they were bound to make, if they did not like this Foreigner's Election, which belong'd to them. In a word, four different ways are obſerv'd, whereby the Kings of *Judah* aſcended the Throne, whilſt that Republick ſubſiſted. But the *Sanhedrim* had no ſhare in any of them. Some were immediately choſen by God, as *Saul* and *David*; Others ſucceeded their Fathers, as *Solomon*, *Rehoboam*, and almoſt all the Kings of *Judah*: Others uſurp'd the Crown by Force and Tyranny; and it is what *Athaliah* and the *Macchabees* did. To conclude, the laſt were appointed by Heathens, as *Zedekiah* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Herod* * by the *Romans*.

13. What the *Talmudiſts* ſay of the Birth and Quality of the King that was to be choſen, is ſo manifeſtly falſe, that the objections drawn from the examples of *Saul* and *David*, cannot be anſwer'd. *Abravanel*, more judicious than the reſt, freely acknowledges, that God prefer'd the Ariſtocratical Government; and that it was the People, that imprudently ask'd for a King †, *But he is not believ'd, altho' that is agreeable to holy Writ, becauſe Tradition is repugnant to it.* A fine reaſon indeed! In order to elude the Scripture, it is ſaid that the deſire of the People was precipitated. God was reſolv'd to give them a King; but he had fix'd the time; and the Jews ought to have ſtaid till *David* was of age to ſway the Scepter. However, God, to comply with an impatient Nation, *lent* them *Saul*. For his Name ſignifies that. So that this Prince was *lent* to the People for ſome time; and therefore no notice was taken of his Birth and Qualifications. Others will have it, that what made the *Iſraelites* guilty, was, that they themſelves ask'd a King; whereas they ſhou'd have left *Samuel* to act, who, being a Prophet, knew the time and Will of God. Laſtly, ſome affirm, that God was not diſpleas'd with the form of the Government; but becauſe they rejected *Samuel*, whom he had appointed over them; and Mr. *Marca* adopts this Opinion. What needleſs Endeavours to vindicate a Tradition evidently falſe! This is a ſtrange effect of Prejudices! The bare reading of the Scripture alone, without conſulting the Doctors, wou'd eaſily diſcover the truth. But when People are once intoxicated with the Reputation of the Doctors, they wou'd clear them from Errours, and then they puzzle and engage themſelves to deliver downright Falſhoods. And indeed, it is not true, that God appointed *David* to be the firſt King of *Iſrael*; that he ever intended to *lend* to the *Iſraelites* another Monarch for ſome Years; that he was oblig'd to anticipate his Decrees, to gratify the impatience of a mutinous People; or that his Anger was kindl'd, becauſe they rejected *Samuel*. For on the contrary, this Prophet's Sons, by their enormous Diſſolutions, occaſion'd theſe clamours of the People, and oblig'd them to ask for a King. But God was exaſperated, becauſe, having been himſelf ſo long their King, they grew weary of *Theocracy*, and his Government. As the Children of *Iſrael* ask'd in the Deſart for a golden Calf to ſupply *Moſes*'s abſence, and to have a God that ſhould *walk before them*; ſo they ask'd a viſible King, to ſupply the place of the inviſible God that govern'd them, and thereby fell into Rebellion. *They have caſt me off*, ſays the Almighty, ‖ *They have ſet up Kings, but not by me*. Perhaps that God deſign'd to mortifie them, by ordering that their two firſt Kings ſhou'd be of mean Extraction, one having been a Muleteer, and the other a Shepherd. A Noble Birth, ſays St. *Chryſoſtome* on this occaſion, ought not to puff us up. *Solomon* was indeed the Son of

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* Biron. An. 31. *p.* 90. † Marca Conc. Sacerd. *l.* 2. *c.* 4, 5. *p.* 68, *&c.* ‖ Selden. de Synedr. *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *p.* 434. & *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *p.* 106. ‖‖ Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, *l.* 1. *c.* 3. *p.* 141. * V. Becan. Analog. Vet. & Nov. Teſtam. *c.* 16. Q. 5. Opuſc. *t.* 3. *p.* 365. † Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael Conciliator. Deut. Q. 7. *p.* 228. ‖ Hoſea 8. 4.

a powerful King; but his Father was very meanly Born, and his Grand-father by the Mother's ſide had not wherewithal to marry his Daughter to a Foot-man. *Saul* was alſo of a mean Extraction.

* *Portentum inuſitatum conflatum eſt recens,*
Nam mulos qui fricabat, Conſul factus eſt.

This is what we learn from Scripture. And if ſome can without bluſhing maintain, in oppoſition to ſo many plain matters of Fact, related by the Holy Writers, a Rabbinical Tradition; one wou'd think that they ſhou'd at leaſt perceive, that it is falſe.

14. The *Rabbins* ſay, that the Kings were anointed with the ſame Oil deſign'd for the Unction of the High Prieſt, which was kept in the Temple, and had been compos'd by *Moſes*. Mr. *de Marca* hath joyfully adopted this Circumſtance, as if the Majeſty and Power of Kings ſhin'd the more glorioufly, becauſe they were anointed with the ſame Oil as the High Prieſt. But this is falſe. For *David* was not anointed with that Oil, as this may be evinc'd by this plain Argument. *Saul* had the Tabernacle and Holy Oil in his Poſſeſſion, when God rejected him, and ſent *Samuel* to choſe *David*. This Prophet pour'd a Horn full of Oil upon his Head, to aſſure him by that Unction that he was King. This Oil cou'd not be that of the Prieſts which was kept in the Tabernacle. *Samuel* had expos'd his Life, and diſcover'd a Secret, that was to be conceal'd, had he ask'd the precious Balſam of the High Prieſt, in order to anoint another King in *Saul*'s room, who was ſtill alive, and wou'd never have forgiven that attempt. So that the moſt powerful and holieſt of the Kings did not derive his Dignity from the Prieſt-hood, nor receive the *Sacerdotal* Unction. This Remark deſtroys the difference that is put between the Kings of *Judah* and *Samaria*. For theſe laſt, tho' elected and anointed by Prophets, as *Elijah*, were, according to ſome *Rabbins*, inferiour to the others, that receiv'd the miraculous Unction. But this difference, ſo advantageous to the Kings of *Judah*, is but a Chimæra, as we have obſerv'd. *David* had but a plain Unction of Oil, pour'd out of the Horn by *Samuel*. The Kings of *Samaria* receiv'd the ſame. *Jeroboam* the Ring-leader of the Schiſm was ſecretly anointed by a Prophet, as *David* was. It was enough for theſe Kings, that God's Will was reveal'd by ſome Prophets. For thence flow'd their Authority. The *Rabbins* tell us, but do not prove it, that the King's Sons did not receive this Unction, but when they had ſome Competitors, or in time of War. *When* † *there is Peace in* Iſrael, *the Unction is uſeleſs*. But they contradict themſelves. For ſince they gave ſo great a Virtue to the Holy Oil which ſanctify'd the High Prieſt, why ſhou'd they have deny'd it to the King, who had moſt need of it? To pretend that the Virtue of this Unction was extended to all the King's Poſterity, is without any manner of neceſſity to multiply Miracles. Beſides, this is repugnant to Scripture. For *Solomon*, *Joaſh* and *Jehoahas* were anointed, tho' they were of Royal Extraction; and if the two firſt had any Competitors, the laſt at leaſt had none. For *Necho* ſettl'd his Brother on the Throne, but a long time after his Unction, when the War was kindl'd between thoſe two Princes, and *Necho* vanquiſh'd *Jehoahas* becauſe he had forſaken God. They follow'd in *Judah* the common Cuſtom of all Nations, that anoint Princes at their Acceſſion to the Crown; and this is a new argument that we ought not to give credit to the *Talmudiſts*, about the Kings of *Judah*.

15. We have dwelt long enough on Circumſtances: Let us now examine the main thing, that concerns the ſovereign Authority. 1. It is falſe, that the Kings conſulted the *Sanhedrim* before they enter'd into a War; and that they cou'd not fight but againſt the *Amalekites* without the Approbation of that Tribunal. All the ſacred Hiſtory proves the contrary. We read there of ſome unjuſt as well as of lawful Wars, and yet we never find the grand Council aſſembl'd, or that this High Court ever oppos'd the King's Deſigns, even when they fought againſt God's Will. Of what uſe was a dumb Council, that gives us in all Holy Writ no marks of Piety, Vigour, or Exiſtence? We ſee in it, Princes ſometimes conſult Prophets about the Succeſs of War and Battles; but there is not one word of any conſultation with the *Sanhedrim*. The War of the *Macchabees* was a Revolt, or an Impulſe of Impatience, occaſion'd by Perſecution, and urgent Neceſſity. Theſe Leaders were neither Kings, nor Chiefs of the People. Did the Council either authorize, or endeavour to ſuppreſs their Attempts? We ſeen either. Why then is the Authority of a *Sanhedrim*, which appears no where, and doth nothing when the State wants moſt its aſſiſtance, ſo much extoll'd? 2. The Example of *Solomon*, and of his Succeſſors, prove plainly, that the Kings had more than 18 Wives. "For this Monarch ‖ *had* 700 *Wives* that were *Prin-*
"*ceſſes*; ſome came from *Egypt*; others *were Wo-*
"*men of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zido-*
"*nians and Hittites, of the Nations:* Concerning which "the Lord ſaid to the Children of *Iſrael*, Ye ſhall "not go in to them, neither ſhall they come in unto "you; for ſurely they will turn away your Heart "after their Gods. Nevertheleſs he never was laſh'd for it. 3. The Kings cannot, even without contradiction, be depriv'd of the Right of Life and Death, and of the choice of Puniſhments for Criminals. *Maimonides*, who ſubjects the Kings to the *Sanhedrim*, owns ‖‖, that one of them *caus'd a great many Perſons to be hang'd, and order'd them to remain for ſeveral days on the Gallows, that he might deterr the Wicked.* He took this from the *Talmud* of *Jeruſalem*, So that it cannot be ſaid, that the Kings cou'd only puniſh with the Sword; and the Learned *Schickard* *, whoſe Writings we here confute, hath plainly contradicted himſelf, ſince, notwithſtanding he quoted *Maimonides*'s Words, he yet follow'd the erroneous opinion of the Jews.

16. As for the King's being order'd by the Great Council to be whip'd, it is ſo impertinent a fiction, that it is ſtrange that any Chriſtians will adopt it. None of all the Kings deſerv'd the Rod better than *David*, who, being guilty of Adultery, (a Sin attended with Perfidiouſneſs, and the Murder of the Huſband; and that Murder accompany'd with the Death of many of his Subjects, which he ſacrific'd to conceal his Crime) ſhou'd have been doubly puniſh'd by the *Sanhedrim*, and receiv'd twice as many ſtripes as were given to the Prince. But they pretend that *David* repented, and therefore was obedient to this formidable Council; and that they had no reaſon to fear any thing from a devout King, who was convinc'd of his Crime, and threaten'd by *Nathan*'s Prophecies. It is true, that we read in his Hiſtory, that two Prophets reprehended and threaten'd him from God; but we do not find, that the *Sanhedrim* interven'd in this Affair, either to make *David* ſenſible of his Crime, or to bring him to his Trial, or to have him whip'd. *Solomon* was yet more guilty than his Father. For he had more Horſes than he wanted to draw his Chariot, and more Money th... ...as re-

* Apud Agell. Noct. Att. *l.* 15. *c.* 4. † Vide Schickard. Jus Reg. Hebr. *c.* 1. Theor. 4. *p.* 77. *&c. c.* 6. Theor. 20. *p.* 445. ‖ 1 Kings 11. 1, 2, 3. ‖‖ Maimon. Hal. Mel. *c.* 3. ex Thalm. Jeruſal. * Schickard. Jus Reg. *c.* 4. Theor. 14. *p.* 259.

quiſite to maintain his Houſhold. For he was Maſter of an immenſe Treaſure. In a Word, if a Prince was to be whip'd for every Wife that he took beyond the number of Eighteen, *Solomon*, who had Seven Hundred, muſt have loſt a great deal of Blood. His Body muſt have been full of Scars, and fuſtigated almoſt every Month, and his Sores cou'd never have been heal'd. We read in Sacred Hiſtory of ſome rich and powerful Kings, who ſhew'd their Treaſures; and of others plung'd into the groſſeſt Idolatry, and adding to this Idolatry a vaſt number of Wives, and a great many Impurities and Abominations; and notwithſtanding all theſe Crimes, they are not once brought to the Whipping Poſt.

17. We need but ſet down the Proofs alledg'd to aſſert this Tradition, to make it ridiculous. Firſt, it is confeſs'd, that in all the ſacred Hiſtory, or in that of the *Macchabees*, or of the *Herods*, there is not one Example of a King whip'd by order of the *Sanhedrim*. *Schickard* produces that of *Uzziah*, but he owns that God puniſh'd him rather than the *Sanhedrim*, and he is more judicious than a great many others. For he doth not quote *Herod*, who once appear'd at the Bar of that Tribunal. And indeed that example is quoted to no purpoſe; ſince *Herod* was not as yet a King, but only Governour of *Galilee*. The Aſſerters of this Tradition have nothing to ſay, when they are ask'd ſome Inſtances to prove it, and yet the Kings were frequently guilty of Crimes, that deſerv'd whipping. Why then was not God's Command put in Execution, if *Moſes* gave ſuch a Law, and impower'd a Court to ſee it comply'd with? *Schickard*, * who acknowledg'd this, diſtinguiſhes between Right and Fact. He quotes the example of the Emperours of *Germany*, who by the Golden Bull may be cited by private Men before a Court, altho' it ſeldom happens; and that of *Athaliah*, who uſurp'd the Crown, altho' Women were not allow'd to rule in *Judæa*. But his reaſoning is falſe. For he alledges a ſtanding Law, which ſubjects the Emperour to the Laws, whereas he only produces the Whims of the *Talmudiſts*, and of *Maimonides*, who liv'd almoſt Twelve Hundred Years after Chriſt, and much longer after the Kings of *Judah* were aboliſh'd. Beſides, there is nothing more natural or common, than to go to Law with Princes; and the French King, tho' inveſted with a deſpotick Power, yet lets his Council judge of his Subject's Pretenſions on his Demeſns. Even the example of *Athaliah* is againſt *Schickard*. For we ſee here a Woman, that uſurps the Crown, altho' there was no Law that allow'd Women to ſway the Scepter; and he ſhou'd have concluded from thence, that, notwithſtanding one example was alledg'd of a King that was whip'd, it wou'd not follow from thence that all the Kings cou'd be ſo too, or that there was a Law for it. But here he produces neither Example not Law. How then can he prove his Aſſertion?

Secondly, the *Talmudiſts* reckon only three Crimes that deſerv'd whipping; 1. To have too many Horſes; 2. Too much Money; And, 3. Too many Wives. This diſcovers the extravagance of Tradition. For there are a great many more heinous Crimes, which deſerve the Rod, more than thoſe they mention. For why ſhou'd they animadvert on ſome Sins, and leave unpuniſh'd thoſe that trefpaſs againſt God, his Worſhip and Religion? They wrong *Moſes*, to pretend that he enacted ſo unreaſonable Laws, and even God himſelf, who, according to them, by a conſtant Tradition, tranſmitted theſe Laws to Poſterity.

18. They are ſo poſſeſs'd with this Opinion, that they even ſay, that this Puniſhment was not ignominious, altho' the King was oblig'd to ſtrip to the Waſte, ſtand naked, and be laſh'd before his Subjects. Why? Becauſe the King choſe the Perſon, that was to whip him. But was it a leſs ſhame for him to be ſcourg'd, becauſe he pitch'd upon his Executioner? They add, that the King willingly ſubmitted to this Puniſhment, to mortify himſelf. But whence do they know that; ſince there is not one example of it, and they only alledge the *Sanhedrim*'s Right to impoſe that Correction? If the Council had a power to enjoyn it, then the King did not voluntarily ſubmit to its Sentence. This Penance muſt have leſſen'd the Majeſty of Kings, tho' they had willingly undergone it. The World was in the right to laugh at the Penance and Flagellations of *Henry* III. but if the Parliament had enjoyn'd them, notwithſtanding he had conſented to them, yet it had been a great ſhame.

19. Laſtly, the Tradition, ſo much boaſted of, is not ſure. For the *Gemara* † of *Jeruſalem ſays, that the King judges, and is judg'd of no body*; and it proves it by the example of *David*, who acknowledg'd no Judge but God. For ſaying, *Let my ſentence proceed from thy Preſence*, he taught, *that the King, and the whole body of the People, cou'd not be judg'd but by God. Caſaubon* had oppos'd this Teſtimony to *Baronius*; but *Schickard* maintains, that *Caſaubon*, ‖ being a more Learned than Judicious Man, gave way to his Eagerneſs to oppoſe his Adverſary; and that he had not turn'd the Leaf, wherein *Raf Joſeph* affirms, that the Fathers underſtood this Maxim of the Kings of *Iſrael*, who did not own the *Sanhedrim*'s Authority; but that thoſe of the Family of *David were Judges, and judg'd.*

But the preſumption ought to be charg'd on *Schickard*, who blindly follows the *Rabbins* (of whoſe Writings he had made a very exact compilation) about the Rights of the Kings, or rather about that of the Great Council over the Kings. And indeed he did not take notice, that the *Talmudiſts* have laid down for a general Maxim, *that the Kings do not judge, and are not judg'd.* The ſucceeding *Rabbins*, adopting other Principles, and unwilling downright to contradict the *Talmud*, invented another Explanation. *Raf Joſeph* imagin'd, that it was to be apply'd to the Kings of *Samaria*; and others have follow'd him, becauſe they had nothing better to offer. However, this Explanation is ridiculous for theſe two reaſons. The firſt, becauſe as the *Sanhedrim* never had any Authority over the Kings of *Iſrael*, it is impertinent to mention them in the *Talmud*. The *Rabbins* acknowlege, that theſe Kings were abſolute in their Dominions, Haughty, and Rebels; that they did not mind the Law; and that there was no hope of their Converſion. Was there then any neceſſity to ſay in the *Talmud*, that theſe Kings were neither Judges, nor judg'd? Why ſhou'd they be pointed at in a Book, which only concern'd the Jewiſh Nation, excluſively of Schiſmaticks, over whom this Council had no Juriſdiction? The *Talmudiſts* deſign'd no more to introduce the Kings of *Samaria*, than thoſe of *Egypt*, and *Syria*, over whom the *Sanhedrim* cou'd have no Power. The Second, becauſe they explain'd their general Maxim by the example of *David*, who was the Stock and Root of the Kings of *Judah*. So that Juſtice muſt be done to the Learned *Caſaubon*, and if there be any contradiction in different places of the *Talmud*, that muſt not be laid to his charge. It is the buſineſs of thoſe, that have read, and do quote them, to know that ſome jarring Opinions have been foiſted in it, and to perceive, that *Raf Joſeph*'s Explanation, tho' applauded by ſeveral

* Schickard. Jus Reg. *c.* 2. Theor. 7. *p.* 157. † Gemara Hier. ad Miſchnam. Maſſech. Sanhedr. fol. 20. Ibid. Carpzov. in Not. *p.* 157. ‖ Exercit. 91. in Baron. *p.* 216.

Maſters,

Maſters, who are quoted, is directly repugnant to the Tradition of the Fathers, who wou'd not have *the King to be judg'd.*

20. We have collected and confuted whatever the *Talmudiſts* ſay of the Authority of the Kings, for two reaſons. The Firſt, becauſe, as we write the Hiſtory both of publick Opinions and Events, we ought not to overlook ſo important a Subject, as that of the Royal and Sacerdotal Authority. The Second, becauſe *Schickard*, having dazl'd a great many Chriſtian Divines by his vaſt Learning, it is requiſite to expoſe the Falſhood of his Principles, and of the Teſtimonies which he produces. He is every where quoted not only with the Applauſe, which his great Reading deſerves, but alſo with almoſt a general approbation; and it was neceſſary, that we ſhou'd give a more exact account of the antient Polity of the Jews.

21. There remains ſtill one thing of moment to be diſcuſs'd. For it is not enough to have reſcu'd the Kings from the Power of the *Sanhedrim*, and its Preſident. *Baronius* and his Adherents wou'd loſe nothing by the bargain, if the ſame Prince was wholly at the beck of the High Prieſt. But the Hiſtory of the latter times of the Republick of the Jews, is full of Examples to the contrary. We often ſee in it ſome High Prieſts depos'd by Kings, who had not the ſupream Authority: But the modern Jews exclaim againſt it as a great piece of Injuſtice, and maintain, that it was a time of Oppreſſion and Iniquity, and that the *Herods*, being Maſters of *Jeruſalem* and *Judæa*, made a tyrannical uſe of their Power; and we'll examine this in few Words.

22. Altho' the Eccleſiaſtical, and Civil Juriſdiction of the Prieſts and Kings can't eaſily be diſtinguiſh'd, yet we may judge by ſome Circumſtances, related by the Holy Writers, of the Juriſdiction that was exercis'd under the Old Teſtament.

It was the High Prieſt's Office to regulate the Service of the Temple, and to preſide over the Sacrifices, and to make the Incenſe burn in honour of God: And therefore *Uzziah*, who attempted to handle the Cenſer, was puniſh'd. The High Prieſt alone cou'd go into the Holy of Holies. The Kings cou'd neither open, nor touch the Ark. It is true that *David* commanded, that it ſhou'd be tranſported from *Abinadab*'s Houſe to *Jeruſalem*; but he let the Prieſts carry it. Whatever, in a Word, purely concern'd Religion, belong'd to the High Prieſt, and thoſe under him. But the King was Prieſt without, as *Conſtantine* ſaid that he was a Biſhop without: Theſe are the chief Functions with reference to Religion, which the Princes perform'd under the Law.

23. Firſt they took care of the Temple, and to build or repair it, when it fell to decay. *Solomon* exerted his Magnificence to adorn that vaſt Edifice; *Joaſh* and *Joſiah* repair'd it, and *Herod* re-built it. Some pretend, that part of the Money of the Offerings was employ'd for that uſe. *Joaſh* ſet this Precedent. Nay, he did more; for he took away the Silver, which his Anceſtors had in ſome manner conſecrated to God, and depoſited into the Temple, that he might thereby be rid of the King of *Syria*. But had the Kings a right to ſeize thus on the Treaſure of the Temple? *Joſephus* blames very much *Herod* for doing it, and obſerves that *Joaſh* did not venture at it, till after the death of *Jehoiada* the High Prieſt, for whoſe Councils he had a great regard; and as the Life of this Prince is divided between Good and Evil, it may fairly be concluded, that this Action, happening in the laſt period of it, cannot eſtabliſh a Right, or be approv'd by any body. It cannot be deny'd but *Joaſh* took away the Treaſure of the Temple, at the time that he had forſaken God; ſince *Hazael* King of *Syria* wag'd War with him but the Fortieth Year of his Reign; and that he was kill'd that very Year by his Officers. But it may be reply'd, that all the Actions of wicked Kings are not bad; that the Scripture doth not condemn this Action either of *Joaſh*, or of *Ahaz*, who did the ſame thing to redeem himſelf from the *Aſſyrians*; that an attempt may be good, or bad, according to the motive it is grounded upon; that Neceſſity warrants the making uſe of any thing, that may contribute to the preſervation of the People, and deliver them from the hands of an Enemy: Thus Churches have been uncover'd, and conſecrated Veſſels ſold to feed the People in a time of Famine: But Covetouſneſs makes that a Crime, which wou'd otherwiſe be indifferent; and as it was the Spring that ſet *Herod* to work, he cannot be brought in competition with theſe Princes. It is very certain, that they ſometimes diverted to other uſes the Money that the People offer'd, and employ'd it to repair the Temple without conſulting the Prieſts. In a Word, *Joſiah* order'd the High Prieſt to make ſome Ingots of Gold, and convert into ſacred Veſſels the Gifts, that had been brought into the Temple; and it was as they took out theſe Offerings from the Treaſury, that the Book of the Law was found. So that the Kings commanded the High Prieſts, and order'd how the Treaſure of the Temple ſhou'd be diſpos'd of. For theſe actions were approv'd by the Holy Ghoſt.

Secondly, the old Kings of *Judah* appointed the publick Feſtivals, and Faſts, and ſometime pray'd in the Temple. *Solomon* did it at the Dedication of the Temple, which he built. The Holy Ghoſt hath tranſmitted his Prayer to us; we ſee beſides *Jehoſhaphat* praying *in the Houſe of the Lord, when* Judah *gathered themſelves together to ask help of the Lord.* One wou'd think, that this wholly belong'd to the Prieſts; eſpecially upon a ſolemn day of Worſhip, when all People were aſſembl'd; and yet the Scripture approves what *Jehoſhaphat* did.

24. The Kings pretended to reform the Church, when it was deprav'd, and puniſh'd even the Levites, and Prieſts when they were negligent. So that theſe Perſons, that are call'd Sacred, were then under the Juriſdiction of the Kings, who gave them what Orders were neceſſary to reſtore Divine Worſhip. *Jehoſhaphat* perceiving that the negligence of thoſe, who were to inſtruct the People, was the cauſe that they did not know God's Law, ſent every where ſome Prieſts and Levites to teach *Judah*. *Hezechiah* ſeeing two very conſiderable abuſes in the Church, 1. The Temple ſhut, and the Prieſts taking no care to have it open, and to perform Divine Service. 2. The People worſhipping the brazen Serpent, and the Clergy, whoſe buſineſs it was to reprove and guide them, ſhewing no diſlike to their Idolatry, apply'd proper Remedies for theſe two Evils. He, of his own head, broke to pieces the braſen Serpent, and having aſſembled together the Levites and Prieſts, he order'd them to ſanctify themſelves: *Hear me, ye Levites, ſanctify now your ſelves, and ſanctify the Houſe of the Lord God of your Fathers, and carry forth the filthineſs out of the Holy Place.* It was the King, who begun the Reformation, enjoyn'd it to the Prieſts, and made the Covenant with God. It muſt be own'd, that this Power was great; but let us add *Joſiah*'s Reprehenſion to the Prieſts, which ſhews, that he had Authority to reprove them, even for what Faults they committed in their Miniſtry. Why; ſaid he to them with heat, *Why repair ye not the Breaches of the Houſe?* To conclude, when *Joſiah* reform'd the Church, *he read in the Ears of the Prieſts* the Law, and bound them by an Oath to obſerve it. It is always the Sovereign, that adminiſters an Oath, and it is an act of Juriſdiction to require it. *Joſiah* oblig'd the Prieſts to take one, in a thing that meerly concern'd Religion, and the Law of *Moſes*.

25. But that we may enlarge no more on this matter; let us only obſerve two things, which prove our

Assertion. One, that the Kings, far from being under the Priests in what related to War, Peace, and other important Acts of Sovereignty, did settle the Jurisdiction and Authority of the Priests. *Jehoshaphat*, willing to carry his Reformation farther than *Jerusalem*, where he had built some Altars; instituted some Judges to resolve Cases of Conscience, to see the Discipline observ'd, and did Four things. 1. He chose some *Levites, Priests, and of the chief of the Fathers of* Israel; that is, some Laicks *for the Judgment of the Lord, and for Controversies.* 2. He prescrib'd them what Rule they shou'd observe in their Judgments, and limited their Jurisdiction. They distinguish'd *between Blood and Blood*, and shew'd the difference between moral and ceremonial Precepts. 3. He appointed the High Priest, President of this Council, and restrain'd his Authority to what concern'd the Lord. He is *over you in all matters of the Lord.* 4. And least they shou'd abuse their Authority, and go beyond the bounds he had set them, he appointed a President for Affairs relating to the Civil Administration and the King, as the High Priest was for those relating to God, * Zebadiah *the Son of* Ishmael: *The Ruler of the house of* Judah, *shall be over you for all the King's matters.* Here is a Jurisdiction settl'd by the Prince, and every Officer directed what to do. The High Priest was to take cognizance of religious matters; but what related to the King was under the Ruler of the House of *Judah*'s Jurisdiction. This place so evidently concludes for the Authority of the Kings, that I cannot conceive how some dare dispute it.

26. To conclude, the old Kings had a right to depose the High Priests, and there is not one instance of a High Priest in all the Jewish Monarchy, who ever so much as attempted to depose any King. They will, no doubt, except against the example of *Saul*; because he was a cruel and bloody Prince; but that of *Solomon*, who depriv'd *Abiathar* of the Priesthood, and gave him his Life only as an Act of Grace, is unquestionable. *Herod* follow'd an example, that is instead of a Law; since a pious, and wise Prince, by putting his Father's Will in execution, gave it. The Posterity of *Herod* thought, that they might lawfully do what other Kings had done. They might have abus'd their Authority; but that did not hinder it from being lawful; and God made use of the Power he had confer'd on the Kings, to give a mortal blow to the High Priesthood, which was declining. The only difference, which we are going to observe, lies in this; The High Priests were at first very seldom depos'd; but they were frequently depriv'd of their Office, at the time, whose History we write. Lastly, the High Priest might *be sentenc'd to death.* It is certain that some pretend that this severe Punishment cou'd not be inflicted upon him by the King; but the *Talmudists* are those who reserve that Authority to the Grand Council, and by reserving it, they insinuate that the King might inflict the other Punishments. Besides, as the *Sanhedrim* did not last long: If the High Priest was liable to be condemn'd to die, that power must of necessity have been lodg'd in the Kings. This is very different from what the Popes pretend, who will be judg'd by no body; and if it be true, as we are told by some of his Adherents, that the Christian Church is model'd upon the Jewish Church, it follows from thence, that the Bishop of *Rome*, far from trampling upon Kings, ought to humble himself before them.

CHAP. V.

The History of the High Priests, and Desolation of the Jewish Church.

I. Ananelus *came from* Babylon. *Depos'd by* Herod. II. Simon, *Father-in-law to this Prince becomes a High Priest.* III. Matthias *defil'd on a Festival Day. His being depos'd.* IV. Annas *and* Caiaphas. *Whether there are several High Priests.* V. *This Difficulty solv'd.* VI. *Several High Priests depos'd.* VII. *The Authority of* Herod *King of* Chalcis *over the Priests.* VIII. *The Office of Captain of the Temple explain'd.* IX. Ananias *orders St.* Paul *to be struck. The Explication of his Answer.* X. *A Conjuration against this Apostle. An Argument of Corruption.* XI. *The exemplary Punishment of* Ananias. *Whited Wall.* XII. *The cruel Covetuousness, and Divisions of the High Priests.* XIII. Ishmael *depos'd.* XIV. *An intestine War for the Priesthood.* XV. *An open War under the Priesthood of* Matthias. XVI. Phanus *an unworthy Man, chosen by Lot.* XVII. *The difficulty about* Annas's *being High Priest, and Governour of* Jerusalem, *solv'd.* XVIII. *Some Reflections on the Alterations happen'd in that Office.* XIX. *Of the Corruption of the High Priests.* XX. *Of Schisms and Heresies. The last cause of their Ruin.*

1. *Herod* the Great, who knew what an advantage it is to Kings newly settl'd, to have the Clergy at their beck, and their Head at their devotion, did not hesitate to chuse one of his Creatures for High Priest. As he believ'd that he cou'd not find one in *Judæa*, that wou'd be wholly in his Interest, and that a Stranger transported from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, having no Relations, or Friends to back him, wou'd be more devoted to his Service, he sent from thence for *Ananelus*, with whom he was already acquainted. He might have kept that Office himself, as the *Asmonæans* had done, who were both Kings and Priests; but fearing the clamours of the People, who was us'd to see the Posterity of *Aaron* invested with the sacerdotal Authority, and cou'd not have suffer'd without Indignation, that an *Idumæan* had exercis'd it, he intrusted his Friend with that important Employ. He thereby drew against him the complaints of his Mother-in-law, who cou'd not endure that a Stranger shou'd appear at the head of the Clergy, and enjoy an Office, which she thought belong'd to her Son *Aristobulus*. *Herod* was oblig'd to give way to her complaints. He depriv'd *Ananelus* of the High Priesthood to confer it on young *Aristobulus*, the last of the Family of the *Asmonæans*. But this created him new Troubles. For the People became extreamly fond of *Aristobulus*, who charm'd the Jews with his Mildness, and Comeliness. *Herod* was afraid least this Youth shou'd re-unite in his Person the Titles of Priest and King, which his Family had so long enjoy'd. He thought that he cou'd not better get rid of this young Rival than by playing with him, and obliging him, whilst he was all in a heat to refresh himself in a cold Bath. He had order'd some there, who drown'd him, pretending to play with him, and to make him dive under Water for a Pastime. Thus *Ananelus* was restor'd to his Office, but did not keep it long.

* 2 Chron. 19.

2. *Herod* fell in love with the Daughter of a Prieſt call'd *Simon*. This Man, by birth a Citizen of *Alexandria*, was pretty conſiderable in *Jeruſalem*. The King ask'd him his Daughter for a Wife, and he had no reaſon to expect a denial. However the Prieſt had the Inſolence or Courage to deny him. He had very good grounds to fear leſt his Daughter ſhou'd be taken away from him; but *Herod* wou'd not make uſe of violent methods; and compounding with this Prieſt, he depriv'd of the High Prieſthood *Jeſus*, who had already ſucceeded *Ananelus*, and beſtow'd it upon *Simon*. The Marriage was concluded upon that condition; but the new Spouſe, who was alſo call'd *Mariamne*, having no kindneſs for her Husband, conſpir'd with *Pheroras* and *Antipater* againſt him; which * oblig'd that Prince to ſend her away, and diſinherit her Son, and drive his Father-in-law from the High Prieſthood, in whoſe room he appointed *Matthias*.

3. This Man was ſo unfortunate as to have a Dream which defil'd him the Eve of a Solemn Feſtival, and render'd him unfit to officiate. Altho' he was from his Wife, his Fancy was too ſtrong and lively. He confeſs'd it; this Acknowledgment occaſion'd ſome Trouble. For they were oblig'd to chuſe † a High Prieſt only for that Feaſt: Which is a plain demonſtration, that there was no perpetual Deputies to perform the Sacerdotal Function of thoſe, who became defil'd. He ſeconded too the Zeal of thoſe, who deſign'd to pull down the Golden Eagle, that *Herod* had ſet up in the Temple; and he thought that he might ſafely do it, becauſe this Prince was upon his Death-bed. But *Herod* did not forgive this act of Devotion; and upon his Exit out of the World, had no regard for the High Prieſt, whom he depos'd to place in his ſtead *Joaſar*, Uncle to *Mariamne*, and Brother to *Simon*. This *Joaſar* || had the misfortune to be expell'd by *Archelaus*, who ſet up his Brother |||| in his room, and this Brother was forc'd to yield up his Office to another. But *Archelaus* being baniſh'd, and *Judæa* reduc'd into a Province, and the People refuſing to pay the Capitation, *Joaſar* declar'd for the *Romans*, and by their Authority was reſtor'd to the High Prieſthood. The People cou'd not bear, that he ſhou'd buy that Dignity at their coſt. They rais'd a Sedition, and ask'd that the High Prieſt, that they did not like, ſhou'd be caſheer'd. *Coponius*, whom *Auguſtus* had ſent to take the Adminiſtration of that Province, durſt not refuſe a Mutinous Croud, and nam'd in his place, that *Annas* mention'd in the Goſpel. So that here are already twelve High Prieſts depos'd during the Reigns of *Herod*, and his Son *Archelaus*.

4. *Annas*, or *Annanus*, was * look'd upon as the happieſt Man in the World; becauſe after he had been *a long time* High Prieſt, he ſaw five of his Children, and his Son-in-law enjoy the ſame Dignity; which happen'd to none of his Predeceſſors. It was a great honour to be at the Head of the Clergy; but this Family, as all others, underwent ſo many Revolutions, that they cou'd not enjoy it quietly. *Annas* was turn'd out by *Gratus*, Governour of *Judæa* for the *Romans*, after he had been Eleven Years in that Office. St. *Luke* ſays, that *Caiaphas* and he were High Prieſts, when *John Baptiſt* begun his Miniſtry. Nevertheleſs, it is an undoubted truth, that he was depos'd many Years before; and that *Caiaphas* his Son-in-law, was then at the Head of the Clergy. *Euſebius* fanſy'd, that St. *Luke* deſign'd to teach us, that *Jeſus Chriſt* preach'd from the beginning of *Annas* his Prieſthood to that of *Caiaphas*. But this is a groſs miſtake. For St. *Luke* doth not ſpeak of the Miniſtry of *Jeſus Chriſt*, but of that of St. *John*. He doth not make it laſt from one Prieſthood to another, ſince he muſt then have taught above Ten Years. Beſides, *Annas*'s and *Caiaphas*'s Prieſthood did not immediately follow one another; For there are three others between the Father, and Son-in-law. In a Word, it is plain, that this is not the Holy Writer's meaning †. *Caſaubon* || thought to have remov'd the difficulty, by aſſerting, that the High Prieſt had always a Vicar to ſupply his place at Solemn Feſtivals, when he found himſelf defil'd. But theſe perpetual Vicars have been exploded; and in reality are fabulous, as the example of *Matthias*, juſt now quoted, irrefragably proves. But granting this Suppoſition to be true, had the time been denoted by the name of the Vicar? had he been call'd High Prieſt and nothing elſe, as *Valeſius* |||| hath judiciouſly obſerv'd? *Lightfoot* wou'd have been tempted to follow *Baronius*, who made *Annas* Prince of the Council, and *Caiaphas* High Prieſt; but he too ſcrupulouſly follow'd the *Rabbins* to inſert in their Catalogue of the Princes of the Council, a Man that he did not find there. So that, ſuperſtitiouſly ſticking cloſe to his Maſters, he makes of *Annas* the *Sagan* of the Jewiſh Church, or Vicar to the High Prieſt: *Scaliger* * pretended that there were then two High Prieſts. But he ſhou'd have back'd his conjecture with ſome example among the Jews, who are wholly ignorant of two High Prieſts ruling at the ſame time. Beſides *Joſephus* affirms, that *Annas* was depos'd from the High Prieſthood; which doth not allow us to believe, that he perform'd the Functions of it at that time. Laſtly, it is pretended the High Prieſts chang'd every Year, and therefore the Evangeliſts exactly obſerve that *Caiaphas* was High Prieſt *that ſame Year*; and if it was true that the Prieſts acted *vicibus alternis*, it had been right to give the Father-in-law the ſame Title, as to the Son-in-law; ſince they exercis'd that Office by turns. But this conſtant Revolution of the Prieſthood is found no where; on the contrary we are told by *Joſephus*, that *Caiaphas* was Eight or Nine Years in poſſeſſion of that Dignity.

5. This difficulty deſerves our notice: But can it be ſaid, that *Annas* who was depos'd by a Heathen Governour, had ſtill the Title, and even the inherent Authority of that Office, becauſe he was very much reſpected by the Jews? The Evangeliſts inſinuate, that *Caiaphas* left to *Annas* the greateſt part of the Sacerdotal Power; and that the Jews were us'd to pay him a great deal of Deference even after he was depos'd. For when *Jeſus Chriſt* was to be condemn'd, the Holy Penman aſſures, that *Caiaphas was the High Prieſt of that ſame Year*. So that his Father-in-law had no hand in this Condemnation; nevertheleſs the Officers led him away firſt to *Annas*; It was he, who order'd him to be bound, and ſent him in that condition to his Son-in-law. So that this High Prieſt was own'd to have ſome power, whether it was, becauſe he was a conſiderable Man, or becauſe the Jews unwillingly comply'd with his being depos'd by a Heathen, or becauſe *Caiaphas* his Son-in-law ſhew'd him ſo much reſpect as to take his advice, and do nothing without conſulting him. Add to this, that we muſt not be ſurpriz'd, that the Evangeliſts talk after that rate, ſince *Joſephus* hath done the ſame thing. It can't be deny'd, that

* Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 6. *p.* 589. † Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 8. *p.* 597. || Eleazar, *Brother to* Joaſar. |||| Jeſus *Son to* Siamis *by* Archelaus. * Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 8. *p.* 698. *The Tranſlator hath render'd*, ad Satietatem uſque, *there is* πλεῖον. † Euſeb. Hiſt. *l.* 1. *c.* 10. *p.* 11. || Caſaub. Exercit. *p.* 215. |||| Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. *p.* 18. * Scaliger Not. in Euſeb. Chron.

Jonathas;

Jonathas, Son to *Annas*, was depos'd by *Vitellius*, in his Expedition into *Arabia*. *Agrippa* offer'd to reſtore him. But he refus'd his offer in the 42*d* Year of our Lord. He was not then High Prieſt in the 52*d* Year, when he was ſent Priſoner to *Rome*. *Ananias*, who *commanded them that ſtood by St.* Paul, *to ſmite him in the Mouth*, was then in the Chair, and yet *Joſephus*, ſpeaking of him and *Jonathas*, ſays that *Cumanus* ſent the *High Prieſts* to *Rome*. He calls High Prieſt, a Man that was diſmiſs'd from that Office by a Heathen Governour of *Syria*, and who by his own, and his Brother's Intereſt, had ſtill a great power in his Nation, as we'll ſee hereafter. *Capel* indeed pretends, that *Jonathas* was reſtor'd, but doth not prove it. *Joſephus* ſays not one word of this. On the contrary, he ſets down another Succeſſion of High Prieſts, ſo well connected, that it is impoſſible to find a place for *Jonathas*: Neither is it likely, that a Man, who had refus'd to be re-admitted into the High Prieſthood, ſhou'd accept it again, or that it was offer'd to him a ſecond time. *Joſephus* * calls him High Prieſt in the War of *Samaria*, where he was not ſo; and ſpeaking of the High Prieſts, that were depos'd, and ſtill pretended to enjoy the Revenue of their Places, and for that end joyn'd with *Iſhmael*, the preſent High Prieſt, he calls them all *High Prieſts*. So that it muſt neceſſarily be own'd, that even after their diſmiſſion, they kept their Title. For theſe High Prieſts were not all reſtor'd; they did not all at the ſame time perform the Functions of High Prieſts; and were not Vicars to one another. In a Word, *Matthias* was not High Prieſt, when he was kill'd by *Simon*. He loſt his Office along time before; yet *Joſephus* † affirms, that he was one of the High Prieſts, moſt belov'd by the People; becauſe perhaps the War begun under his Prieſthood. It is not repugnant to the common Laws of the Jews, to follow the Stile of that time, and this Conjecture. Neither is it a Contradiction of what *Joſephus* ſays, that *Annas* was depos'd by *Gratus*, and that *Caiaphas* was then High Prieſt: And this agrees with the Goſpel, which ſhews, that *Annas* was not wholly depriv'd of his Authority. Laſtly, nothing is more common than to give a Man the Title of the Dignity, which he hath long enjoy'd with publick Applauſe. As St. *Luke* introduces in the ſame place the Name of *Lyſanias*, which was not requiſite, or even very well known, becauſe this Prince was but Tetrarch of *Abylene*, on the Frontiers of *Judæa* and *Syria*, he might alſo introduce *Annas*, reverenc'd by the Jews, and ſtill look'd upon as High Prieſt, tho' depos'd ſome Years before by the *Roman* Governour, and was better known in the Nation than *Caiaphas*. And we ought not to think it ſtrange, that afterwards inſtead of confounding the Father with the Son-in-law, he obſerves that *Caiaphas* was High Prieſt that ſame Year; becauſe that Office had gone through ſo many hands in a very ſhort time, and almoſt every Year, and that none cou'd foreſee whether *Caiaphas* was to keep it long. *Gratus*, having diſmiſs'd *Annas* from the High Prieſthood, conferr'd it on *Iſhmael*; and this being depos'd, *Eleazar*, *Annas*'s Son, ſucceeded him; and ſhortly after he was forc'd to make way for *Simon*, Son of *Carruth*. All this was done within the ſpace of Three Years; ſo that every Year ſaw a New High Prieſt, and even *Caiaphas* was prefer'd in that interval. Such frequent Alterations oblig'd the Holy Writers to ſpecify particularly the Year of *Caiaphas*, to avoid miſtakes about that time.

6. *Caiaphas* was not more fortunate than his Predeceſſors: For Two Years || after our Saviour's Death, *Vitellius* being made Governour of *Syria*, went to *Jeruſalem*, where they gave him a Magnificent Reception. He did three things to win the more the People's Love, and acknowledge the Affection which they had already ſhew'd him. He aboliſh'd the Duty exacted in *Jeruſalem* upon Fruit; reſtor'd to the High Prieſts the keeping |||| of the Sacerdotal Robe, which was commonly lock'd up in the Cittadel *, and depos'd *Caiaphas*. The Jews hated him, ſince they beg'd he ſhou'd be diſmiſs'd; and yet *Annas*'s Family kept their Intereſt ſo well, that his Son *Jonathas* was † choſen. *Vitellius* took a ſecond Journey into *Judæa*, when he was making Preparations of War againſt *Aretus* King of *Arabia*. He was ſo complaiſant to the Jews, that he order'd his Army to march another way; becauſe they were offended at the Pictures on his Colours. He celebrated the Feſtival of the Paſſover with them: He depriv'd *Jonathas* of the High Prieſthood which he had beſtow'd upon him; but he left it in that Family. For he promoted his Brother || *Theophilus* to that Dignity. *Agrippa* took it away from him, to give it to the ſame *Simon*, who, upon marrying his Daughter to *Herod* the Great, became High Prieſt; but whether be behav'd himſelf ill, or that God wou'd not have that Employ remain long in any bodies hands, the ſame *Agrippa* degraded him, and wou'd have |||| reſtor'd *Jonathas* Son to *Annas*; but he being ſatisfi'd with having had once that Honour; and not thinking himſelf very well qualifi'd for it, he nam'd his Brother *Matthias*, a Man a great deal fitter for that Poſt than he. *Jonathas* afterward was concern'd in the Quarrel of the *Samaritans* with his Country Men, and led bound to *Rome*. He gain'd there his Cauſe, and obtain'd his Liberty. He even ask'd that *Felix* ſhou'd be appointed Governour of *Judæa*, and his Petition was granted. But fanſying that this Governour was to be at his Devotion, becauſe he had contributed to his Preferment; he became * troubleſome by his Remonſtrances concerning his Behaviour. *Felix*'s marriage with *Druſilla*, who had another Husband alive, and his Covetouſneſs gave *Jonathas* but too much grounds to reprehend the Governour. But Courtiers do not love thoſe, who take that freedom with them. *Felix* cou'd not bear with *Jonathas*'s Exhortations, and therefore to revenge himſelf, he hir'd a Ruffian, who ſtab'd *Jonathas*. A wretched Fate! His Brother *Matthias*, for whom he had procur'd the High Prieſthood, was not perhaps found fit to exerciſe it. For theſe High Prieſts making an ill uſe of their Power, ſoon made themſelves unworthy of the Honour confer'd upon them. At leaſt the conſtant Affection of the People for *Agrippa*, makes us preſume, that the High Prieſts, whom he ſo often depos'd, were in the wrong. *Matthias* was one of theſe; but his † Succeſſor held not his place ſo long as he; ſince *Agrippa*, who dy'd the ſame Year, had already diſmiſs'd him, and put another in his room.

7. *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, having obtain'd of *Claudius* the Privilege to name the High Prieſts, altho his Authority in *Jeruſalem* was only over the Temple, did not fail to make uſe of it. For he depos'd *Simon Canthera*, whom he found then High Prieſt. It was the ſecond time, that he was turn'd out. For *Agrippa* had caſhier'd him, and reſtor'd him few days before his Death. This Family might ſtand in competition with that of *Annas*; for the Brothers

* V. Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 2. *c.* 11. *p.* 795. Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 6. *p.* 696. Capell. Append. ad Hiſt. Apoſt. *t.* 2. *p.* 3928.
† Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 6. *c.* 15. *p.* 938. || Ann. 35. |||| Joſeph. de Bello. *p.* 795. Capell. Append. ad Hiſt. Apoſt. *t.* 9. *p.* 3928. * Antonia. † An. 37. || An. 37. |||| An. 42. * An. 52. † An. 44.

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to *Simon*, *Herod*'s Father-in-law, had been High Priests; his Son, the Person we speak of, was one too; and so was afterwards his Grand-son, *Joseph Cabi*, who was depos'd by *Agrippa* II. after *Festus* was remov'd. Their Alliance with *Herod* the Great help'd them to obtain the High Priesthood; but the prevalent Corruption, that sway'd even in the Sanctuary, and the Divine Vengeance, made that Office unsteady, and drove out the High Priests after one another.

8. *Joseph*, Son to *Camydus*, whom *Herod* put into *Simon*'s room, only took possession of his Dignity, and soon lost it. *Ananias*, who * succeeded him, kept it a little longer. He had a Son, who was *Captain of the Temple*. We read of this Office in the Gospel, where frequent mention is made of these *Captains*. But we must distinguish the Captain, who commanded the *Roman* Soldiers about that Edifice, to prevent the rising, and disorders of the Mob, from a Captain who was intrusted with the keeping the Keys of the Temple, to secure the Holy Treasure and Vessels. This Officer was commonly taken out of a Sacerdotal Family, and he had the Liberty to come into the Council of the Priests. I cannot tell why some will have it, that there was one to guard the Temple by day, and another by night. For it is much more natural to say, that there was one above the rest, call'd out of respect *the Captain of the Temple*, who had under him some Officers to relieve him; but who were call'd by the same Title. And it is for that reason that the Gospel reckons many. *Ananus*, Son to the High Priest, was the Chief † of those Captains, and was sent bound by *Cumanus* to plead the Cause of the Jews, against the *Samaritans*. They return'd, having prov'd the Injustice of *Cumanus*, who was rather their Adversary and Executioner, than Judge.

9. They persecuted the Christian Church at their return; and St. *Paul* coming to *Jerusalem* in the Year 58. felt the effect of their barbarous Severity. He was seiz'd, and led before the great Council; and he had scarce begun to plead his Cause, but *Ananias* commanded, that he shou'd be smitten in the Mouth. He then divested himself of the Character of a Judge, and laid aside the Gravity of a High Priest. And therefore St. *Paul*, mov'd at that Insult, told him, *God shall smite thee, thou whited Wall.* St. *Augustin* apply'd this Prediction to the Jewish Priesthood and Commonwealth, which were then nothing but a Wall, that was whited to stop and conceal the Cranys, and ready to fall down. But this is too quaint a Thought. For this Threatning was rather levell'd at *Ananias*'s Person, who was depos'd and kill'd. Yet St. *Paul* confesses, that he had not spoken so freely, had he known, that he was the High Priest. An Answer, which hath been taken for an Irony; because it can't be conceiv'd that *Ananias*, who had enjoy'd that Dignity Ten Years, cou'd be unknown to St. *Paul*. But St. *Paul*'s circumstances inclin'd him at that time so little to Railery, and the Jest ascrib'd him is so senseless, that it is not likely that he ever design'd it. This Apostle, who had scarce resided in *Jerusalem* for more than Ten Years, might know that *Ananias* was High Priest, and yet not personally know him. For it must not be imagin'd, that the Order and Rank of Men was so exactly observ'd in the *Sanhedrim*, that it's President was always and easily known. There was a Sedition, and Tumult, when St. *Paul* pleaded his Cause, and that perhaps put an Assembly out of order, which was then in a great deal of Confusion.

10. The Corruption of the High Priests was yet greater. For they authoriz'd Crimes, as appears by this instance. Forty Men exasperated that St. *Paul* was snatch'd away from them, conspir'd against his Life, and made a Vow to fast till they had kill'd him. The number of the Conspirators was great against a private Man. St. *Paul* had done them no Injury, and yet they were inrag'd against him. They introduc'd both Religion and Vows to strengthen their Fury; but what is yet more unaccountable, and shews the Genius of the Priests of that time, is, that the forty Conspirators came to them, to acquaint them with their Plot, and to ask their Approbation, and Assistance; and they, instead of censuring, and sharply reproving these blood-thirsty Men, concurr'd with them, as their Predecessors had done with *Judas*, against *Jesus Christ*. Providence, that guarded St. *Paul*, having screen'd him from their Attempts, *Ananias*, still in a Rage, went as far as *Cæsarea* at the head of his Clergy, to exhibit his Accusations against the Apostle before ‖ *Felix*, the present Governour, who, unwilling to condemn, or absolve him, kept him still in Prison. *Ananias* was as yet High Priest, since it was he who commanded St. *Paul* to be smitten in the Mouth, and the Orator *Tertullus* to plead against him at *Cæsarea*.

11. But God soon reveng'd his Apostle, and fulfil'd his Prediction. He smote *that whited Wall*, who conceal'd his inveterate Hatred under the specious pretences of a religious Zeal. *Agrippa* II. took away his Priestly Dignity from him. Yet he had a great Interest; for he brib'd *Albinus*, who succeeded *Felix*, and did what he pleas'd at Court. But his Son was at last the cause of his ruin. This Son's name was *Eleazar*, and he was Captain of the Temple. The Assassins Seiz'd upon and carry'd him away, and refus'd to release him till *Ananias* had obtain'd of the Governour to enlarge Ten of their Comrades, who were in Jail, and by the Law ought to be put to death. *Ananias* ‖‖ redeem'd his Son by this means; but it prov'd so fatal to him, that the Assassins finding this easy method of releasing their Accomplices, seiz'd as often as they cou'd upon some of his Family, and then propos'd him an Exchange, which, *Albinus*, won by Presents, granted. Besides, *Eleazar* put himself at the head of another party, that forbid to offer any Victim for any that did not profess the Jewish Religion. So that the Emperour himself, for whom it was usual to offer some, was by that excluded. Some endeavour'd to oppose so needless an Innovation, which wou'd derive upon them the hatred both of the *Romans*, and all Foreigners. The High Priests themselves, that were concern'd in the offering of the Victims, oppos'd *Eleazar*, who depriv'd them of a considerable Profit; but he had the Power in his hands, and was Master of the Temple. Those that were for Peace beg'd some Assistance from *Agrippa*, who sent them Three Thousand Horse. They miserably butcher'd one another for Seven Days: But the Assassins joyning *Eleazar*, he became too strong for his Adversaries; and taking advantage of his Superiority, he barbarously pull'd down his Father's House; and this High Priest, who had hid himself with his Brother, in the upper part of the Palace, being discover'd, both were kill'd by the Factious, who had no regard, that they were so near related to their Ring-leader. God permitted, that this cruel Son shou'd stifle the impulses of Nature for a Man, who some time before had stifl'd those of Justice. Thus the Almighty *smote that whited Wall.*

* An. 49. † An. 52. ‖ Acts 23. & 24. 1. ‖‖ An. 66.

12. *Ishmae*

12. *Iſhmael* * took poſſeſſion of the High Prieſthood, which was wreſted from *Ananias*'s hands; but this Man, far from reforming the Diſorders of the Clergy, rather increas'd them conſiderably. *Joſephus*, who had till that time conceal'd the Diſſolutions of the Prieſts, which occaſion'd their being ſo often depos'd, cou'd not forbear ſpeaking of them; becauſe the War, and the Diviſions in the Temple, and even among the Clergy then broke out; tho' the Clergy was particularly concern'd at that time to be ſtrictly united; becauſe they had a great many Enemies, and ſaw ſo often the Publick Peace and Tranquility diſturb'd. Covetouſneſs, which for a long time was remarkable in the High Prieſts, (ſince when they laid down their Office, they were always rich, and powerful, tho' they did not enjoy it † long) was the cauſe of a new Diſorder. For the High Prieſts that were depos'd, joyning with *Iſhmael*, pretended that the Tithes and Offerings, allotted to maintain the Inferiour Prieſts, belong'd to them. As there was a great many of theſe High Prieſt, and all pretended to have the Income of an Office, which, as they alledg'd, was only taken away from them out of Tyranny, or Injuſtice, the Prieſts that were under them muſt of neceſſity have ſtarv'd, had their pretenſions taken place. For there was not enough to maintain them all, and gratify the Covetouſneſs of ſome, and the Luxury of others. The Inferiour Clergy, back'd by the Chief of the People, mutined againſt their Leaders, and from words came to blows. Both ſides were attended with a Guard of Ruffians, for fear of a Surprize, and to ſurprize their Adverſaries. They fought in the || Streets of *Jeruſalem*, and even at the very Gates of the Temple. The High Prieſts ſent into the Country to take away by force the Tithes out of the Barns, and converted them to their own uſe, and ſo ſtarv'd the poor Clergy. *Joſephus* |||| doth not expreſly ſay, that it was for that Diſorder, that *Felix* ſent Forty Prieſts to *Rome* to give an account of their Behaviour; yet that is very likely; becauſe it happen'd about that time, and *Joſephus* was ſo well convinc'd of their Innocency, that he went Four Years after to ſee them in Priſon at *Rome*. And truly they were the Parties oppreſs'd; and it is no wonder that the High Prieſts had more Intereſt than they with the Governour, who perhaps thought to ſuppreſs that Tumult, by removing thoſe that appear'd the hotteſt: At leaſt, that Conjecture is more probable, than that of *Baronius*, who wou'd have theſe forty Priſoners, the ſame that had bound themſelves by an Oath to kill St. *Paul*, as if they had all been Prieſts, which the Apoſtolical Hiſtory ſays of none of them.

13. *Iſhmael* alſo fell out with *Agrippa* II. and went to *Rome* to go to Law with him; becauſe he pretended to pull down a Wall, which hinder'd the ſight from his Palace into the Temple. *Iſhmael* being back'd by *Poppeus*, who was a Jew, he obtain'd his requeſt: But whether his * Fidelity was ſuſpected, or ſome Complaint had been ſent from *Judæa* to *Rome* againſt him, he was detain'd as an Hoſtage, and *Agrippa* to revenge himſelf, turn'd him out of the High Prieſthood. His Head was afterwards cut off at *Cyrene*, but the occaſion of it is hitherto unknown. He left Three Children, who, warn'd by their Father's fault, left *Jeruſalem* when it was beſieg'd by *Titus*, and came into his Camp, where they were very kindly receiv'd. *Joſeph* the Son of *Simon* ſucceeded *Iſhmael*, but did not keep his Office long. *Ananus* his Succeſſor was of the Sect of the Saducees, a Man, that was cruel and inhumane, even according to the Verdict of his own Nation. He ſoon ſignaliz'd himſelf by the Murder of St. *James*. But far from gaining by that barbarous Action the Love and Eſteem of the Jews, it was abhorr'd, and the cauſe that he was degraded. He was High Prieſt but Three Months.

14. Not long after, this Office produc'd an open War, and was diſputed Sword in hand. *Agrippa* had put in *Ananus*'s room, one *Jeſus* Son of *Damneus*; but attempting ſome Months after, to give his Office to *Jeſus Gamaliel*'s Son, theſe two Competitors got their Friends together, and took up Arms. Old *Ananias*, who hop'd to make an advantage of that Diviſion, not only fomented it, but had alſo his Party, by whoſe power he pretended to be reſtor'd. What a Confuſion was that, to ſee the Church in Arms, to fight for an Employ, which God alone had a Right to give? Is it not plain, that the High Prieſthood as well as the Republick was going to ruin?

15. However, theſe were but the beginnings of their Calamities, altho' *Jeruſalem* was already fill'd with Blood, and Murders, by the Ambition of the Leaders, who ſet a very pernicious Example to the People. However, the Combatants being depos'd, and *Matthias* † put in their room, they preſum'd to make an open War againſt the *Romans*, and that compleated their deſtruction. *Joſephus* ſays ||, that *Matthias* was *Theophilus*'s Son, and inſinuates in another place, that he was Son or Grand-ſon to *Simon*. There is in this ſomething, that cannot eaſily be unravell'd. Let it be what it will, the Rebellion broke during his High-Prieſthood, which he held but one Year. However, he had ſtill a great Intereſt with the People, and when the Zealots by their Barbarity made every body tremble, *Matthias* had credit enough to get *Simon* to be invited into the City, that he might with his Troops repreſs their Fury. But by his advice he only increas'd the Confuſion and Slaughter. For *Simon* prov'd more inhumane than the Zealots. *Matthias*, involv'd in a Calamity which he cou'd not remedy, was accus'd to ſide with the *Romans*, which was the wiſeſt Courſe that cou'd be taken, to ſave the People from being intirely deſtroy'd. Nevertheleſs, he was ſeiz'd upon that Suſpicion, and *Simon*, forgetting that he was admitted into the City by *Matthias*'s Intereſt, kill'd Three of his Sons before his face, refus'd them Burial, which was the only thing which this wretched Father ask'd of him, and then had him murder'd. Thus the High Prieſts, who diſhonour'd their Function, and fomented Rebellion to maintain their Authority, were not long unpuniſh'd.

16. Another Alteration happen'd in the High Prieſthood, which cloſes up the Proofs of the enormous Corruption of that time. The Zealots broke into the Holy Place, drove out all the Families, out of which the High Prieſts were uſually taken out, and invented a new Method of Creating them. For they caſt lots upon one of the Twenty Four Diviſions, which *David* had made, and took from thence a Stupid and Ignorant Fellow, who was the more fit to comply with them. Since we are oblig'd to explain the Hiſtory of the Jews, and the different Steps whereby the High-Prieſthood was aboliſh'd, we muſt ſolve ſome Difficulties, that ariſe from this New Creation.

Firſt, We muſt not imagine, that *Phanus*, or *Phannias*, that ſtupid Man, whom the Zealots got out of the Countrey to make him High-Prieſt, was not of the Sacerdotal Race. *Capel* was deceiv'd in it, becauſe he follow'd the Latin Tranſlation of

* An. 58. † Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 6. *p.* 696. || An. 58. |||| Joſeph. Vit. *p.* 999. * Idem de Bello, *l.* 7. *c.* 4. *p.* 949. † An. 66. || Joſeph. *p.* 700. & de Bello, *l.* 6. *c.* 15. *p.* 938.

Josephus, which positively affirms it, whereas that Historian only says, that he was unworthy * to exercise that Function. He was of the Division of *Jakim*; for so it is call'd in the First Book of Chronicles; and if there be some difference of Names in *Josephus*, it is † very inconsiderable, and may easily be corrected. This Division was compos'd of the Posterity of *Aaron*; but at the same time, very far from the High-Priesthood; because there was a great Difference between these Divisions; and to take a High-Priest out of this, was one of the Innovations, which the Zealots introduc'd in their Election. Their casting Lots upon him was another. God doubtless permitted this Innovation, and he who guided the Lot, made it fall on a Man wholly unqualify'd for that Employ, to shew plainly that he absolutely rejected the High-Priests, whose Office was soon to be abolish'd.

Secondly, this *Phanus* was made *High-Priest*. But this is contested, altho' *Josephus* gives him the Title, and observes, that before the Lot was cast, the Zealots had remov'd all the Families, out of which the High-Priests were commonly taken. This Observation had been needless, had not they design'd to make a New High Priest, contrary to the usual Form, and had they only chosen him Chief of his Division. Besides, *they put the Holy Robe upon him*, which the Zealots had secur'd, and this Garment was only given to the High-Priest. He was taught how to perform the Duties of his Office, which probably he did not know. Lastly, *Josephus* observes, that *they acted a Farce*. And indeed there was then but the Shadow of Priesthood; because God had withdrawn his Grace and Authority from it. However *Josephus*, who did go so far in this Mystery, had not reckon'd this Action among the enormous Crimes of the Zealots, had *Phanus* only acted as chief of a Division. The Difficulty, for we must not conceal it, arises from what *Josephus* says, *that the Zealots constituted some unknown High-Priests, and of mean Extraction, that they might have some Accomplices of their Crimes. Phanus* was not then the only One, that they took out of a distant Division, and from the Dunghill, to promote him to the greatest Dignity of the Priesthood. Yet History mentions but him. But this Silence is not so puzling as some imagine. For it is no wonder, that the seditious Zealots, who made a Tool of the High-Priesthood, often shifted it from one Man to another, that they might have the High-Priests more at their Devotion. When the Government was better settled, the Kings, Ethnarchs, and Heathen Governours, often left a Man but Three Months in that Office. But this Disorder increas'd, no doubt, when an insolent, and cruel Faction had all power in their hands, and the Priesthood was drawing to its last Period. So that they depos'd this *Phanus*, and put another in his room. But *Josephus*, who did not look upon these High-Priests as lawfully chosen, overlook'd the others appointed by the Zealots.

17. The greatest Difficulty lies in the Opposition, that was made to *Phanus*'s Installation. The People at the Instigation of another High-Priest, nam'd *Ananus*, rose against the Zealots. This *Ananus* was chosen to command in *Jerusalem*, when the War against the *Romans* was resolv'd upon; and Officers appointed. *Josephus* represents him as a Wise Man, and the Oldest of all the High-Priests, that were depos'd; and the Man that cou'd have sav'd *Jerusalem*, if he had escap'd the Fury of the Zealots, and had his Counsel been follow'd. He cou'd bear neither the Prophanation of the Holy-place, nor the Election of *Phanus* by the Zealots: And therefore he endeavour'd to animate the People, and awaken them by his Exhortations. He offer'd to sacrifice himself to save the Glory of the Temple, gather'd some Forces together, and had beaten the Zealots out, if he had not been afraid to defile the Temple, by breaking open the Holy Gates, and introducing into it the People, that was imbrew'd with the Blood of their Enemies, and still in Arms. However this Man, so famous in his Nation, is scarce known. At least it can hardly be determin'd, which of the two High-Priests of that Name, he was. Shall we say, that *Ananus*, that pious and wise Governour of *Jerusalem*, was *Annas*, that put St. *James* to Death? But he was a Sadducee, to whom *Josephus* gives too bad a Character, to transform him so soon into a Man, who was the Darling of the People, and did what he pleas'd by his Eloquence. Add to this, that this *Ananus*, who was made High-Priest but in Sixty Two, cou'd not be the Eldest of all the High-Priests. So that we must ascend as far as *Annas*, Father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, who, tho' he liv'd as a Private Man since his Dismission, yet preserv'd an Affection for his Country. 1. *Josephus* hath mightily extoll'd this *Annas*, Father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, whose Family was always powerful. It is not then strange that he gives him some new Encomiums, when, being more in Years, he gave the People some prudent Counsels, and took with him part of the Command. For *Josephus* took the Government of the Two *Galilees* at the same time that *Ananus* took that of *Jerusalem*. 2. Even the Gospel represents Old *Annas* as a Man very much respected by the People, since *Jesus Christ* was led before him, before he was carry'd before the High-Priest. 3. He was the *Eldest* of all the High-Priests in the See of *Jerusalem*. His Age may be an Obstacle; since it can't be well thought, that a Man, who must have been above Seventy Years of Age, had Vigour enough to undertake the Command of the City. But in the Main, *Josephus* represents him as a Man already stricken in Years, and Older than all the rest. He might have more Vigour at that Age, and even be fitter for the Government; and his Old Age, distinguishing him from the others, oblig'd them to deferr him the Command in a time of Trouble, wherein every body pretended to rule. The Wisdom which *Josephus* ascribes him, and the Veneration of the People, which he led as he pleas'd, are to some new Arguments, that he must of necessity be an Old Man, different from the Sadducee High-Priest, who was in the Chair but Three or Four Years before: And none can pretend to this Character, the *Annas* of the Gospel. Thus the same Man, who condemn'd *Jesus Christ*, the true High-Priest, whose Priesthood did abolish the Levitical, and Death all the Victims; after he had been an Eye-witness of all the Disorders and Crimes, whereby, as by so many Steps, the High-Priesthood tended to its Ruin, saw it at last abolish'd. He was kill'd by the *Idumæans*, who, having sought a long time for him, at last found, and unmercifully murder'd him.

18. Thus ended the High-Priesthood; because God had no more occasion for those High-Priests, in whose room his Son had succeeded. Without enlarging upon Observations taken from the Christian Religion, two things may be observ'd on the manner, that this Office was abolish'd.

* Ἀνάξιος. Joseph. de Bello, *l.* 4. *p.* 872. † Josephus *reads* Ενλακειμ; *read* ὁ Ἰωακειμ, *making of the* ε & ν *an* ω, Ibid.

[*A Catalogue of the* 28 *High-Priests, that liv'd and were depos'd, restor'd, and kill'd, from the Reign of* Herod *the Great, to the Destruction of* Jerusalem.

High-Priests depos'd by Herod *the Great.*

1. *Ananelus* come from *Babylon.*
2. *Aristobulus, Asmonæan,* drown'd.
3. *Ananelus* restor'd, and depos'd a second time, and was succeeded by *Jesus,* Son of *Phaber,* also depos'd.
4. *Simon, Herod*'s Father-in-law, depos'd.
5. *Matthias,* the Son of *Theophilus,* depos'd few days before *Herod*'s Death.

High-Priests depos'd by Archelaus.

6. *Joazar, Simon*'s Son, Uncle to *Mariamne* II.
7. *Eleazar, Joazar*'s Brother, and *Jesus* Son of *Sie* succeeded him.

By Quirinus *and* Coponius.

8. *Jesus,* Son of *Sie,* turn'd out to make way for *Joazar,* who was restor'd; but this *Joazar* was at the same time depos'd, at the People's request.

By Gratus.

9. *Ananus,* Son of *Seth,* or *Annas.*
10. *Ishmael,* Son of *Fabi.*
11. *Eleazar,* Son of *Annas.*
12. *Simon,* Son of *Camithus.*

By Vitellius.

13. *Joseph,* Sir-nam'd *Caiaphas.*
14. *Jonathas,* Son of *Annas.*

By Agrippa I.

15. *Theophilus,* Son of *Jonathas.*
16. *Simon Cantharus,* Son of *Simon* I.
17. *Matthias,* Son of *Annas.*
18. *Elionæus.*

By Herod *King of* Chalcis.

19. *Simon Cantharus* had succeeded *Elionæus*; but was a second time depos'd by *Herod.*
20. *Joseph,* Son of *Camydas.*

By Agrippa II.

21. *Ananias,* Son of *Nebedæus.*
22. *Ishmael,* Son of *Fabi.*
23. *Joseph Cabi,* Son of *Simon* I.
24. *Annas,* or *Ananus* the Sadducee, the Murderer of St. *James.*
25. *Jesus,* Son of *Damnæus.*
26. *Jesus,* Son of *Gamaliel.*

By the Zealots.

27. *Matthias,* in whose Priesthood the War begun, and was kill'd.
28. *Phannus, Phannias,* or *Phannase,* chosen by Lot by the Zealots, in whose room they substituted
29. Others *not known.*]

First, there never were so frequent Alterations in the Priesthood, since *Moses* instituted it. The Jews had groan'd under the Yoak of the *Greeks* and *Syrians,* and their Condition shou'd have been more easy under that of the *Romans,* not only because they respected the Temple, to which the Masters of the Empire sent some Victims to be offer'd, and appear'd more indulgent to the Jews, till they had fill'd up the measure of their Sins; but also because under the *Romans* they had some Ethnarchs of their Religion, and even when *Judæa* was reduc'd into a Province, *Herod,* King of *Chalcis,* and *Agrippa* II. who both were Jews, obtain'd of *Claudius* the Administration of the Temple, and the Nomination of the High-Priests. However there never were so many changes in that Office, and perhaps never any so frequent in any other. Whether a Jew, or a Heathen had the Nomination of the High-Priests, one was scarce prefer'd, but he was turn'd out. There was no consistency in the Priesthood, whose Strength God had broken; and the Jews themselves are forc'd to acknowledge, that there was something Secret and Divine in this. The Kings always had a Power to depose the High-Priests; but they hardly made use of it once, or twice in the space of 1500 Years, that they reign'd. But here we find almost Thirty Dismissions from that Dignity, in the space of 100 Years. Since *Herod*'s Reign, we don't see one High-Priest die in his Office, or if any died in it, it was a violent Death. The High-Priests being depos'd, that did not screen them from the hatred of the People, or the prosecution of the *Romans*: The Authority of this Office seem'd abolish'd, even in those that enjoy'd it. They cou'd neither keep, nor exercise it. They were the pastime of Men's Inconstancy and Caprice. Can we admire too much the odd, and strange Fate of the High-Priests, who preceeded the Destruction of the Temple? And what reason can be assign'd for so extraordinary a Change, without ascending to God and his Judgments?

19. It must be confess'd, that the Depravation of these High-Priests, arriv'd to the highest pitch of Excess. They were so rid by Covetousness, that they rob'd the Inferiour Priests of their usual Food, to inrich themselves. They minded nothing, but heaping Wealth, to bribe the *Roman* Governours, whose Protection they wanted. When they cou'd not buy it, these Men, whose Dignity wholly consisted to serve God, were seen to raise Factions, to stir up the People to rebel, to put themselves at the head of Armies to wage War; and undertake the Command and Government at *Jerusalem*; and in a Word, to provide for its Defence. When they had no Foreign War, they made one with one another. They fomented the old Hatred against the *Samaritans,* prompted People to Murder, took up Arms to wrest the High-Priesthood from one another, as if they fought for a Dignity that was purely Temporal. We must not wonder, that God did punish these Prophanations, that were so heinous. It is a most heavy and fatal Judgment of God, when the Clergy disgrace their Profession, and become profligate. Prophanation and Impenitency, necessarily draw publick and general Calamities after them. Such was the Condition of the Jewish Clergy, that begun by Crimes, and ended by the most dreadful Punishment that can be imagin'd.

20. There was another Spring of the Evils, that happen'd to that Church, which we have not as yet mention'd. It was the Division, and Multiplicity of Sects, that tore her to pieces. The Schism of *Samaria* was still in Being, and the Hatred of both Parties of that Nation was so great at the time of our Saviour, that they hardly convers'd one with another.

The Pharisees, by their relax'd Morality, and enervating the Severity of the Law, corrupted the People. Their Consciences, thus misled, willingly follow'd Doctors, who reconcil'd Religion with their Passions; and not only left the Motions of the Heart their full scope, but also flatter'd its Haughtiness, by assuring, that Man merited Heaven by his own Strength and good Works.

The

The Sadducees had invented a Religion for Perſons of Quality, who only mind the preſent, and will not have their Pleaſures diſturb'd by the affrighting Notions of Futurity. They taught, that God gave Rewards, and inflicted Puniſhments during this Life; but that the Soul dy'd with the Body, and that there was neither Spirits, nor Reſurrection, nor Judgment to come.

The *Eſſenes* ſeem'd to have more Devotion; but Pride, the moſt formidable of all Vices, is often hid under a ſeeming Auſterity. I have ſeen few profeſs'd Zealots, but were proud, and wou'd contemn thoſe that were like them. Thoſe Separations from humane Society ought always to be ſuſpected. People withdraw, that they may be obſerv'd; they are afraid not to be taken notice of in the Crowd. They write in Great Letters on their Garments, and at the Gate of their Monaſtries, that at ſuch an hour, they are to mortifie, and ſcourge themſelves, that every body may know it. But this is not the true Character of Piety.

The *Herodians* ſet up a Falſe, in the room of the True Meſſiah. Theſe Impoſtors, with their Notion of a Temporal Kingdom and Deliverance, cheated the People with a falſe Hope of Liberty. Thus Corruption and Miſery crowded on every ſide upon the Jewiſh Church. We deſign to enlarge on this Cauſe of the Decay of *Judaiſm*. But as the Hiſtory of all theſe Sects is long enough to make us loſe the Sight of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, we refer it to the Continuation of the Firſt Book.

CHAP. VI.

The Third Step towards the Ruin of Jeruſalem. *Diſorders caus'd by the different Factions of the People.*

I. THE *Zeal of the People for their Religion.* II. *This Religion alter'd by the* Romans. III. *A Maſſacre under* Varus. IV. *Bucklers conſecrated by* Pilate *to* Tiberius. V. Caligula's *Statue rejected.* VI. *The War of the* Samaritans *againſt the Jews, under* Cumanus. VII. Felix *uſes St.* Paul *ill, and kills the High-Prieſt.* VIII. *The Cruelties of* Albinus, *and* Geſſius Florus. IX. *The Diſorders occaſion'd by Robbers.* X. *Frequent Impoſters.* XI. *The Original of the Zealots.* XII. *Their enormous Crimes.* XIII. *Diviſions at* Jeruſalem *among thee Mutineers.*

1. THE Jews were very zealous for their Religion and Temple. They were at a great Charge, and run the riſque of their Lives, to reſort thither every Year to worſhip God. The vaſt Number of thoſe, that offer'd Sacrifices there, can hardly be imagin'd. Their Worſhip was pure. For they worſhip'd neither Reſſemblance, nor Images in that place. The perpetual Sacrifice of the Evening and Morning, was never interrupted till the Eve before the City was taken. They continu'd to carry there the firſt Fruits and Offerings, for the Maintenance of the Prieſts; altho' they ſaw, that they were plunder'd by the High Prieſt, who appropriated them to himſelf, and let the others ſtarve. They thought with this Shadow of Religion, that God wou'd always protect their Nation, and that neither the City, nor Temple cou'd be deſtroy'd. A ſtrange Blindneſs! To imagine, that God will accept the appearances of Devotion, whilſt the eſſential part of the Law is neglected; and that he is oblig'd to maintain a Houſe, which is monſtrouſly profan'd. And indeed the Zealots made of the Temple a Receptacle of Robbers, a Slaughter-houſe; and God, who had no need of a Temple, or Sacrifices, wou'd not ſuffer it to ſtand.

We'll not make here an exact Hiſtory of all the Diſorders which the People committed. For we ſhou'd then be oblig'd to copy *Joſephus*, inſtead of ſupplying what is wanting in his Hiſtory. However, to give a general account of the means, which God employ'd to deſtroy this Nation, that he had ſo long protected, we'll diſtinguiſh five ſorts of Men, who concurr'd to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; the *Roman* Troops, the Governours that were in *Judæa*, the Robbers, the Impoſtors and the Zealots.

2. The *Romans* being call'd to the Aſſiſtance, or rather to the Government of *Judæa*, by the Diviſion of the *Aſmonæans*, and the Exigency *Herod* was in, Religion ſuffer'd by his Auxiliary Troops, and by theſe imperious and hard Maſters. The Jews, ſince their return from the Captivity, cheriſh'd an inſuperable abhorrence for Images. They were ſcrupulous about them even to a Fault; ſince the march of Forces, carrying Eagles on their Standards, and at the Head of the Legions, put the People in an Uproar. However, *Herod*, to pleaſe the *Romans*, plac'd a Golden Eagle on the Gate of the Temple. The Zealots, being perſwaded that *neither the Figure, nor reſemblance of any Animal, ought to be ſuffer'd in the Temple*, and ſeeing *Herod* dangerouſly Ill, believ'd that it was time to revenge their injur'd Religion, and therefore with Hatchets hew'd down this Image. This Prince, enrag'd at this Affront offer'd him upon a pretence of Religion, had Malice and Vigour enough to condemn thoſe who had advis'd that Action, to be burn'd; and all the reſt to be beheaded. The People look'd upon them as Martyrs, fill'd the City with Outcrys and Lamentations, and ask'd Juſtice of his Son *Archelaus*, who, far from diſſembling, or diſapproving what his Father had done, order'd three thouſand Men to be murder'd, who were aſſembl'd in the Temple, where they quietly perform'd their Devotions, after they had repell'd ſome Troops that were ſent againſt them. *Archelaus* was afraid, that if he forgave the Affront offer'd to the Golden Eagle, *Auguſtus* wou'd believe, that he ſuffer'd the Majeſty of the Empire to be trampl'd upon, and refuſe him the Crown. Thus every thing was ſacrific'd to the *Romans*, and even at that time, a thouſand, and a thouſand living Victims were offer'd to * dead and inſenſible Images. Publick Shews were introduc'd; and Games, unknown before, were celebrated in the Emperour's Honour; this put the People in a ferment, which fear'd leaſt their Religion might be invaded by it, and Images conceal'd under the Preparations of a Feaſt. The Soldiers were the Cauſe of another Diſorder. For the *Romans*, who were afraid, leaſt the Jews, who gather'd together from all parts of *Judæa*, and the *Eaſtern* Provinces to celebrate the Paſſover, ſhou'd take then occaſion to riſe, kept at that time a Guard at the Gate of the Temple; and one of *Cumanus*'s Soldiers, who was upon the

* Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 1. & 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 776.

Guard, ſhew'd his Turpitude * to the Jews, to inſult them at a time when they thought of nothing but the Celebration of their Myſteries. They thought their Religion concern'd in that Affront. They ask'd that the Delinquent ſhou'd be put to Death; but before they obtain'd it, they arm'd themſelves with Stones and Clubs. *Cumanus* ſent a ſecond Detachment to ſuſtain that, which ſome mutinous young Men had attack'd furiouſly; and then they were forc'd to fly; they left the Temple in Diſorder, and as every one made haſt to get out, and the Soldiers, who kept the Porch, took that opportunity to revenge themſelves, almoſt Ten Thouſand were kill'd, or cruſh'd to death. Thus the *Romans*, who were us'd to another Religion, and glad to vilify that of the Jews, which was the only one of that kind in the World, being introduc'd among them, fill'd them with a furious Zeal, and incited their Minds to Rebellion.

3. But the Governours did more harm than the Soldiers. *Judæa* was often reduc'd into a Province; and by a particular Diſpenſation of Providence, almoſt all thoſe that were ſent thither, were ſo many Banditti, who ſtudy'd nothing elſe but how to enrich themſelves with the Spoils of their Government, and to deſtroy the Nation committed to their Charge, and they exaſperated the Jews to that degree, that, driven to Deſpair, they broke out into an open Rebellion, and haſten'd their Ruin.

And indeed, during *Archelaus*'s Interregnum, who was gone to *Rome* to beg the Execution of his Father's Will, *Sabinus* the Emperor's Agent in *Syria* under *Varus*, went as ſoon as he cou'd to *Jeruſalem*, to take an Inventory of what Goods *Herod* had left there, and to ſeize upon all the Strong Holds. He was attended, not with a great Number of Soldiers, but Servants, who, being us'd to Plunder, did a great deal of Miſchief in *Jeruſalem*. The People aſſembl'd for the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, mutiny'd. But they were much more inrag'd, when they perceiv'd that the Soldiers had carry'd away about Six Thouſand Pounds out of the Treaſury. *Sabinus* was beſieg'd by the Mutineers. *Varus* came to his Aſſiſtance, ſuſtain'd by ſome *Arabians*, that *Aretas* had ſent him. The Diſorder was increas'd by theſe Robbers, who minded nothing but burning and getting Money. So that *Varus* was forc'd to diſmiſs them. He made himſelf Maſter of *Jeruſalem*, and ſcarce found any Reſiſtance there. He had Two Thouſand Perſons Crucify'd, put more in Priſon, and order'd his Forces to ſcour the Country, where they murder'd all thoſe that fell into their hands. Thence he march'd into *Idumæa*, where Ten Thouſand Men in Arms, were preparing to reſiſt him. But they gave way to his Troops. He pardon'd ſome, and puniſh'd others. However, it was ſo true, that *Sabinus* was the Cauſe of this Commotion, that he did not preſume to appear before *Varus* to juſtify himſelf; but withdrew when he heard that he was coming to his Aſſiſtance.

4. *Pilate*, who was Governour of *Judæa* Twelve Years, and by whoſe Order *Jeſus Chriſt* was Crucify'd, is pretty well known by our Goſpels. He was ſcarce arriv'd, but he plac'd in the Temple ſome Bucklers, conſecrated to *Tiberius*. *Joſephus* affirms, that the Images that were on the Bucklers offended the Jews, and oblig'd them to ſend Deputies to *Tiberius*, after they found all their Remonſtrances to *Pilate* fruitleſs. However, *Philo* †, making *Agrippa* I. ſpeak, aſſures, that there was no Figure upon theſe Bucklers; but that the Jews were angry to find upon them, the Name of the Perſon to whom they were conſecrated. ‖ *Scaliger* hath prefer'd the Opinion of *Joſephus*, and even blam'd *Philo*, becauſe it was a common Thing, to ſend a Buckler to Princes as a Token of Gratitude. The *Macchabees* had done it. There was ſome time a Flower, or a Crown engraven upon it. It was too the Cuſtom of Victorious Kings, to ſend ſome to the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and they were there receiv'd, without inquiring into the Religion of the Giver. But *Scaliger* did not give a due Attention to *Philo*'s Narrative. The Bucklers, which *Pilate* reſolv'd to hang in the Temple, were conſecrated to *Tiberius*; and all thoſe, that were receiv'd into the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, were to be conſecrated to the Living God. *Pilate* made *Tiberius* a kind of a God, to whom he preſented his Oblation, and at that time they erected Altars to Princes, and ſet up their Statues in Temples, to flatter them. *Pilate* did conſecrate ſome Bucklers, in that of *Jeruſalem*, to honour the Valour of his Prince; and the Jews cou'd not bear this aſſociating of the Creature with God. *Tiberius*'s Order, to carry theſe Bucklers to *Cæſarea*, into a Temple dedicated to him, proves plainly this Conjecture. *Pilate* was very inflexible at that Juncture. For he wou'd never lay aſide his Project, tho' he ſaw the People in a Fury, and all the Symptoms of a dreadful Sedition. Beſides, he plunder'd *Judæa*, mingl'd the Blood of the *Galileans* with that of their Sacrifices; in a Word, he acted with ſo much Barbarity againſt the *Samaritans*, who were over-reach'd by a Cheat, and who attempted nothing againſt the Government, that *Vitellius*, Governour of *Syria*, to whom Complaints were exhibited againſt him, oblig'd him to go to *Rome*, to vindicate himſelf. Tradition tells us, that he was baniſh'd to *Vienna*, where he kill'd himſelf, becauſe he cou'd not bear his overwhelming Grief.

5. *Petronius*, ſent into *Judæa* to place *Caligula*'s Statue in the Temple, was more moderate; whether he follow'd his own Temper, or was afraid to be overborn by the Multitude of Jews, that came from the *Eaſt*, to celebrate the Feaſt of the Paſſover. It was a dangerous Thing to ſuſpend the Execution of an Order of that nature. Nevertheleſs, when he ſaw the Reſolution of the Jews, he conſented to wait for the Succeſs of their Deputation, to the Prince. A wiſe Governour doth often a great deal of Service by his Moderation. It is dangerous to drive People to Deſpair. A Sedition always occaſions the loſs of Blood, and Subjects. When once it breaks out, it is not ſoon quell'd; but infects the Neighbourhood, and is attended with laſting and diſmal Diſorders. But People love to make their Court to haughty Princes, and prefer their Paſſions to the Publick Good. *Petronius* was not of that Temper; he did not execute his Maſter's Order, becauſe he was afraid to draw a furious Storm upon him; and thereby prevented in the Empire that Slaughter and other Calamities, which are the common Effects of Inſurrections.

A Famine ravag'd *Judæa* ‖‖ under *Fadus*, who, after *Agrippa*'s Death, was ſent by *Claudius*, Governour of that Province. It was the Famine foretold by *Agabus* in the Hiſtory of the *Acts*. *Jeruſalem* had been deſolate, without Inhabitants, had not the Queen of *Adiabene*, who reſided there, given vaſt Alms to the People; and had not the Jews of *Antioch* aſſiſted their Brethren in their Diſtreſs. *Fadus* had ſome unpleaſant Orders for the Cities of *Cæſarea* and *Samaria*; but the Emperour, being appeaſed by their Deputies, revok'd them. There was a Sedition notwithſtanding their urgent Calamity. But the Governour ſuppreſs'd the Mutineers and Robbers, who ravag'd the Country: And this cou'd not be done without Blood-ſhed. An Apoſtate was afterwards

* Προσέτριψε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἕδραν, poſteriora ſua vertit. Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 2. *c.* 11. *p.* 794. † Philo de Legat. *p.* 799. 800. ‖ Scaliger in Euſeb. *p.* 172. ‖‖ An. 44.

ſent

ſent their Governour. It was one *Alexander* * Nephew to *Philo Judæus*, who had ſacrific'd his Religion to his Intereſt; but contrary to the old Cuſtom, he did not prove a bad Governour. His Government was ſhort, and he made way for *Cumanus*, under whom horrible Barbarities were committed.

6. It was in this Governour's time, that the Soldiers Inſult, already mention'd, did happen, and which occaſion'd the Death of Ten Thouſand Jews; and ſome reckon that Thirty Thouſand periſh'd † on that fatal Day. It was too in his time, that the Baggage of one of the Emperor's Slaves, being robb'd by ſome High-way-men, within Five Leagues of *Jeruſalem*, a Party was ſent into the Country, who plunder'd, and unmercifully burnt all that fell into their hands. A Soldier, finding the Books of *Moſes*, tore them to pieces and burn'd them. The Jews then cou'd contain themſelves no longer. They believ'd, that the *Romans* did not deſign to keep any Meaſure with them, ſince they ſo inſolently tore the Law. They came in a Body to *Cæſarea*, and ask'd Juſtice of *Cumanus*; but after ſuch a manner, as inſinuated that they were reſolv'd, that they wou'd do it themſelves, if he did not grant their Demands. He was oblig'd to comply, and to put the Soldier to Death. But he only waited for an Opportunity to revenge himſelf, and he ſoon found one. The *Samaritans*, having a Quarrel with the Jews, theſe plunder'd their City. *Cumanus* || came to their Aſſiſtance, diſpers'd the Victors after he had kill'd a great Number of them, and maliciouſly ſuffer'd this War to laſt, that this Nation, which hurry'd to its Ruin, might be weaken'd by it.

Tacitus relates, that *Cumanus* was Governour of *Galilee*, and *Felix* of *Samaria*; and that theſe two Governours did not give themſelves the trouble to put a Stop to theſe Diſorders, which had inflam'd all *Judæa*, had not the Governour of *Syria* taken Cognizance of it. But he did it with ſo much Partiality, that he made *Felix* ſit with the Judges, whilſt *Cumanus* was as a Criminal at the Bar. He cou'd not avoid being condemn'd, ſince his Enemy was his Judge. Some are in ſuſpence between *Tacitus* and *Joſephus*. The Learned |||| *Pearſon* endeavours to reconcile them, by making *Felix* twice Governour of *Judæa*, the Firſt time with *Cumanus*, and the Second after his Condemnation. But beſides, that it is more natural to believe *Joſephus*, who ought to have been better vers'd in the Hiſtory of his Nation than a Foreigner. *Tacitus* ſhares the Government of *Judæa* between two; and yet it was commonly given but to one. Add, that *Tacitus* was miſtaken about the time of theſe Diſorders. For he places them in one and the ſame Year * as if they had begun then, and ſoon ended afterwards. However, they laſted a long while, and were not quaſh'd but in the Year 53. by the Condemnation of *Cumanus*; which alone ſufficiently proves, that theſe Governours unmercifully abus'd their Power over the Jewiſh Nation; ſince their Superiours were ſo often oblig'd to reſtrain them.

7. After *Cumanus* was condemn'd for his Miſgovernment; *Felix* ſucceeded him. He at firſt employ'd his Time to make love. He debauch'd *Druſilla*, Daughter to *Agrippa* I. who was marry'd to the King of *Emeſa*, and elop'd from her † Husband for his ſake. *Tertullus*, pleading before him, againſt St. *Paul*, prais'd him for the Quietneſs, which the Nation enjoy'd under him; and it muſt be own'd that he did ſome Good, ſince he curb'd the Incurſions of the Robbers, who laid waſte this Province. For he ſeiz'd upon their Leader, who for Twenty Years had committed ſeveral barbarous Robberies. However, he was not Proof againſt Bribery; ſince his kind Uſage to St. *Paul*, and frequent Converſation with him, proceeded only from his hope, that the Apoſtle wou'd redeem his Liberty with a Preſent: And he left him in Bonds, becauſe Money was wanting. Beſides, he ſuborn'd ſome Aſſaſſins, who, by his Order, murder'd the High-Prieſt; becauſe he often upbraided him with his Marriage to *Druſilla*, and his hard Uſage to the Nation. What Remedies he apply'd to the Troubles, which increas'd every Day, were fitter to aggravate, than cure. He fell with his Forces upon the People, that was aſſembl'd at the Foot of the *Mount of Olives*. There happen'd a Commotion at *Cæſarea*, between the Jews and *Syrians*, about the Privileges, which they were to have in that City, which was built by *Herod*. Both Parties coming to Blows, he order'd his Soldiers to advance, and kill'd a great many Jews who were obſtinately bent to fight. He afterwards ſent both Parties to plead their Cauſe before *Nero*; but the Jews loſt it, and their Freedom of the City of *Cæſarea*; which was a terrible Blow to them. To conclude, when *Felix* was recall'd, the Chief Men of the Nation ſent ſome Deputies to *Rome*, to exhibit their Complaints againſt him; and we are told, that he had been puniſh'd for his Crimes, had not his Brother *Pallas*, who was *Nero*'s Favourite protected him. Thus the *Roman* Governours continu'd to pillage, and deſtroy this Nation, which, on the other hand, by their haſty and impatient Temper, often drew ſeveral Calamities upon themſelves. When St. *Paul* pleaded before *Felix*, he ſays, *that he had been of many Years a Judge unto the Nation* of the Jews; which muſt be underſtood of Five Years, or thereabouts. For he came into his Government in the Year 53. after *Cumanus* was ſhamefully turn'd out. Now St. *Paul* pleaded in 58. and *Felix*, who was recall'd *Two Years after*, left *Judæa*, but the Sixtieth Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*.

8. The two laſt Governours of *Judæa* were ſtill more || cruel than their Predeceſſors. *Feſtus* had ſome deſign to pleaſe the People, and therefore he continu'd St. *Paul* a Priſoner. But his time was but ſhort; and this Province after his Death, falling into the hands of *Albinus*, underwent ſome new Calamities. Covetouſneſs was his prevailing Paſſion, and he omitted nothing to gratify it. He doubl'd the Taxes; and the Law Suits, which private Men carry'd before his Tribunal, gave him a pretence to ſeize upon their Eſtates. The Robbers, that committed ſo many Outrages, and Barbarities, were ſure of his Protection, provided they had Money to buy it. Criminals obtain'd their Enlargement, if they were Rich; and none were Guilty, but thoſe that wanted Money. The Impunity of theſe Villians augmented both their Number and Inſolence. Several Companies, with a Leader to head them, were ſeen in the City, ranſacking the Houſes, and murdering thoſe that made any Reſiſtance. No body durſt complain, and the moſt Cunning were thoſe, who courted thoſe Thieves to avoid their Depredations. However, *Albinus* was miſs'd, and regretted; becauſe his Succeſſor was yet a worſe Man than he. The firſt conceal'd his Avarice, pity'd the Citizens, and complain'd himſelf, that he had not Forces enough to put a Stop to the Diſorders, which he fomented underhand. But *Geſſius Florus*, who came in his Place, exercis'd |||| his Barbarity, and Extorſions without Art, and Diſſimulation. One only ſtrip'd ſome private Perſons, but the other declar'd War againſt the whole Nation, and, as if he was reſolv'd to ruin it, he did what cou'd be done to exaſperate the Jews. He

* An. 46. † An. 48. || An. 52. |||| Annal. Paul. an. 53. *p.* 13. * An. 52. † An. 53. || An. 60. |||| An. 64.

plunder'd

plunder'd the Cities and Towns, and that openly too: He made ſome Robbers pillage what his Soldiers cou'd not carry away, upon condition that he ſhou'd come in for a Share. *Cleopatra*, his Wife, help'd him to make this Havock, and ſtill inflam'd his Greedineſs, which was of it ſelf but too intenſe. He carry'd it ſo far, that thoſe Wiſe-men, who foreſaw the Conſequences of it, took care to withdraw and forſake *Judæa*. *Ceſtius*, Governour of *Syria*, coming to *Jeruſalem*, Three Hundred Thouſand Perſons petition'd to him againſt *Florus*, who only laugh'd at them, becauſe he was ſure to elude thoſe Complaints; and he was not miſtaken. For *Ceſtius* only aſſwag'd the Heat of the People with ſoft Words, and went away. This Governour of *Syria*, muſt not be confounded with that of *Judæa*. *Euſebius* ſeems to do it upon a Manuſcript of *Joſephus*, which had been corrupted. Yet one was call'd *Geſſius Florus*, whom *Euſebius* hath chang'd into *Ceſtius*; and the other was *Ceſtius Gallus*. The Troubles were greater after the departure of the Governour of *Syria*. A Gentleman of *Cæſarea*, built ſome Shops near a Synagogue; the Jews * offer'd him a large Sum of Money to leave off the Work, and buy the Ground of him; but he refuſing them, they gave *Florus* near † Fifteen Hundred Pounds, to put a ſtop to the Building. He took the Money, and went to *Samaria*. A *Syrian* at the ſame time, ſacrific'd a Bird before that Synagogue. This was enough to make them take up their Arms, but the Jews being much the weaker, were forc'd to quit the City, and carry their Books along with them. *Florus*, to whom theſe Fugitives complain'd, charg'd them with it as a Crime. *Jeruſalem* was in an Uproar at this Accident. But *Florus* having taken away about ‖ Three Thouſand Pounds, out of the Publick Treaſury; the Citizens loſt all manner of Patience. They exclaim'd againſt the Governour, who came at the Head of ſome Forces, and, having refus'd all the Satisfaction that was offer'd him, he kill'd all the Noble Men and Commoners, that he found in the Market place. The Tumult grew greater, at the Approach of the *Cohorts*, deſign'd to ſtrengthen the Garriſon, and which, being receiv'd with a great deal of Civility, wou'd ſhow none, They fought, and the *Romans* after a long Reſiſtance had their Throats cut; then begun the War, that occaſion'd the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. *Florus* did more than any body towards it; ſince, far from quelling thoſe Troubles, he rather increas'd them. He wanted nothing but a Rebellion of the People, and an open War, that he might thereby conceal his Extorſions, and Cruelties. *Scaliger* reckons, that the War begun in the Year 65. becauſe he did not calculate well the Years of *Herod*; but it ought to be deferr'd till the Year following.

9. The Robbers were another ſpring of Misfortunes and Deſolation. The Situation of *Judæa* was very favourable to them; for beſides, that it hath a great many Hills, Mountains, Woods, and deep and hollow Roads, when they were purſu'd, they cou'd eaſily fly into the Deſarts. *Arabia* in the Neighbourhood, full of Banditti, was ſtill a more ſecure Place of Retreat. However, there never were ſo many High-way-men, as in the time that we now examine. It was not a Gang of private Freebooters, that prey'd upon Travellers; but ſome experienc'd Leaders, at the Head of Two or Three Thouſand Men, who liv'd by moroding, making inroad, as *Jephthah* had done, before he became Judge of *Iſrael*. They tickl'd the People, with the hopes of ſhaking off the *Roman* Yoak, and recovering their Liberty by force of Arms. All the looſe, and idle Fellows, that hated Labour, liſted with them. So that it is not ſtrange, that their Number increas'd, notwithſtanding the Care of the Governours, who had an Intereſt to give them no Quarter, to ſecure thereby the Publick Tranquility. They were ſometimes ſo lucky, that they follow'd that villainous Courſe ſeveral Years, before they were taken. *Eleazar*, ‖‖‖ one of their formidable Commanders, had driven that Trade for Twenty-Years together, when he was ſent to *Rome*, and he was rather taken by Treachery than Force. For they broke their Word with him. After *Albinus* had ſuffer'd himſelf to be brib'd by all thoſe, that had a mind to redeem their Lives, and pardon'd a great many of thoſe Robbers; yet he found Fourteen Hundred Criminals in the Priſons, whom he divided into two Brigades, and oblig'd them to kill one another, to divert the People. Nay their Inſolence was ſo daring, that they kill'd in *Jeruſalem* * *Ananias* the High-Prieſt, who had hid himſelf with his Brother to avoid their Fury. *John* of *Giſcala*, one of thoſe great Robbers, after he had led that life for a long time, at the Head of Four Hundred pick'd Men, joyn'd with the Mutineers of *Galilee*; and having inrich'd himſelf, when he had the Inſpection of ſome Works, he arm'd even One Hundred Thouſand Men, againſt *Joſephus*, whom he accus'd to hold a Correſpondence with the Enemy, that he might drive him out of the Government, and ſucceed him himſelf. *Simon*, another Leader of Robbers, after he had plunder'd the Richeſt Houſes, finding himſelf purſu'd, fled into *Idumæa*, where he caus'd new Troubles, by forcing the People to take up Arms againſt him, and other Jews. There was a ſecond Order of Ruffians call'd *Aſſaſſins*. They walk'd the Streets of *Jeruſalem*, arm'd with Daggers hid under their Gowns, and kill'd the more ſecurely, becauſe they were the Firſt that complain'd of the Murders, which they had committed. *Felix* made uſe of ſome of theſe, to aſſaſſinate *Jonathan*, the High-Prieſt. How many Murders? How many Crimes? Is this the Character of the Holy Nation; and the Choſen People? This ſhews plainly, that they were not then ſo; and that by their Crimes they were paving the way to God's Judgments, and the moſt aſtoniſhing Vengeance, that ever was taken.

10. The Impoſtors made up a third ſort of People, that compleated the Ruin of this Nation. As every body expected the Meſſiah at that time; or elſe as it was eaſy to impoſe upon a Nation exaſperated, in a Ferment, and weary of the ill Treatment they receiv'd; a great many Cheats appear'd, who were follow'd by a credulous Multitude; one gather'd them together, upon pretence of diſcovering the Holy Veſſels, which *Moſes* hid under *Mount Garizim*. *Theudas*, but not he mention'd in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, pretended to be a Prophet, and attempted to make the People paſs † the *Jordan*, by as great a Miracle as that of *Joſhuah*, when the Waters of that River were divided. Ten Years after an *Egyptian*, but a Jew by Religion, boaſting too of his Gift of Prophecie, led Thirty Thouſand Men upon the *Mount of Olives*, to ſee from thence the Walls of *Jeruſalem* fall down, that this City being open, he might enter into it, drive out the *Romans*, and govern the Nation. *Joſephus* makes him a Magician; but I do not know why; unleſs it be becauſe he came from *Egypt*: For it doth not appear, that he perform'd any Prodigies; and if he pretended to any, he made uſe of the Name of God ‖, ſince he gave himſelf out for one of his Prophets. A Magician * drew after him, in the Wilderneſs † abundance of People, to whom he promis'd a general Deliverance from all Calamities.

* An. 66. † 8 Talents. ‖ 17 Talents. ‖‖‖ Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 2. *c.* 12. *p.* 796. * Id. *c.* 18. *p.* 812.
† An. 45. ‖ An. 55. * Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 2. *c.* 12. *p.* 779. † An. 60.

Had

Had theſe Impoſtors only play'd upon the People's Credulity, the Miſchief had not been great. The Jews are not the only Men, that have been impos'd upon by falſe Prophets, who, to comfort them under their Sufferings, promis'd them a ſpeedy Deliverance. For all thoſe that are wretched, are fond even of the Shadow of Proſperity: It dazles them, and they run after it. But the Jews were in ſuch Circumſtances, that their Credulity was puniſh'd as a Capital Crime. The Governours look'd upon thoſe Meetings, not only as ſome innocent Sighs after Liberty, but alſo, as ſo many Conſpiracies and Deſigns, to revolt againſt the *Romans*. And therefore they never fail'd to make ſome conſiderable Detachments, who fell upon theſe Aſſemblies, put the Impoſtors to death, and did not leave off killing, till their Fury was glutted. Therefore St. *Paul*, who appear'd before *Felix*, in whoſe time the *Egyptian* Impoſtor was ſurpriz'd, and put to death, took a particular care to juſtify himſelf, on the ſcore of tumultuous Meetings, and to prove to him, that he had taught peaceably, and that the Broil was occaſion'd by ſome Strangers come from *Aſia*. It is not ſtrange, that our Saviour was not accus'd, for thoſe Thouſands which he had taught, and fed in the Deſart; and that no Soldiers were ſent after him, to diſperſe that Multitude. For there were Two Reaſons for it; One, that Chriſt was commonly attended by only Twelve Fiſhermen, and ſome Women; and that the Crowd that followed him was unarm'd; The Other, that, as there was not ſo general a tendency to Rebellion in *Judæa*, in the time of our Saviour, as after his Death, when God forſook that Nation, the Governours were not ſo ſevere, and ready to ſuppreſs popular Aſſemblies, that were only intended for Inſtruction: Whereas the Impoſtors gave occaſion to ſuſpect their Deſigns, and thereby expos'd their Diſciples to be maſſacred.

11. The Zealots were another Body, more terrible than theſe laſt. They deriv'd their Original from *Judas*, ſpoken of in the Acts of the Apoſtles, where he is call'd *Galilean*, altho' he was born in *Gamala*, on the other ſide of *Jordan*. Upon *Quirinus* his coming to ſettle the Tribute, that was to be paid to the *Romans*, and to make for that purpoſe an Eſtimate of the Eſtates and Moveables of the Jews, this Man joyn'd with a Phariſee, whoſe name was *Sadoc*, to perſwade the People that they were to acknowledge no Maſter but God; and that they wou'd be guilty of a Crime, to pay the Tribute, which the *Romans* exacted. They ſoon form'd a Party, which *Joſephus* reckon'd as the Fourth Sect of the Jews, altho' they held no peculiar Tenet, and in every thing elſe agreed with the Phariſees. *Judas* was ſoon cut off, and his Followers diſpers'd: But he left Three Sons, Heirs to his mad Zeal. *James* and *Simon*, attempted to revive that Party in the Reign of *Claudius*; but *Alexander* * a Jewiſh Renegado, who was then Governour of *Judæa*, ſpoil'd their Deſign, by crucifying them. *Manahem*, his third Son, having ſeiz'd upon *Maſſada*, took the Arms which *Herod* had put into the Caſtle; gave them to his Followers, and boldly beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*. He tumbl'd down a Tower that ſtop'd him; and had taken the City, had not the Beſieg'd built a Wall behind that Tower. He then took upon him the State of a King, and went in a Sumptuous Apparel to worſhip in the Temple. But ſome of his Countrymen, found that he excited them to revolt againſt the *Romans*, and to become the Tyrant of their Nation, and to be ſubject to none but to God. It was thought that his Death wou'd quaſh the Sedition; and therefore he was attack'd in the Temple; and altho' he at firſt eſcap'd, yet at laſt he fell into the hands of his Enemies, who put him to a cruel death. *Eleazar*, Grandſon to *Judas*, the *Galilean*, following † his Uncle, and Grand-father's Steps, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf among the Aſſaſſins and Zealots. He ſpar'd none that wou'd not ſide with him; or who, wiſely foreſeeing the intire Ruin of their Nation, wou'd prevent it by Capitulating with the *Romans*. He was the moſt Fortunate, and Ableſt of their Leaders, and maintain'd the War, even after the taking of *Jeruſalem*. For having ſhut himſelf, with his Accomplices, into the Caſtle of *Maſſada*, he there held out a Siege till the 72*d* Year of *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Sylva*, the *Roman* General, who was left to ſubdue the Remains of the Rebels, rais'd ſome Mounts of a prodigious height, before he cou'd make a Breach in the Caſtle-Walls. But having beaten them down with his Machines, he found that the Rebels had rais'd behind them a Mount, which cou'd not be ſhook. But the *Romans* went ſo abruptly to ſet Fire to it, that *Eleazar*'s Courage fail'd him; or rather, he became furious; for he perſwaded Nine Hundred Perſons, that were beſieg'd with him, to kill one another, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Romans*. They begun by the Women and Children; and when the Execution was over the *Romans* came in, and found Two Women and Five Children hid in a Cave, who told them this diſmal Tragedy, whereby the War was ended. This is the Original of the Zealots, and the Character of their Leaders.

12. Theſe committed all manner of Crimes, upon a pretence of reſtoring the Jews to their Antient Liberty. *Veſpaſian*, having reduc'd *Galilee* ||; all the ſeveral Gangs of Mutineers, Robbers, Aſſaſſins and Zealots joyn'd at *Jeruſalem*, to defend the Place againſt the *Romans*. The Zealots ſeiz'd upon ſome of the Royal Blood, whom they accus'd of having a deſign to betray the City to the Enemy, and notwithſtanding their Quality and Innocence, took away their Lives. When they perceiv'd, that the People, ſtirr'd up by the High-Prieſts, was riſing againſt them, they ſeiz'd upon the Temple; and the Holy Place then became the Theatre of Civil War, till it was burn'd down to the Ground. *John* of *Giſcala* joyn'd with them, that he might be their Commander, and perſwaded them to call in the *Idumæans* to their Aſſiſtance. And indeed one Day, that it lighten'd and thunder'd prodigiouſly, the Zealots march'd out of the Temple, and open'd the Gates of the City to the *Idumæans*, who fill'd it with Blood and Slaughter. They confin'd the Nobility, and the Youths, that were fit to bear Arms; and upon their refuſal to joyn with them, they ſpeedily, and barbarouſly murder'd to the Number of Twelve Thouſand Men. *Zachariah* the Son of *Baruc*, was one of thoſe, whom they put to Death with more Solemnity, by reaſon of his Merit and Birth. I can't imagine what induc'd *Janſenius* to ſay, that this *Zachariah* is the Man mention'd by Chriſt in the Goſpel, as if the Jews were one day to anſwer for his Blood. For the *Zachariah*, named by our Lord, muſt have been dead; ſince he only ſpoke of thoſe Holy Men, that preceeded his Oeconomy. So that he hath no reaſon to make our Saviour foretel what was to come, ſince he only related what had happen'd. Beſides, the *Zachariah*, kill'd juſt before the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, was one of thoſe Unbelievers, who had rejected the Meſſiah; why then ſhou'd the Jews anſwer more for his Blood, than for that of *Antipas*, *Sophas*, or *Levias*, that were of the Royal Family, and put alſo to Death by the Zealots? There is no ground to conjecture, that this *Zachariah* was a Chriſtian. For, not to mention that the Chriſtians, who foreſaw the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, were already retir'd to *Pella*, *Joſephus*, who relates

*Joſeph. *p.* 690. † Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 7. *c.* 28. *p.* 985. || An. 67.

relates his Murder, gives no reaſon to ſuſpect, that the Zealots were chaf'd with a Zeal for their Religion, and a Hatred for Chriſtianity. But they had a mind to plunder his Wealth, and were afraid, leaſt he ſhou'd *head the People to drive them out.* No Chriſtian was at that time in a Condition to attempt that. In a Word, they accus'd him of keeping a Correſpondence with the *Romans*, and they appointed him Seventy Judges, in imitation of the Grand *Sanhedrim*, who had Courage enough to abſolve him. But the Zealots kill'd him, and with the flat of their Swords drove away the Judges. *Joſephus* obſerves, that the Zealots were arriv'd to that pitch of Barbarity, that People were not allow'd either to ſhed Tears, or to bury their Dead.

13. This Party fell together by the Ears; *John* of *Giſcala*, Captain of the Robbers, and afterwards of the Zealots, was in the Temple, at the head of Six Thouſand *Galileans*, and allow'd them to do what they wou'd, that he might the better have them at his diſpoſal. *Eleazar*, who had formerly been Commander of theſe Zealots, weary to have a Maſter, or an Equal, ſeiz'd upon the inward part of the Temple, with Two Thouſand and Four Hundred Men, and wag'd War with his Competitor. He had the Advantage of the Place. For he fought his Enemies from on high, and they cou'd not reſiſt him but with Machines of a new Invention, made out of beams of Cedar, brought from Mount *Libanus* before the War, to repair the Temple. He fed his Soldiers with the Firſt Fruits, and Offerings, which were ſtill brought and conſecrated to God. But *John* of *Giſcala*, had another diſadvantage. For on the ſide of the City, he was beſieg'd by *Simon*, another Captain of Robbers, already mention'd. However, he made a vigorous Defence. When *Eleazar*, who had but a handful of Men, fell upon him from the top of the Temple; he did not diſturb the City. But when this Enemy was quiet, he came down with his Soldiers upon *Simon*, and contriv'd matters ſo well, that he carry'd away ſome Proviſions to ſubſiſt. In what a miſerable Condition was the People, and City of *Jeruſalem*, to be thus torn by all theſe Factions, at the very time that *Titus* was marching to Beſiege it?

CHAP. VII.

Whether Abgarus, *King of* Edeſſa, *deſign'd to declare War againſt the Jews, and take* Jeruſalem, *to revenge* Jeſus Chriſt.

I. Euſebius's *Narrative.* II. *That there is a Neceſſity to examine it.* III. *An Account of* Edeſſa *and its Kings.* IV. *The Proofs alledg'd for* Euſebius's *Narrative.* V. *The Encomium given that Hiſtorian to no purpoſe.* VI. Chriſt's *Letter ſhou'd be Canonical.* VII. *Mr. de* Tillemont's *Remarks on this Letter confuted.* VIII. Edeſſa *Subject to the* Romans. *Medals that prove it.* IX. *How its Princes were call'd Kings.* X. *A Fault in the Publick Records, concerning the Names of* Thomas, *and* Thaddæus. XI. *The Æra of the* Edeſſenes, *examined.* XII. *An objection againſt this Æra.* XIII. *A Correction of the Paſſage of* Euſebius, *about that Event.* XIV. *A Difficulty ariſing from the Calling of the* Gentiles. XV. *The Project of a War with the Jews a meer Rhodomontado.* XVI. *This Project is falſe.*

1. THE Jews, according to *Euſebius*, by Crucifying our Saviour, had already made a King of the *Oſrhoene*, their mortal Enemy, who had a mind to fall upon them with all his Army, in order to exterminate them; and this Prince was *Abgarus*, King of *Edeſſa*, * who *reſolv'd to declare War againſt the Jews, and deſtroy* Jeruſalem, *and the whole Nation, to puniſh them for having Crucify'd the Son of God; but he did not purſue his Deſign, becauſe he was afraid of the* Romans. This Prince writ to the Son of God, to deſire him to retire into his City, and ſhelter himſelf there, from the Perſecution of the Jews. In all likelihood he offer'd him half of his Crown; ſince he aſſur'd him, that his City *wou'd be big enough for them both.* And indeed he did not think that Chriſt, perſecuted by the Jews, had a Retinue large enough to fill it. So that he promis'd to promote him to a higher Dignity, than he enjoy'd in *Judæa*, and to ſhare his Throne and Kingdom with him, tho' it was not very ſmall. But our Lord's deſign to perform his Father's Will, and the Redemption of Mankind, hinder'd him from flying to a ſecure Place. He was oblig'd to remain expos'd to the Perſecution of the Jews, that by his Crucifixion, they might fill up the meaſure of their Crimes.

2. Criticks have long ago queſtion'd this Project of the King of *Edeſſa*, as well as the truth of his Letter to *Jeſus Chriſt*. But as *Euſebius* affirms, that he took that Story from the *Archives* of the Church of *Edeſſa*, ſeveral Learned Men † maintain that his Narrative is true. If this Fact is true, we ought to add this Supplement to *Joſephus*, who ſays nothing of it; if it is falſe, we are oblig'd to confute it. This concerns the Jews; ſince this Project of a Heatheniſh King, who ſaw clearer than they, wou'd make them aſham'd. And ‖ ſince it is ſuſpected, that we believe, that this Relation is true, it is reaſonable, that we ſhou'd explain our ſelves in clearer terms, than we have done in another place ‖‖.

3. *Edeſſa* is a City of *Meſopotamia*, ſituate on the Banks of a River, as yet ſeen in Medals. Some * have fanſy'd *Euphrates* to be this River. But *Edeſſa* is one days Journey from it; and that River is the *Scyrtus*, which doth a great deal of miſchief, by its frequent Inundations. And indeed part of the Churches were carry'd away, and a great many of its Inhabitants drown'd, in the Reign of *Juſtin*, who re-built it, and call'd it *Juſtinopolis*; but that name is ſince alter'd. For it is now call'd *Ourfa*, but we'll call it by its ancient Name of *Edeſſa*. That City had a King of its own, ever ſince that the *Arabians*, taking advantage of the Diſpute of the *Seleucidæ*, concerning the Inheritance of their Father *Antiochus*, ſeiz'd upon it, and erected there a New Kingdom, whoſe Princes commonly bore the Name of *Abgarus*. One of them enter'd into an Alliance with the *Romans*, in the time of *Pompey*; but he betray'd them, deliver'd their Legions to the *Parthians* under *Craſſus*, which made this King be thought the Chief Inſtrument of that Misfortune.

4. One of his Poſterity writ to Chriſt, and was afterwards fully converted. Nay, Mr. *Vaillant* hath publiſh'd a Catalogue of the Succeeding Kings of *Edeſſa*, all bearing *the Name of* Abgarus, *and were Chriſtians even in the Firſt Century.* Their Subjects too

* Euſeb. Hiſt. *l.* 1. *p.* 32. † Cave Hiſtoria Literaria Abgar. *p.* 1. Tillemont. Memoires pour Servir a L'hiſtoire de L'Egliſe. ‖ Faydit. Supplement aux Eſſais de Literature. an. 1704. *p.* 26. ‖‖ Baſnage Hiſt. de L'Egliſe, *l.* 21. *c.* 2. * Norris Epocha Syro-Maced. Diſſ 2.

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imbrac'd the Goſpel. *Abgarus*'s Letter, and our Saviour's Anſwer were inſerted in the *Archives* of that City, as a Monument of this Prince's Piety, and an undoubted aſſurance of the Protection of Heaven. *Euſebius*, who took them from thence, tranſlated the *Syriack* into *Greek*. "For altho' they ſpoke *Greek* at "*Cæſarea*, and even in all *Meſopotamia*; yet the "Converſation which they were oblig'd to have with "the Common People, and the Jews, Natives of "that Country, hinder'd a Tongue ſo often heard, "and ſpoken by ſo many, from being unknown. "And therefore the Tranſlation, which *Euſebius* "caus'd to be made before him, ought to agree "with the Original; and no body can doubt of *Eu*-"*ſebius*'s Fidelity and Exactneſs, who had col-"lected, with ſo much care, all the ancient Monu-"ments of the Church. There is nothing, but may "be brought into queſtion, if People will give them-"ſelves the Liberty to deny, *upon ſome frivolous Con-"jectures*, a Relation taken from the Archives, and "publick Records, and put out by a great Biſhop, "who was a Man of Learning and Intereſt at Court. Thus ſome vindicate the Truth of this Story, which we are bound to examime.

5. I do not pretend to leſſen any way *Euſebius*'s Merit. He was a Learned Man, had diſcover'd a great many Monuments, and the Church is oblig'd to him for many pieces of them, which he preſerv'd. But notwithſtanding the Encomiums that he deſerves, yet there are many things in his Hiſtory, which we muſt look upon as Fables; becauſe they are evidently falſe. So that it is to no purpoſe to extoll this Hiſtorian here, in order to make a Fact paſs under the Shroud of the general Praiſes, which are given him. For we are nevertheleſs oblig'd to examine the Truth of what he relates. He is often miſtaken. Beſides, he had never compar'd *Abgarus*'s Letters, with the Publick Records; nor examin'd the Archives of *Edeſſa*, to ſee whether a Monument ſo honourable to that Church, had not been foiſted in. How many fabulous Stories are ſeen in moſt Cities, Churches, and Monaſteries, concerning their Origine and Foundation? However, they are ſet down in their Records, and preſerv'd in their Archives. Some old Manuſcripts, and moldy Parchments are produc'd to make them Authentick. Perhaps, that the *Orientals* did the ſame Thing in *Euſebius*'s time. This is but a Conjecture; yet it weakens the Authority of the Publick Records of *Edeſſa*; becauſe theſe Frauds are common.

6. Had our Lord writ to the King of *Edeſſa*, and his Letter been preſerv'd, it had been inſerted in the Canon of the Scripture. JESUS CHRIST was the Chief and Maſter of all inſpir'd Authors. So that His Letter ought to have the ſame Rank in the Holy Scripture, as the Law writ with God's Finger, in the Writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets. Some of the Canonical Books were queſtion'd, but none among the Jews rejected the Law. Chriſt ought to have had the ſame Juſtice done him; and his Letter to have been receiv'd and inſerted in the Canon. Every body had own'd it as a Divine Writing; whereas a Council held at *Rome*, plac'd it among ſpurious Pieces. This Reaſon which I alledg'd appear'd *weak*; yet I cannot gueſs, what anſwer can be made to it; and this Argument is much more puzling to thoſe, who believe that this Council was held by Pope *Gelaſius*, and aſcribe to the Church and its Councils, a Power to judge of the Sacred Writings, and to fix their Number.

7. Mr. *de Tillemont* * ſays, that our Saviour's Letter was not receiv'd, becauſe it did not come from a ſure Hand, or *the common way*. It was fear'd leaſt *ſome falſe Pieces* had been inſerted *in the Archives of* Edeſſa, and for that reaſon, it was plac'd among the Apocryphal Writings. This is what Mr. *de St. Benne* taught this Learned Man, to reſolve a Difficulty which *is undoubtedly very conſiderable*. But this deſtroys the Authority of *Euſebius*. For if *the Letter* of Chriſt, and the Fidelity of the Archives of the Church of *Edeſſa*, were queſtion'd in the Infancy of the Church, how can we be ſure of them now? And if this Letter had not been doubted of, it had been inſerted in the Canon. The Fidelity of the *Records of* Edeſſa, *wherein* ſome *falſe Pieces might have been inſerted*, was queſtion'd; how cou'd then thoſe who had ſuch Scruples, believe on the one hand, the Truth of *Abgarus*'s Converſion; and on the other, that *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Letter was falſe? Both theſe Facts were found, in the Publick Records of *Edeſſa*. The Letter was link'd with the Event, which was grounded upon it. So that either all the Narrative ought to be look'd upon as falſe, and inſerted in the Records of *Edeſſa* by an Impoſtor, or our Lord's Letter be receiv'd among Canonical Books. Farther, People do not conſider the Matter, when they ſay, that the Church did not receive this Letter *the common way*. For there is no Writing more authentick than that. The Letters of the Apoſtles were ſent to perſecuted Churches, whoſe Members hid themſelves. They had neither Archives, nor Publick Records, as plainly appears, by the Confuſion which we find in the Catalogue of the Biſhops of the moſt conſiderable Churches. But Chriſt's Letter was writ to a King; this King had enroll'd it in the Publick Records of his Capital City, and preſerv'd it as a precious Thing in his Archives, whence it was taken. This Letter is ſhort, and might the more eaſily be kept genuine. The Apoſtles did not always go to the Churches, to which they directed their Letters, to ſee whether they preſerv'd the Originals of them. And indeed, theſe Originals were ſoon loſt. But *Thaddæus*, and St. *Thomas*, Two *Apoſtles*, went to *Edeſſa*. They both ought to have known whether this Monument was ſign'd by their Maſter. Chriſtianity was ſoon ſettl'd in that Kingdom. All the Churches ſhou'd have proclaim'd the Letter of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and prov'd the Validity of it by the Original, that was to be produc'd, and the Authentick Copy kept in the Archives of *Edeſſa*. It muſt be confeſs'd, that there can be no ſtronger Proofs, that a Writing is Canonical, than thoſe that they had for Chriſt's Letter; and yet it was rejected. *Euſebius* himſelf, who inſerted it in his Book, doth not ſay, that it was in his time receiv'd into the Canon. For it was not really there. The Churches did not read it, as they often did ſome Apocryphal Books; and it is ſaid to no purpoſe, that it *was not rejected as falſe, but as not being ſufficiently authoriz'd to make part of the Scripture*. For there is no medium. Either it ought to have been own'd as genuine, ſince the Original was in being, and an Authentick Copy of it in the Archives of *Edeſſa*; or elſe it was thought ſpurious, ſince it was not put among the Sacred Writings. To conclude, why doth Pope *Gelaſius* place it with a great many fabulous Pieces? Theſe Gentlemen at leaſt, who are ſo ſure of its truth, and ſee that it is only impugn'd *by frivolous* Conjectures, ought to receive it, and petition that it may be inſerted in the Canon. This is the only Objection, I had rais'd againſt this Letter. But ſince we muſt examine more narrowly *Abgarus* his Project to ruin *Judæa*; let us add ſome new Arguments to theſe.

8. It was in the Reign of *Tiberius*, that *Abgarus* is ſaid to have offer'd his City and Kingdom to *Jeſus Chriſt*, for an Aſyle; and that he reſolv'd to revenge

* Tillemont. Mem. pour L'Hiſt. de L'Egliſe, *t.* 1. *p.* 993.

his Death by declaring War with the Jews: And yet this King of *Edessa* was not an absolute Prince, but a Vassal to the *Romans*. For these Conquerors reveng'd upon that little King, the Affront they had receiv'd under *Crassus*; and only left him the Title of Commander of the Place, or of *Toparch*. This City had so intire a dependance upon the Empire, that we find this Inscription upon one of its Medals; *Tiberius Cæsar Augustus, Augustus God of the Edessenes.*

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.
Tiberius Cæsar Augustus.

And on the Reverse,

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΔΕΣΣΕΩΝ.
Augustus Deus Edessenorum.

Wou'd the City of * *Edessa* have stamp'd a Medal in honour of *Tiberius*, and put him among the Gods, had it not been subject to his Laws? So that *Edessa* belong'd to the *Romans*, when *Abgarus* design'd to divide his Kingdom with our Saviour, to declare War with the Jews, and to destroy them. There is another Medal wherein this City is call'd *the Metropolis of the* Roman *Colony*.

ΜΗ. ΚΟ. ΕΔΕΣΣΗΝΩΝ.
Metropolis Coloniæ Edessenorum.

How was then *Edessa* a *Roman* Colony, if it was not subject to the Emperour? And indeed, the *Parthians* had submitted to *Augustus*; and we as yet see in some Medals of that Prince, *Phraates* their King Kneeling, and restoring the Colours taken from *Crassus*.

Parthe, † refer aquilas, victos quoq; porrigis arcus:
Pignora jam nostri nulla pudoris habent,

Said *Ovid*, speaking of this Restitution, wherein we must read *victos quoque* or *captos quoque porrigis arcus*. For *Phraates* being vanquish'd, did restore the Arms which he had taken from the *Romans*. *Augustus* oblig'd him also to restore *Armenia*, and to send him Four of his Children for Hostages. The King of *Edessa*'s Fate, which was link'd with that of the *Parthians* in the Defeat of *Crassus*, was so too at that time; and he had his share of the Punishment as he had had of the Victory, to which he contributed more than any body. Thus Ten or Twelve Years before the Birth of Christ, this King became a Vassal; and as *Augustus* depriv'd *Phraates* of the Title of *King of Kings*, which he commonly assum'd, he only left to the King of *Edessa*, that of *Commander of the Place*.

Procopius ‖ says indeed, that the Kings of that Countrey were commonly call'd Toparchs. But the Mistake is plain. For the Kings of *Edessa* had a *Syrian* Name, that denoted their Dignity; and that of Toparch, or Governour of the Countrey, is given to *Abgarus*, by *Eusebius*, who follow'd the Stile of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who had diminish'd the Title and Grandeur of this Prince; and thus the Name of Tetrarch is given to *Herod*'s Sons. Nevertheless, *Procopius* confirms what we lay down. For he informs us, that *Augustus* carry'd with him to *Rome* the same *Abgarus*, who writ to Christ, and that he wou'd not let him return to his Capital City; but that this Prince shew'd him, that Beasts by a natural Instinct lov'd the Earth of their Dens and Caves; and that for this purpose he had some Savage Beasts, (which he had taken a Hunting) put in the Amphitheatre, with some of the Earth of every place, where these Beasts came from. Every one, says *Procopius*, run to his Native Earth, and *Abgarus* letting thereby *Augustus* understand, that every body lov'd his own Countrey, obtain'd leave to return home. Let us not insist on what History tells us, of the love of Beasts for the Earth of their Dens. For this wonderful Fact is false. But it is true, that *Abgarus* was in *Rome*, subject to *Augustus*, and oblig'd to rack his Wit to obtain his leave. When *Abgarus* went away, he beg'd also of *Augustus*, that he might have the Liberty to build a Circus at *Edessa*. So that his Kingdom and City, must of necessity have depended upon the *Romans*. In a Word, *Procopius* assures, that he having left an unworthy Successor, notwithstanding some make this Prince a Christian; his Son who had us'd his Subjects ill, was afraid to be *punish'd by the* Romans, and went over to the *Persians*: Which confirms that the King of *Edessa* was so great a Vassal to the *Romans*, that they punish'd him, when he did not do his Subjects Justice; and this Subjection (begun under *Augustus*) still continu'd under *Tiberius*, whom the People of *Edessa* more certainly plac'd among the Gods, than Christ.

9. Afterwards, the Title of King was still continu'd to the *Abgari*; and St. *Epiphanius* ‖‖ praises the Piety of one of these Princes, that reign'd at *Edessa*, when *Bardesanes* separated from the Church to sow his Errors. One wou'd think, that it was *the same* Abgarus, *who was subdu'd by* Severus: And therefore, that it was in the Reign of *Severus*, that this Kingdom was conquer'd by the *Romans*. For this Emperour vanquish'd *Abgarus*. So that it can't be said, that it was subdu'd in the time of our Saviour.

But Four Things may be observ'd. One, that Princes, tho' Tributary and Vassals to the *Romans*, often had the Title of Kings, and the Holy Pen-men gave it even to *Herod*, who was only Tetrarch of *Galilee*. So that altho' *Tacitus*, and *Capitolinus* call the *Abgari* Kings, they were for all that subject, and tributary to the *Romans*. Farther, *Eusebius* gives only that of Toparch, or *Commander of the Place* to the King we speak of; which shews, that all Writers did not use the same Stile. Some gave a Name common to all those, whose Birth and Dignity raises them above the People; and others, as *Eusebius*, altho' he had an Interest to set off the Dignity of *Abgarus*, speaking more accurately, calls him Toparch. 2. This small Kingdom, confin'd within *Mesopotamia*, might have recover'd the Liberty it had lost under *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and some of their Successors. 3. Neither must we imagine, that all those, that bore the Name of *Abgarus* were Kings of *Edessa*. For one is call'd by *Capitolinus* * King of the *East*, and he who was subdu'd by *Severus* † *was King of* Persia. If the little City of *Edessa*, situate on that side is thereby understood, I will not oppose it. 4. But without entering into a particular Account of what may have happen'd to the Kings of that Countrey, it is enough for our purpose, that the City of *Edessa* acknowledg'd *Tiberius* for its God and Prince. For I always thence inferr, that *Abgarus* was not then in a Condition to act as a Sovereign Prince, or to declare War with the Jews, who as well as he, were Subjects to the *Romans*.

10. Again, it is pretended, that *Abgarus* made that Resolution the Year that Christ dy'd; and that he and all his Subjects then embrac'd Christianity, being converted *at the Preaching of* Thaddæus, *sent* ‖ *by* Judas, *sometimes too call'd* Thomas. We do not take notice of some faults in this Narrative; but observe, that it says, that *Thomas* was call'd *Judas*, which is manifestly false. This is not the only one in it. For *Thaddæus* is there call'd *Apostle*, one of the Seventy Disciples. And this Mistake is more considerable than it appears at first. For St. *Jerome* was deceiv'd

* Norris Epocha Syro-Maced. † Ovid Fast. *l.* 5. ‖ Procop. de Bello Persico, *l.* 2. *c.* 12. *t.* 1. *p.* 117. ‖‖ Epiph. Hær. *p.* 476. * Capitolin. in Anton. Pio, *p.* 20. † Spartianus in Severo, *p.* 71. ‖ Euseb. *p.* 33.

by

by it, and ſaid, as he believ'd, that *Thaddæus* was one of the Twelve Apoſtles, and yet it is not true. Either it was inſerted in the Publick Records of *Edeſſa*, in *Thaddæus*'s time, that he was one of the Twelve Apoſtles, or elſe the remembrance of this was preſerv'd by Tradition. If we have it only by Tradition, it is more liable to Exception, than if it was then ingrav'd upon thoſe Records; and if it be aſſerted, that it was then ingrav'd there, it is eaſy to ſhew the abſurdity of it. For *Thaddæus* ought to have been acquainted with the Title that belong'd to him, and the difference, which was put at that time, between that of Apoſtle, and Diſciple. Why then did he ſuffer himſelf to be call'd an Apoſtle at *Edeſſa*? St. *Jerome* obſerv'd a long time after, that the Title of Apoſtle was given to ſome Miniſters, that were ſent into the Provinces, and the *Menaion* of the *Greeks* aſcribe it to St. *Luke*, *Titus* and *Timothy*. But all that proves nothing; becauſe the uſe of Terms, alters according to the Times; and at the beginning of Chriſtianity, they reckon'd only Twelve Apoſtles, beſides St. *Paul*, who was miraculouſly added to them. The Secretaries of *Edeſſa*, who writ by a Chriſtian Prince's Order, and were perhaps themſelves Chriſtians, ought to have known this. Farther, thoſe that compos'd the Monuments of *Edeſſa*, ſay, that *Thomas ſent the Envoy* Thaddæus. This wou'd be a ridiculous Repetition, was not Envoy, or the Name of *Apoſtle* there, a Title of Diſtinction and Honour. He is even call'd afterwards *Apoſtle* of Chriſt. So that *Thaddæus*, either muſt have aſſum'd at *Edeſſa* the Title of Apoſtle, or ſome ignorant Fellows, who did not know the Excellency of that Office, above that of a Diſciple, confounded them by ſaying, that *Thaddæus* was at the ſame time *a Diſciple, and an Apoſtle, one of the Seventy Diſciples*, and one of the Twelve Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*. This muſt be obſerv'd; becauſe Monuments made by People of ſo little Senſe and Judgment, are very much to be ſuſpected.

11. But if this Remark is not of weight enough; let us add one upon the *Æra* of the *Edeſſenes*. It was that of the *Selucidæ*, which begun at the time, that *Seleucus* reign'd in *Babylon*; the Firſt Year of the 117 *Olympiad*, and the 4402 of the *Julian* Period. *Euſebius* affirms, that *Abgarus*, had not only reſolv'd to enter *Judæa* with an Army, to revenge the Death of Chriſt, but alſo that his Converſion was perform'd by *Thaddæus*, in the Year *Three Hundred and Forty*. That Year was exactly the 29 or 30 of Chriſt; for reckoning from the 117 *Olympiad*, to the 202, which was the 29 or 30 of the Chriſtian *Æra*, you find the Three Hundred and Forty Years mention'd by *Euſebius*.

But it is anſwer'd in oppoſition to this; "That the "Epoch of the *Edeſſenes*, as well as that of the *Seleu*-"*cidæ*, and *Egyptians*, begun at the Death of *Alex*-"*ander* the Great, which happen'd in the Year of the "World 3872. according to *Marianus Scotus*; that "Chriſt dy'd in the Year 4227. according to the "ſame Author; and that by adding 430. of the Reign "of the *Edeſſenes*, to 3872. wherein that Reign begun, "it wou'd follow that King *Abgarus* writ his Letter to "Chriſt in the Year 4302, that is, Seventy Nine "Years after his Death; which is ridiculous.

12. I confeſs, that I do not well underſtand an anſwer, which inſtead of ſolving an Objection, doth but confirm it: For granting that *Abgarus*'s Letter was writ Seventy Nine Years after the Death of Chriſt, this wou'd but the better expoſe the Suppoſition; for Chronological Faults commonly do it. It is agreed that the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, and *Edeſſenes*, was the ſame. *Euſebius* ſaid it, and Mr. *du Pin* took it for granted. This *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, begun at the Hundred and Seventeenth *Olympiad*. Cardinal *Norris* hath made it very plain. So that we muſt reckon from thence the 340 Years mention'd by *Euſebius*. Abbot *Faydit* affirms, that Four Hundred and Thirty Years muſt be added to the *Æra* of the *Edeſſenes*; and that then this Fact will fall on the Seventy Ninth Year of Chriſt. But was he not miſtaken? Did he not take 430, for 340? And indeed *Euſebius* reckons but Three Hundred and Forty Years of the Reign of the *Edeſſenes*. Why then will he reckon 430, to make a *ridiculous* Calculation? To what purpoſe doth he alter the Text of *Euſebius*, which was ſo happily corrected by *Valeſius*? But tho' the *Æra* of the *Edeſſenes* was lengthen'd by a dozen of Years, by fixing its beginning at *Alexander*'s Death, it wou'd not turn to account; ſince Chriſt had not as yet perform'd any Miracle, nor begun his Miniſtry; he was then but Seventeen Years of Age, and it cannot be ſuppos'd that *Abgarus* writ to him at that time, to offer him an Aſyle, ſince he had not perform'd, or ſuffer'd any thing.

13. Turn this Story which way you will, and you'll find it intangl'd. Mr. *de Tillemont* corrects * the Text of *Euſebius*, and puts Three Hundred and Forty Seven, inſtead of Forty. But he doth this without a Warrant from any Manuſcript, and only becauſe he will have it ſo; and that, unable to make this Fact agree with the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles, he is forc'd to referr it to the 36 Year of Chriſt. *Such was his pleaſure.* But it is certain, that when we examine whether a Work is ſuppoſititious, we have no right to make any Corrections, without any Proofs to back them, in order to remove ſome inſuperable Difficulties. For we then leave the Objection as full and cogent as can be. But *Euſebius* ſpoils that Correction: For he ſays, that this Converſion happen'd immediately after the Aſcenſion of Chriſt.

Admitting the date of *Euſebius*; ſome ſuſpect, that it only denotes that of the Letter of Chriſt. But they cou'd not know at *Edeſſa*, the Miracles of Chriſt, who juſt then came into his Miniſtry; and the ill Treatment of the Jews to him, had not appear'd enough to oblige this Heatheniſh Prince, to offer him a Place of Refuge in his Kingdom. But this muſt be worſe, if the Year 340 of the *Edeſſenes* falls on the 29*th* Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*. For then Chriſt had not even begun to preach at that time.

It is ſaid, that if the Year 340 is the Date of time, *that* Thaddæus *was ſent, as the Publick, Act related by* Euſebius, *ſeems to oblige us to believe; we muſt of neceſſity acknowledge, that* Jeſus Chriſt *dy'd the* 29th *Year of the common* Æra. *However,* Euſebius *did not believe it; and yet receiv'd this Date, altho' he knew the* Æra *of the* Edeſſenes. Mr. *de Tillemont* is in the right. For if we follow the Act ſet down by *Euſebius*, we are bound to believe that the Letters of Chriſt, and *Thaddæus*, were ſent the ſame Year. But 'tis an undoubted, and receiv'd Truth, that Chriſt did not die in the 29*th* Year of the common *Æra*; and therefore this Date is falſe. But granting it was true, that Chriſt's Death happen'd at that time, can we imagine that *Thaddæus* went to *Edeſſa* immediately after it? This is at leaſt repugnant to the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles. Why then will they not get out of this endleſs Labyrinth? Is there any neceſſity to overſet Chronology, turn the Times upſide down, and ſay that Chriſt's Death happen'd in the Year 29? Or that the Vocation of the Gentiles happen'd at the ſame time, by reaſon of the Letters that were writ to *Abgarus*? Doth it not appear from all theſe Difficulties, and the Neceſſity of altering the Life and Death of Chriſt, that theſe Letters are not warrantable?

* *Notes on St.* Thomas. *p.* 1111.

Father *Harduin* hath invented an Epoch, which ſeems at firſt favourable to theſe Gentlemen. For he begins the *Edeſſene Æra*, Two or Three Years later, than that of the *Seleucidæ*. But they ſhall have no reaſon to boaſt of this Epoch againſt me, when they find the Book, wherein the late Cardinal *Norris*, who was ſo well verſed, and exact in that part of Learning, diſcover'd this Reckoning to be falſe. I won'd rather ſay in theſe Gentlemen's behalf, that *Valeſius*'s Correction of the Text of *Euſebius* is not compleat. For as my deſign is only to find out the Truth, I will not diſſemble, that the reading of *Ruffinus* may be kept with that of the Manuſcripts, which that Learned Man conſulted; and that we muſt read 343 and not 340. For, 1. It is certain, that the Number Forty Three was found in the Old Manuſcripts, ſince *Ruffinus* read it ſo. 2. *Euſebius*, who knew the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, yet ſays, that *Abgarus*'s Converſion, happen'd *after Chriſt*'s *Aſcenſion*. He even repeats this Twice; and cou'd not be ſo groſly miſtaken. He muſt then have believ'd, that *Thaddæus* was ſent in the 343 Year of the *Edeſſenes*, * which combines with the 33*d* of Chriſt, when that Divine Redeemer was dead, and aſcended into Heaven. My correction is more exact than that of *Valeſius*; but it doth not ſolve the Difficulty; becauſe the Miſſion of *Thaddæus*, and *Abgarus*'s Converſion, cannot poſſibly have happen'd the ſame Year that Chriſt dy'd. I only conceive, that the Impoſtor, who ſet down this Event in the Records of *Edeſſa*, preferr'd this Year to all Others, becauſe it was more known, and memorable in the Church; and that his Ignorance made him confound the Names of *Thomas*, and the Office of *Thaddæus*.

14. Another Difficulty ariſes from the Date of this Letter, concerning the Vocation of the *Gentiles*. The Heathens begun to come into the Church, in the Year 39, of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, in the Reign of *Caligula*. St. *Peter* wou'd not undertake that great Work, and go to *Cæſarea* to preach to *Cornelius*, who was the Firſt Fruits of the *Gentiles*, before he was urg'd to it, both by a Miracle, and a particular Revelation. Nevertheleſs, Three Things are obſerv'd; One, that *Abgarus* call'd Chriſt, *God, and Son of God*, before his Death. But this will be only call'd the beginning of his *Converſion*. Let it be ſo. But then it muſt be own'd, that *Abgarus*, tho' he was a Heathen, was clearer ſighted than all the Apoſtles, including even St. *Peter*. For the Apoſtles ſaid with the Multitude, that Chriſt was *Elias*, or St. *John*; and St. *Peter* was the only Man, to whom the Holy Ghoſt reveal'd, that he was *the Son of God*. *Abgarus*'s Faith at that diſtance from *Judæa*, was more miraculous than that of St. *Peter*; ſince he writ to our Saviour, that he was *God, the Son of God*; and the Pagan Prince preceeded him, who is call'd by ſome, the Prince of the Apoſtles in the Kingdom of God. Chriſt giving the Prince an Anſwer, to thank him for his kind Offer, promis'd to ſend him ſome of his Diſciples to inſtruct him. So that according to this, the Apoſtles cou'd not be ignorant, that the *Gentiles* were to be call'd and converted, ſince their Maſter writ it with his own Hand, to the King of *Edeſſa*. Whence then proceeded St. *Peter*'s Ignorance, when he was oblig'd to effect the Converſion of *Cornelius*? Ought he not to have been inform'd of his Maſter's Letter? *Thomas*, purſuant to his Order, ſent *Thaddæus* to *Edeſſa*. But *Thaddæus* immediately committed a Fault. For inſtead of going directly to Court, and appearing before the Prince, to whom he was ſent, and Chriſt had promis'd him, he ſtaid at his Friend Toby's, *the Son of* Toby, to perform ſome Miracles; and it was only by chance, that the noiſe of his Miracles coming to Court, *Abgarus*, who was always intent upon the Myſtery of Salvation, inform'd himſelf, and learn'd that he was the Perſon ſent him by Chriſt. *Thaddæus* his Behaviour did not ſuit with his Miſſion to the King. But without being too ſevere upon this Miſſionary, who might have had ſome reaſons for acting ſo; he had no ſooner preach'd, but he converted the King and his Subjects. This general Converſion was perform'd the ſame Year that Chriſt died; in the 343*d* Year of the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*: And this can't be doubted; ſince that Date is ſet down in the Publick Records of *Edeſſa*. So that here is a Kingdom of Heathens, to which the Goſpel was preach'd, before it was to *Cornelius*, whom Sacred Hiſtory looks upon, as the Firſt Fruits of the *Gentiles*, notwithſtanding he was admitted into the Church, near Six Years after the King and People of *Edeſſa*. There is no need to diſtinguiſh here between a Converſion begun, and one compleated. For this was a full and intire one. The King was baptiz'd, miraculouſly cur'd upon the ſcore of his Faith, and the People, following the Example of their Prince, hearken'd to *Thaddæus* his Sermons. It is difficult to reconcile this, with the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles, which is much more exact thanthat of *Euſebius*.

15. *Abgarus*, ſays *Euſebius*, told *Thaddæus*, that his Faith in Chriſt was always ſo great, that *to puniſh the Jews, that Crucify'd him, he had reſolv'd to declare War with them, and deſtroy their Countrey; but that he was afraid of the* Romans. It can't be conceiv'd whence proceeded ſo warm a Zeal without Knowledge. This Prince muſt not only have believ'd in Chriſt, but alſo lov'd him, to raiſe an Army, and hazard Battles againſt a Superiour Enemy, to revenge the Death of an unknown Perſon. It is acknowledg'd that this Deſign of ruining *Judæa*, was a meer *Rhodomontado* of this little King of *Edeſſa*: *For the leaſt Kings of that Countrey, think their Power equal to that of God. The Sun is their Brother, and the Moon their Siſter. They are like Trees, whoſe Branches riſe up to Heaven, and overſhadow all the Univerſe*, as *Daniel* ſays of one of theſe *little Princes*. However, it is hard to look upon ſo devout a Prince, as a Bragadochio, and to confeſs that his Zeal went no farther than Vapouring. The Example of the Kings of the *Eaſt*, who are very Haughty, doth not juſtify him. Again, nothing can be more ridiculous than this project of War with the Jews, which he boaſted of to the Diſciple of Chriſt. How cou'd he march from *Oſrhoene* into *Judæa*, to deſtroy it? He was not only to paſs the *Euphrates*, but alſo to find Proviſions, Ammunition, and a free Paſſage through all *Syria*; or to fancy that all the Neighbouring Princes wou'd have ſuffer'd him to march through their Countrey, in his way to deſtroy, and ruin *Judæa*, that he might revenge the Death of one, that he did not know. I am not ſurpriz'd that this Prince was quiet after this firſt flight of his Zeal.

Quos ego: *Sed motos præſtat componere fluctus.*

16. Wou'd it not be better to lay aſide this project of declaring War, deſtroying *Jeruſalem*, and its Inhabitants, than to maintain ſo chimerical a Deſign? Is it not ingominious to Chriſtianity, that upon the firſt Impreſſion it made on *Abgarus*, he loſt his Senſes, and run upon extravagant Deſigns? God, who reſolv'd to revenge the Death of his Son, had other Inſtruments than the King of *Edeſſa*. He had foretold that † *whereſoever the Carcaſe is, there will the Eagles be gathered together*. And indeed the *Romans* beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*, and ravag'd all *Judæa*:

* Valeſius *reads* Euſebius *thus, pag.* 35. Ἐτεσάχθη τοῦτο τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τριακοσιοστῷ ἔτει, acta hæc ſunt Anno quadrageſimo, & trecenteſimo; *and I believe we ſhou'd read* ἐπράχθη τοῦτο τεσσαρακοστῷ τριτῷ καὶ τριακοσιοστῷ ἔτει. Acta ſunt hæc Anno quadrageſimo tertio ac trecenteſimo. † Math. 24. 28.

But

But God first permitted, that all the Nation, that was to partake of the Punishment, shou'd be gather'd together in *Jerusalem*, that it might perish there. This is what we are going to represent in the following Chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Destruction of Jerusalem, *and of its Temple.*

I. A *Re-capitulation of the preceeding Chapters.* II. *The Year of the War.* III. *Presages of the Destruction of* Jerusalem, *according to the Jews.* IV. *It is false, that this Destruction was foretold by St.* Paul, *and by an Angel.* V. *A Massacre of the Jews in* Syria. VI. Cestius's *March against* Jerusalem. VII. *The Jews take a Resolution to enter into a War. The Distribution of Offices* VIII. Vespasian *reduces* Galilee. IX. *The Siege of* Gadara. *Observations upon that place.* X. *Some Projects of a Confederacy with the* Eastern *Jews.* XI. Jerusalem *Invested by* Titus. XII. *The Advantagious Situation of this Place.* XIII. *Sallies out of* Jerusalem, *against the* Romans. XIV. *The first and Second Wall taken.* XV. *The effect of Famine. The Defeat of* Antiochus. XVI. *The Taking of the Cittadel.* XVII. *The Attack of the Temple. It is reduc'd to Ashes.* XVIII. *The Attack, and Taking of* Mount Sion. *The Death of the Chief of Assassins.* XIX. Jerusalem *was not destroy'd according to the Fathers.* XX. *An Examination of this Fact. An attempt to reconcile the Fathers, and* Josephus. XXI. *In what Sense the Fathers said, that* Jerusalem *was not in Being in their time.*

1. ALL the Jewish Nation was involv'd in Sin. For, not to mention the Crime they perpetrated by Crucifying the Messiah, whom they had so long desir'd, the Kings, to please the *Romans*, had introduc'd some Heathenish Customs. Besides, they made an ill use of their Authority, and gave the *Romans* occasion to reduce *Judæa* into a Province, which being liable to the hatred of the Legions, and the Avarice of the Governours, suffer'd very much. The Church, which shou'd have set a Pattern of Obedience to the Supream Power, of Piety to God, and Respect for his Temple, prophan'd it by enormous and continu'd Sacrileges. The High-Priest, when he bought his Office, thought of nothing but gratifying his Ambition. But his Ambition was no sooner gratify'd, but he study'd how to repay himself, by robbing his Inferiours. He neglected Divine Service, and only kept the outward Appearances of Religion, that the People might still be under his Jurisdiction. The Spirit of Schism, that had banish'd Charity, reign'd there. The grossest Heresie not only appear'd openly, but also supply'd the Chair and Nation with Chiefs, and High-Priests. The various Sects, that had combin'd against Christ, unmercifully tore one another, and only endeavour'd their mutual Destruction. The People being impatient, breath'd nothing but Sedition and War; and as soon as it was begun, they were involv'd into all the Calamities, that attend Rebellion. A Nation is always unhappy, that will not be guided by Justice, and Duty. The Zealots, or rather, that Company of Mad Men, fill'd every place with Blood and Slaughter. They kill'd one another at the very Altars in the Holy Place. Altho' God had had no other motives of Revenge, it was morally impossible, that a Society so disorder'd, and a Church so divided against it self, cou'd subsist any longer. God, justly exasperated against them, permitted their Sins, and their Sins drew their Destruction after them. *Josephus* was forc'd to make this dismal Confession against his Country-men *, *that he never heard of so wicked a Nation, and that if the* Romans *had deferr'd the Siege, either the Earth had open'd to swallow them up alive, or Fire had come down from Heaven, as it did on* Sodom, *to consume them to Ashes.* God preferr'd the *Romans* to his Thunder-bolts, which had crush'd them in a Moment; and sent them some Governours, under whom a whole Generation was barbarously oppress'd. When a Slave becomes a King, he is commonly the most Savage, and Inhumane Creature in the World. This is the Character which *Tacitus* gives of *Felix*: † *He exercis'd the Royal Authority as a Slave, he gratify'd his Cruelty, and filthy Passions.* Nevertheless, *the Jews had patience till the coming of* Gessius Florus, who was yet more cruel than his Predecessor, and who, driving the People to Despair, forc'd them into a War.

2. It is not material to fix the Year, wherein begun the open War with the *Romans*, since Criticks vary but of one Year. They all agree, that the Insurrection happen'd in the 12*th* Year of *Nero*; but they differ about the Years of his Reign. Altho' *Capel* was an able Man; and had accurately examin'd this History, it is yet safer to begin the War in 66, because *Jesus* the Son of *Ananus*, that Jewish Prophet who cry'd out so long, *Woe to the City, Woe to the Temple*, begun his lugubrious Predictions, seven Years and some Months before the Siege of *Jerusalem*, which happen'd in the 70*th* Year of our Saviour. So that he begun in 62, Four Years before the War: And therefore it must be fix'd as we have done. Besides, the Prodigies related by *Josephus* || as so many Presages of the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple, happen'd at the Feast of the Unleaven'd Bread of that Year, that is, in 65. the 8*th* of *April*. It was then that the Priests, who were going to officiate, heard a confus'd Noise of People in a Hurry, and a Voice that cry'd out, *Let us depart hence.* This continu'd till the Pentecost, which was about the end of *May*; so, notwithstanding that Presages are always to precede Events, these Presages had happen'd after the Declaration of the War, or rather after the Hostilities that begun the 16*th* Day of *May*, had the War begun in 65; and therefore the Beginning of the War must of necessity be referr'd to the following Year, as we do it.

3. It will perhaps be said, that these Presages never happen'd; and that it is a Piece of Credulity to alledge them, to prove a Chronological Fact, since they are false. I believe as little in Presages as another; but it signifies nothing, whether these are true or not. For I do not build upon their Authority, but on the Testimony of the Person, that relates them, who ought to have made an exact Calculation of the time of the War, since he was one of the Chief Commanders in it.

Horum pars magna fuit.

Besides, People might easily have been impos'd upon in several things, which he relates. That shining Light seen at Night about the Altar; that Ox, who, as he was *drag'd* to the Altar, brought forth *a*

* Joseph. de Bello, *l.* 6. *c.* 11, & 16. † Tacit. Hist. 5. *c.* 13. || Joseph. de Bello, *l.* 7. *c.* 12. *p.* 960.

Lamb,

Lamb, and those Fiery Chariots that passed over the City with a dreadful Noise, may very well be suspected. Some were uncertain. For the Opening of the Temple, which seems better attested than others; because we are told that the Magistrates went to shut it, was an assurance to some, that God had a mind to open the Treasure of his Blessings, whilst others concluded, that he withdrew his Protection from the Temple. But the Action of that Man, who cry'd out, *a Voice from the* East, *a Voice from the* West, and foretold every Night the Destruction of the City, can't be deny'd. For he was carry'd before *Albinus*, who examin'd him. He was whipp'd, and often buffetted by the People, who cou'd not endure without Indignation, the Voice of a Man, who obstinately prepar'd them to such dismal Calamities. His Outcries were heard in the Streets, for the space of Seven Years. At last he was kill'd upon the Walls of the City, at the beginning of the Siege. People can't be mistaken in a Thing of this Nature, or continue long in that Mistake. *Josephus*, who relates it, was at *Jerusalem*, when this Preacher, who was look'd upon as a mad Man, foretold them the impending Destruction. He was at the Siege when this Man was kill'd, and he cou'd inform himself about his Death. So that if there be any Circumstance which we are oblig'd to take notice of, this is the only One; wherein we can't forbear acknowledging something very extraordinary.

4. The Christians wou'd not be behind hand with the Jews, with relation to Prophecies. For *Lactantius* makes St. *Paul*, and St. *Peter* preach in *Rome*; and maintains that in one of their Sermons, they said, that * *God wou'd soon send a Prince, who wou'd destroy the Jews, demolish their Cities, besiege them, make them pine to Death, thro' Hunger and Thirst, and force them through Want to devour themselves.* *Eusebius* † doth not name the Prophets; but he places them in *Jerusalem*, and maintains, "That the Christians were to go out of that "City, to retire to *Pella*; and that when they had "transported thither all their Effects, the Divine "Vengeance extripated that impious Generation. St. *Epiphanius* || assures, that an Angel forewarn'd the Disciples of the Calamities that threaten'd *Jerusalem*, and of the Necessity of seeking for a place of Refuge. In a Word, it is believ'd that it was to facilitate the Retreat of the Faithful, that God order'd the Flight of *Cestius*, who might have ended the War at its beginning, by the Taking of *Jerusalem*. For *Josephus* owns, that he might have taken it, had he continu'd the Siege. But God wou'd not have it so, that his Children might be preserv'd from Destruction. Here are a great many Preachers, and Advices given to the Christians. But is *Lactantius* an Author that may be believ'd upon his Word, when he quotes no Witness of what he advances; and relates a Fact, that happen'd some Centuries before him, and whereof no Footsteps are to be found, but in the Memory of those that liv'd at that time? *Eusebius* too grounds himself only upon Tradition. For a Historian, that was upon the Spot, wou'd infallibly have discover'd the Proofs of a Revelation, if there were any others besides *a hear-say*, and Tradition is, of all things in the World, the most uncertain. Lastly, St. *Epiphanius*, who liv'd a long while after, is yet more particular. For he speaks of an Angel, who came down from Heaven to oblige the Christians to go out of *Jerusalem*, as an Angel had taken *Lot* out of *Sodom*. But he doth not agree with himself. For he |||| gives Christ in another place a Commission to forewarn his Disciples, who thought themselves secure at *Jerusalem*. Christ perform'd then a great many needless Miracles. For without any Visions from Heaven, it was easy to perceive that *Jerusalem*, torn with so many Factions, was not in it self a safe place of Abode, or that cou'd hold out against the *Romans*. *Josephus*, who was not a Prophet, often represented this to his Country Men, especially when the perpetual Sacrifice ceas'd; and long before People of Reach and Sense withdrew from so dangerous a Post, to go some where else. This was the true Presage, that work'd upon all the Christians, who were wiser, and less inclin'd to Rebellion than others, to retire into the little Town of *Pella*.

5. Nevertheless, the Troubles already mention'd increas'd every where. The *Syrians*, who inhabited *Cæsarea*, and often * rose against the Jews, run once more to Arms, and kill'd Twenty Thousand of them. Those whom God preserv'd from this Massacre, were sent by *Florus* to the Gallies. For he judg'd them in the Wrong. The Jews highly incens'd at that Barbarity, and the Injustice that was added to it, made it a point of Duty, to kill and plunder the *Syrians*, in all the Towns, where their Number enabl'd them to do it. They gave no quarter, kill'd one another Day and Night, and were upon the Watch for fear of a Surprise: The Streets were cover'd with dead Bodies, and the Jews were the greatest Sufferers. This Fury spread as far as *Egypt*, and above Sixty Thousand Jews had their Throats cut at *Alexandria*, and other parts of that Countrey. *Antioch*, being less inclin'd to these inhumane proceedings, spar'd its Inhabitants at First: but an unnatural Jew, having accus'd his own Father, and several of his Brethren of a Design to set the City on Fire in the Night, they thought, that they only acted for self preservation, to kill all those, who contriv'd so black a Project. They only intended at first to punish those, that were accus'd and found Guilty; but that wretched Fellow, who had forsaken his Religion, having publickly offer'd Sacrifice to Idols, and beg'd that the same Thing shou'd be requir'd of the Jews, that they might be known; some sacrific'd, but others lost their Lives. This Renegado, who believ'd that his Country Men only dissembl'd, ask'd afterwards some Soldiers, to oblige them to work on the Sabbath Day. At *Scythopolis*, a *Greek* City, situate † on the Banks of the *Jordan*, a Jew seeing how his Nation was butcher'd, and that he cou'd not escape his Enemies, that were round about him, kill'd before their Eyes, his Father, Mother, Wife and Children, and afterwards run his Sword through his Body.

6. *Cestius*, Governour of *Syria*, whose Power reach'd as far as *Judæa*, might have prevented these Disorders. But on the contrary, he was at the Head of an Army, marching towards *Jerusalem*, to revenge the Death of some *Roman* Soldiers, that had been kill'd there. He burnt several Towns in his march, and halted at *Gabaon*, where the Jews, forgetting the Sabbath Day, fell upon his Army, put it in a Confusion, and had defeated it, if they had not been divided among themselves, upon promise of a Pardon. *Cestius* march'd thence, and encamp'd within less than a Mile of *Jerusalem*, and put it into such a Consternation, that the Factious forsook the Lower Town, and retir'd into the Upper. Had the *Romans* made use of the Dread they were in, they had taken it. Nay some call'd *Cestius*, and offer'd to open the Gates; but he wou'd not, or else he had some secret reason not to end this Business so speedily. He gave an Assault the 5*th* of *November*, and because he did not carry the Gate of the Temple, which he attack'd, he retir'd. The Besieg'd perceiving this, fell upon his Rear, and pursu'd him as far as *Gabaon*, where he had left his Camp. He march'd thence Two Days after; because he was a-

* Lact. *l.* 4. *c.* 21. *p.* 423. 29. *p.* 123. *t.* 1. † Euseb. *l.* 3. *c.* 5. * An. 66. || Epiph. de Ponder. *n.* 14. *p.* 171. *t.* 2. † *The Scripture calls it* Bethsan. |||| Id. Hær.

fraid

fraid to be ſurrounded on every ſide. The Jews follow'd him, and taking advantage of a very narrow Deſcent, they ſo ſucceſsfully engag'd him, that nothing but the Night ſav'd the reſt of his Army. He loſt his Baggage.

7. This Advantage fir'd even the calmeſt Tempers, and made them immediately reſolve upon a War. They divided the Command. *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian was ſent into the Upper and Lower *Galilee*; *Eleazar*, the Son of *Ananias*, into *Idumæa*; and *Annas* the High-Prieſt undertook the Government of *Jeruſalem*, the Temple, and the Neighbouring Cittadels. On the other hand, *Ceſtius* being aſham'd, and angry, inform'd *Nero*, with what happen'd. The Emperour ſent *Veſpaſian* with ſome Forces to ſtop the Current of this dangerous Inſurrection. This General having aſſembl'd his Army in *Syria*, enter'd into *Galilee*. *Joſephus* had there One Hundred Thouſand Men of the Militia; but they did not much appear in the Field. Having intelligence that *Veſpaſian*, after he had taken *Sephoris*, and ſome other Towns, deſign'd to beſiege *Jotapata*, he got into that Place. It was but * a large Village, which he fortify'd to ſtop the Enemy for ſome time. It was ſupply'd with a vaſt quantity of Proviſions, except Salt and Water, which were ſcarce. But *Joſephus* husbanded the Water: For it was meaſur'd out; and by hanging over the Wall ſome Garments dipp'd in Water, he made the *Romans* deſpair of reducing the Town by want of Water. He had there ſeveral ſharp Encounters with the *Romans*, who during the Siege, which laſted Seven Weeks, loſt a world of Men. *Veſpaſian* himſelf was wounded, and in danger of his Life. But a Deſerter, having at laſt inform'd this General, that the Beſieg'd were reduc'd to a Handful of Men, and ſlept in the Night to refreſh themſelves, the better to undergo the Fatigue of the Day; he order'd his Son *Titus*, and one of his Lieutenant Generals, to attack the Place early in the Morning, and was Maſter of it ſooner than he expected. The Army † was in the Cittadel before the Jews awak'd; and the *Romans* begun the Slaughter as ſoon as they came in; and ſpar'd none but Women and Children; Forty Thouſand Jews periſh'd, either in the Siege, or at the Taking of the Town. *Joſephus* was found in a Cave, and ſpar'd by *Veſpaſian*, to whom, it is ſaid, he foretold that he ſhou'd be Emperour.

8. *Veſpaſian* afterwards attack'd *Tiberias*, and *Tarichea*. The Mutineers got together in this laſt Place, and at firſt ſally'd againſt *Titus*, who was marching to beſiege them; but being repell'd, and *Titus* taking advantage of their Diſorder, enter'd the Town, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword. *Gamala*, which *Joſephus* had fortify'd, made alſo ſome reſiſtance. This Town ‖ was ſituate on the other ſide of *Jordan*, and yet was reckon'd as part of *Galilee*. And indeed, tho' the *Jordan* ſeparated this Province from *Peræa*, yet ſome places beyond that River were call'd by the Name of *Galilee*. *Judas*, that ſeditious Man, mention'd in the Acts of the Apoſtles, is call'd a *Galilean*, notwithſtanding he was born at *Gaulon*, or at *Gamala*, which was beyond the *Jordan*. So that *Galilee* extended on the other ſide of that River; and I cannot conceive how it can be diſputed; ſince we have in St. *Luke* the Teſtimony of *Gamaliel* for this. The *Romans*, who intended to make themſelves Maſters of all that Province, which had been under the Command of *Joſephus*, paſs'd the River, and beſieg'd *Gamala*. The Place made a vigorous Defence, and even after the *Romans* had enter'd it, they were driven out with conſiderable Loſs. *Veſpaſian* was there wounded with a Sling; but at laſt Heaven declar'd for him. The Wind blowing very hard, violently carry'd the *Roman* Darts againſt the Beſieg'd, whilſt ſome Soldiers were beating down a Tower, that open'd them a Paſſage. The Town was taken, and the Victor did not ſpare even the Children. Four Thouſand Jews were kill'd; and Five Thouſand, in the height of an aſtoniſhing Deſpair, threw themſelves down from the Top of the Rocks. There was ſuch a Slaughter of that Nation every where, and that too with ſo particular Circumſtances, that there was reaſon to believe, that God had a Mind to extirpate them, and even not to ſpare their very Children. In a Word, all *Galilee* was reduc'd this ſecond Campaign; and after ſome Expeditions of leſſer Note, *Veſpaſian* put his Army into Winter Quarters, at *Cæſarea*, where there had always been a *Roman* Garriſon, and was the uſual Reſidence of the Governours of *Judæa*.

9. They open'd the third Campaign by the Siege of *Gadara*. There were two Towns of that Name; One ſituate on the *Mediterranean*, and which one of the *Macchabees* took with *Jamnia*; the Other, famous for the Swine, which were thrown headlong into the Sea by thoſe Devils, that Chriſt caſt out of a *Demoniack*. *Gergeza* was in the Neighbourhood, and the Territory of this laſt, was larger than that of *Gadara*, that was but a ſmall Town. So that we muſt not be ſurpriz'd, that ſome of the Evangeliſts ſpeak of the Countrey of the *Gergeſenes*, and another of that of the *Gadarenes*. For one of theſe Territories was ſurrounded by the other. It is not ſtrange, that there were ſome Swine in this Town, which belong'd to Heathens, and *Pompey* had annex'd to thoſe of *Syria*. It was even taken from the Juriſdiction of the *Herods*. It is ſaid, that there was near that place a very ſtinking Lake; and that this happen'd, becauſe the Devils, that caſt out a great deal of Stench, threw themſelves into it with the Swine, by Chriſt's Order. But as the Swine, and the Devils threw themſelves into the Sea of *Tiberias*; it is no hard matter to conclude this a Fable. The *Romans* ſurpriz'd this Place, which was the Metropolis of *Peræa*, that is, of the Province beyond *Jordan*, which fell to the Share of the Tribes of *Ruben*, and *Gad*. *Doleſus*, one of the Citizens, introduc'd |||| the Enemy undiſcover'd. But the Inhabitants out of Revenge kill'd him, and then fled out of the Town. *Placidus*, who commanded then, forc'd them into a Village, and kill'd Fifteen Thouſand at the Paſſage of the *Jordan*, not to reckon a great many that were drown'd in the River, which was ſwell'd by the Rain. He carry'd his Conqueſts as far as the Dead Sea, and made himſelf Maſter of the whole Countrey.

10. In the mean time *Veſpaſian* was upon his March to *Jeruſalem*, which he had begun to block up. He took *Lydda* and *Jamnia*, ravag'd *Idumæa*, put a Garriſon into *Jericho*, which was forſaken by the Inhabitants; and made a Legion encamp at *Emmaus*, which was but three Leagues from *Jeruſalem*. But the News of *Nero*'s Death interrupted his Deſigns. He thought, that he ought to wait for the New * Emperour's Orders, or rather to ſee the Event of that Revolution, wherein he was concern'd himſelf very much, as it appear'd afterwards. The Jews made uſe of the Delay, which God granted them; and negociated ſome Alliances on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*. This is perhaps what deceiv'd *Dio*, and made him ſay, that the Jews of thoſe Eaſtern Provinces, ſent their Brethren a conſiderable Body of Forces. 1. Becauſe the Jews really flatter'd themſelves, that they ſhou'd have a powerful Aſſiſtance from thoſe Parts. 2 Becauſe *Jeruſalem* being beſieg'd at the time of the Feaſt of the Paſſover, a prodigious Number of Strangers were found in it. But the Jews receiv'd no Succours from the *Eaſt*, and that great Multitudes of them

* Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 3. *c.* 8. *&c. p.* 842. † An. 67. ‖ Vide Lightfoot, Chorog. pauca ad Luc. *p.* 681. |||| An. 68. * An. 69.

that

that was then at *Jeruſalem*, went up only for the Feaſt. Theſe Negociations with the Enemies of the State, made *Veſpaſian* angry in earneſt, who, when he was Maſter of the Empire, order'd his Son *Titus*, to lead his Legions againſt *Jeruſalem*, to beſiege the Place, and to give the Rebels no Quarter. But they did not ſpare one another, and we have ſpoken of their mutual Cruelties, whilſt they had time to breath.

11. *Titus* at laſt inveſted *Jeruſalem*, in the Year 70, at the beginning of *April*, when they were preparing themſelves to celebrate the Paſſover. His Army conſiſted of Four * Legions, whereof the Twelfth eagerly long'd to be reveng'd of the Jews, who had beaten them under *Ceſtius*. This only made a Body of Twenty Four Thouſand Foot, and Two Thouſand Four Hundred Horſe; but Five Thouſand Men were added to theſe, from Two other Legions. Beſides the Allies, that is, thoſe Nations, who were not free of *Rome*, furniſh'd Twenty Regiments of Foot, and Eight of Horſe. Two Kings, *Agrippa* and *Sohemus*, joyn'd them with their Troops. *Antiochus*, another King, ſent alſo his. And Laſtly, a Company of *Arabians*, come to inrich themſelves by plundering, ſwell'd up the Army to a conſiderable Number.

Jeruſalem was provided with all Neceſſaries for a Siege. The Feaſt of the Paſſover, which ſometimes gather'd together Two Millions, and Seven Hundred Thouſand Perſons, was then Celebrating, and prodigiouſly encreas'd the Number of the Soldiers. Thoſe that the *Roman* Conqueſts drove from other parts of *Judæa*, were for ſome Months before in *Jeruſalem*. The People, nay the very Women, who thought it an Honour to be bury'd under the Ruins of their Temple, fought with wonderful Reſolution. Several Wiſe Men wiſh'd for Peace, and had a mind to ſubmit. But whether they were too narrowly watch'd, or fanſy'd that they had betray'd their Religion, if they had betray'd ſome Ruffians, for whoſe ſake they ſuffer'd, they never attempted any thing againſt their Countrey. They had ſome Arms, and even ſome Machines, which they had taken from *Ceſtius*. In a Word, they had abundance of Ammunitions, and Proviſions, and the Famine that happen'd afterwards, was occaſion'd by that vaſt concourſe of Strangers, who unexpectedly came thither. The Ciſterns and Fountains of the Temple ſupply'd them with Water enough, altho' ſome Old Writers, have inſinuated that it fail'd them.

12. The City was ſtrongly ſituated; and whether they had meditated an Inſurrection, or foreſeen the War, nothing was omitted to make it yet ſtronger. It made a kind of a Circle about the Temple, rais'd upon the Mountain of *Moriah*. This Temple was a very ſtrong Hold; beſide it was the Cittadel of *Antonia*, built very high, where the *Romans* commonly kept their Garriſon, to obſerve what was done in the Temple. But as they had loſt it, it was a ſecond Fort, that hinder'd any Approaches to the Temple. The Palace, built upon Mount *Sion*, was alſo a ſtrong Fortification. A Triple Wall, with One Hundred and Sixty Four Towers, incloſ'd all the Mountains, whereon the City was built. It was inacceſſible in ſome places, by reaſon of ſome deep Valleys. To conclude, they had there ſome Subterranean Canals, through which they might, and did often paſs with Succeſs. For the Beſieg'd went through them very far into the Countrey, and ſurpriz'd the Forragers, whom they the more eaſily defeated, becauſe they were not expected. *Tacitus* and *Joſephus* have given a more exact Plan of the Place, when it was inveſted by *Titus*. But as theſe Authors, and the Siege are very well known, I only make a general Deſcription of it, that we may not forget any thing that ſeems material to a Hiſtory, which we make aſcend as far as Chriſt.

13. *Titus* appointed the general Rendezvous of his Army, within a League and an half of *Jeruſalem*, and made haſt to get thither. He went himſelf without Cask, or Cuiraſs, to take a View of the Place. But the Jews having obſerv'd him, made a briſk Sally, and ſurrounded him, ſo that one wou'd think that he muſt have fallen into their Hands; yet he eſcap'd; and then order'd the Army to advance within leſs than a Mile of the City, and ſent a Legion to take poſt on the Mount of *Olives*, which was ſever'd from the Town by the Brook of *Cedron*, ſo often mention'd by the Evangeliſts. The Beſieg'd reſolv'd to diſpute him that Ground, and did overſet the Legion, which was already at work to cover it ſelf; and had not *Titus* come in Perſon with a conſiderable Detachment to ſupport it, it had been intirely routed. He order'd that the Work ſhou'd be begun afreſh, and that renew'd a ſecond time the Danger. For *Titus* run again a great risk. They ſally'd after the ſame manner the next Day; but whether the *Romans* had ſecur'd themſelves behind their Lines; or the Beſieg'd, who were weaken'd by theſe bloody Skirmiſhes, had a mind to ſpare their Forces, they reſolv'd to confine themſelves within the City, where they celebrated the Feaſt of the Paſſover, which was the 14*th* of *April*.

14. The Jews being ſhut up within their Walls, *Joſephus* was employ'd to make them ſome Overtures of Peace. They ſeem'd to accept of them, and a great many Soldiers being incourag'd by that to draw nearer, found to their Coſt, that they had been impos'd upon. For they had much ado to make good their Retreat, and they were like to be puniſh'd for marching without Order. The true Attack was deſign'd on the *North* part of the Town; and *Titus* having rais'd his Platforms, and play'd thence his Machines, ſoon made a Breach in the Firſt Wall, which the *Romans* took without much Reſiſtance. The Heathen Authors, *Dio* and *Suetonius*, relate two Circumſtances of this firſt Attack; One, that the Jews, being ready to ſet Fire to the Machines, that plaid upon them, *Titus* opportunely arriv'd to drive them away, and kill'd Fourteen of them, with Fourteen Arrows; the Other, that he was wounded in his left Arm, which was ever after the weaker for it. However, *Joſephus* doth not ſpeak one Word of this Circumſtance.

The firſt Wall being taken, ſome Batteries were rais'd againſt the ſecond, which coſt more Blood. The Jews being ſtreighten'd, did all they cou'd, to hinder the Approaches of the Enemy: But a Tower being ſhook down by a Ram, the *Romans* enter'd in at that place. The Beſieg'd, far from being diſhearten'd, ſally'd into the Town, where *Titus* was lodg'd ſome days before, and made a great Slaughter of his Troops. So that he was oblig'd to abandon the ſecond Wall, which was taken four Days after, during which time, the Jews continually skirmiſh'd with the *Romans*.

15. The firſt Day of *May*, the Famine begun to be felt in the City; and did a great deal of Miſchief; yet the Beſieg'd did not loſe Courage. On the contrary, they ſtruggl'd the more, and that with a great deal of Succeſs. For *Titus* deſigning to take the Cittadel, in order to attack the more eaſily the Temple, had four Earthen Mounts erected (and that with a great deal of Trouble) whence he intended to make a Breach with his Machines. Whilſt they were working upon them, *Antiochus*, Son to the King of *Comagena*, and bore the Title of *Illuſtrious*, or of *Epi-*

* *Every Legion conſiſted of Six Thouſand Foot, and Six Hundred Horſe. Every Cohors conſiſted of Six Hundred Men, and every Legion had Sixty Centurions.*

phanes,

phanes, as the Old Perſecutor of the Jews had done, came with his Forces, and eſpecially ſome *Macedonians*: For thus he call'd a kind of Giants, that attended him, and whoſe Valour he had try'd. He was ſurpriz'd that *Titus* deferr'd to ſtorm the Cittadel, who ſmilingly told him, that he might attempt it. He cou'd not poſſibly go back from his Bravado. The Jews receiv'd him briskly, and ſent back almoſt all theſe *Macedonians* wounded. *John* found a way to burn Two of the Mounts, by ſetting them on fire under ground; and *Simon* making a very ſeaſonable Sally, whilſt the Jews ſet on fire the Machines of the Two other Mounts, both the Machines and Mounts were reduc'd to Aſhes; and the *Romans* were driven to their very Camp. Theſe Advantages diſhearten'd the Beſiegers, who were already very weary of a Siege, that had laſted almoſt Two Months, and coſt a great deal of Blood. *Titus* was afraid, that he cou'd not maſter a Place, that was bravely defended by a more numerous Army than his own. So that he reſolv'd to make a Wall round the City, which was Two Leagues in Circumference, with Twelve Forts to cover it, that the Beſieg'd might not be able to go out to get Proviſions, nor be ſuccour'd by the reſt of their Nation.

16. However, they work'd again upon the Mounts, and Machines, that were burnt. As ſoon as the Beſieg'd perceiv'd that they were finiſh'd, they ſally'd to burn them, and thence depended the Raiſing of the Siege. But God wou'd not ſuffer it. For the *Romans* who were upon their Guard, beat the Jews back; the Machines were plac'd, and they begun to play againſt the Cittadel of *Antonia*. But as it remain'd unmov'd, the *Romans* made uſe of the Sappe; and indeed as *John* had mined on that ſide, when he went the firſt time to burn the Machines, the Wall fell in the Night time. But the *Romans* were ſurpriz'd to ſee another Wall behind that. *Titus* order'd it to be attack'd, but he was only obey'd by Twelve Soldiers. They were got over the Wall, when the Jews obſerving their Number, drove them back again. But inſtead of keeping that important Poſt, it was ſurpriz'd Two Days after by Four and Twenty Soldiers, whom *Titus* came to ſuſtain, as ſoon as he had notice of it; and he became thereby Maſter of the Cittadel. He order'd part of it to be pull'd down, that he might ſtorm the Temple with his whole Army. In the mean time the Beſieg'd were every Day more preſs'd by Famine. A Mother eat her Child. One Hundred and Fifteen Thouſand Eight Hundred and Eighty, that were ſtarv'd to Death, were in a ſhort time bury'd. It is confidently reported, that they threw out of the Gates, Six Hundred Thouſand Poor. Thoſe that had an opportunity to get out, went into the *Roman* Camp, where they were kill'd by Plenty, as well as others in the Temple by Famine, for they did eat too much. Another Accident increas'd their Miſery. Thoſe that came out, ſwallow'd their Gold, that they might not be altogether bare. This trick was found out, and the *Syrians* rip'd open their Bellies, that they might come at this Metal. *Titus* had ſo great an Abhorrence to that Barbarity, that he deſign'd to have puniſh'd it; but the Guilty were too numerous.

17. After *Antonia* was taken, the *Romans* attack'd the Temple; and to do it the better, they rais'd Four Earthen Mounts, and they undermin'd the Place. *Titus* order'd the Jews to be attack'd, when he thought them aſleep; but being miſtaken, the Diſpute was bloody, laſted Eight Hours, and he cou'd not boaſt of a Victory. However, after many Engagements, wherein the Beſieg'd had the worſe, and after many Galleries were ſet on fire, which the Jews did with good Succeſs to burn the *Romans*, theſe made themſelves Maſters of the Porch of the *Gentiles*, thence they were forc'd to go to that of the Jews, and were a long time before they cou'd make a Breach in it. The *Romans* growing impatient, attempted to ſcale it. The Beſieg'd let them come, and ſet their Colours upon the Wall; but falling afterwards upon them with the utmoſt Bravery, they overſet their Ladders as they were as yet full of Soldiers, and carry'd away their Colours. The *Romans* took another method to attack them. For they ſet the Gates a Fire; the thin Silver Plates, that cover'd them, melted, and the Flame took hold of the Galleries. The Jews, aſtoniſh'd at ſo unlook'd for a Conflagration, did not mind either to put it out, or to defend themſelves, as they had done before. After the Fire had laſted a long while, *Titus* order'd it to be put out, and reſolv'd in a Council of War, to give a general Aſſault to the Temple, on the Eleventh of *Auguſt*: But the Beſieg'd did not make him ſtay till then. For on the Tenth they begun a deſperate Fight; they at firſt had the better, but they were forc'd at laſt to retire. The Aſſault was to be given the next Day; but a Soldier, without having any Orders for it, got one of his Comrades to lift him up, and threw in a Fire-brand at one of the Windows. It ſet the Place where it fell on Fire; and in a few Hours the Fire encreas'd. The Army awaken'd both by the Noiſe, and the hopes of Plunder, run to it in a Confuſion. *Titus*, who perceiv'd that the Out-parts of the Temple were a Fire, reſolv'd to preſerve the Body; and therefore ſent the Captain of his Guards, with Orders to ſtop it. But nothing was able to curb the Fury of the Soldiers, who unmercifully kill'd all that fell into their Hands. *Titus* had time enough to viſit the Holy-Place, and admire the Wealth that was in it. But a Soldier put ſome Fire behind the Door, through which *Titus* came out, and thereby hinder'd this Prince, from preſerving it as a Rich Monument of his Victory. The *Romans* made a terrible Slaughter of the Jews, which may be eaſily conceiv'd, conſidering the Fury of the Troops, who were enrag'd at ſo long a Reſiſtance, and the Number of thoſe, who ſhut up themſelves in the Temple. The Seditious open'd themſelves a Way through the Flames, and the Conquerors; and retir'd into part of the upper Town, that might ſtill hold out.

18. This part of the Town was Mount *Sion*, where the Palace was built. *John* and *Simon* retir'd into this Palace, and cut the Throats of thoſe, who had ſeiz'd upon it before. They thence ſent to deſire a Conference of *Titus*, who had reaſon to be very weary of the Siege. He offer'd them their Lives; if they wou'd ſurrender themſelves; but having taken an Oath, that they wou'd never do it; and asking to have the Liberty to retire into the Wilderneſs with their Wives and Children, it was reſolv'd to attack them. When they found, that they were oblig'd to defend themſelves, they plunder'd all the Gold, Silver, and Proviſions they cou'd get, becauſe they hop'd to hide themſelves in the Common-ſhores of the City, eſcape the Fury of the *Romans*, and enjoy their Plunder. In the mean time, many came into *Titus*'s Camp, and among them Two Prieſts, who brought him the Sacerdotal Robe, with the Precious Stones of the *Ephod*. This Prince ſet ſome at Liberty, and ſold the reſt at a very low Rate. He was from the Twentieth of *Auguſt* to the Seventh of *September*, to caſt up ſome new Earthen Mounts againſt the Palace, or Caſtle. He order'd his Machines to batter it, and did not find much Reſiſtance. The Victors ſpar'd no body, and the next day, which was a Sabbath Day, *Titus* was Maſter of the whole City. But the Rebels, *Simon* and *John*, were ſtill in Poſſeſſion of Three Towers, whence they might have defended themſelves; but being frighted, and abandon'd by their Troops, they only ſtudy'd how to ſecure themſelves by Flight, and after they had try'd to no purpoſe to force the *Roman* Wall towards *Siloah*, they hid themſelves in Holes. Theſe Two Villains abſconded in the Common-ſhores. *John* came firſt out, becauſe

he wanted Provisions, and obtain'd his Life of the *Romans*, provided he enjoy'd it in Prison, where he was secur'd as long as he liv'd. *Simon* was conceal'd till the end of *October*, and thought to have escap'd the *Romans*, because he had disguis'd himself with a White Garment and a Scarlet Cloak; but he was stopp'd, and after *Titus* had led him in Triumph into *Rome*, he order'd him to be put to Death. His coming out of the Common-shores, awaken'd the Greediness, and Cruelty of the *Romans*. For believing that there were still some Wealth, and Persons hid in those Subterraneous Vaults, they more narrowly search'd them, and were not mistaken. So that those, who thought to save themselves, being taken by the Soldiers, they had their Throats cut.

19. Thus *Jerusalem* the Holy City was destroy'd. Its Inhabitants sued for Christ's Death, for fear the *Romans* shou'd ruin their City; but on the contrary, *The Eagles gather'd together, where the dead Carcase was.* *Titus* perceiv'd that he had been the Instrument of the Divine Vengeance, against this wicked Nation, and * shed Tears upon the Ruins of that Great City, when he pass'd again thither, in his return from *Syria*, where he spent the Winter. Some Monuments were erected to him for this Conquest. We see some Medals having *Jerusalem*, or a Prisoner lying at the Foot of a Trophy, with these Words, *JUD. CAP.* Judæa *was taken.* A Marble was some Years ago dug at *Rome* † with this Inscription;

S. P. Q. R.
IMP. TITO CÆS. DIVI VESPASIANI
FILIO VESPASIANO *AUG.*
PONT. MAX. TR. POT. X. *IMP.* XVII. XIII. *P. P.*
PRINCIPI SUO QUI PRÆCEPTIS PATRIÆ
CONSILIIS Q. E.
AUSPICIIS GENTEM JUDÆORUM DOMUIT
ET URBEM
HIEROSOLYMAM, OMNIBUS ANTE SE
DUCIBUS REGIBUS.
GENTIBUS AUT FRUSTRA PETITAM,
AUT OMNINO INTENTATAM DELEVIT.

This Monument deserves our notice; because it is a plain Demonstration, that Princes were flatter'd even on Marble, and in publick Inscriptions. For this affirms, that *Jerusalem* was never taken but *by* Titus, *and that all the preceeding Kings and Generals, either durst not attack it, or had done it to no purpose.* Was the History of *Jerusalem* so unknown at *Rome*, that they wou'd alledge a Thing so false? What, had they forgot *Pompey*, who had not attempted this City in vain, and who made *Judæa* Tributary to the Republick? Did not they know the various Revolutions it had undergone under the Kings of *Egypt*, and *Syria*, since *Alexander* the Great's Conquests? This flattering Monument teaches us, that palpable Lyes are often set down in Inscriptions; and therefore that those Arguments which are deduc'd from them to prove some Facts, are not solid and irrefragable. The Jews, far from being asham'd of the Destruction of their Temple, reckon'd their Years from thence; and it is what they call the *Æra of their Desolation.*

Josephus ‖ affirms that the very Foundations of that great City were ras'd; and that nothing of it was preserv'd, but some Towers, to be as so many Monuments of *Titus* his Victory. He adds, that some Old Men, and Poor Women remain'd there after the Burning of the Temple, and that the *Romans* left a Legion in Garrison, that made an end of ransacking every where. The Historians, or rather the Christian Fathers do not agree with *Josephus*. St. *Epiphanius* says, that the House where the Apostles met together after the Ascension of the Son of God, and wherein they receiv'd the Holy Ghost, was preserv'd, with Seven Synagogues, that were upon Mount *Sion*, and near this House, which was probably turn'd into a Church. Some have an interest to maintain this; since they give a Catalogue of Eight and Twenty Bishops of *Jerusalem*, who succeeded one another, till *Adrian* having sent a Colony thither, they began to take a Bishop from among the *Gentiles*, whereas those, who had hitherto govern'd the Church, came out of the Synagogue. Nay, *Eusebius* goes yet further than St. *Epiphanius*. For he pretends, that there was there, not only a very Numerous Church, govern'd by Bishops, who resided there; but also that *Titus* preserv'd half of this City, agreeably to the Oracle of the Prophet *Zachariah*, who foretold, that part of the City shou'd be kept intire; and that it was in *Adrian*'s Reign, that it was demolish'd from the very Foundation. Lastly, St. *Jerome*, doth yet more contradict *Josephus*. For he assures, that *Titus* preserv'd the Mountain of *Moriah*, where the Temple stood, and Mount *Sion*, where the Palace was built; and that this gave the Heathenish Historians occasion to say, that it was *Adrian* who destroy'd *Jerusalem*. And indeed *Appianus*, who liv'd in this Prince's Reign, says that it was ruin'd *in his time*. Our Modern Criticks have taken up the Fathers; and maintaining the Relation of *Josephus*, they affirm, that the City of *Jerusalem* was intirely rais'd by *Titus*, who had it plough'd, that it might not be any more Inhabited; and that the Total Destruction of this City, must not be referr'd to the time of *Adrian*. This may be the Cause why *Eusebius*, who led the Others into their Mistakes, was guilty of this Error. He imagin'd that *Ælia* was not built, till *Adrian*'s War with the Jews; because he did not observe, that the Emperours were us'd to give new Names to Towns, when they celebrated the Tenth, or Twentieth Year of their Reign. *Adrian* built *Ælia* in the Year 132, before the War with the Jews; but he gave his Name to it, but Four Years after, when he celebrated the Twentieth Year

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* A List of the Dead, and Prisoners, in this War, within the space of Seven Years.

At Jerusalem *kill'd by* Florus	630	*At* Taricheæ, *now* Jefferkin *in* Galilee	5500
At Cæsarea	10000	*At* Gamala	2000
At Scythopolis, *a Town of* Galilee	13000	*At* Giscala, *Dead*	2000
At Ascalon, *now* Scalona	2500	*Prisoners*	2200
At Ptolemais	5000	*In* Idumæa	10000
At Alexandria	50000	*At* Gezara, *in the Neighbourhood of the* Gadarenes	1000
At Damascus	10000	*At* Machærus	1700
At Joppa, *or* Jaffa	8400	*At* Jardes	3000
Upon a Mountain	2000	*At the Castle of* Massada	960
In a Battle at Ascalon	10000	*At* Cyrene	3000
In Ambuscadoes	8000	*At* Jerusalem *Dead*	1000000
At Aphec	15000	*Prisoners*	97000
Upon Garizim	11600		
At Jotapata	30000		1339690
At Joppa	4200		

Total, Thirteen Hundred Thirty Nine Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety Persons.

† Apud Bartholomæum Merhanum urbis Romæ Topograph. *c.* 7. Thes. Ant. R. Grævii, *t.* 3. *p.* 111. ‖ Joseph. de Bello. *l.* 1.

of

of his Reign, in order to ſolemnize it the more. *Euſebius* confounded the Foundation, with the Conſecration of this City, both perform'd by the ſame Prince, but at different times.

20. It is not impoſſible to reconcile theſe Authors, who ſeem ſo oppoſite to one another. The Fathers ſaid too much. For whence cou'd St. *Epiphanius* know, that the Houſe where the Apoſtles receiv'd the Holy-Ghoſt ſtood after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*? He only went upon this Preſumption, that God was bound to preſerve from the Conflagration, a Place, where he had perform'd ſo great a Miracle; as if it had been more Holy than others. We muſt not imagine, that he was better inform'd than we, ſince on the contrary, he puts the Taking of *Jeruſalem* in the Second Year of the Reign of *Titus*, who aſcended the Imperial Throne, but ſeveral Years after the Taking of that City. He confounded the Father with the Son, and *Veſpaſian* with *Titus*; and this is a groſs Miſtake. *Euſebius* improperly applys the Oracle of *Zachariah* to the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*; for that Prophecy concern'd *Ptolemy*, who made himſelf Maſter of part of the City upon a Sabbath Day, whereas the Prediction of Chriſt, *There ſhall not be left here one Stone upon another*, is poſitive. St. *Jerome*, who ſays, that the Mountains of *Sion* and *Moriah* were preſerv'd, is yet more groſly miſtaken. For had this happen'd, the Fineſt, and Strongeſt parts of the City had remain'd untouch'd; which *Titus*, who fear'd leaſt the Jews ſhou'd gather there again together, and fortify them after his departure, cou'd not ſuffer, without being guilty of a piece of Imprudence, unworthy of ſo wiſe a General as he. The Care, that he took to leave a whole Legion, conſiſting of Six Thouſand Men, to keep this Place, and to ſearch even into the Common-ſhores, ſhews plainly, that he took all the Precautions requiſite to prevent a New Inſurrection.

So that we are oblig'd to follow *Joſephus*, who affirms that the City was deſtroy'd, and intirely ruin'd by the Fire, and the inſatiable Avarice of the Conquerors who div'd into the Bowels of the Earth, to draw from thence the Treaſures that were hid there. This Hiſtorian ſays two things very remarkable. 1. That Six Thouſand Men were left there in Garriſon. So that there muſt have remain'd ſome Barracks, and Houſes to quarter them in, and even a certain Number of thoſe, who ſell to, and ſupply Soldiers with Neceſſaries. 2. *Joſephus* adds, that ſome Old Men, and Poor Women were left about the Ruins. If immediately after the taking of the Town, when ſome danger might have been apprehended, uſeleſs Inhabitants were ſuffer'd to ſtay, it is very likely, that others had afterwards leave to ſettle there. Above Sixty Years paſs'd from the taking of it by *Titus* to that by *Adrian*; and during this Interval it is more probable, that ſeveral wandring Jews came to inhabit it again. For all Nations are inclin'd to return into their own Countries, and none ſo much as the Jews; becauſe their Religion in ſome meaſure ſtrengthens Nature. There was no Decree till *Adrian*'s time, that forbid them to go to live at *Jeruſalem*; and only ſome neceſſary Precautions were taken till the Revolt was intirely ſuppreſs'd. Some Women and old Men, were at firſt permitted to remain there, and all thoſe that were able to bear Arms, were remov'd. The Handicrafts begun afterwards by little and little to return, and with the Garriſon to form a kind of a City.

Domitian ſummon'd before him, the Relations of Chriſt, that were deſcended from the Family of *David*, and was inform'd by them that they were Poor, and ſatisfy'd to plough their Patrimony, which ſcarce afforded them wherewithal to pay their Taxes. So that the Jews were not at that time depriv'd of the Privilege of inhabiting *Judæa*, or of manuring their Lands, or of living in *Jeruſalem*, where the Chriſtians of that Nation had ſome Biſhops.

Scaliger * denies this, and laughs at the Credulity of *Euſebius*, for blindly following ſo doubtful an Author as *Hegeſippus*; and that for Two Reaſons. One, that this Hiſtorian makes the Relations of Chriſt deſcend from *David* by *Judas*, Brother to our Lord; and he looks upon this *Judas* as a fictitious Perſon, who is never mention'd by the Holy Pen-Men. The Other, becauſe he confines the Family of *David* to Two Perſons, notwithſtanding that the Poſterity of this Prince was always very numerous. For the Jews took from them their Chiefs of the Captivity, and their Princes, with this difference, that the *Princes*, that came from *Hillel* deſcended from *David* by the Females, and *the Chiefs of the Captivity* by the Males. But *Scaliger* was deluded by his Prejudices. It is ſtrange, that a Man, who will believe neither *Hegeſippus*, nor *Euſebius*, will yet ſo obſequiouſly follow the *Rabbins*, whoſe Character he ought to have known. He quotes them for his Vouchers concerning the Family of *David*, and produces them as unqueſtionable Witneſſes. He will by no means believe ſome, and gives too much credit to others. This is the common Fate of Criticks. They haughtily confute ſome Facts, and Hiſtorians, that they do not like; and weigh their Expreſſions, and the minuteſt Circumſtance. What doth not agree with their Notions, they immediately conclude to be falſe; but they fall into the oppoſite Extream, and obſtinately follow a Man, whoſe Authority ought infinitely to be leſs valu'd, than that which they oppoſe. Waving general Reflections, let us take notice of the Faults of this Great Man upon this Matter, † whereof part hath only been obſerv'd.

Firſt, he is miſtaken when he ſays, that *Judas* the Brother of Chriſt was not known. He there forgot his Goſpel. For the Jews ask'd whether *Jeſus Chriſt* ‖ the Son of *Mary*, had not *James*, and *Joſes*, and *Simon*, and *Judas*, for his Brethren; and St. *Epiphanius* ‖‖ aſcribes theſe Four Sons to *Joſeph*, pretending that he had them by a former Marriage. In a Word, Tradition tells us, that *Judas* marry'd, and had many Children. Theſe were perhaps thoſe Deſcendants of *David* by *Judas*, who excited *Domitian*'s Jealouſy. Secondly, he makes *Hegeſippus* ſay, what he doth not ſay. For he doth not confine the Poſterity of *David* to the Two Perſons, that were ſummon'd. There might be ſome others, far from *Jeruſalem* and leſs known. It is not fair to father an Opinion upon an Author, to have the Pleaſure afterwards to condemn it. But ſuppoſe *Hegeſippus* had ſaid, that all the Family of *David* was reduc'd to Two Plough-Men, had he been in the wrong? How cou'd *Scaliger* have prov'd, that there were more of that Family? It ſhou'd have all been bury'd under the Ruins of *Jeruſalem*, where it reſided, and it is very likely, that none of them remain'd, but thoſe who embrac'd Chriſtianity, and fled in time to *Pella*. If the *Rabbins* nam'd but one, and offer'd at the ſame time ſome Proofs, that he deſcended from that Family, they wou'd be believ'd; but they only alledge a dubious Tradition, and a fabulous Cuſtom, which they are concern'd to maintain, that they may be able to ſay, that they always had a Chief of the Houſe of *David*. And are we more oblig'd to believe them upon their bare Word, than a Conjecture grounded on the Ruin of *Jeruſalem*, where moſt Families were intirely deſtroy'd? If after the Siege there had been any Jews of the Family of *David*, the Jews wou'd have choſen their Patriarch of *Judæa* out of one of them; where-

* Scaliger in Euſeb. *p.* 188. † Valeſ. Not. ad Euſeb. ‖ Matth. 13. 55. ‖‖ Epiph. Hær. 78.

as they choſe one who deſcended from *David* only by the Females; and even that Story is uncertain.

And indeed the Diſtinction between the Princes, and Chiefs of the Captivity, is a Fiction. *Scaliger*, who hath follow'd the *Rabbins* on this Article, had not well weigh'd their Opinion. The Prince, or Patriarch govern'd all the Synagogues of *Egypt*, *Judæa*, and the *Weſt*, ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and another was afterwards created in the *Eaſt*, who aſſum'd the Title of Chief of the Captivity. This laſt call'd himſelf Prince as well as the other; and this Name became afterwards common to the moſt conſiderable Perſon of that Nation, in each Province. For we ſhall ſee hereafter ſome Princes in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and in *Babylon*, which ſpoils the Diſtinction of the *Rabbins*.

Again, *Scaliger* was prepoſſeſs'd with this Opinion, that the Race of *David* was always flouriſhing; becauſe the Orientals have commonly ſeveral Wives. It wou'd be eaſy to give their Genealogy, were their Poſterity numerous. We ſhou'd at leaſt ſee ſome Branches come out of the Stock; but neither Stock, nor Branches of the Family of *David* are ſeen in the *Eaſt*, and all that is obſerv'd in the moſt accurate Hiſtorians, is that ſuch a One *was of the Race of* David; but without producing any Lineal Deſcent, or any proof of what they ſay.

It is too an Error of *Scaliger*, which is manifeſtly falſe, that this Race is in a Flouriſhing Condition at *Bagdad*, and that ſince the Year 700 of Chriſt, the Chiefs of the Captivity are choſen out of it. For theſe Chiefs were aboliſh'd in the Eleventh Century, and One Hundred Years after there was but One Chief, who had no Succeſſor; and Travellers know very well not only, that there are none at this time; but alſo that the Jews at *Bagdad* are few, and miſerable under the Empire of the *Perſians*.

Nevertheleſs, *Scaliger* endeavour'd upon theſe Prejudices, to confute what *Hegeſippus* ſaid of the Relations of our Lord, and of the Chriſtians, who dwelt at *Jeruſalem*, and had there their Biſhops. Having ruin'd his Ground-work, we may fairly raiſe up again the Edifice, which he pull'd down, and maintain with the Ancients, that ſome Inhabitants were again ſettl'd in *Jeruſalem*, as the Chriſtians, who return'd from *Pella*, and founded there ſeveral Churches, who were govern'd by Biſhops.

I cannot conceive, how the Catalogue of Biſhops that was found in the Archives of *Jeruſalem*, can be impugn'd; or how any can maintain that there were there neither Chriſtians nor Jews. This Catalogue is too Numerous, and hath ſome Clogs, which we have remov'd * elſewhere.

Laſtly, *Dio* affirms that the City *had been intirely ruin'd*, but that *Adrian* having ſent a Colony thither, and built a Temple to *Jupiter*, in the ſame Place where the Temple of God formerly ſtood, the Jews, who cou'd not bear that Strangers ſhou'd *come to Inhabit their City*, † "and introduce a Foreign Religion, "begun to mutiny. *Adrian*'s Preſence, who was in "*Egypt* and *Syria*, kept them ſometime within Bounds; "but as they were Armourers to the *Romans*, they "did not temper well their Arms, that the *Romans* "might not uſe them againſt them. They after-"wards rais'd ſome ſmall Forts with Walls, that "were advantageous to them, and made ſome ſub-"terraneous Paſſages, to have thereby a Communica-"tion with one another, and eſcape the Purſuit of "their Enemies; which the *Romans* contemn'd at "firſt. *Dio*'s Epitomizer agrees very well with *Joſephus* and with us. For he firſt acknowledges that the Old Town was deſtroy'd: Secondly, that the *Romans* however ſuffer'd there ſome Armourers, and Inhabitants, who were pretty numerous, ſince they preſum'd to revolt. *Adrian*, who did not love them, becauſe he had ſeen the Troubles under *Trajan* deſign'd to mortifie them by making the Plan of a New City and Temple, where *Jupiter* was to be worſhip'd. The Hiſtorian poſitively ſays, that the Jews were incens'd, that Strangers came *to inhabit their City*, which ſhews, that they were there, and look'd upon it as their own, altho' they fill'd but a ſmall part of it. Theſe Subterraneous Channels cou'd not be made in the Countrey. The Jews were neither Numerous, nor Powerful enough for ſo great an Undertaking. They only cleans'd the Common ſhores of *Jeruſalem*, and the Old Mines, which they intended to make uſe of. In a Word, *Appian*, who liv'd in the Time of the Emperour *Adrian*, ſaying, that this Prince deſtroy'd *Jeruſalem* in his Time, ‖ and as it were under his own Eyes, neceſſarily implies that there were ſome Inhabitants there, and ſome Houſes rebuilt.

By this Conjecture I reconcile the moſt material Difference between the Fathers, and *Joſephus*. The City was rais'd from the very Foundations, as *Joſephus* relates; but yet it was alſo intirely deſtroy'd by *Adrian*, who demoliſh'd the Towers, which *Titus* left ſtanding, and the Houſes that were rebuilt. He alter'd its Circumference, and Situation, and forbid the Jews ever to enter into it. So that the Colony ſeems to have been ſent thither but after the War. *Euſebius* ſays ſo. But without recurring to the Vicennalia of *Adrian*, and Father *Pagi*'s Diſtinction between *Foundation*, and *Conſecration*, or the Name that was given to this City; it is more natural to ſay, that *Adrian* begun to ſend his Colony, and build *Jeruſalem*, before the War; but that this Colony having exaſperated the Jews, and his Deſign being thereby either interrupted, or even balk'd, he compleated it, when he had quell'd the Inſurrection. *Dio* confirms what we ſay, and ruins Father *Pagi*'s Conjecture. For he obſerves, that *Adrian* gave the Name of *Ælia* to the New City, as ſoon as he undertook to build it.

21. Some *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, as St. *Hilary*, and St. *Athanaſius*, ſaid, that *there was no* Jeruſalem *in their Time*. *Scaliger* ‖‖ gave them the Lye, becauſe he thought that this was falſe. *Valeſius* came to their Relief, and maintain'd that they were in the Right, ſince *Adrian*, who was an Enemy to the Jews, had no deſign to rebuild their City, and that it was not call'd *Ælia* till the time of *Conſtantin* the Great. *Pagi* makes uſe of the Authority of *Beda* and *Zonaras*, who affirm that *Adrian* built *Ælia* where *Jeruſalem* ſtood, to refute in his turn *Valeſius*. It is a ſtrange Thing, that Criticks will confute before they underſtand one another. For it is a Thing that can't be deny'd, that *Adrian* alter'd the Situation of *Jeruſalem*. He left out of its Circumference the Mounts of *Sion*, and *Bezetha*; and *Sion* is at this Day within Fifty or Sixty Paces of the City. Beſides he enlarg'd it another way, ſince he incloſ'd the *Calvary* where Chriſt ſuffer'd. Laſtly, he gave it the Name of *Ælia*, which it held till the time of *Conſtantine*, but then it reaſſum'd its old Name of *Jeruſalem*. How cou'd then the Fathers, that liv'd at that time ſay to the Jews, that it was not then in being? Cou'd the ſmall Alteration, which *Adrian* made in its Circumference, give any grounds to upbraid them with that. And tho' it had ſtill been call'd *Ælia*, which it was not in the Reign of *Conſtantin*, was the alteration of Name ſufficient to ſay, that it was not in Being? The Chriſtians acknowledg'd its Being; ſince there was a Biſhop there. It is eaſy to remove the Difficulty, which hath divided the ableſt Criticks. For St. *Hilary*, St. *Athanaſius*, and other Fathers, who thus upbraided the Jews, did not mind the Name of *Ælia*, or of *Jeruſalem*, or even the

* Hiſtorie de L'Egliſe *l.* 1. † Xiphilin. *p.* 262. Euſeb. Hiſt. *p.* 61. & Pagi Crit. An. 132.

‖ Ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. ‖‖ Scalig. in Euſeb. Chron. *p.* 199. Valeſ. in

Buildings,

Buildings, but a Thing of more importance. They ask'd the Jews, *where* Jeruſalem *was*? They obſerv'd, that when it was taken by the *Babylonians*, God took care to re-build it; whereas after its Deſtruction by *Titus*, it was never re-built; and they were in the Right; becauſe by *Jeruſalem*, they did not barely underſtand the Name of the City, its Palaces, Houſes, and Circumference; but the Seat of their Religion; the City with its Temple, Prieſts, and Worſhip. By giving this eaſy and natural meaning to the Words of the Fathers, who inſulted the Jews on the ſcore of their Diſperſion, we render all the Remarks of Criticks uſeleſs, who make the Fathers argue with too much Subtilty about what they did not deſign. It was not an Objection worthy of thoſe great Divines to ſay, *Jeruſalem* is no more, becauſe it was call'd *Ælia* by *Adrian*; or *Jeruſalem* doth not ſubſiſt, becauſe there is ſome alteration in its Houſes and Circuit. Both theſe Arguments are weak; but by uniting the City with its Temple, Worſhip and form of Government, the Objection is ſolid. It is true, that *Jeruſalem* was ſtill in Being; but not the Center of the Religion and Empire of the Jews. Thus the *Scepter was departed from* Judah, *and the Law-giver from between his Feet*. For it was not enough for them to have ſome Walls, where few of them dwelt, ſince they had neither a King, Temple, or Sacrifice of their own. Thus by oppoſing the New *Jeruſalem* to the Old, the Argument is more concluſive, than by quarrelling about its Name, or Circumference, which *Adrian* alter'd.

The End of the Firſt BOOK.

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THE

THE

Hiſtory and Religion

OF THE

JEWS.

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF

JOSEPHUS.

BOOK II.

Containing the Hiſtory of the Sects, that were in Being in the time of *JESUS CHRIST*, and the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. The *Samaritans*, *Sadducees*, *Phariſees*, *Eſſenes*, *Herodians*, &c.

Their Original, Tenets, Progreſs, and preſent State.

Plan of the Second BOOK.

THE unhappy Diviſions of *Judæa* were the Cauſes of its Misfortunes. The Schiſm of *Samaria* drew part of the Nation after it. The Hatred, which ſhou'd have abated by length of Time, and Calamities, continu'd. The War, whereby God reveng'd his Son, did not make them Unite. They every where weaken'd themſelves, whilſt the Publick Emergencies requir'd that they ſhou'd join their Forces againſt the Common Enemy. They rather choſe to periſh by their Diviſions, than to oppoſe with conſent the Oppreſſor of their Liberty. Even when *Jeruſalem* fell, and its Inhabitants were involv'd in the ſame Calamity, they continu'd their Hatred, and unmercifully tore one another; and this Schiſm, the moſt Inveterate of all the Reſt, doth as yet ſubſiſt.

Beſides this Schiſm, the Nation was ſub-divided into different Sects, whereof one undermin'd the Foundation of Religion and Piety. Yet they were ſuffer'd in the Temple; and ſome High-Prieſts choſen out of this Sect. Another, living retir'd, contemn'd Mankind, ſhun'd publick Aſſemblies, and was not Partaker of the Sacrifices. Another made *Herod* aſcend the Throne of the Meſſiah; and to flatter this Prince, whom the reſt abhorr'd, as a Foreigner unworthy to Rule over them, proclaim'd him the Deliverer promiſs'd and characteriz'd by the Prophets.

Moſt of theſe Sects as yet ſubſiſt. The *Samaritans* have their Temples, Altars, and Sacrifices. The *Sadducees* and *Caraites*, maintain themſelves in ſpight of their powerful Enemies, who perſecute them every where; and the *Phariſees* at this Day fill the Synagogues; and moſt Divines, wedded to Traditions, and their Virtues, are Diſciples of the Old Doctors, that Chriſt oppos'd with ſo much Warmth.

We have already obſerv'd, that *Joſephus* hath not enlarg'd enough on this Subject; and that what the Goſpel ſays is clearer. However, as the Holy Pen-Men writ the Hiſtory of the Church in its Infancy, rather than that of the wandering Sects, and of the Synagogue, that was a ſinking, they did not apply themſelves to unfold their Tenets; and ſuppoſing they had done it, the Hiſtory of the Ages after Chriſt is wanting.

As the different Writers, and Tenets, which we are to deſcribe, came out of theſe Sects; it is requiſite that we ſhou'd examine them narrowly, and diſcover, if poſſible, what was their Doom from their Beginning to this Time. As this enlarges conſiderably the Hiſtory of theſe Sects, it cou'd not be contain'd in the Firſt Book.

I was forc'd to deviate from the Method, which I propos'd at firſt; and to diſtinguiſh the Objects, that they might not be confounded; and after I have repreſented the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* to allow a particular Book to the Sects, which begun to tear and ruin it.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of the Old Samaritans, *taken from their Chronicle, and ſeveral Monuments compar'd with the Scripture.*

I. A *Deſcription of* Samaria. *Its Palaces. The Streets of the King of* Syria *explain'd.* II. *The different Sieges it ſuſtain'd.* III. *Errors of the Fathers upon the Name of the* Samaritans. IV. *A Deſcription of* Naples, *which is the* Sichem *of* Abraham. V. *The Holineſs of Mount* Garizim. *Its Deſcription.* VI. *Its different Names.* VII. *Its true Situation. Some Miſtakes of St.* Epiphanius, *and St.* Jerome *corrected.* VIII. *Chronicle of the* Samaritans. *Some Extracts concerning their Original.* IX. *How* Joſuah *is prais'd in it.* X. *The Love of an antient Origin is general.* XI. *Example taken from the Jews, Rivals to the* Samaritans. XII. Jeroboam's *Schiſm.* XIII. *The Country of* Hoſea, *a Schiſmatick and a Prophet.* XIV. *The Tranſplanting of the* Cuthæans *into* Samaria. XV. *This is deny'd by the Chronicle of that Country.* XVI. *This Chronicle confuted.* XVII. *The Original of the* Cuthæans. XVIII. *The Third Period of the Schiſm under* Manaſſeh: XIX. *At what time the* Samaritan *Jubilees begun.* XX. *Whether they made uſe of the* Æra *of the* Seleucides. XXI. *A Difficulty upon a place of the* Macchabees *ſolv'd.* XXII. *What happen'd under* Eupator, *diſgeſted in its true Order.* XXIII. *A Third* Æra *of the* Samaritans. *Of the time, wherein* Herod *re-built their City.* XXIV. Tſadock *did not go to* Samaria, *nor live under* Alexander. XXV. *The Revolutions of the* Samaritans *under the* Ptolemies. *The Temple of* Onias *in* Egypt. XXVI. *The Revolutions of the ſame* Samaritans *under the Kings of* Syria. XXVII. *Their mean Complacency for* Antiochus Epiphanes. *The Explication of that Name, and of the Subſcription of the Letters of the* Samaritans. XXVIII. *The Siege of* Samaria *by* Hircanus. *Some Hogs occaſion the Taking of the Town.* XXIX. *Its Affection for* Herod.

1. SAMARIA the Capital City of the Schiſmaticks, deriv'd its Name from *Shemer*, to whom the Mountain belong'd, and who ſold it to *Omri* King of the Ten Tribes, to build there a Palace. The Preſence of the Kings, who lik'd the Situation of the Place, ſoon made it a flouriſhing City. The Scripture ſays, that *Ahab* built there *a Houſe of Ivory*, which ſeems impoſſible; ſince all the Elephants of *Africa*, and all the *Indies*, cou'd not have afforded Teeth enough to have erected ſuch a Palace. But this Palace was ſo call'd; becauſe one of the Apartments was perhaps Wainſcotted with Ivory, or rather the Chief Ornaments of it were made out of Elephants Teeth. There were beſides in it, *a Place and ſome Streets belonging to the King of* Syria, which puzles Interpreters; ſince thoſe Kings, far from being in poſſeſſion of *Samaria* before *Antiochus* the Great, were look'd upon as its moſt formidable Enemies. But the Words of *Ben-hadad* King of *Syria* to *Ahab* clear this. For they ſhow, that this City was made tributary to his Father, notwithſtanding that the Scripture doth not mention that fatal Revolution. And indeed *Ben-hadad*, a Priſoner of War, and threaten'd with a cruel Death, promiſes *Ahab* to reſtore him the Cities, which his Father took; *And thou ſhalt*, ſays he, *make Streets for thee in* Damaſcus *as my Father made in* Samaria. So that *Ben-hadad* the King of *Syria*'s Predeceſſor, muſt have made ſome Conqueſts upon the *Samaritans*; and after he had taken ſeveral Towns, he impos'd this hard term on the Vanquiſh'd, to give him a place in *Samaria*, in order to build there a Palace, as a laſting Monument of his Victory. And therefore he offer'd *Ahab* the ſame Thing in *Damaſcus*.

2. This City, which was ſtrongly ſituated, ſuſtain'd Four Sieges. One by *Ben-hadad* King of *Syria*, who ſaid in a Bravado, *that the Duſt of* Samaria *ſhou'd not ſuffice for handfuls, for all the People that follow'd him.* He was nevertheleſs beaten in a Sally, and forc'd to fly. It ſuſtain'd a Second Siege longer than the Firſt; and was ſo pinch'd with Famine, that *the fourth part of* * *a Cab of Dove's Dung was ſold for five Pieces of Silver*; thus all Interpreters tranſlated this till Mr. *Bochart*, who tranſlated it Chick Peaſe; becauſe it was impoſſible to get Doves Dung at *Samaria*, and to feed upon it. God perform'd a Miracle for the *Samaritans*. For the *Syrians* in a Panick Fear abandon'd the Siege, their Arms, and Baggage. *Shalmaneſer* beſieg'd it the Third time and took it. After *Alexander* the Great's Death it fell into the Hands of the Kings of *Egypt*; but *Antiochus* the Great conquer'd theſe Provinces, which border'd upon his Share, and the Kings of *Syria* continu'd Poſſeſſors of it till *Hircanus* rais'd it from the very Foundations: So, that there were no Footſteps of it to be ſeen. *Herod* the Great ras'd it from its Ruins, and ſettled in it a Colony of Six Thouſand Perſons, whereof the greateſt part were Soldiers out of his Auxiliary Troops, which he kept to curb the Jews, and ſtifle their Tumults when they made any againſt him.

3. The Fathers have had many quaint Notions about the Original and Name of this City. *Theophanes* † will not have it deriv'd from *Shemer*; but doth the *Chaldeans* the Honour of deriving it from them. He is miſtaken; and becauſe he had read, that the Colony, that re-peopl'd this great City was ſent from the Province of *Chus*, he imagin'd that theſe new Inhabitants come from *Chaldæa*, nam'd this City *Samaria*, notwithſtanding that it had that Name a long time before. || St. *Epiphanius* believ'd that the *Samaritans* ſignify'd *Guards*; and thence concludes that they were the *Guards of the Law*. Whereas *Gregory* the Great |||| look'd upon the *Samaritans* as ſo many Camels, loaded with heavy Burthens, which were of no uſe to them; becauſe theſe Schiſmaticks oblig'd themſelves to obſerve the Law; without having a Right to it's Promiſes and Rewards: But after he hath degraded them into the condition of Pack-Horſes, he makes of Chriſt an obſtinate *Samaritan*, who wou'd never reject this odious Title given him by his Enemies; * *Thou art a* Samaritan, *and haſt a Devil*, ſaid the Jews to our Redeemer. *Gregory* obſerves, that he refuted the laſt Affront with Indignation; but that he was pleas'd to be call'd a *Samaritan*, becauſe he was the Guard by way of Excellency ſpoken of by a Prophet, when he ſays, that it is *in vain that the Watch-Man waketh, except the Lord keep the City* †. All theſe Fathers gave themſelves a great deal of Trouble to find a Myſtery in a Word which hath none.

Samaria was afterwards call'd *Sebaſte* by *Herod*; but it muſt not be confounded with *Auguſtopolis*. Some fanſy'd, that one was the Latin, and the other the Greek Name of the ſame City. But there was in the Third *Paleſtine* an *Auguſtopolis* very different from *Sebaſte*; and in the Council held under *Mennas*, *Elias* ſign'd for all the Monks of *Au-*

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* *It held according to Dr.* Arbuthnott *almoſt Three Pints.* Hær. 24. *p.* 9. |||| Gregor. 1. in Evang. hom. 18. *p.* 260. † Theophanes Cerameus Homil. 38. *p.* 266. || Epiphan. * *St.* John. 8. 48. † Pſ. 127. *v.* 1.

guſtopolis,

gustopolis, which was some days Journey from *Samaria*.

4. *Sichem* was another City of the *Samaritans*. *Abraham* did reside in it, and it fell afterwards to the Share of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, which embrac'd the Schism. The Evangelists call it *Sichar*, and it is said, * that the *Samaritans* gave it that Name, in remembrance, that *Joseph* and the Patriarchs were bury'd there; and that the Jews, on the contrary, by it tacitly reproach'd the Inhabitants, that they were Mercenary, and Drunkards, who had deserv'd the Curse of the Prophets. For *Isaiah* cry'd out, *Woe to the Crown of Pride, to the Drunkards of* Ephraim. But that is too refin'd. Wou'd it not be better to say plainly, that the Names of Towns are chang'd according to the Dialect and Language of Writers? *Sichem* hath since been call'd *Naples* and *Naplouse*, and this Town is as yet the Place where the *Samaritans* resort. *Baronius* had no reason to confound it with *Samaria*; and an old Geographer † had done it before him. *Cerealis* kill'd there Eleven Thousand Men at the beginning of the War of *Vespasian*. But this Prince sent some new Inhabitants to this City, that was almost empty; and out of Gratitude it took the Name of ‖ *Flavia Neapolis*. The Number of the *Samaritans* became thereby less considerable, because the new Inhabitants that were sent thither were all either *Greeks*, or *Syrians* and *Pagans*. This appears by a Medal which this Town stamp'd in *Faustina*'s Honour. For on the Reverse, *Fortune* is with her Horn of Plenty, and her Rudder. This *Faustina* was not the Wife, but the Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, and I wonder how any cou'd be mistaken in this, since the Name of Daughter is plainly express'd ‖‖ Upon the Reverse of another Medal stamp'd in the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, *Diana* is plainly observ'd with her large Breast, holding a handful of Ears of Corn. The *Diana*, worship'd by most Heathens was not that Goddess always taken up with Hunting; but she was represented with a large Breast, to intimate, that she fed all Animals, and supply'd Mankind with Milk and Bread. So that it was the *Diana* of the *Ephesians* that was worship'd at *Naples*. *Justin Martyr*, a Native of this Town, was also a Heathen by Birth; and St. *Epiphanius*, who said that he left the *Samaritans* to embrace the Gospel, did not know his true Religion. Because *Justin* look'd upon *Naples* as his Countrey, St. *Eusebius* fansy'd that the *Samaritan* Religion always prevail'd there, and that this Philosopher had profess'd it. But *Justin* was not originally of that Place, altho' he was born there. His Parents were transported there with the Colony by *Adrian*, and he says himself, that he was not *Circumcis'd*, but a Philosopher; how then can he be transform'd into a *Samaritan*?

Abulpharages * believes, that this Town was built by *Herod*; and that the *Samaritans* were in a flourishing Condition in it; that they set up there a King of their own in the Reign of *Zeno*, and cut a great many Christians Throats, which oblig'd *Justinian* to be very severe to them. We shall speak of this; but let us here observe, that *Abulpharages* is mistaken about the Origin of *Naples*, which is much older than *Herod*. The Christians made themselves Masters of it at the time of the *Cruzadoes*; and the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* call'd together there a Synod, where King *Baldwin* was present. Which shews the Errour of the Historian, who writ the Epitome *of the Holy Wars*; since he affirms, that the Christians finding that *Naples* was not Rich enough to maintain the Episcopal Dignity, there was no Bishop in that Place. The *Samaritans* came in there again, and resided in that Town, when *Benjamin* of *Tui* went thither in the Twelfth Century. It is even to this Day the Seat of their Religion, for their High and Inferiour Priests and Sacrifices are there, as we'll see hereafter.

5. Mount *Garizim*, at whose Foot this City it situate, was the *Holy Mountain*. The Schismaticks, who worship God there, prefer it to all the Places in the World. They pretend, that the Flood, which overflow'd all the Earth, did not cover this Mountain, least a Place, that was to be honour'd with the Temple, and Presence of the Deity, shou'd be fully'd with the Filth, Mud, and Insects, which the Waters left behind them. It was there, that *Abraham* worship'd. *Josuah* built a Temple, and that *Sanballat* rais'd another in opposition to that of *Jerusalem*. There were Three sorts of Temples on this Mountain. The First was consecrated to God, and altho' the mixture of Nations, who peopl'd New *Samaria* chang'd the Worship instituted by *Moses*, they yet preserv'd the Essence of the Jewish Religion, which was there restor'd after the Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Jerusalem* being destroy'd, and the Heathens increasing in *Judæa* by the several Colonies, that were sent into that Province, the Worship of Idols prevail'd, and a Temple was built to *Jupiter* on that Mountain. For there is a Medal belonging to the Queen of *Sweden*, whereon a Mountain is observ'd, and on the Top of it a Temple, a Stair-case to go up to it, and at the bottom a Ballister, or else a row of Columns with these Words.

ΑΥΡ ΦΛ ΝΕΑΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΜ.

It was thought, that the Legend of this Medal meant *Paneas*, a Town situate at the Foot of Mount *Panius*; and whereof a Bishop subscrib'd at the Council of *Chalcedonia*. But this Mountain is the *Garizim*, and the Temple, which was consecrated to *Jupiter* after the Destruction of *Samaria*, and *Jerusalem*. The Stair-case was necessary to go up to Worship. For a Traveller, who writ in the Reign of *Constantine*, observ'd, that they went *Three Hundred Steps* up to the Top of Mount *Garizim*. But the Legend of this Medal is not well read. For there is an † L. instead of an A. and the Name of *Flavius* is there, and not that of *Paneas*. Besides there shou'd have been a Town call'd *Phaneas*; whereas it is more natural to say, that it was *Aurelia Flavia Neapolis*, the City of *Naples* built on the Foot of Mount *Garizim*, which stamp'd this Monument of its Devotion. The Word *Samaritans*, which is added, takes off all manner of Doubts. For as there were several *Naples*, this was to be distinguish'd by its Situation in the Country of *Samaria*, as the Famous and Learn'd ‖ Mr. *Spanheim* hath observ'd.

The Emperour *Zeno* built there a Third Temple: For he drove all the *Samaritans* from this Mountain, and gave it to the Christians, and consecrated there a Church to the Virgin *Mary*.

6. Mount *Garizim* is sometimes call'd *Hargarize* and *Agazeron*. We read in *Photius* ‖‖‖ that *Marinus*, the Famous Philosopher, who succeeded *Proclus* at *Athens*, had formerly embrac'd the Religion of the *Samaritans*;

* Lightfoot Disquis. Chorog. *p.* 938. † Stephan. de Urbib. ‖ *The Name of* Vespasian's *Family was* Flavius. ‖‖ *The Inscription of the Medal is* ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Ευσεβ. Θυγατηρ, Faustina Augusta Pii filia. *The Title of Augusta deceiv'd* Triftan. Triftan. *t.* 1. *p.* 593 Norris Epoch. Syro-Maced. *p.* 542. *However, it is true that* Antoninus's *Wife was call'd* Faustina; *but he had a Daughter of the same Name, which* Marcus Aurelius *marry'd, and it was in Honour of this Princess that* Naples *made this Medal.* * Abulphar. Dyn. *p.* 70, 93. Willelm. Tyr. Bell. Sacer. *l.* 12. *c.* 13. an. 1220. Epitome Bellor. Sacror. apud Canis. *t.* 7. *p.* 273. † ΦΛ. *they read* ΦΑ, *whence they derive* ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ, *whereas there is a* Λ, *and they shou'd read* ΦΛΑΥΙΑ. ‖ V. Triftan. *p.* 393. Itinerar. Hierosolymit. Norris Epocha Syro-Maced. Spanheim de Præst. Numism. Diss. 9. *p.* 771. ‖‖‖ Phot. Bibl. Cod. 242. *p.* 1055.

but

but that disliking the Sacrifices, he went over to Paganism and Philosophy; and that this Man was *of Naples, situate in* Palestine *at the Foot of Mount* Hargarize. This Term with the *Hebrews* signifies * *Mount* Gerizim. The Historian, who writ in *Greek*, did not understand the *Hebrew*, and of two Words made but one. It is not easy to guess, whether this Mountain was really call'd *Agazeron* in the time of *Constantine*, as the Author † of the Journey to *Jerusalem*, who liv'd in this Prince's Reign, call'd it. It is more likely, that the Text is defective; that it shou'd be *Har Garizim*, as is read in *Photius*, and that both these Authors committed the same Fault, by confounding Two Words which signify *Mount Garizim*.

8. St. *Epiphanius* || plac'd this Mountain beyond the *Jordan*, and made all the Schismaticks go through all *Judæa* to go to worship there. He maintains the Mountains of *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, so often mention'd in Scripture, were in the Plains of *Jericho* beyond the *Jordan*. |||| St. *Jerome*, or he who puts out under his Name a Treatise of *the Places of the Holy Land*, upbraids the *Samaritans* for boasting without any reason, that they had a *Holy Hill* in their Neighbourhood, notwithstanding it was very far from *Samaria*. But it is more strange, that * *Scaliger* was deceiv'd by these Two Fathers. For the Scripture †, far from placing Mount *Gerizim* in the Plains of *Jericho*, puts it so near *Sichem*, that *Jotham* made the People, who had chosen *Abimelech* for their King, hear his Remonstrances from the top of this Mountain. So that *Sichem* was near *Samaria*, and situate between the Mountains of *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, or rather at the foot of this Last. *Josephus*, || who one wou'd think shou'd have known a Countrey, which he had so often travell'd through, also puts *Gerizim* in the Territory of *Samaria*; and Travellers |||| who give a Description of the Holy Land, better inform'd and more exact than he, who hath assum'd the Name of St. *Jerome*, reckon Ten Days Journey from *Jerusalem* to Mount *Gerizim* going by *Galilee*, and turning your back to *Jericho*. I am mistaken, if this be not the Ground of St. *Epiphanius*'s Errour. He read in *Deuteronomy* the Command which God gave *Moses*, to have the Blessing put on Mount *Gerizim*, and the Curse on Mount *Ebal*, * *that are on the other side* Jordan, *by the way where the Sun goeth down in the Land of the* Canaanites, *which dwell in the Champain over against* Gilgal; and as *Joshuah* had the People Circumcis'd in a Place call'd *Gilgal*, situate beyond the *Jordan*, St. *Epiphanius* believ'd that Mount *Gerizim* was near this last Place, because he knew of no other; and thence concludes that Mount *Gerizim* was near the *Jordan* beyond *Jericho*. This is a surprizing want of Application. For Mount *Gerizim*, so celebrated among the *Samaritans*, that they reckon'd it a Holy Hill, shou'd have been better known to him than *Gilgal*. Besides, there was another Place of that Name in the Neighbourhood of *Samaria*, and was towards the *West*, as *Moses* said. A Modern Critick † was afraid, that the Holy Pen-Man was mistaken; and to prevent his being accus'd of a Mistake, he affirms, that *Gilgal* signifies *Galilee*, bordering upon the Territory of *Samaria*. But why shou'd Words be alter'd, and the Name of a Town chang'd into that of a Province? For there was really a Place call'd *Gilgal* near *Samaria*. We thought proper to give a clear Notion of these Three Places, whose History we write; because we are often oblig'd to speak of them.

8. The *Samaritans* have a Chronicle, which was lost along time ago. Some Learned Men, as *Scaliger*, look'd upon it as a venerable Monument of Antiquity, which might have been very useful to understand ancient History, and the Holy Scripture. This Chronicle which is not very well known, is at last found out, and instituted the *Book of* Joshuah. We shall here relate some parts of it, and follow the order of Times and Events set down in it. But I am deceiv'd, if it doth not appear, that there was no need to desire, that this Old Chronicle was recover'd. For it was only writ to support the Prejudices of the *Samaritans*; and the Author of this Chronicle, far from being as Old as is pretended, liv'd only since *Constantine*, under some of the Christian Emperors. We are inform'd in it; that " || *Joshuah* had a bloody War with *Saubee*, Son " of *Heman* King of *Persia*. This young Prince de- " signing to revenge his Father's Death, whom *Joshuah* " had kill'd, writ him a haughty Letter. This Letter " was not immediately open'd; because the Courrier " arriv'd when *Joshuah* was busie a judging the People. " Besides, it was the Eve of a Festival, whose Mirth " and Solemnity he was afraid to disturb, by making " the Elders of the People read the affronting Ex- " pressions of Idolaters. And indeed, when they " open'd them, they were so terrify'd at *Saubee*'s " Threatnings, that nothing but their Trust in God " cou'd keep up their Spirits; but *Joshuah* instead of " being disheartenn'd, defy'd the Kings that were com- " bin'd against him; and in less than an Hours time " assembl'd Three Hundred Thousand Men together, " to whom he read the Answer he design'd; and he " was thank'd for his Courage. He gave himself some " magnificent Titles at the beginning of his Letter, " and spoke but slightingly of *Saubee* and his Confede- " rates. The Courrier being inform'd with what hap- " pen'd in the Camp of the *Israelites*, reported it to " the Confederates, and put them into a great Con- " sternation; but *Saubee*'s Mother upbraided them " with their Faint-heartedness, and assur'd them " that they shou'd vanquish. For she rely'd on the " Predictions of a Magician, and her own Skill in " that Art. Magick play'd its part successfully. *Jo-* " *shuah* and his Forces thought themselves surrounded " with an Iron Wall, whence it was impossible to go " out to defend themselves. All that they had to do " in this Exigency, was to call to their Assistance *Ne-* " *bichus* a powerful King, who was descended in a di- " rect Line from *Manasseh* his great Grand-Father. " *Joshuah* writ to him to complain, that he forsook his " Brethren in Distress. This brave and charitable " Prince assembl'd his Troops, march'd directly a- " gainst the Enemy, gave them Battle, and kill'd *Sau-* " *bee* with his own hands in the Fight. *Eleazar* the " Son of *Aaron*, blowing a Trumpet at the same time, " overset the Iron Wall; and the Enemies being de- " feated betook themselves to a shameful Flight.

9. Thus the *Samaritans* set off *Joshuah*'s Glory, whom they believe the Founder of their Temple. They boldly affirm, that this Leader of their Nation having order'd some able Geometricians to divide the Land of *Canaan*, commanded that a Temple and a Citadel shou'd be built on Mount *Gerizim*; and this Temple, more ancient than that of *Solomon*, had some Priests of the House of *Aaron*. *Rus*, one of the Heads of that Family, was High Priest of it, and all those who officiated there since that time were his Offspring. They therefore to this Day call their Priests *Aaronites*; and Divine Worship was always preserv'd in this Place with the utmost Purity. And indeed the *Samaritans*, unwilling to acknowledge *Jeroboam* the Ring-leader of the Rebels for their Founder, ascend as high as *Joshuah*, and maintain, that he built the Temple, wherein they have ever since worship'd. And they believe this as an undoubted Truth, since they

* Har, *a Mountain*. † Norris, ibid. || Epip. Hær. 9. *p.* 24. |||| Hieron. de locis Hebr. *p.* 1424. * Scaliger in Euseb. *p.* 217. † Judg. 9. 7. || Joseph. Ant. *l.* 11. *c.* 8. |||| Anselmus de Scriptor. Terræ Sanctæ apud Canis. *t.* 7. *p.* 1294. * Deut. 11. *v.* 29, 30. † Lightfoot. Disquis. Chorogr. *p.* 937. || Liber Josu apud Hottinger Exercit. Antimorinianæ.

find it in their Chronicle, which they pretend to be very Old.

10. We muſt not think it ſtrange, that the *Samaritans* are guilty of the ſame Vanity, that all other Nations, and almoſt all Churches are guilty of concerning their Original. There are few, but begin theirs at ſome diſtant and fabulous times, and endeavour to illuſtrate it by a heap of Miracles and Prodigies, which never had a Being but in the Fancy of thoſe that writ them. Beſides, notwithſtanding the Twelve Tribes were united under *Joſhuah*, and the Three Firſt Kings, and that there was no Temple in *Judæa* till the time of *Solomon*; yet the *Samaritans* had ſome ſhadow of reaſon to pretend, that their Temple and Altars were as Old as *Joſhuah*.

And indeed *Joſhuah*, purſuant to *Moſes* his Orders, aſſembl'd all the People upon the Two Neighbouring Mounts, *Gerizim*, and *Ebal*. Six Tribes, at whoſe Front thoſe of *Simeon*, *Levi*, and *Judah* were plac'd on Mount *Gerizim*, *put the Bleſſing*; Six other Tribes, with thoſe of *Ruben*, *Gad*, and *Aſher* at their Front, put the Curſe upon Mount *Ebal*; and *Joſhuah* built afterwards an Altar upon the brow of this laſt Hill. The *Samaritans* altering the Holy Text, have put a Temple upon Mount *Gerizim* inſtead of the Altar upon Mount *Ebal*; and made it *a Holy Hill*, whereupon Divine Worſhip was always perform'd; and ſo concluded that their Temple was 460 Years older than that of *Solomon*. They thus corrupted the Pentateuch. For God commands to put ſome Stones upon Mount *Ebal*, and they put *Gerizim* for it. The Jews have not omitted to take them up for this Falſification of the Holy Text; but the *Samaritans* took their turn to upbraid the Jews, as if they had alter'd *Joſhuah*'s Words, and pretended that ſince it cou'd not be deny'd, that this ancient Hero had built an Altar upon one of theſe Hills, it was more natural to think, that he choſe that whereupon the Bleſſing was put; and they were perhaps in the Right. For their Conjecture ſeems pretty juſt.

We ſee a Woman in the Goſpel, who is not ſatisfy'd to find the Origin of her Temple in the Hiſtory of *Joſhuah*, but went as high as *Abraham*, and the Patriarchs, who worſhip'd a long time before upon this Mountain.

11. The Jews, who exclaim againſt theſe Lyes of the *Samaritans*, are as jealous as they of a falſe Antiquity, and depend alſo upon Fables. For they boaſt *of an old Tradition of their Maſters*, that in the ſame Place, where *Solomon* built his Temple, *Abraham* had a long time before Sacrific'd * his Son *Iſaac*; that after the Deluge *Noah* made his Offering there; that *Abel* and *Cain* offer'd their Victims in the ſame Place; and Laſtly, that it was there that *Adam* made an Attonement for his Sin: Nay that he was born on that Mountain. For the Atonement was made in the very Place, where *Adam* firſt drew Breath. They cou'd go no higher; but at the ſame time they cou'd not depend upon any Tradition more uncertain than this, nor more boldly deviate from the Holy Scripture, which places the Terreſtrial Paradiſe very far from the Mountain of *Moriah*. Thus People expoſe their Enemies Fables, whilſt they maintain ſome of their own, which are not more coherent. The ancient Fathers, who wou'd have *Adam* bury'd upon the top of the ſame Mountain, and believ'd that the Calvary, or place of a Scull, deriv'd its Name from the Cranium of the Firſt Man, that was found there, notwithſtanding their Fame and great Titles deſerve ſo much the more to be hiſs'd at, becauſe they had no Intereſt to vend ſo confidently theſe Fables, or to deceive the People by ſtamping them with their Authority.

12. The Schiſm of the Ten Tribes truly begun by *Jeroboam*. The aims of this Leader of Rebels were at firſt barely Political. He deſign'd either to eaſe the People of the extraordinary Taxes, which *Solomon* had impos'd upon them; or to ſhake off the Yoak of his Son, who by reaſon of his Youth, and want of Experience, was very unwary and proud. But when *Jeroboam* was ſeated on the Throne, he eaſily foreſaw, that he wou'd ſoon loſe both his Crown and Subjects, if he ſuffer'd the People to go up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip. The neceſſity of coming into the Temple, the Majeſty of Religion, the Addreſs of the Prieſts concern'd to bring back the Schiſmaticks, and the King's Threatnings, wou'd have ruin'd his Work. And therefore to prevent theſe Inconveniences, he rais'd up ſome Altars, whereupon God might be worſhip'd conveniently; inſtituted ſome new Prieſts in the room of the Levites, who withdrew, and forbid his Subjects to go up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip. Some had more regard to the Impulſes of their own Conſciences, than to their former Spirit of Rebellion, and ſubmitted to *Reboboam*; but the Body of the Ten Tribes remain'd in the Schiſm. It muſt even be acknowledg'd, that God did not forſake them. For he ſent ſome eminent Prophets to theſe Schiſmaticks, who have hitherto preſerv'd their Rights and Liberties.

People have often wonder'd, how ſo many Prophets, and Tribes fell into Schiſm; ſince the Law ſpoke ſo plainly in favour of the Tribe of *Judah*, of the Service of the Levites at *Jeruſalem*, and againſt the Images which *Jeroboam* erected. But let us here ſet down the Reaſons which this Prince might make uſe of to deceive the People, and perſwade them to this Criminal Separation, that we may ſee an Inſtance how eaſily the Scripture is eluded, and the Will of God oppugn'd, even when it is clearly reveal'd.

One of the Crimes put to *Jeroboam*'s Charge, was his changing the Place of Worſhip. For he tranſported the Worſhip from *Jeruſalem* to *Bethel*; but he aſſur'd his Subjects that the Service of the God of the Univerſe, was not fix'd to one Mountain. He prov'd by the Examples of *Jacob* and the Patriarchs, who worſhip'd at *Bethel*, in the Plains of *Mamre* and *Beer-ſheba*; Have not your Fathers, ſays he to them, ſacrific'd in the Wilderneſs? And ſince you are ſettl'd in the Holy Land, was not the Arch in *Siloh*, and *Kirjath-Jearim*? Was it not too at *Jeruſalem* in the time of *David*; and did not *Solomon* himſelf ſacrifice in various places? It is true, that God ſeems to have choſen *Jeruſalem* for the Seat of his Empire and Religion; but he at the ſame time promis'd to ſettle there a Throne for *David*, and *Solomon for ever*. But ſince he hath nevertheleſs ſhaken this Throne, by dividing the Kingdom between his Son and me; it concludes too, that he had the ſame Deſign for his Church. The Covenant was conditional. For God was to be ador'd in *Jeruſalem* no longer, than there were no Altars conſecrated to falſe Gods. But *Solomon* rais'd ſome there, and his Son *Reboboam* doth not demoliſh them. As this Prince continues to ſin againſt the People, by refuſing to grant a Relaxation of the Taxes, which his Father exacted, it is to be preſum'd that he will continue to ſin againſt God, by preſerving the Altars which *Solomon* built for *Aſhtaroth* the Queen of Heaven. I am oblig'd to keep the People from Idolatry, and every Prince is bound to take care of the Religion of his Subjects, and avert thoſe Dangers that threaten them. *Reboboam* wou'd have made War with us, had not God ſtop'd his Fury. He breaths nothing but Revenge; and after he hath involv'd you into ſo enormous a Crime as that of worſhiping falſe Gods, he wou'd be glad to cut your Throats. So that you muſt not be deluded by this falſe Notion, that you are in duty bound to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*.

* Maimonides Miſne Torah. *l.* 8.

Thus

Thus *Jeroboam* might have juſtify'd his altering their Religion, by propoſing the Deity to be worſhipp'd under the Images of Calves. 1. He did not deviate from the Law of their Anceſtors: For he ador'd the ſame God; had Incenſe and Sacrifices offer'd him, and obſerv'd the Moſaical Ceremonies. So that his Doctors impos'd upon the People by affirming, that they in the main had the ſame Religion, as the reſt of the Jews. 2. Altho' he had Images, he might ſay, that God did not poſitively forbid them in his Law. He only condemns Idols, (which are nothing) and thoſe that worſhip them. Such was the Adoration paid the Golden Calf in the Wilderneſs; whereas he only made them worſhip God at the Preſence of an Image, and the Honour of the Reſemblance aſcended to God, to whom all the Worſhip was referr'd. He no doubt grounded his Proceedings upon God's Example, who order'd Two Cherubims to be made in the Temple. If it had been reply'd that God, who made the Law, might tranſgreſs it, and that God's Example was no warrant for him; he might have alledg'd the Example of *Solomon*, who without any Divine Revelation made Two great Cherubims of Gold. It cou'd not be rejoyn'd, That altho it be lawful to repreſent Angels, yet it is not to repreſent the Figures of Animals. For *Solomon* put ſome Oxen to the Sea of *Braſs*, and the Law doth equally forbid to make a Reſemblance of any thing that is *in Heaven*, as well as of any thing that is *on Earth*; of Angels, as well as of Animals.

If the People was ſtartl'd, that the Calfs of *Bethel* and *Dan* were call'd *Gods*, *Jeroboam* might have told them, that he only ſpoke according to the common Idiom of the * Scripture, which often calls by the name of God, thoſe places where he gives ſome marks of his Preſence. The Images are call'd Gods, becauſe they are his Image and Symbol, as the Lamb is call'd the Paſſover. In a Word, God hath not forbid to honour Images, but to make them Gods, which *Jeroboam* did not do.

If this Prince's Authority was diſputed about the times aſſign'd to the Service of God; he might have alledg'd God's own diſpenſation, who order'd, that thoſe, who cou'd not celebrate the Paſſover the Firſt Month, ſhou'd do it the Second; and the Example of *David*, who divided the Levites, and Singing-men into different Claſſes. He had even tranſported the Ark from *Kirjath Jearim* to *Jeruſalem*.

To conclude, this Prince might have alledg'd in his own behalf, the Crowd, and the Excellency of the Places, where he worſhipp'd, and God had ſhew'd ſo many Miracles. *Abraham* ſacrific'd his Son, who was the Type of the Meſſiah, upon the Mountain of *Moriah*. But here our Father *Jacob* ſaw that miraculous Ladder, that reach'd from Heaven to Earth: Here God promis'd to give him the Earth; and he himſelf aſtoniſh'd at God's Glory, cry'd out, This is *the Houſe of God*. So that *Bethel* is the Place, that God hath choſen for his Manſion and Temple. The Slaviſh Levites brib'd, by the hopes of Gain, may ſay as long as they pleaſe, that we have no Miſſion. For we have ſome Prophets, and God order'd me to be anointed by one of them. The Levites are Incendiaries, that only excite you to War and Sedition. Even the Prophet, whom I have conſulted concerning my Son, betrayd his Partiality, by anſwering haſtily and angrily, even before he was conſulted. We have the greateſt Number on our ſide, and of Twelve Tribes only Two make a Schiſm; and what likelyhood is there, that God will forſake the beſt part of his People to ſave a handful of Perſons, and deſtroy a Kingdom, which he hath confirm'd with a prophetical Unction?

This ſhews, that there is nothing clear and evident in Scripture, but what may be eluded by ſome ſpecious Pretences. Experience evinces, that the People was dazl'd, and fell into Idolatry, which made them adore God before an Image, and refer to him the Honour done to a Creature. But the *Samaritan* Jews have at laſt open'd their Eyes, and perceiv'd that all manner of Worſhip to Images is Criminal.

13. Another important Remark may be made upon this Schiſm. It is, that God did not forſake this part of the Nation, ſince he ſuffer'd many Prophets and Holy Men to be born among them.

There is a Controverſy about *Hoſea*'s Countrey, as if this Prophet was born in the Territory of *Jeruſalem*; becauſe he ſpeaks of Four of its Kings, in whoſe Reign he propheſy'd; and of the Houſe of *God*, that is, of the Temple, againſt which the *Eagles* were to fly, and that denoted its Ruin and Deſtruction by the *Romans*. But *Hoſea* was originally a *Samaritan*. He ſpeaks of *Jeroboam* II. who reign'd in *Samaria*; and if he afterwards reckons the Years of his Life, by thoſe of the Kings of *Jeruſalem*, he had a particular reaſon for it. For after the Death of *Jeroboam*, there happen'd ſo great a Confuſion in *Samaria*, that it was then eaſy to foretel its Ruin. *Hoſea* foretold it in a time of Proſperity, which gave no occaſion of diſmal Apprehenſions in the Reign of *Jeroboam* II. but when he afterwards prognoſticates other Events, he choſe rather to date his Prophecies from the Kings of *Jeruſalem*, who enjoy'd a greater Tranquillity. When he ſpeaks of *the Houſe of* God, he doth not thereby underſtand the Temple, deſtroy'd by the *Romans*; but the People of *Iſrael*, who were us'd to look upon themſelves as the Habitation of the Living God. *Samaria* and the Schiſmaticks boaſted of this as well as others; and *Hoſea* ſo manifeſtly foretold the Deſtruction of *Samaria*, againſt which the *Aſſyrians* were to fly with as much Rapidity as Eagles upon their Prey, that it is impoſſible to underſtand him in any other Senſe. *Amos* liv'd in *Samaria* in the Reign of *Jeroboam* II. Thus God multiply'd there his Prophets, to forewarn this City of its approaching Ruin. *Theodoret* is miſtaken, to ſay, that *Joel* did the ſame Thing. For the Threatnings of this *Seer of the Lord* were pointed againſt *Jeruſalem*, rather than againſt *Samaria*, which was perhaps already deſtroy'd when *Joel* put out his Prophecies.

To conclude, it was there that *Elijah*, and *Eliſha* ſhin'd ſo gloriouſly; and that God found a great many Martyrs during the Perſecutions of *Ahab* and *Jezebel*, *who kill'd the Prophets*. It is a bare Conjecture, to pretend, that all theſe Martyrs and Prophets were *inclin'd to return to* Jeruſalem, and deſir'd to be *re-united to the Prieſtly Stock*; and the reſidence of the Schiſmaticks in their Countrey contradicts this Conjecture. This Firſt Period of the Schiſm is too well known, to be more enlarg'd upon. It is enough that we have ſet down its true Original, and the Reaſons it was grounded upon.

14. The Ten Schiſmatick Tribes having fill'd up the meaſure of their Sins, God ſent *Shalmaneſer*, who took *Samaria*, tranſplanted its Inhabitants into the Plains of *Chaldæa*, and ſent ſome *Cuthæans* to people that Countrey. That Colony was infeſted with Lions, becauſe they did not adore God, and had carry'd their Idols into the Holy Land. *Eſar-haddon* having ſent them a Jewiſh Prieſt to inſtruct them in the Law, there then happen'd a mixture of Religions. The Remains of the Ten Tribes who were left in this Countrey, follow'd the Law of *Moſes*, which they were doubly oblig'd to obſerve.

This Colony too embrac'd the Jewiſh Religion. They were call'd the *Proſelytes of Lions*, becauſe it was the fear of thoſe rapacious Animals, which induc'd them to come into the Church. They however kept part of their ancient Worſhip. And as in the Pagan

* Geneſ. 22. 14. & 35. 7.

Religion, every Province had its peculiar Gods; the number of false Deities became so much the greater because *Esar haddon*, who sent the Jewish Priest, order'd at the same Time a New Colony to go with him into that Countrey, to supply the Place of those who had been devour'd by the Lions.

15. The *Samaritans* do also change this Second Period of their Schism; and relate the Thing in favour of themselves. For they say, that the Kings of *Syria*, in a Confederacy with the Kings of *Jerusalem*, revolted against *Bacthnezar* King of *Persia*, who is the *Nebuchadnezzar* mention'd in Scripture, to whom they had paid Tribute during Eleven Years. But that *Bacthnezar* march'd against and beat the Rebels, took *Jerusalem*, went beyond *Naples*, which is *Sichem*, and only allow'd the Inhabitants Seven Days to go out of their Countrey, and threaten'd with death, all those that shou'd remain after that time. He sent some *Persians* to people the Cities, that were deserted. But they cou'd not live there, because the Fruit, which seem'd fair to the Eye, was full of Poison, and destroy'd them. Complaints of this were exhibited to the King, who consulted the ancient Inhabitants upon so extraordinary an Occasion. They declar'd, that this misfortune, which happen'd to punish a Nation that had sinn'd, shou'd not cease till their return into their Countrey. So that they had leave to return thither. But they wou'd not depart, till they obtain'd a Decree, that all those, that were dispers'd shou'd meet together in one Place. The *Samaritans*, Sons of *Joseph* and of *Aaron*, had a Dispute with the Jews. These last wou'd have them return to *Jerusalem* to re-build the Temple, and the others ask'd that Mount *Gerizim* shou'd be preferr'd to Mount *Sion*. *Zerubbabel* pleading for the Jews, maintain'd, that *Jerusalem* was mark'd out in the Writings of the Prophets; but *Sanballat* pretended, that the Book whence these Prophecies were taken, was corrupted. So that they were forc'd to try the Thing by Fire. *Zerubbabel*'s Copy was immediately burnt, but *Sanballat*'s Book was three times thrown into the Flames without receiving any harm: Which induc'd the King to honour *Sanballat*, to make him Presents, and to send him at the Head of the Ten Tribes, who went to take possession of Mount *Gerizim* and *Samaria*.

16. But this History was only invented to wipe off the shame of being the Offspring of Proselytes, and a medley of Foreign Nations. Besides, this Romance is not well contriv'd. For it fixes the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, and the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, by *Nabuchadezzar*, at the same Time, notwithstanding, that the taking of *Samaria* was more than a Century before that of *Jerusalem*. It makes *Nabuchadezzar* King of *Persia* before that Monarchy was erected. It puts poisonous Fruits in the room of *the Lions*, that devour'd the People. It is true that *Josephus* says, that *a Plague* consum'd the Old Inhabitants, and it is too great a Subtilty to pretend that this Historian call'd the Lions by a Metaphor a Plague; because *Pliny* says some where, that Grass-hoppers are *the Plague and Anger of the Gods*. It is then certain, that the Jewish Historian agrees in this with the *Samaritan* Chronicle; but the Scripture must be preferr'd to both. It plainly affirms, that the Inhabitants were devour'd by Lions; and that is enough. I can't tell whether the Proof of the Books by Fire was borrow'd from the *Samaritans*. If it was so, this Invention is of a very ancient Date. *Samaria* was peopl'd with *Cuthæans*, and Infidels. Thus the return of the Ten Tribes is the most important, and false thing in their Narrative. For on the contrary, they always continued in their Banishment, whereof some Remains are as yet seen.

17. This Original of the *Samaritans*, or of Foreigners, who came into the Covenant and Privileges of the Israelites, hath made them very odious. An ingenious Critick believ'd, that the Jews call'd them *Cuthæans* by way of Reproach; and that as *David* design'd an affront by the Word *Cush*, which he puts at the beginning of his Seventh Psalm, the Jews, who might easily confound these Two Words, call'd the *Samaritans Cussæans*, or *Cuthæans*, that they might have the Pleasure to upbraid them: But he shou'd have prov'd, that there is something harsh in the Name of *Cus*, which is the Name of a Man. Besides, to what purpose is this far fetch'd Thought? This Name hit the *Samaritans* in the Teeth with their Original; because they came from the Province of *Chus*, which, according to *Bochart* *, was inhabited with *Arabians*, infamous for their Robberies, and barbarous Murders. *Usher* makes them more probably come out of a Village, situate on the Banks of the River *Tigris*: There is to this Day a Province, which seems to have preserv'd the Name of its old Inhabitants. For it is call'd *Chuzestan*, and is not far from the Gulf of *Persia*. But in the main they were still Strangers, and all that can be said in their Behalf is, that *David* had foretold the Conversion of the † Children of *Cush*, who supply'd the Place of the ancient Inhabitants of *Samaria*, and Neighbouring Provinces. However, Time hath wip'd off the Shame of their Pedigree, and they ought not to be more despis'd than all that Rabble, that went out of *Egypt* with the Children of *Israel*, and had a share both of their Conquests, and Privileges. For they were confounded with the rest of that Nation. We also see in the Gospel, that those that possess'd the Countrey of the Ten Exil'd Tribes, were reckon'd Jews, whether these Inhabitants were the Remains of those that were dispers'd, and had multiply'd, or were of the Posterity of the *Cuthæans*. This is the Second Period of their Schism. We were indispensably oblig'd to set down this New Original of the *Samaritans*, because we shall draw from thence some Inferences in order to know the true Religion of these Schismaticks.

18. The Hatred of the Jews to them increas'd, when at their return from the Captivity, *Nehemiah* perceiv'd, that these false Brethren were their bitterest Enemies. Jealous to see the Re-building of the Temple, which upbraided them with their Old Separation, they try'd all the ways imaginable to hinder it. They conceal'd their Spite under the Garb of Religion; and assuring *Nehemiah*, that they worship'd the same God as he, they offer'd him their Service to compleat a Work, which they design'd to ruin. They calumniated the Undertakers, and endeavour'd to surprise *Nehemiah*, or to destroy him in the Opinion of the People, who already begun to work but faintly. The Jews add to Holy Writ, that God perform'd a Miracle for their Sakes. For One Hundred and Fourscore Thousand *Samaritans* marching against *Jerusalem*, had infallibly beat the Jews, had not God declar'd for them. *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* assembl'd Three Hundred Priests, who thunder'd out the greater Excommunication against them. They were follow'd by Three Hundred young Boys, with One Book of the Law in one Hand, and a Trumpet in the Other. These blow'd their Trumpets, whilst the *Cuthæans* were Excommunicated, and he *who wou'd eat Bread with them* was Curs'd, *as if he had eaten of Swines Flesh*. They intreated God, that they might have no share in the Resurrection; and that it shou'd never be allow'd to make any Proselytes of them, which frighted them so much, that they betook themselves to their Heels.

But the Breach became wider in the Reign of *Alexander* the Great. *Manasseh*, Brother to the High Priest

* V. Bochart Phaleg. *p.* 243. † Psal. 68. 32.

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in *Jeruſalem*, marry'd a Stranger, contrary to the Law, and afterwards refus'd to divorce her. *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* had caus'd the Ordinance againſt marrying ſtrange Women to be ſtrictly obſerv'd, after their Return from the Captivity. *Manaſſeh* was requir'd to comply with it as well as others, and upon his refuſal he was expell'd the Temple and Altar. Incens'd at this publick Affront, he retir'd to *Samaria*, to *Sanballat*'s Houſe, who was his Father-in-Law, and Governour of the Place. He obtain'd leave of *Alexander* the Great to build a Temple. A great many Prieſts, and Lay-men, who were in the ſame Circumſtances, increas'd the Number of the Schiſmaticks. Add, that all thoſe, who were uneaſy at *Jeruſalem*, retir'd to *Samaria*, where there was then a Temple. Thus the Number of Deſerters, who fled from the Rigour of the Law, and the Temple, rais'd in Oppoſition to that of *Jeruſalem*, augmented conſiderably, and inflam'd the more their Hatred, which was but too inveterate before.

19. *Euſebius* * ſays, that this Temple was built the ſecond Year of the CXI. Olympiad; but he is miſtaken. For this Event muſt be referr'd Five or Six Years later; becauſe *Darius* was not as yet defeated, and *Sanballat* obtain'd a Grant of building a Temple, as a Reward for his Services to *Alexander* at the Siege of *Tyre*. Criticks inquire whether the *Samaritans* begun to reckon their Jubilees from the Building of this Sacred Edifice. One of them maintains, † that the *Samaritan* Jubilees were much older; ſince the Prieſt, that was ſent into *Samaria* in the Year Three Thouſand Two Hundred and Thirty, did not forget ſo important a Part of the Law; ſo that they begun their Jubilee the Year following: But that the *Samaritans* diſowning this Original, which was inglorious to them, reckon'd their Jubilees from the time they took Poſſeſſion of their Share of the Land of Promiſe, that is in the Year 2496. Forty Years after their coming out of the Land of *Egypt*. They had taken poſſeſſion of the Lands beyond the *Jordan* One Year and a Half before; but as they were granted to them, but upon condition that they ſhou'd aſſiſt the reſt of the Tribes to conquer the Countrey, they ſpent ſome time to ſuccour their Brethren, and return'd home but *Eighteen* Months after they had paſs'd the *Jordan*. The *Samaritans*, continues he, who wou'd not have their Services on ſo important an occaſion bury'd in oblivion, dated thence their Jubilees. This laſt Remark is too nice. It is not likely, that the Tribes, which inhabited the Countrey of *Samaria*, differ'd from the reſt in the Celebration of their Jubilees, and that cou'd not happen but after their Schiſm. *Jeroboam* wou'd not perhaps cancel a Law, which ſo nearly concern'd the civil Adminiſtration, and Polity. But the Obſervation of the Jubilees being interrupted by the Captivity, they begun a new Period, which cannot be better fix'd than in the Year, wherein the Prieſt was ſent to inſtruct thoſe that were expos'd to the Jaws of the Lions.

And indeed the *Sabbatical* Years were Celebrated in *Alexander*'s time; ſince the Inhabitants of *Sichem* beg'd of him to be exempted from Taxes that Year, and the Jews, who diſputed before this Prince the Origin of the *Samaritans*, ſaid nothing againſt this laſt Article. If we reckon the Jubilees from the Year already mention'd, we ſhall find that the Year 1684, ought to be that of the Jubilee; and is really the laſt which the *Samaritans* have obſerv'd.

20. That we may make an end of what relates to the *Samaritan* Chronicle, we are oblig'd to ſpeak of their different *Æra's*. We have juſt ſet down the Firſt. For they doubtleſs reckon'd their Years from the time that the Prieſt came among them, and wherein they begun their Jubilees; or rather they reckon'd by Jubilees as the Jews did.

But when they became Subject to the *Seleucides*, under *Antiochus* the Great, they were forc'd to take their *Æra*, which was common to all the Dominions of theſe Princes, and which they impos'd upon thoſe Nations, that became their Vaſſals.

It cannot be deny'd, but the Jews follow'd the *Æra* of the *Seleucides*, and the Author of the ‖ *Macchabees* makes uſe of their way of reckoning in his Hiſtory. For when he ſays, that *Antiochus Epiphanes* died in the Year 148; that the Sacrifice was offer'd the ſame Year in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; and that *Demetrius* aſſembl'd his Army in the Year 170. We muſt underſtand the Years ſince the Reign of *Seleucus* in *Babylon*, where the *Æra* of the *Seleucides* did begin. We muſt only obſerve a Difference, which makes the Authors of the Two Books ſeem to contradict one another; becauſe one following the cuſtom of his Nation, begins the Year in the Spring, and the Month of *March*; whereas *Jaſon* following exactly the Calculation of the *Seleucides*, begins it in *September*. Hence it is, that the Firſt of theſe Hiſtorians affirms that *Antiochus Eupator* declar'd War with the Jews, in the Year 150; and the laſt maintains, that it was in 149. According to the *Æra*, that begins the Year in *March*, the Campaign was open'd in the Spring of 150; but according to that which begins it in *September*, the preceeding Campaign muſt be plac'd in 149.

21. There is another place in this Second Hiſtorian, which proves the ſame Thing. But it is ſo obſcure, that *Scaliger* |||| deſpair'd of unravelling it, and *Uſher* * ſays, that the Kings of *Syria* dated their Letters after the manner of the *Chaldæans*; which is manifeſtly falſe, ſince theſe Princes conſtantly follow'd the *Æra* of their Anceſtors the *Seleucides*, and were ſo jealous of it, that they oblig'd all the Nations, that were their Vaſſals, to make uſe of it. This is far from borrowing an *Æra* from Strangers, and inſerting it in their Letters. This is the Thing, which it is worth while to unfold. *Antiochus Eupator*, Son and Succeſſor to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, writ to the Jews to give them part of the Liberty which they loſt under his Father. But he did not do it, till *Lyſias*, who acted as his Guardian, was routed, and his Affairs requir'd that he ſhou'd reconcile himſelf with them. However, he dates this Letter of Reconciliation in the Year 148, which was that of his Acceſſion to the Crown. How cou'd he date this Letter the Year he was crown'd, ſince ſo many remarkable Accidents, and a cruel War had happen'd, between his Coronation and the Treaty of Peace?

The Difficulty doth not appear to me ſo conſiderable as ſome have thought; for there are ſome plain Symptoms in *Antiochus Eupator*'s Letter, which plainly demonſtrate, that, his Letter was writ the Year that he was crown'd. For this Prince ſays, * that Menelaus *declar'd unto him, that the Jews had a mind to return Home*, which he grants them; and adds, that he had ſent *Menelaus* to treat with them. The Name of this Man who is ſo famous for his Intrigues both among the Jews and *Syrians*; and which immediately preceeds the Date of the Letter, ſolves the Difficulty. *Menelaus* was not yet kill'd, when *Antiochus* writ this Letter, ſince he ſpeaks of him. However, he was puniſh'd for his Crimes the Second Year of the Reign of *Antiochus Eupator*. So that this Letter muſt have been dated the Year that this King was crown'd.

22. We muſt now reconcile the remarkable Events with the Date of the Letter; and this I think is eaſily done. *Antiochus* coming to the Crown in the Year 148. immediately after his Father's Death, writ kind-

* Euſeb. in Chronic. † Petit Eclogæ Chronol. *l.* 2. *c.* 4. *p.* 114. ‖ 1 Mach. 6. 20. |||| De emend. Temp.
* Uſſ. An. † 2 Mach. 11. 29, 32.

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ly to the Jews, and granted them Liberty of Conscience. He had Two Reasons for it. One, that he was not settl'd on his Throne. For some of his Subjects were disgusted; and *Philip* his Fathers Favourite, whom he had intrusted with the Education of his Son, and order'd to carry his Signet and Robe to him, was disoblig'd and fled into *Egypt*, and excited the King of that Countrey to make War, and recover a Kingdom, that belong'd to him. Besides these Reasons of Fear, occasion'd by the King's Minority, and the Neighbourhood of a formidable Enemy that *Philip* might stir up; *Menelaus*, who had always some kindness for his Brethren, sollicited in their Behalf. So that it is no surprizing thing, that *Antiochus* writ so mild Letters to the Jews, at a Juncture that was so favourable to them.

But the King alter'd his Opinion the Year following; because *Judas* taking advantage of the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, carry'd on briskly the Siege of the Citadel, and some who escap'd from the Siege went to sollicit this Prince to relieve the Besieg'd. Read the * Speech of these Fugitives, and you will easily see, that the King concern'd himself but little about them, and that they upbraided him with it. They represented their former Services, and endeavour'd to awake the Emulation of the Son, by harping on the Persecutions of the Father. And indeed at their Instigation *Antiochus Eupator* call'd his Council together in the Spring of the Year, 149. and resolv'd to take the Field. All this proves, that *Antiochus Eupator* did not design to have a War with the Jews. He was unconcern'd about them, and cou'd not be rows'd up but by Remonstrances: And it was before they were made to him, that he writ so favourably to the Jews in the Year 148. *Menelaus* was then Living. But when it was resolv'd to march into *Judæa*, *Lysias* exclaim'd against him as being the Author of the War, and Insurrection. He perswaded the King, that the Jews won'd never be quiet whilst he was alive, and he had him condemn'd to death.

But the Difficulty seems still intire; because the Historian places *Antiochus*'s Letter after the Treaty of Peace, which follow'd the War. 1. But it is evident that he did not put it in its proper place, since the King's Letter shou'd have naturally preceeded that of his Favourite *Lysias*; and yet it is after the other. 2. This Author, who is not very exact, might not perhaps have taken notice of the Date of the Letter, and believ'd that it was writ during the Peace, because the King seems so favourable to the Jews. 3. But without charging this Historian with Forgetfulness, it may be said, that after he had related *Lysias*'s Letter, which contains a Declaration of Peace, he thought that he might add that which the King writ some time before the War; because it was to the same Purpose, and serv'd to shew his Majesty's good Will. Historians often collect together what relates to the same Subject, without minding so scrupulously the order of Time. 4. Lastly, Since the Date of this Letter is certain; since *Eupator* too was favourable to the Jews at the beginning of his Reign; and that he had reason to be so, it can no more be doubted but he writ his Letter at that time; tho' the Place, which the Historian of the *Macchabees*, who writ in *Egypt*, gives it in his History, might raise some Difficulties. So that notwithstanding this obscure part of the Jewish History, which we believe is now explain'd; it appears that the *Syrians* follow'd the *Æra* of the *Seleucides*; and the *Samaritans*, who blindly comply'd with *Antiochus* the Great's Orders, and those of his Son *Epiphanes*, ought to have made use of it too.

They took a Third *Æra*, when their City, being re-built by *Herod*, begun to take the Name of *Auguste*, or *Sebaste*. It is observ'd, that several Princes gave this Emperour's Name to the Towns they built; but that *Samaria* was the only One which kept it. However, there have been Two *Sebastes*, one in *Armenia*, whereof *Eulogius*, who was at the Council of *Nicæa*, was Bishop. *Eustachius* was also of that Countrey. There was another in *Cilicia*, which was even often confounded with another Town call'd *Augusta*. *Alexander* Bishop of *Sebaste*, who acknowledg'd, that of *Tarsus* for his Metropolitan, had a Share in *the Plundering of* Ephesus. But that signifies nothing. We ought rather to observe, that the *Samaritans* begun to reckon their Years from the time, that their Town was re-built. *Eusebius* believ'd †, that *Herod* the Great did this Work the Third Year of the 190 *Olympiad*, that is the 736 Year of *Rome*, Fourteen Years before the Birth of Christ. But *Josephus* ||, who was better acquainted with this Origin of *Samaria*, fixes it in the 13*th* Year of the Reign of *Herod*. If we begin this Reign in the 717 Year of *Rome*, because he then made himself Master of *Jerusalem* after the Death of *Antigonus*, the *Æra* of the *Samaritans* must begin in the Year 729. And indeed the same *Josephus* affirms, that after *Herod* had built *Samaria*, he sent his Troops to *Augustus* to strengthen his Army, which was marching against the *Arabians*. Now *Augustus* made War with the *Arabians* in the Year 730. The *Samaritans* begun to reckon their Years from the time they were restor'd, and had taken the Name of *Augustus*. Thus the *Æra*, which they have follow'd since, begun in the 729*th* Year of *Rome*, Twenty One Years before the Birth of *Jesus Christ*. This is confirm'd |||| by some *Samaritan* Medals, which are still extant. For in One, which they coin'd in honour of *Domitian*, they reckon 109 Years, which was the Fourth Year of this Prince's Reign. In the Other, that they stamp'd in honour of *Commodus*, they reckon'd 215 Years, which agrees admirably well with the Beginning, which we have fix'd. So that the particular *Æra* of the *Samaritans* must not be confounded with that of the Jews, and other Neighbouring Nations: This is the Reason that we have explain'd it. But to return to their History.

24. The Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, whereof *Manasseh* became High-Priest, was built in the Reign * of *Alexander* the Great, and by his Leave. A famous † Historian of the Jews was asham'd of the Blunder of the *Rabbins*, who, in order to make the *Samaritans Sadducees*, even when they erected Temple against Temple, associate *Baithos*, and *Tsaddoc* with *Manasseh*, and send them together into *Samaria*. He forsakes this Tradition, which is so evidently false, and it is strange, that a Christian ||, who ought to be a better Chronologist, relates it with Applause, instead of rejecting it intirely. For it is not true, that *Tsaddoc* liv'd in *Alexander*'s Reign.

This Prince coming in the Neighbourhood of *Sichem*, the Inhabitants of the Town went to invite him in, and ask'd of him the same Favour, which he had granted to the Jews, to exempt them from Taxes every Seventh Year; since they did neither sow, nor reap that Year. But upon the opposition of the Jews, who alledg'd that the *Samaritans* were not of their Nation, *Alexander* referr'd till his Return to decide the Suit, and the Favour which he design'd them upon his Entry into their City.

25. After *Alexander*'s Death, his Generals, who strove to seize upon his Conquests, made a long and bloody War with one another. *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, sir-nam'd *Soter* |||| seiz'd upon *Egypt*, and carry'd very far his Usurpations during his Reign of Forty

* 1 Mach. 6. 22. † Euseb. Chron. || Joseph. Ant. *l.* 15. *c.* 11. & de Bello, *l.* 1. *c.* 16. ||| V. Noris Epocha Syro-Maced. diss. 5. *c.* 5. *p.* 534. * Joseph. Ant. *l.* 11. *p.* 385. † Ganz. Tsenach David. *p.* 61. Ed. Vorstii. || Lightfoot, Centur. Chrorogr. |||| Σωτήρ.

Years

Years. After the Death of *Alexander* * he made himself Master of *Judæa*, enter'd into *Jeruſalem*, whence he tranſported Three Hundred Thouſand Inhabitants into *Egypt*, but firſt pick'd out the ſtrongeſt for Soldiers. *Cyllas*, General of his Army, falling a Sleep in his Camp, was ſurpriz'd by *Demetrius Polycrates*, who routed his Army, and took him Priſoner. It was at the ſame time reported, that *Antigonus* was come into *Phrygia* with a numerous Army. This frighten'd *Ptolemy*, who demoliſh'd *Joppa*, *Samaria*, and ſeveral other Towns, whoſe Inhabitants he alſo tranſported into *Egypt*. Thus the *Samaritans* found themſelves there join'd with the Jews; and the King's Clemency, the Goodneſs of the Country they were in, and the conveniency of Commerce, might have made them happy, had not they carry'd their Hatred, and old Spirit of Diviſion along with them.

Ptolemy IV. ſir-nam'd *Philopator*, tho he was a Parricide, gave, by his Luxury, and Debaucheries, occaſion to *Antiochus* to declare War againſt him. He thought to have ſurpriz'd this effeminate Prince, and eaſily ſeiz'd upon his Kingdom: but neceſſity awaken'd *Ptolemy*; and having immediately gather'd his Officers and Troops together, he fought *Antiochus*, and beat him. He made a barbarous uſe of his Victory in *Judæa*; nay he did more. For at his return he order'd all the Jews in *Egypt* to be inclos'd into Palliſſadoes, and devour'd by Wild Beaſts. The outcrys and groans of ſo great a Multitude, who were deſign'd to be ſacrific'd, mov'd him, and made him ſeveral times alter his Project. The *Samaritans*, who were very numerous in *Egypt*, were alſo under the ſame apprehenſions. But it is a happy Thing, when People are only frighted; and when ſo wild Princes as *Ptolemy* are capable of altering their Reſolution againſt thoſe of their Subjects, they do not like. The Defeat of *Antiochus* the Great, render'd *Ptolemy* peaceable Poſſeſſor of *Samaria* and all *Judæa* whilſt he liv'd. But *Antiochus* the Great, who always minded his Intereſt, took advantage of the Minority of *Ptolemeus Epiphanes*, whom his Father left a Child, and ſeiz'd on all theſe Provinces. He promis'd, that his Daughter *Cleopatra* ſhou'd bring theſe Provinces in marriage to this ſame *Ptolemy*, from whom they were taken. The Marriage was concluded on theſe terms, but *Antiochus* cheated his Son-in-law, and left to his Son *Seleucus* the Provinces he had Uſurp'd. *Antiochus Epiphanes* his Brother and Succeſſor refus'd to deliver them up; and flatly deny'd to the Deputies of *Alexandria*, that there was ſuch a Clauſe in the Contract of Marriage between his Siſter, and *Ptolemeus Epiphanes*. The Controverſie between theſe Princes grew to a great heighth: However, *Samaria* and *Judæa* remain'd in *Antiochus*'s hands, who after he had celebrated the *Quinquennalia* at *Tyre*, paſs'd to *Joppa* and *Jeruſalem*. But before we ſpeak of this Prince, who made the *Samaritans* ſtagger in their Faith, we muſt for a while take a turn into *Egypt*, where they were roughly handl'd.

Joſephus † relates a Law Suit commenc'd in the Reign of *Ptolemeus Philometor*. The Thing in Queſtion, was to decide which was the Oldeſt, the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, or that on Mount *Gerizim*. The *Samaritans* maintain'd, that their Temple on Mount *Gerizim* was the Older; ſince it was built by *Joſhuah*, a long time before *Solomon*. They quoted *Deuteronomy*, wherein God commanded a Monument of Stones to be rais'd on Mount *Gerizim*, which prov'd that he preferr'd this Place to all Others, to be the Place of his Worſhip. The Jews cou'd not alledge any thing like this; ſince the Law ſpoke in general terms of a Place, where God was to be worſhip'd, and never mention'd the City of *Jeruſalem*, which fell, but along time after, into the hands of the Kings of *Judah*. But they anſwer'd, that the *Samaritans* had falſify'd the Text of *Deuteronomy*, and put Mount *Gerizim* inſtead of Mount *Ebal*. Both Parties agreed to make *Ptolemy* Judge of their Cauſe, and to ſtipulate that whoſoever loſt it, ſhou'd be puniſh'd with Death. The King pronounc'd in favour of the Jews, and condemn'd the Counſellors of the *Samaritans* to be put to death. Thus *Joſephus*, Hiſtorian of their Nation, relates this matter. But it is obſerv'd ||, that *Onias*, who had done ſome conſiderable ſervices to *Ptolemy*, had already built another Temple in *Egypt*, which was ſo ill taken at *Jeruſalem*, that the *Levites* who ſerv'd at his Temple were reckon'd among the Prieſts that ſacrific'd on the High-Places. This Remark makes People ſuſpect *Joſephus*'s Narrative. For how cou'd they diſpute at *Alexandria* againſt the Temple of the *Samaritans*, ſince the Jews of that Countrey worſhip'd and ſacrific'd in that of *Onias*, that was ſo lately built? But it is more ſuſpected, when we read *Philometor*, and Queen *Cleopatra*'s Letters. For this Prince granting to *Onias* the Freedom of his Temple, writes to him, that he doth not know whether a Temple built in a Place full of Bones, and Dead Corps, might be acceptable to God. But ſince *Iſaiah* foretold it, they give him leave to do it, *as far as it is lawful without tranſgreſſing the Law, that they may have no ſhare in the Sin againſt God.* It muſt be acknowledg'd, that theſe Pagan Princes are repreſented ſpeaking as if they were Jews. Had *Philometor* ſo much knowledge of God, and his ceremonial Laws, as to fear infringing them; and ſo much reſpect for *Iſaiah*, as to have any deference for his Injunctions, and grant a Temple to Strangers, who were open Enemies to the plurality of Gods, and to the Idols which he worſhip'd? One wou'd think, that it is impoſſible to juſtify *Joſephus*, but by rejecting this Letter, as well as that of *Cyrus*. For it is very likely that he hid what Hiſtorians commonly do, who lend Kings and Generals ſome Speeches and Letters, without obſerving their Characters, or the Decorum of Places. If we reject *Philometor*'s Letter the firſt Difficulty is eaſily remov'd; ſince the Diſpute of the *Samaritans* might have preceded the building of the Temple of *Onias*. For *Joſephus*, who related in one Chapter, whatſoever happen'd to the Jews in *Egypt*, in the Reign of *Philometor*, did not mind to obſerve the true order of Time. Add to this, that *Onias* had been a long while in *Egypt*, when he beg'd leave to build a Temple, ſince that leave was the Reward of his long Services. He did not obtain it |||, but Five Years before the Death of this Prince, who had already reign'd almoſt Thirty Years; and it was probably in the ſpace of that Thirty Years Reign, that this Suit of the *Samaritans* was decided. It is no wonder that they loſt their Cauſe. For beſides, that *Alexander* the Great gave them leave to build their Temple, and that the Temple of *Jeruſalem* was more famous; *Philometor* had a great many Jews in his ſervice, who had a great Intereſt at his Court. *Onias*, and *Doſitheus* were Generals of his Army, and Governours of Provinces. This Prince had a value for *Ariſtobulus* the celebrated Peripatetick Philoſopher, who compos'd for him a Commentary upon the Law of *Moſes*; and this King might have got from thence ſome inſight into the Jewiſh Laws.

In the main, the Jews wou'd ſooner be ſuſpected to have alter'd the Pentateuch, and the Hiſtory of *Joſhuah*, than the *Samaritans*. For Mount *Gerizim* being the Place, where God order'd the Bleſſings to be pronounced, it is very probable, that it was there, *that the Fathers worſhip'd God* rather than at Mount *Ebal*, where the People was curſed.

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* *He died at* 90 *Years of Age*; *and* Antigonus *his Competitor was* 81, *or* 86 *Years Old.*

† Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 13. *c.* 6. *p.* 432.

|| Van Dale Ep. ad Morinum in Tract de Idolol. *p.* 742.

||| Uſh. *p.* 354.

26. Sa-

26. *Samaria* was juſt brought under the Yoak of the Kings of *Syria*, and had thereby been expos'd to the Perſecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had not the *Samaritans* ſhamefully eluded it. For when they ſaw this Prince arm'd againſt their Religion, and fully bent to ſettle Idolatry in all his Dominions, and were inform'd what he was doing at *Jeruſalem*, they baſely repreſented to this Prince, that they were Originally *Sidonians*.

27. They writ him a Letter full of Flattery, with this Superſcription, To King Antiochus *the Illuſtrious God* *. Some Cities of *Syria* had ſtil'd *Antiochus* a God, by reaſon of his Conqueſts; and ſome of his Medals are ſtill ſeen, wherein he is call'd a God. *Samaria*, which deſign'd to flatter him, imitated this Baſeneſs, and call'd him an *Illuſtrious God*, or *God Epiphanes*. They carry'd Flattery as far as it cou'd be carry'd. For they intended to ſhew, that he was a preſent Deity, which manifeſted it ſelf to the Senſes. And indeed the *Syrians* call'd *Antiochus*, *Epiphanes*, as ſoon as he aſcended the Throne after his Brother's Death. They only intended at that time to diſtinguiſh him from the other Kings of the Poſterity of *Seleucus*, who had bore that name of *Antiochus*; and it was by this Title, that he was known. But the *Samaritans* adding the Title of God, 'tis doubtleſs thought, that this denoted his *Preſence* and Manifeſtation. Thus *Ovid* deſigning to pleaſe *Auguſtus*, ſays of him, that he is a Viſible Deity: Whereas it is only believ'd that *Jupiter is God*; becauſe he is not ſeen.

Cauſa † tua exemplo Superorum tuta Deorum eſt,
Quorum hic aſpicitur, creditur ille Deus.

And thus the Chriſtians have call'd *Epiphany*, and *Theophany*, the Birth of Chriſt, his preſence on Earth, and entry into the Temple. The *Samaritans* cou'd not chringe more baſely, or pleaſe more *Antiochus* than they did. A Crime ſo much the more enormous in them, who were us'd to adore but One God, whoſe Title they preſum'd to give to a Mortal Man.

I can't tell how they had the Impudence to ſay, that they deſcended from the *Sidonians*, and how the Court of *Antiochus* were ſo ignorant of the Original of the *Samaritans*, to be thus impos'd upon by them. As they were really a Colony of Foreigners, they deceiv'd this Prince, and perſwaded him, that it was taken from the *Sidonians*. They added, that the Plague having infeſted their Countrey, they were oblig'd to obſerve the Sabbath, and build a Temple *to a God without a Name*, which made the World believe hitherto, that they had the ſame Original as, and were related to the Jews; but that || they had a mind to reaſſume their old Cuſtoms; and dedicate their Temple to *Jupiter*, which they might the more eaſily do, becauſe it had not to that day the Title of any Deity. Notwithſtanding the Perfidiouſneſs and Inconſtancy of the *Samaritans*; it appears that their Religion was ſo like that of the Jews, that they were thought to have the ſame Worſhip, and Pedigree. However *Antiochus* believ'd them upon their Word to be *Sidonians*, and granted their Requeſt. *Apollonius*, who commanded there for this Prince, drew thence a great many Soldiers, with whom he took the Field; but having given *Judas Maccabeus* Battle, he loſt his Life in the Fight, and the *Samaritans* their Bagage, which was plunder'd by the Conquerour.

28. They remain'd under the Dominion of the Kings of *Syria*, till *Hircanus* beſieg'd them. They maintain'd the Siege for one whole Year. Their Chronicle relates, that they ſent every Day a ſmall Sum of Money in a Basket, which was lower'd down the Walls; and thoſe, who receiv'd it, bought with it ſome Victims, which they offer'd upon Mount *Gerizim*. A *Greek* who was in *Hircanus*'s Army diſcover'd the Artifice, and aſſur'd him, that he wou'd never take the Town, whilſt the Inhabitants ſerv'd God ſo religiouſly. The Basket was ſtop'd, and a Hog put in. This Animal frightned, when he found himſelf carry'd up in the Basket, threw himſelf againſt the Wall. ||| The Earth ſhook at it, and a great part of the Wall fell down, and made a large Breach. The Beſieg'd, exaſperated at this, curs'd all thoſe who ſhou'd for the future breed up Hogs, and teach *Greek* to their Children. However, the Town was taken, and the Temple burnt after it had ſtood 200 Years. The Jews deſign'd to have us'd them worſe than the Idolaters, but their Reign was but ſhort.

29. *Pompey*, who conquer'd *Judæa*, reſtor'd *Samaria* to its former Liberty. *Auguſtus* added this City to the Provinces which he gave to *Herod*, and this Prince took a delight to embelliſh this Town. He built there a magnificent Temple, and endeavour'd to oblige the *Samaritans* to worſhip in it. But notwithſtanding the Dread which *Herod* ſpread in all his Dominions, they refus'd to obey him, and continu'd their Sacrifices upon Mount *Gerizim*. *Samaria* was always faithful to him. *Pappus* attempted to take it from him. He had already inveſted it, and intended to beſiege it; but he rais'd the Siege, and was kill'd in a Battle, which *Herod* gave him a little while after near the Village of *Iſara*.

This Prince put his Domeſticks, and beſt Friends, whom he had taken from the Enemy into *Samaria*, as in a place of Safety. He there celebrated his Wedding, when he marry'd *Mariamne*, becauſe *Jeruſalem* was ſtill in the hands of *Antigonus*; and he had nothing to fear from the Enemy, notwithſtanding he was near him, and very powerful. As he had already very much embelliſh'd *Samaria*, he carry'd *Agrippa* thither to make him admire his Magnificent Buildings, and to divert him during his ſtay in *Judæa*; but it was there too, that he had his Sons condemn'd, and that this Inhumane Father ſhed their Blood.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of the Samaritans *from Chriſt to this Time.*

I. THE Samaritans *throw the Bones of a Dead Man into the Temple of* Jeruſalem. II. *A Paſſage of Chriſt near* Sichem *explain'd.* III. *He makes there ſome Proſelytes.* IV. *An Impoſtor, who impoſes on the* Samaritans. V. *Some Diſorders in the Reign of* Claudius. VI. *The* Samaritans *ill us'd in the War of* Jeruſalem. VII. *Their Loyalty to* Nero. *A Medal explain'd, which is ignominious to them.* VIII. *A New Colony ſent to* Samaria. IX. *The Deſign of* Levi. X. *Judgment of the* Samaritan *Chronicle. Of the time wherein it ends.* XI. *Their Condition under* Antoninus Pius. *He hates them.* XII. *A Medal ſtamp'd in* Commodus's *Reign. A Monument of their Idolatry.* XIII. *The Loyalty of the* Samaritans *to* Severus *prov'd.* XIV. *A Relation of the Abjuration of* Symmachus *by St.* Epiphanius. XV. *His double Circumciſion.* XVI. *St.* Jerome *puzl'd upon this matter.*

* Βασιλεῖ Ἀντιόχῳ Θεῷ Ἐπιφάνει. Joſeph. *l.* 12. *c.* 7. *p.* 410.

|||| 1 Mach. 3.

† Ovid. Triſt. *l.* 4. Eleg. 2.

|| Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 12. *c.* 8.

XVII. *Ex-*

XVII. *Explication of St.* Paul *upon the double Circumcision.* XVIII. *Why* Symmachus *was twice Circumcis'd.* XIX. Theodosius *exempts the poor* Samaritans *from the Care of the Fleets.* XX. *The Wing of* Sebaste *under* Theodosius *Junior.* XXI. *They suffer under* Honorius. XXII. Valentinian *the Third's Decree against them.* XXIII. *Their Law-suit under* Theodoric. *They go to Law with the Church of* Rome *about a House.* XXIV. *A strong Insurrection at* Naples *under* Zeno. XXV. *They create a King, nam'd* Julian. XXVI. Justinian's *Severity against them.* XXVII. *The Law of* Justin, *which debars them from publick Offices.* XXVIII. Simeon Stilites's *Letter against the* Samaritans *produc'd at the Second Council of* Nicæa. XXIX. *Contested without any ground by* Charles *the Great.* XXX. *Some reflections upon the Barrenness of the History of the* Samaritans. XXXI. Baldensel's *Relation of them.* XXXII. *Whether the* Samaritans, *and the Ten Tribes are lost.* XXXIII. *There are some* Samaritans *at* Grand Cairo. XXXIV. *There are some imaginary* Samaritans. XXXV. *The present State of the* Samaritans *at* Naples, *or* Sichem.

1. THE *Samaritans* had still an inveterate Hatred for the Jews, when Christ came into the World; and it was the 7*th* Year after the Birth of this Messiah, that coming by stealth into *Jerusalem* the Eve of the Passover, they threw there the Bones of a Dead Man, that they might defile the House of God, and disturb the Devotion of the Festival. *Bucher* *, who ascribes this Prophanation of the Temple to Angels, did not mind what he says. It can't be conceiv'd, why he doth thus transform the *Samaritans* into Angels, and charges some spiritual Intelligences with this Crime.

2. About Twenty Five Years after, or thereabout, Christ going through the Territory of the *Samaritans*, found a Woman drawing Water at *Jacob*'s Well, from whom he ask'd some to drink. She was surpriz'd at it, because Christ was just come from *Jerusalem*, and that the Jews had no correspondence with the *Samaritans.* Their mutual Hatred must have come to a great Height, since they scrupl'd asking one another for a Glass of Water. The *Thalmudists* say, that it was lawful for the Jews to circumcise a *Samaritan*; but that the *Samaritans* had not the same Privilege; because they did it *in the Name of Mount* Gerizim. They add, that the unleaven'd Bread, or *Azyma*, might be eaten with a Schismatick, provided it had been kneaded by a Jew. In a Word, as it is not believed, that the Jews who were very greedy of gain had no manner of Trade with their Neighbours the *Samaritans*, it was concluded that the Term in the Gospel is too strong; and that it must be soften'd, and restrain'd to the prohibition of the *Thalmudists, to borrow nothing of Infidels and* Samaritans. This is too far fetch'd, St. *John*'s Expression imports, that the Jews had no Commerce with the *Samaritans* even for necessaries. Was this Expression ambiguous, the Circumstance determines the Sense of it. For a Glass of Water was the Thing in question, which is necessary to a Man, who is tir'd of Travelling, and parch'd with the heat of the Sun. The Woman wonders, that a Jew begs that favour of her, and almost refuses it. To add to this, as the Holy Pen-Man doth, that there was no correspondence between those Two Societies of the Nation, doth it not imply that there was none even for the minutest Matters? The *Thalmudists* writ a long time after Christ's Presence on Earth So that we must not imagine, that he alluded to their Precepts. They are even mistaken, when they pretend that the *Samaritans* circumcis'd *in the Name of Mount* Gerizim. For that is ridiculous.

3. The *Samaritans* had a very great disadvantage concerning the Messiah. For as they only did admit the Books of *Moses*, and reject the Writings of the rest of the Prophets, they were thereby depriv'd of their Oracles, which did characterize this Deliverer. However, whether they had a general Tradition, or only minded the Prophecy of *Jacob* with reference to the Scepter of *Judah*, they as well as the Jews expected that Master, who was to teach them all things, and even Christ made some Proselytes at *Sichem* by the Ministry of the Woman, who gave him some Water.

4. But this poor People was at the same time deceiv'd by an Impostor, who promis'd them to discover the Holy Vessels, which *Moses* hid in some corner of Mount *Gerizim*. *Moses* never set his Foot in the Holy Land, and only saw it a far off. So that the Cheat was plain; however the Impostor drew the Mob after him, which seiz'd upon a large Village, where they expected the rest of the Nation, who were coming to see this wonderful Discovery.

Pilate inform'd of it, sent a Detachment against this Crowd, which put them to the Rout. The Ring-leaders of the Sedition were put to death. *Vitellius*, to whom complaint was made of *Pilate*'s Cruelty, thought that a popular Error did not deserve so severe a Punishment; and that they being assembl'd upon a Religious account, they had been punish'd sufficiently by being over-reach'd. He sent the Procurator to *Rome* to answer for his Actions, but he did not reach that City till *Tiberius*'s Death.

5. Another Misfortune happen'd in the Reign of *Claudius*. Some Zealots kill'd a Jew, as he was going through the Countrey of *Samaria* to celebrate the Feast at *Jerusalem*. *Cumanus* was then Procurator of the Province. The Jews exhibited their Complaints to him, and seeing that he took no notice of them, or that he was taken up with some more important business, they run to arms, fell upon the Territory of *Samaria*, burnt the Countrey in their March, and entering afterwards the City, put Men, Women, and Children to the Sword. *Cumanus* exasperated at their Outrages, sent a Detachment against these Mutineers, which kill'd some, and took others Prisoners, who were afterwards Crucify'd. This Suit was begun before *Quadratus*, who found that both Parties were in the Wrong. Nevertheless it appears that he was more incens'd against the Jews; since he Crucify'd several of them, and sent *Ananias* † the High-Priest bound, and *Cumanus* to *Rome*, to answer for what they had done. This last, who favour'd the *Samaritans*, had already made *Claudius*'s Freed-men his Friends, who delay'd the time of hearing the Cause; But Young *Agrippa*, who was then in *Rome*, and remember'd the Affront, which the ungrateful *Samaritans* put upon his Father's Memory as soon as he was dead, did not forgive them. He obtain'd a Hearing of the Emperor, and had the Deputies of *Samaria* condemn'd to lose their Lives, and *Cumanus* to be banish'd.

6. *Samaria* felt the dire Effects of the War, which all the Nation maintain'd against *Nero*, and *Vespasian.* For it was burnt at the beginning of the Insurrection. Its Inhabitants retiring afterwards on Mount *Gerizim*, it was believ'd that they design'd to rise. *Cerealis* ‖ was sent with an Army to oblige them to lay down their Arms, and submit. This Tribune attempted to force them; but Water growing very scarce, part dy'd with Thirst, and unable to perswade them to lay down their Arms, he block'd them up closer, and advanc'd upon the Mountain, and attack'd them so successfully, that Eleven Thousand and Six Hundred remain'd upon the Spot.

* Bucher. Hist. Belg. *l.* 2. *c.* 13. *p.* 96. *p.* 849.

† Joseph. Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 5.

‖ Joseph. de Bello, *l.* 3. *c.* 12.

7. It was no doubt this Slaughter, which made them yield the ſame Year in the Reign of *Nero*, and worſhip this Prince as a God, who made War againſt them. This is prov'd by a Medal taken out of the French King's Cloſet, which that famous *Antiquary* Cardinal *Noris* * hath publiſh'd. It was ſtamp'd for *Nero* in the 14*th* Year of his Reign, on the Reverſe the Goddeſs *Aſtarte* is ſeen with a Tower upon her Head, and holding the Image of *Oſiris* in one hand with this Motto;

* Ο. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ. Μ. ΣΑΜΑΡΙΑ. ΕΠΡ. L. ΙΔ.

Deorum Auguſtorum Magnorum Samaria. A. C. LXXXVIII. *Neronis* XIV.

Samaria *hath caus'd this Medal to be ſtamp'd for the Auguſt and Great Gods.* If this Explanation of the Medal is exact, it muſt be own'd that the *Samaritans* were weak, and baſe enough to ſhrink whenever they were perſecuted; ſince they did not only place *Nero* among the Gods, but even among the greateſt Gods. They ſet up his Statue in their Temple, and ador'd it with the Supream Being, which was an abominable mixture of Worſhip. In a Word, the Goddeſs *Aſtarte* with her Towers, and the Image of *Oſiris*, ſhew, that they adopted in that Countrey the Pagan Religion; and that they endeavour'd to ingratiate themſelves with the Emperour, after they had ſuffer'd the preceding Year the Fury of his Arms, and ſeen that *Veſpaſian* by his Army and Courage had ſubdu'd all *Galilee*, which border'd upon their Countrey.

8. Some new Inhabitants were ſent thither to people it again, who embrac'd the Religion and Intereſt of the Countrey they poſſeſs'd. Being mix'd with the Jews that remain'd, they us'd themſelves to their Worſhip, and Faction; which expos'd them as well as the reſt of the Nation to *Adrian*'s Hatred. The *Samaritan* Chronicle † ſays, that after this Prince had demoliſh'd *Jeruſalem*, he went to *Naples*, that is, *Sichem*, and took away all their Books, and did not ſpare even thoſe, which contain'd their Genealogy and Hiſtory. They were forbid to circumciſe their Children. But notwithſtanding this Prohibition, they ſent them as they came into the World into Caves with their Maid Servants, to receive there the Sacrament of the Covenant; and they were not brought out from thence till they were cur'd. But they cou'd not ſo eaſily avoid eating Swine's Fleſh, which the *Romans* mix'd with their Meals. In a Word, they were ſo hotly perſecuted, that the Figure of a Braſen Bird was ſet up on Mount *Gerizim*, to hinder them from worſhiping there, and ſome Forces were poſted at the Foot of that Mountain, to ſeize upon and put to death all thoſe that wou'd attempt to go thither notwithſtanding the Prohibition. Some having Zeal enough to endeavour it, and Cunning to eſcape the Centries, were diſcover'd by the Bird, who ſpoke and nam'd *the Hebrew*. The Soldiers waking fell upon thoſe that aſcended, and cut their Throats. This Misfortune laſted till *Babarraba* ſent to *Conſtantinople* one of his Nephews to ſtudy there. This young Lad's Name was *Levi*, and made ſo vaſt a progreſs in Learning, that he became a Patriarch ||, and obtain'd leave of the Emperour to return to Mount *Gerizim*.

9. *Levi*'s intention was to rebell againſt the *Romans*, and reſtore his Countrey to its former Liberty. His Countrey Men aſſiſted him as much as they cou'd, but the Succeſs of his Enterprize is not known. It is nevertheleſs likely, that if they attempted any thing, they ||| miſcarry'd. For they remain'd oppreſs'd by the *Romans*.

10. Here ends the *Samaritan* Chronicle, which *Scaliger* and many other Learned Men thought worthy of their Wiſhes, hoping to find in that ancient Monument a great many things to help us to explain the Scripture; but on the contrary, we have only here inſerted the moſt remarkable part of it, to ſhew how unſerviceable it is. Nay, it may be obſerv'd by this laſt Article, that its Author was a very ignorant Fellow; ſince *Conſtantinople* was neither heard of, nor built at the time that he makes an end of his Hiſtory.

11. The reaſon why the Emperour *Antoninus* hated the *Samaritans* more than the Jews, is not known: Whether they had a greater Hand in the Inſurrection of *Judæa*, than the others; or made a ſtouter Reſiſtance, this Prince was more ſevere to them. For when he allow'd the Jews the Liberty of circumciſing their Children, which *Adrian* had taken from them, he wou'd not grant it to the *Samaritans*. This is undoubtedly true, ſince *Juſtin Martyr*, who was of that Countrey, and ought to be well acquainted with this, reports it.

12. They were very pliant in *Commodus*'s Reign; and to get the Favour of this Prince, they ſtamp'd a Medal for him. It had this Inſcription, *The Emperour* Cæſar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus.

IMP. C. M. AUR. COM. ANT.

On the Reverſe was a Basket with Two Serpents, and theſe Words, * *Thoſe of* Sebaſte *in* Syria An. CCXVI. *of the* Æra *of the* Seleucides. This Medal is again a publick Monument of the Facility with which the *Samaritans* embrac'd the worſhip of Idols; or at leaſt an Argument that the old Inhabitants being inferiour in number to thoſe, that were tranſported among them, they were not able to oppoſe Idolatry. For this Basket contain'd the Myſteries of *Bacchus*, and the *Bacchants* girded themſelves with Serpents.

Pars ſeſe tortis ſerpentibus incingebant,
Pars obſcura cavis celebrabant orgia ciſtis.

13. When *Niger* revolted, this City preſerv'd its Loyalty, and ſided with *Severus*; and therefore this Prince ſent thither a Colony, to People a Countrey, which was become deſolate by frequent Wars. *Ulpian* affirms it; and this is confirm'd by ſome Medals. However, it is pretended, that this Prince made this Countrey the Seat of War; and that *Symmachus* foreſeeing the Storm profeſs'd the Jewiſh Religion, that he might not be involv'd in the Calamity which threaten'd his Nation. We are going to examine this Abjuration of *Symmachus*, which hath made ſo much noiſe. In the mean time let us obſerve, that if *Severus* made War with the *Samaritans*, that this War was alſo made with the Jews. So that there is no reaſon to make *Symmachus* alter his Religion, and Place of Abode, to ſhelter himſelf from the Storm; ſince it had overtaken him at *Jeruſalem* as well as in his own Countrey.

14. St. *Epiphanius* † ſays three things of *Symmachus*. One, that he liv'd before *Theodotion*, who writ in the Reign of *Commodus*; and as this Father places *Symmachus* in the Reign of *Severus*, he is palpably guilty of an Errour of Chronology. Some have done all they cou'd to wipe off that Stain, by ſubſtituting the Name of *Lucius Verus* to that of *Severus*, but this can't be done without altering the Text: Nay, and changing the Time too wherein *Symmachus* liv'd; and yet all this will not anſwer. For if they put *Theodotion* after *Symmachus*, they are miſtaken about their Age. St. *Epiphanius* had perhaps before him the Ex-

* Noris Epocha Syro-Maced. diſſ. 5. *p.* 525. *He explains* Ο Θεῶν, *the Gods*; *becauſe this Letter often denotes in Medals the Gods.* M. *ſignifies* Μεγαλῶν, *the great Gods.* † Liber Joſuë apud Hotting. *p.* 116. || Summus Epiſcopus. ||| Anno 225. * Σεβαςηνῶν Συρ. *c.* 15. apud Noris Epocha Syro-Maced. *p.* 516. † Epiph. de Menſ. & Pond. *p.* 172. *t.* 2.

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amples * of *Origen*, wherein the Verſion of *Symmachus* was put the Second, and that of *Theodotion* the Fourth, which made him conclude that one was poſteriour to the other. But it is certain, that *Symmachus*, who was a *Samaritan* born, appear'd but at the end of the Second Century, and in the Reign of *Severus*, whom ſome reckon the Enemy, others the Protector of the *Samaritans* and *Jews*.

St. *Epiphanius* doth afterwards diſcover the Cauſe of the Change of this Celebrated *Samaritan*. He was in great Repute in his Countrey, and look'd upon as one of *the Wiſe-men of the Nation*; but aiming to be Head and Maſter, and angry that he was refus'd that Dignity, he left *Samaria* without leaving wholly his Religion. For he became a Jew. Some believ'd, that he was an *Ebionite*, and Chief of a Sect, which was call'd by his Name; that he undertook a new Tranſlation of the Bible, (which is ſo much the more eſteem'd, becauſe it rather renders the natural Senſe, than the Signification of the Terms) only to favour this Sect againſt the Jews; that he alſo publiſh'd ſome Commentaries to defend the *Ebionites*, wherein he ſtrenuouſly oppos'd St. *Matthew*, and endeavour'd to prove, that Chriſt was born of *Joſeph* and *Mary* by the common courſe of Generation, and that he cou'd not be look'd upon but as a Man only.

15. In a Word, St. *Epiphanius* affirms, that when *Symmachus* embrac'd the Jewiſh Religion, he wou'd be Circumcis'd a ſecond Time; becauſe there was ſuch an inveterate Hatred between theſe two parts of the Nation, that the *Samaritans* oblig'd the Proſelytes, which came to them from the Jews, to be again Circumcis'd, and that the Jews ſerv'd the *Samaritan* Deſerters after the ſame Manner. They thought, that *Eſau* had invented the Secret of making the Fore-Skin grow again after Circumciſion, that he might the more eaſily forſake God, and the Religion of his Father. Which gave God occaſion to ſay, Jacob *have I lov'd*, *but* Eſau *have I hated*. The Modern Jews give this Invention an older Original: For they maintain, that *Adam*, who was born *Circumcis'd*, or who had receiv'd the Sacrament of the Covenant from the Angel *Gabriel*, was the firſt Inventor of this Secret aſcrib'd to *Eſau*. Be it what it will, *Epiphanius* ſtrengthens this Opinion with this Teſtimony of St. *Paul*: † *Is any Man call'd being Circumcis'd? Let him not become Uncircumcis'd.*

16. St. *Jerome*, || who cou'd not apprehend the Natural meaning of the Apoſtle, becauſe he thought that the Fore-skin cou'd not be reſtor'd again, turns his Words into an Allegory, and pretends, that this Apoſtle exhorts thoſe, who have made a Vow of Celibacy, never to come into the State of Matrimony. But you may make St. *Paul* ſay any thing, if you take this to be his meaning. Why had the Apoſtle affected to make uſe of the Metaphorical Terms of Circumciſion, and Fore-skin, to expreſs ſo plain things as Celibacy, and Marriage? Why had he given us a Notion of *being Uncircumcis'd*, *or bringing again the Fore-skin*, inſtead of injoyning Celibacy? St. *Paul* adds, that *Circumciſion is nothing*, *and Uncircumciſion is nothing*. So that St. *Jerome*, who underſtood Marriage by it, muſt have confeſs'd that Celibacy and Marriage *were nothing*; and he wou'd have hardly own'd this. St. *Paul*'s Words muſt then be taken in a Litteral Senſe; and St. *Epiphanius* is in the Right to quote them, as a Proof of what was then practis'd among the *Samaritans* and Jews.

17. We can't well underſtand this Text of St. *Paul*, and the Adventure of *Symmachus*, when he forſook the Schiſm to become a Jew, unleſs we underſtand how Circumciſion is perform'd. The Fore-skin is not only cut, but the Skin is alſo torn; and this Skin can grow up again together by means of ſome proper Remedies, or naturally. We are told of an Old Man, to whom this Misfortune happen'd, and fearing, as he was told by the *Rabbins*, that it wou'd hinder him from entering into the Garden of *Eden*, after his Death, he was Circumcis'd a ſecond time. *Joſephus* affirms that *Menelaus* and *Tobi* erected a Pagan College at *Jeruſalem*, to flatter *Antiochus*, |||| *and hid their Circumciſion*, to pleaſe the ſame Prince. They were not the only Men, that did this. For there is a Complaint in the Hiſtory of the *Macchabees*, that thoſe, that forſook the Jewiſh Religion, *brought on again their Fore-skins*. *Maimonides* affirms, that he who is guilty of that Crime, will have no ſhare in the World to come, notwithſtanding he had obſerv'd the Law, and that God found him full of good Works. Laſtly, the Maxim of the *Thalmudiſts* ſhew, that the Thing is poſſible, altho St. *Jerome* was ignorant of it. *Qui circumcidit, & non denudat Circumciſionem, perinde eſt ac ſi non circumciderit*, ſay the *Rabbins*; and *Buxtorfius* adds, *Quod Circumciſor unguibus pollicis pelliculam glandis in duo diſcerpat, ut glans omnimode retegatur*. So that the Buſineſs in queſtion is not concerning the Fore-skin, but the return of the Skin, which may eaſily grow up again together, and is torn a Second time.

18. *Symmachus* underwent this Operation; becauſe it was the Cuſtom of the Jews, who receiv'd no *Samaritan*, but upon thoſe Terms. They had at that time the ſame Scruple about the Sacrament of Circumciſion, as the Chriſtians have had ſince about that of Baptiſm. They did not believe, that a Sacrament adminiſtred by Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks was lawful: And they alledg'd for their Opinion the ſame Arguments, which St. *Cyprian* hath urg'd with ſo much Prepoſſeſſion againſt the Baptiſm of Hereticks. For they did not think, that the *Samaritans* cou'd give what they had not, that is, a Right to the Covenant of God, and the Advantages that flow'd from the Seal of that Covenant. But the *Samaritans*, more in the Right than the Jews, did not reiterate this Sacrament on thoſe that came to them; as there were likewiſe whole Churches, which condemn'd a Second Baptiſm. St. *Epiphanius* doth however aſcribe the ſame Practice, both to the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, which ſhews that their Averſion was reciprocal. But to go on with their Hiſtory.

19. If the *Samaritans* ſuffer'd with the reſt of the Jews, as we ſhall ſee hereafter at large, under the Pagan Emperours, they were not better treated under the Chriſtian Princes. Yet they maintain'd their Ground in a great many Provinces. *Adrian* ſaw them in *Egypt*, and complain'd, that they were always ready to mutiny, and revolt upon the firſt Opportunity, that offer'd. Nevertheleſs, they kept their Footing there; but they were poor and obſcure, and therefore overlook'd in Hiſtory. At laſt *Theodoſius* the Great took pity of them, and granted them ſome Relief. The Officers of the Empire had oblig'd the whole Body of the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, to ſerve in *the Fleets*. Theſe Fleets were employ'd to tranſport Corn into *Spain*, *Rome*, and *Conſtantinople*. Seamen were often wanting to man them. The Emperour order'd, that there ſhou'd be ſeveral Claſſes of People, who were either to ſerve themſelves, or put others in their room. The *Samaritans* were more oppreſs'd than the reſt; becauſe when the *Claſſes* were appointed, none of their Nation was exempted. They therefore exhibited their Complaints to *Theodoſius* againſt his Officers; and this Prince diſcharg'd all the Poor, that were forc'd to work for their Living, or thoſe that got their Bread by

* V. Cave Hiſt. Litter. Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 6.

† 1 Cor. 7. 18.

|| Hierom. in Eſ. 52. & in 1 Mach.

|||| Περιτομὴν ἐπεκάλυπτον.

a pedling Trade. This Law * hinder'd them from being reduc'd to the laſt Extremity.

20. We read of *the firſt Wing of* Sebaſte in Garriſon at *Aſuada*, in the Reign of *Theodoſius* Junior. *Pancirolus* believ'd that *Sebaſte* was *Cæſarea*, and did not obſerve, that there was in *Judæa* Two Cities of that Name, ſo different that they cou'd not eaſily be confounded. But I do not know, whether theſe Squadrons were compos'd of *Samaritans*, or whether they had that Name, becauſe they liv'd in their Countrey, and were there in Garriſon.

21. They are alſo found in the *Weſt* in the Reign of *Honorius*. This Prince was inform'd, that the *Samaritans* perform'd the Office of *Agents*, and undertook to carry the Emperour's Orders into the Provinces; and as it was an honour to them, he depriv'd them of it, and even took away from them all manner of Offices † in the Army.

22. Their cruel and barbarous Zeal drew againſt them a Law of the Emperour *Valentinian* III. For the Fathers ‖ diſinherited their Children, who embrac'd Chriſtianity. But this Emperour order'd that theſe Children ſhou'd enjoy all their former Rights, unleſs it was prov'd that the Son was guilty of ſome Crime againſt his Father, which deſerv'd to be diſinherited; and that this change of Religion was not the Cauſe of his Severity.

23. In the Reign of *Theodoric*, the *Samaritans* had a conſiderable Settlement at *Rome*, and the *Roman* Church went to law with them about a Houſe. The Church maintain'd, that they were for many Years in poſſeſſion of this Houſe, ‖‖ bought according to Law; but the *Samaritans* claim'd it as their own, as having formerly been one of their Synagogues, and complain'd that it was uſurp'd by the Church. Altho *Theodoric* was fully ſatisfy'd, that the *impudent Samaritans* ly'd, becauſe the Houſe ſeem'd rather built for private, than publick Uſe; yet he order'd Count *Arigerblic* to examine this Caſe, and do juſtice by puniſhing the Calumniators. It is not known, how this Matter was decided. I only deſign'd by this to confirm, that the *Samaritans* were come and ſettl'd in the *Weſt*.

24. They Mutiny'd in the *Eaſt* in the Reign of *Zeno*. *Abulpharages* ſays, * that *they choſe a King* of their own, and that under his Command they attack'd the Chriſtians. But *Procopius* † ſays only, that they roſe at *Naples* on the Day of *Pentecoſt*; and that having ſurpriz'd the Chriſtians, who did celebrate that Feſtival, they made a great Slaughter of them. *Terebinthius*, Biſhop of that City, was then officiating at the Altar. They took him, ſtabb'd him with their Swords in ſeveral places; cut his Fingers, and ignominiouſly prophan'd the Myſteries. *Terebinthius* having eſcap'd from their Hands, complain'd to the Emperour, and repreſented, that Chriſt having foretold, that there ſhou'd be in a ſhort time no Worſhip on Mount *Gerizim*; and that God, who is a Spirit, *ſhou'd be ador'd there in Spirit and Truth*, it was high time to accompliſh that Prophecy. This Biſhop gave a falſe Interpretation to our Saviour's Words. For there he ſpoke of the Aboliſhment of the Sacrifices; and of the Liberty allow'd under the Goſpel to worſhip God every where. However, the Emperour believ'd the Prelate on his bare Word: And as it was juſt and requiſite to puniſh the Rebels; he ſent ſome Forces that drove them out from thence, and he gave Mount *Gerizim* to the Chriſtians, who built there a Church conſecrated to the Virgin *Mary*; and ſettl'd a Guard of ten Men to keep the Entrance of that Mount, which he order'd to be ſtrongly wall'd in.

The *Samaritans* did not bear this patiently. For it was an eye-ſore to them, to ſee a Church of the Virgin *Mary*, in the ſame Place, where the Temple of God ſtood. It was another Grievance, that they cou'd not worſhip *on the Holy Hill*. However, they conceal'd ‖ their Reſentments till the Death of *Zeno*, which happen'd ſhortly after. But in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, a Woman ſhew'd a Company of *Samaritans* a way through the Rocks, whereby they went up to the top of Mount *Gerizim*. They ſeiz'd upon the Church, kill'd the Soldiers that guarded it, and call'd to their Aſſiſtance the *Samaritans*, that remain'd at *Naples*, that they might maintain themſelves in that Place. The Citizens of *Naples*, who were afraid of the Garriſon, durſt not go out, nor aſſiſt their Brethren. The Procurator of the Province immediately repair'd thither; but he took no care to make ſome new Fortifications about the Place, which occaſion'd ſome new Commotions under *Juſtinian*.

25. For the ſame *Samaritans* ‖‖ gathering together about *Naples*, which was at that time their retiring Place; choſe a King * of their own, whoſe Name was *Julian*. They made Incurſions into the Countrey, plunder'd and burnt the Churches, murder'd all the Chriſtians they met with, cut *Ammonas* the Biſhop of *Naples*'s Throat, took his Prieſts, and ſlic'd them into ſmall pieces, to fry with the Relicks of other Martyrs.

No body durſt appear in the High-ways for fear of theſe Villains, till *Juſtinian* being inform'd of theſe Diſorders, ſent Two of his Generals, who routed *Julian*, and deſtroy'd a great many *Samaritans*. The Chriſtians after this Victory, were even with them for what they had made them ſuffer; and *Sylvanus* being come in again into *Scythopolis*, without leave from the Emperour, the Chriſtians without any more ado ſtopp'd and burnt him. He had a Son, a *Man of Note*, who had very good employs at Court. He was even a Favourite, of the Empereſs, and to revenge his Father's Death, he laid all the Fault of theſe Diſorders on the Chriſtians, who inhabited *Paleſtine*. *Juſtinian*, exaſperated, by *Theodora*, was in a violent Rage. But the Chriſtians deputed *Sabas* to make ſome Remonſtrances to this Prince, and to beg to be exempted from Taxes, that they might repair the Damages, which they had ſuſtain'd from the *Samaritans*. *Sabas* alter'd the Emperour's Mind, and the Chriſtians appear'd Innocent, and the *Samaritans* Guilty. He thereupon order'd, that all their Synagogues ſhou'd be demoliſh'd; that the *Samaritans* ſhou'd be excluded from all manner of Offices; that their Children ſhou'd be diſinherited; and he condemn'd the greateſt Mutineers to Death. *Arſenius* was involv'd in this Condemnation; but he threw himſelf at *Saba*'s Feet, and redeem'd his Life by Baptiſm. A double Wall was built about Mount *Gerizim* to defend its Entrance. After the Rebels were puniſh'd, the Biſhops of *Aſcalon*, and *Pella*, were order'd to viſit the Two firſt *Paleſtines*, and re-build the Churches that were burnt, at the Coſt of the *Samaritans*, or out of the publick Money. Thoſe who loſt much had ſome Gratifications. In a Word, there was a Magnificent Church built at *Jeruſalem*, and dedicated to the Holy Virgin.

26. The *Samaritans* were conſiderably diminiſh'd by theſe ſevere Courſes †. For moſt of them, through Want and Miſery, or for fear of Death, embrac'd Chriſtianity. *Juſtinian* doth not conceal his hard Uſage towards them. He acknowledges, that he had *afflicted them with ſeveral Puniſhments*, becauſe they had treated the Chriſtians with too much Pride and Barbarity. But being at laſt inform'd by *Sergius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, that they were ſorry for their Fault, and promis'd, that they wou'd behave themſelves better

* Cod. Theod. tit. 5. *l.* 18. *p.* 74. *t.* 4. † An. 404. Cod. Theod. tit. 8. *l.* 16. *p.* 232. ‖ An. 426. *l.* 28. *p.* 244.
‖‖ Caſſiod. *l.* 3. Ep. 45. *p.* 54. * Abulph. Dyn. 7. *p.* 93. † Procop. de Ædificiis, *l.* 5. *c.* 7. *p.* 104. *t.* 2. ‖ An. 490.
‖‖ An. 530. * Cyrill. in Vita Sabæ apud Cottel. Mon. Eccleſ. Gr. *t.* 3. *p.* 339. *&c.* † Procop. de Ædificiis, *l.* 5. *c.* 7. *p.* 104. *t.* 2.

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for the future: He put out a Decree * at the Sollicitation of this Biſhop, who acted in their Behalf, whereby they were allow'd to make Wills; and if they dy'd *inteſtate*, their Lawful Heirs might claim their Inheritance, whether they were in a Direct, or Collateral Line; provided notwithſtanding, that if there was in the Family any Child, or Relation, that was a Chriſtian, his Religion wou'd give them a better Claim, than any of the Heirs, unleſs the Competitors wou'd alſo embrace Chriſtianity: The Emperour declaring that he did not intend to draw any advantage by it, or that their Eſtates ſhou'd be Confiſcated. This was a Snare, which had caus'd a great many Diſorders among the *Samaritans*, had they been rich.

27. There is another Law under the Name of *Juſtin*, which † forbids all *Samaritans*, even after their Converſion, unleſs they did their Duty, to make any Wills, or Legacies; and confiſcates to the Exchequer all Inheritances whatſoever, that may fall; and the Emperour excepts only Husbandmen from this ſevere Law; becauſe the Lands had otherwiſe remain'd unmanur'd, and that the Emperour's Revenue increas'd in proportion to the abundance of Fruits, and Corn.

This ſame Law excluded alſo the *Samaritans* from all Civil and Military Employs; ſet at liberty any Slave belonging to a *Samaritan*; allow'd that Children, that cou'd not as yet read, might be Baptiz'd without much Examination: But requir'd that thoſe of Age, who intended to become Chriſtians, ſhou'd be try'd concerning their Faith; and enjoyn'd that if after their Converſion, they return'd again to the Jewiſh Religion, or did ſomething whereby it might be ſuſpected that they only diſſembl'd, they ſhou'd be baniſh'd; and that all thoſe who had any ways protected them ſhou'd be puniſh'd. So that the Condition of the *Samaritans* who were diſpers'd in the Empire, became every day harder and more deplorable.

28. They made for all that an Inſurrection in this Prince's Reign. For the Fathers of the Second Concil of *Nicæa* quoted a Letter of *Simeon Stilites* Junior, wherein the *Samaritans* ‖ are look'd upon as the filthieſt and moſt ſeditious Men in the World. They cou'd not be very formidable, becauſe they were only the Inhabitants |||| of a ſmall Town ſituate at the Foot of Mount *Carmel*: And yet the Patriarch of *Antioch* complain'd of them. *Paul* Biſhop of *Porphyrion*, a neighbouring City, undertook to make ſome Remonſtrances to the Emperour, and *Simeon*, who relates all theſe Things, ſays that he could not ſhed Tears enough for the Diſorders, which they had committed. He endeavours to excite the Prince's Jealouſy, by informing him, that they came in a Tumultuary manner into the Church, which he had built, and concludes, that they deſerve no Mercy. Their Crime after all, was, that they did beat down ſome Croſſes, and break ſome Images of Chriſt or of the Virgin *Mary*: And therefore it was argued, that if thoſe, that diſhonour'd the Emperour's Images were ſentenc'd to death, thoſe who defac'd the Images of our Lord deſerv'd to be puniſh'd with the utmoſt Severity.

29. *Charles* the Great queſtion'd the Truth of this Letter quoted by the Second Council of *Nicæa*. He did not think it writ in a Stile ſuitable to a Chriſtian *Anchoret*, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Auſterities. For ſuch a Man ſhou'd not have excited the Emperour to draw his Sword, or ſollicited his Revenge againſt the *Samaritans*. He cou'd not conceive that one who profeſs'd ſo ſtrict a Morality, cou'd ſtuff his Letter with ſo mean and groveling Flattery to a Debauch'd Prince, and ſay, *that God reign'd with him, conregnabat*. Laſtly, he maintain'd, that this Saint ſo much extoll'd by the Fathers at *Nicæa*, was not known to him, which made his Letter and the Crime charg'd upon the *Samaritans* very doubtful.

I do not however know whether this Prince was in the Right. For 1. *Simeon Stilites* was not unknown, as he ſuppos'd. *Evagrius*, much older than *Charles* the Great, ſince he liv'd in the Reign of *Maurice*, aſſures that this *Anchoret* was conſulted from all parts of the Empire; and that even the Barbarians, who had heard of him, came to take his advice. 2. I confeſs, that it was a very bad Apology for *Simeon*, to quote a *Roman* Council, who gave the * Title *of moſt Holy* to *Theodoric* King of the *Goths*, who was an *Arian*. The Baſeneſs of the One, did not juſtifie that of the Others. But it is the Character of Bigots, and ſuperſtitious Men to cringe to Princes, and to crown their Vices, provided they favour them. *Baronius* doth not conceal *Juſtin*'s Debaucheries; and yet makes him a Hero; and triflingly alluding to his Name, applies to him theſe Words of the Scripture, † *the Righteous are as bold as a Lion*. He laviſhly praiſes him, becauſe he looks upon him as a Protector of Images, and of the Worſhip that was newly paid to them. 3. Laſtly, Superſtitious Men are generally Cruel. They never forgive thoſe, who oppoſe their way of Worſhip; and they not only trample upon Chriſtian Charity, but alſo forget the Laws of Chriſtianity, and glory in their perſecuting Zeal. So that we muſt not think it ſtrange, that *Simeon* requir'd that the *Samaritans* ſhou'd be puniſh'd *without Mercy*, becauſe they deſtroy'd Images; and the Reaſons which *Charles* the Great alledg'd to reject the Letter of this *Anchoret*, are too weak to make us reject it.

Let us only obſerve, Firſt, that it was rather a Religious War, than an Inſurrection againſt the Prince. We ſee in it Monks and Biſhops that complain, rather than Generals, that were marching againſt them. For the *Samaritans* perſevering in their Zeal, cou'd not endure that Images ſhou'd be worſhipp'd. 2. The *Samaritans* muſt have had at that time ſeveral Settlements in *Judæa*; ſince thoſe that dwelt near *Porphyrion* are repreſented as Mutineers, to diſtinguiſh them from others, who liv'd more peaceably in other Places. The Latin Interpreter inſinuates, that they were Maſters of a whole City ‖; but that is not likely. In a Word, notwithſtanding *Simeon*'s Letter is inſcrib'd to *Juſtinian*, it is yet certain, that it was directed to *Juſtin*, who ſucceeded that Emperour, and was only writ at the end of the Sixth Century. So that the *Samaritans* were ſtill pretty numerous at that time. They were ſpread in *Arabia* in *Mahomet*'s time ||||; who knew them there as well as the Jews, and promis'd them the Salvation of their Souls. if they wou'd believe in him.

30. It is not eaſie to trace their Hiſtory afterwards; whether becauſe they have been confounded with the Jews, as belonging to the ſame Nation, and as Schiſmaticks proceeding from the ſame Body and Church; or becauſe their Number leſſen'd, and made ſo mean a Figure in the World, that they eſcap'd the Notice of the moſt exact Hiſtorians. *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, who in the Twelfth Century * went through all the Synagogues of his Nation, found but about a Hundred *Samaritans*, that were poor and wretched at *Sichem*, where they continu'd to offer their Sacrifices. *Abulpharages* ſpeaks of a *Samaritan*, who in the beginning of the Thirteenth Century was in a mighty Repute in *Syria*, being an able Phyſician, who eaſily gueſs'd at the doom of Sick People; but wou'd impart his Secret to no Man, † *and was ſo greedy of Gain*,

* Juſtin. Novel. 129. *p.* 572. † Juſtin. Novel. 144. *p.* 610. ‖ An. 574. Concil. Nic. II. Act. 5. *p.* 450.
|||| Οἰκοῦντες Καστρα. Caſtra urbs minima. * Allat. de Simeonum Scriptis, *p.* 20. † Prov. 28. 1. ‖ Habentes Caſtra. |||| Alcoran. Azoara 2. *p.* 10. * An. 1170. † Abulph. Dyn. 9. *p.* 343.

that

that he wou'd not read any Lectures to Strangers, unless he was well paid. He did not thereby do much honour either to his Nation, or Religion.

31. *Baldensel*, who travell'd some time after into that Countrey, speaks of another kind of *Samaritans*, he found there. * "There is, says he, in the Province of *Samaria*, a Sect that take the Name of *Samaritans*, which follows neither the Religion of *the Jews*, *Mahometans*, *Pagans*, or *Christians*. They maintain the Unity of God, and worship him otherwise than other Nations. Their way of Living deserves to be admir'd, and they distinguish themselves from others by their Habit. However, as it is the Custom of that Countrey to cover their Heads with a Veil, they do it too. But whereas the *Christians* carry a Yellow, the *Mahometans* a White, and the *Jews* a Green one, these wear a Red Veil: They pretend to be the Darlings of God, and the only Men, that he will save. There is no doubt, but they were the true *Samaritans*, who distinguish'd themselves from the Jews by the *Sacrifices*, which they offer'd to God on Mount *Gerizim*, and were still in Being in the Fourteenth Century. † *Baldensel*, who makes them a particular Sect, almost unknown, was not sufficiently vers'd in the History of the Bible, before he travell'd into that Countrey.

32. The Ten Tribes ‖ subsisted a long time in the *East* after the Destruction of the Temple. But when the Jews are ask'd what is become of these Ten Tribes, they answer by these Words of *Isaiah*, |||| *They shall come, which were ready to perish in the Land of* Assyria, *and shall worship the Lord in the Holy Mount at* Jerusalem. The First Part of the Prophecy, say they, is fulfill'd. For these Ten Tribes, that were to perish in the Land of *Assyria*, are really so; but they shall one day appear again; and taking one of the Posterity of *David* for their Leader, they shall return to worship at *Jerusalem*. *Holstenius* * transports them as far as *Colchis*, and affirms, that the Inhabitants of that Countrey are the Offspring of the Old *Samaritans* dispers'd in the *East*; because they circumcise their Children. But *Holstenius*'s Conjecture is weak. For the Inhabitants of *Colchis* are rather come from *Egypt*, where Circumcision was very Old as well as in *Ethiopia*. Add to this, that altho' the Ten Tribes were at first *Schismaticks*, and persever'd a long time in their Schism during their Exile; yet most of them sent some Presents to *Jerusalem*; and they came there into the Temple, when the Apostles preach'd in that City, after they receiv'd the Gift of Tongues. So that they must not be confounded with those who remain'd in *Samaria*, and *Sichem*, after the Desolation of *Judæa*; or who dispersing themselves into several Places, retain'd certain Tenets, which were peculiar to them, and at least who kept up a Spirit of Schism and Separation.

33. We shall write in another place the History of the Ten Tribes; but let us here acknowledge, that very few of these last *Samaritans* remain'd; and that there are still some at *Grand Cairo*, who are the Remains of those ancient *Samaritans* whom *Ptolemæus Lagus* transported into that Countrey: And indeed it is well known, that the Jewish Nation always lov'd *Egypt*, and settl'd at that time in this Countrey, and continu'd there for several Centuries. Some, tho' but few, are still seen at *Damascus* and *Gaza*.

34. An *Arabian* Geographer, quoted by *Scaliger* † affirms, that there is an Island, call'd by the Name of the *Samaritans*, and Inhabited by the Remains of that Nation. They are known by their Crys. For when they see any Stranger among them, they cry aloud, *Touch me not.* This was the Character of the *Samaritans*, according to St. *Epiphanius* ‖. For he reproaches them, that they are Fools, to imagine, that they cou'd be defil'd by being touch'd by Man; and therefore every time that they came home, they wash'd themselves with Urine, and threw their Garments in Water, when they had touch'd any Stranger. But in the Main, the Island of the *Arabian* Geographer, and the Folly, which St. *Epiphanius* ascribes them of washing themselves with Urine, are as much known one as the other. *Damascenus* hath follow'd ||‖ St. *Epiphanius*. For he assures that other Nations were an Abomination to the *Samaritans*, and that *they wou'd not touch any body*; but adds, that they did not believe the Resurrection, which is false.

35. To conclude, there are as yet some *Samaritans* at *Napolousse*, which is old *Naples*, or *Sichem*, situate between Mount *Ebal*, and Mount *Gerizim*. They observe the Law of *Moses* more exactly than the rest of the Jews. They have there the Tomb of *Joseph*, and the Bones of that Patriarch, which were brought from *Egypt*. They have some Priests of the Posterity of *Aaron*. They offer Sacrifices upon Mount *Gerizim*, according to the ancient Rites. Nay, they have a High-Priest, who resides there, and appoints the Day of the Passover, and all other Festivals to the *Samaritans*, that are dispers'd. *Pietro della Valla* believ'd, that they were extinct; because he did not observe them in that place. What may be gather'd from his Observation, is, that many things escape Travellers; and that their Relations must not be blindly depended upon; or that the *Samaritans* of that Countrey are poor. For it can't be deny'd, but they writ to *Scaliger*, and ask'd him some fine Linen for their Priests. Nay, it is but Twenty Years since they writ to their Brethren in *England* * to give them notice of the Death of their High-Priest, and ask some Alms for their Poor, who are doubtless the greatest Part of that small Body. However, it is a strange Thing, that they have maintain'd themselves for so many Ages in their Native Countrey, notwithstanding the many Persecutions they have undergone since *Jeroboam*. In a Word, Mr. *Ludolf*, a Man so profoundly skill'd in the Oriental Languages, at the End of the last Century kept a Correspondence with these *Sichemites*; and it is not long † since he printed a Letter, which he receiv'd from them.

Having finish'd the History of the *Samaritans*, I met with Two Things that may embellish it: One is the Chronicle Dr. *Bernard* has communicated to those Illustrious Journalists of *Leipsic*, whose Learning, Accuracy, and Zeal for the Republick of Learning, can't be sufficiently commended. I have inserted my Reflections upon this Chronicle, because it has many Places that wanted them. The other Piece is an Extract from Dr. *Huntington*'s Letters, who having travell'd into *Egypt* and *Judæa*, and made a considerable Stay in the *East*, to converse with the *Samaritans*, was perfectly acquainted with their present State.

A New Chronicle of the Samaritans, *publish'd by Dr.* Bernard.

The Creation of the Universe ‖.
Noah's |||| Flood.

Note, The *Samaritans* don't agree about the Time of the Deluge *, either with the Jews, who retard it 349 Years, or with the Septuagint, who put it in the

* Guilielmi Baldensel Odoporicon ad Terr. Sanct. *c.* 9. apud Canis. Lect. Ant. *t.* 5. *p.* 134. † An. 1336. ‖ Responsio Judaica ad 23. Quæst. *l.* 22. *p.* 25. |||| Isaiah *c.* 27. *v.* 13. * Holst. ad Nihusium in Allat. 1 Simeonis. † Scalig. de Emend. Temp. *l.* 7. *p.* 663. ‖ Epiph. Hær. Sam. *p.* 26. ‖‖ Damasc. de Hær. 559. Cottel. Mon. Eccl. Gr. *t.* 2. *p.* 282. * An. 1686. † An. 1688. ‖ *In the* 1st *Year of the World*, 4425 *before Jesus Christ.* ‖‖ An. 1307, 3118. * Acta eruditor. April. An. 1691. *p.* 167.

Year

Year 2242. They depart from the *Hebrews*, becauſe they make *Jared* an Hundred Years Old, before the Birth of *Enoch*; *Methuſalem* 120, before that of *Lamech*; and *Lamech* 129, before he begat *Noah*; all which amounts to Three Hundred Forty Nine Years. *Scaliger* * and *Voſſius* have cenſur'd *George Syncellus*, as if he was miſtaken in this Point. However, he had very good reaſon to obſerve this Difference.

Abraham † was born Two Hundred Forty Two Years after the Deluge.

Note, Here is ſtill a great Difference of Years; for the Jews reckon but Two Hundred Ninety Two; and the Septuagint a Thouſand Seventy Two. Indeed, the Years of the Poſt-diluvian Patriarchs, that preceded the Birth of *Abraham*, are reckon'd very differently. In the mean Time, it muſt be obſerv'd, that the *Samaritans* don't count *Cainan*, the Son of *Arphaxad*, among the Patriarchs. Their Copy, in this reſpect, perfectly agrees with the *Hebrew*: And || *Uſher* has obſerv'd, that *he* was not in the ancient Copy of the LXX, which was kept in the *Alexandrian* Library: He crept into the leſs correct Copies, and from thence paſs'd into the Text of St. *Luke*.

Abraham |||| went from *Charran*; when he was 75 Years Old, in the 1017*th* Year after the Deluge.

Note, 'Tis univerſally agreed, that *Abraham* was ſo Old when he left his Countrey; but there remains a great Difficulty, becauſe the *Hebrew* Copy of the Jews makes *Thara* 70 Years Old, when his Son *Abraham* was born. He adds, that *Thara* died at 205 Years of Age. *Abraham* left not his Countrey, till after the Death of his Father. He muſt therefore be much more than 75 Years Old; but the *Samaritan* Copy diſpels all the Difficulty; which makes *Thara* live but a Hundred Forty Five Years; and ſo *Abraham*, born in the 70*th* Year of *Thara*, was 75 Years Old at his Father's Death; when he went from *Charran*. We muſt therefore prefer the *Samaritan* Copy here before the *Hebrew*.

The *Iſraelites* * came out of *Egypt* Five Hundred Ninety Five Years after *Abraham*, and 1447 after the Deluge.

Note, The Copy of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch is clearer about the return from *Egypt*, than that of the Jews. For in the Latter, we read, that the Time of the Children of *Iſrael*, *and their Fathers ſojourning in* Canaan *and* Egypt, *was* 430 *Years*. Strictly ſpeaking, it is not true, that the *Iſraelites* liv'd Four Hundred and Thirty Years in *Egypt*: But the Addition of the *Samaritans* clears the Fact, and removes the Difficulty.

Forty Years after their Departure from *Egypt*, † died *Aaron* the High-Prieſt, and *Moſes* his Brother the Legiſlator, at 120 Years of Age. Here ends the Pentateuch.

Joſhua entred upon the Government. From thence they date the *Years of Grace*, and of *Divine* Protection, or Reduvan. The Miracle of the Cloud that reſted upon the Tabernacle, ceaſed when they entred into *Canaan* in the Month of *Niſan*. They carried Twelve Stones out of *Jordan* to the top of Mount *Gerizim*, with the Ark, and the Tabernacle.

Joſhua divided || the Land of *Canaan* in the 46*th* Year of their Departure, and the 7*th* of his Government. They began to reckon the Sabbatick Years from the Month *Tiſri*.

Note, The Author obſerves, that this was the Eccleſiaſtical Year, but not the Civil, which began in *September*.

In the |||| Fifty Ninth Year from their Departure, Thirteen Years after their Entrance into *Canaan*, *I* Abiſhua, *the Son of* Phineas, *the Son of* Eleazar, *the Son of* Aaron, wrote this Copy of the Law at the Door of the Tabernacle upon Mount *Gerizim*, and the ſame Year *Phineas* divided the Day into 24 Hours, (31.12.).

Note, The *Samaritans* boaſt of poſſeſſing ſtill this Copy written by the Hand of *Abiſhua*: But *Huntington* has convicted them of the Impoſture.

In the 65*th* Year of their Departure * *Joſhua* died an Hundred and Twenty Years Old, having judged the People of *Iſrael* 25 Years and ſome Months. He was Buried at *Temna*, at preſent call'd *Gaureta*.

Three Hundred Years after their Return † from *Egypt*, and after the Death of *Somſon*, or *Samſon*, the Poſterity of *Aaron* contended for the Prieſthood; the 260 *Years of Grace*; the happy Days were at an end. The People ran after ſtrange Gods. The Tabernacle which ſtill remain'd upon Mount *Gerizim* was cover'd with thick Darkneſs, and diſappear'd, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the High-Prieſt. *Ozi*, then *Eli*, of the Branch of *Ithamar*, Son of *Jophnah*, uſurp'd the Prieſthood at *Shilo*.

Note, The Ancient Chronicle, of which we have given ſome Extracts, ſays, that *Eli* was a Magician, who heap'd up vaſt Treaſures by his Art. They accuſe him of making a Schiſm, by tranſlating the Divine Worſhip from *Gerizim* to *Shilo*. *Samuel* was alſo a great Sorcerer. The Original of the Miſchief was, that the Heathens having learn'd from the Books of *Balaam*, that the *Iſraelites* cou'd not be deſtroy'd, unleſs they drove away their Gods by an open Apoſtacy, ſent them ſome profligate Wretches, who convers'd with them, ſtole their Secret, and taught them Magick.

The King of *Aſſyria* || carried away the Ten Tribes to *Edeſſa*, *Charran*, and *Nineveh*, with *Abdias* their High-Prieſt, who took the Copy of the Law with him to *Nineveh*, having buried the Sacred Veſſels under Mount *Gerizim*.

Note, The Author breaks the Order of the Chronology in the following Article; for having ſpoken of the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, he goes back to *David*.

David |||| King of the Jews, died 65 Years Old, after a Reign of 47, the Firſt Day of the Feaſt of Tabernacles.

Salomon * began in the Fourth Year of his Reign to build a Temple to God at *Jeruſalem*: Which is call'd *Ælia*, *Cuds*, and *Beit Mectas*: *Gair* was then High-Prieſt at *Gerizim*.

In the beginning of the Reign of † *Roboam*, who was *a Fool*, the Jews were divided into Four different Factions. The Line of *Phineas* and *Joſeph* worſhip'd upon the Holy Mountain of *Gerizim*. Another Part perform'd their Service at the Houſe of *Mectas* that *Salomon* had built. The Third Part follow'd *Jeroboam* to *Sebaſta* and *Dan*. The Laſt worſhip'd the Gods of the *Gentiles*. *Elijah* the Prophet appear'd, and in tract of time *Elis*, *Eſcanida*, *Abdelus*, *Sedecias*, *Eliſemas*, *Apollonius*.

Note, This Houſe of *Mectas*, where the People went to worſhip with *Roboam*, was the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. And therefore, *it deſerv'd to be levell'd with the Ground*. We can't conjecture why he calls *Bethel Sebaſta*, for 'twas at *Bethel* that *Jeroboam* ſet up his Calves. *Sebaſta* was *Samaria*, which became the Capital of the Schiſmatical Kings, and the Seat of their Religion. Beſides, he divides Two Parties that were intimately united; for thoſe that worſhip'd upon *Gerizim* were *Jeroboam*'s Faction. Laſtly, we don't know the Prophets he ſpeaks of, ſince their Names are diſguiſed. Moſt of them cou'd not have been till after the pretended return from the Captivity, ſince they

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*, Scaliger in Euſeb. Voſſius Chron. *p.* 39. Georg. Syncell. Chronog. *p.* 83. † 2249. 2176. || Uſſer. Chronog. |||| 2324. 2101. * 2754. 1671. † 2794. 1631. || 2800. 1625. |||| 2813. 1612. * 2819. 1606. † 3054. 1371. || 3717. 708. |||| 3235. 1190. * 3239. 1186. † 3276. 1149.

are

are ſpoken of after *Abdelus*, who was then High-Prieſt of *Samaria*; but the order of Time is ſo ill obſerv'd that *Elijah* is plac'd near *Jeroboam*.

In * the Thirty Fifth Year of *Abdenus*'s Pontificate, the *Samaritans* return'd from the Captivity into the Holy Land, by the Permiſſion of King *Sauredius*; to the Number of Three Hundred Thouſand *Iſraelites* with their Families, conducted by *Adus* Son of *Simeon*. *Eſdras* then made an *Hebrew* Alphabet of Twenty Seven Letters, whereof there were Seven Finals.

Note, We have already obſerv'd that the Return of the Ten Tribes to *Judæa* is a Fiction. They were not *Iſraelites*, but Idolaters, that *Eſſaraddon* ſent into this Countrey. Beſides, the *Samaritans* had then no High-Prieſt. King *Sauredius* is probably *Darius*. They make *Eſdras* the Author of a New Alphabet, which is falſe; for he only introduc'd the *Chaldee* Characters in the Room of the *Samaritan*, which are more ancient.

Alexander the Great †, coming to *Napaluſſa*, or Ancient *Sichem*, in his way to *Egypt*, threw himſelf at the Feet of *Hezechias* in the 15*th* Year of his Pontificate, to receive his Bleſſing. He confeſs'd he had ſeen the Figure of this High-Prieſt cloath'd in his Sacerdotal Habits, who promis'd him a happy Succeſs in his *Perſian* Expedition. *Alexander* made him ſome great Preſents, and told him, *I now know that your God is above all Others*. This ſame *Hezechias* compos'd ſome Sacred Hymns and the Hoſannah.

Note, There's no need of advertiſing that the *Samaritans* have ſtolen this Story from the Jews, and turn'd the Name of *Jaddus* into that of *Hezechias*.

The Year following || *Alexander* built *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and when in his Return he paſs'd through *Samaria*, *Hezechias* declar'd to him, that inſtead of erecting Statues to him, which was forbidden by the Law, he would conſecrate a Living Monument to his Honour, and cauſe all the Boys that ſhou'd be born to be call'd by his Name. This Prince went immediately to worſhip God at *Gerizim*.

A Thouſand |||| Forty Six Years after *the Years of Grace* were accompliſh'd, and God withdrew his Protection, the High-Prieſt *Hezechias* died. *Alexander* the Great lamented him; his Son *Dalia* ſucceeded him, but he was not in favour with *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*.

Alexander died, 31 Years Old, whereof he had reign'd 18.

Note, According to this Reckoning, he muſt have begun his Reign at 13. I believe there is a miſtake in it, and that we ought to read 8 Years.

In the Third * Year of *Arideus* and *Ptolemeus Lagus*, this Prince ſent *Orodes*, who plunder'd the Temple of *Gerizim*, and extorted an heavy Tribute from the *Napaluſſians*.

Ptolemeus † *Philadelphus* the Patron of Learning, in the 10*th* Year of his Reign ſent for *Aaron*, and ſome extraordinary Perſons of *Samaria*, with the Jewiſh Doctors, under the Conduct of *Eleazar*, who tranſlated the Law of *Moſes* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*: But theſe Interpreters diſagreeing upon the Explication of theſe Words of *Deuteronomy*, *To me belongs Vengeance, or Retribution*, and ſeveral other Paſſages, as well as concerning the Place, which God had made choice of to ſeat his Temple on, *Philadelphus* preferr'd the Verſion of the *Samaritans* before that of the *Jews*, made them rich Preſents, and forbad the Jews to come near *Gerizim*. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that the Earth was cover'd with Darkneſs for Three Days, whilſt the Jews were tranſlating the Books of *Moſes* into *Greek*. There aroſe at the ſame Time Three Sects among the Jews. The *Phariſees* who carry Schiſm and Separation in their Name, and pretend to be the Fathers of Traditions; the *Saducees*, who attribute as much to Reaſon as to the Law, and the *Orthodox Kaſideans*, Honeſt Men, like the *Samaritan* Philoſophers, and Inhabiting near *Gerizim*.

Note, 'Tis falſe that the *Samaritans* had a Hand in the Septuagint Verſion. Beſides, the Sect of the *Kaſideans* is imaginary, unleſs they confound them with the *Eſſenes*.

Auguſtus || entring into *Alexandria*, *Cleopatra* killed herſelf, after having reign'd 22 Years, and always protected the *Samaritans*. *Herod* put to death a great Number of *Jews* and *Samaritans*.

Note, 'Tis true, that *Herod* was cruel, but inſtead of *Samaria*'s feeling the Effects of his Cruelty, he preferr'd it to the other Cities. He built ſome Palaces in it, and caus'd *Agrippa* to admire their Magnificence. Nor can we conceive how *Cleopatra* was the Protectreſs of the *Samaritans*: For *Judæa*, being ſubject to the *Romans*, did not depend upon the Queen of *Egypt*.

Thirteen Hundred |||| Years after the end of the *Years of Grace*, and the beginning of the Wrath of God, 'tis ſaid, that *Jeſus Chriſt* the Son of *Mary* came into the World, under the Pontificate of *Jobiam* at *Samaria*.

Note, We have obſerv'd, that theſe *Years of Grace*, are thoſe that are reckon'd from the beginning of *Joſhua*, till the Diviſion aroſe between the Children of *Aaron* 260 Years after *Joſhua*.

Jeſus Chriſt * was Circumcis'd in the 16*th* Year of *Jobiam*'s Pontificate.

He was † Crucifi'd under *Tiberius*, in the Twenty Firſt Year of *John*'s Pontificate in *Samaria*.

In the 16*th* of *Acbon*'s Pontificate || the Emperour *Adrian* returning from *Egypt*, where he had put many Chriſtians to death, began to perſecute the Jews; he beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*, and ſpar'd not the *Samaritans*, though he had a Wife of that Nation, of the Family of *Joſeph*.

Note, 'Tis added in the other Chronicle, that *Adrian* coming to *Napaluſſa*, carry'd away a great Number of excellent Books, particularly the Genealogies, and that the Jews were very ill us'd. But they diſſemble the true Cauſe of this War.

This Prince |||| at the Sollicitation of Two Renegado *Samaritans*, *Ephrem* and *Manaſſeh*, took *Jeruſalem*, ſet Fire to it, and prohibited upon pain of Death to approach near it, and alſo *Samaria*, then Twelve Paraſanges or Twenty Four Leagues: But afterwards this Emperour protected the *Samaritans*, granted them Privileges, reſtor'd the Statues of the Baniſh'd, built a Temple on *Gerizim*, near that of the *Samaritans*, and took the Brazen Gates at *Jeruſalem* to ſhut it.

Antoninus ſucceeded *Adrian* * in the 22*d* Year of *Acbon*; who not only favour'd the *Samaritans*, but ſtudied the Law, and conform'd his Life by its Precepts: The *Samaritan* Affairs flouriſh'd under him as much as under *Joſhua*. *Antoninus* reign'd 32 Year, and with him fell the Glory of *Samaria*.

Note, This is evidently falſe: For *Antoninus* hated them: Beſides, they make his Reign Ten Years longer that it was.

There aroſe † a Diſpute concerning the Newneſs of the World, betwixt the High-Prieſt *Levi*, and the Philoſopher *Alexander*, who furniſh'd the Emperour *Commodus* with an occaſion of deſtroying the *Samaritans* with Fire, and Sword, and the Croſs. This Prince, at the Inſtance of his Phyſician *Galen*, (an Enemy to the Jews and Chriſtians, whoſe Faith, deſtitute of Demonſtration, was an offence to him) caus'd Hogs Fleſh to be mingled with

* 3905. 520. † 4024. 331. || 4095. 330. |||| 4100. 325. * 4104. 321. † 4101. 324.
|| 4395. 30. |||| 4425. 1. * 4426 *Years after* Jeſus Chriſt. 1. † 4455. 30. || 4557. 132. |||| 4560. 135.
* 4563. 138. † 4608. 183.

their

their Diet, and forced them to eat Meats consecrated to Idols.

The Emperour * *Alexander* persecuted them, and valued their Lives as nothing.

Ardasir † *Balecides* restor'd the Empire of the *Persians*, in the 545*th* Year of the *Seleucides*, the 20*th* of *Acbon* the *Samaritan* High-Priest, and the 12*th* of *Alexander Severus*: But he could never oblige *Nathanael*, or his Cosen *Acbon*, to change their Religion.

In the 1993*d* Year after the end of the Time of Grace, in the || 12*th* of *Eleazar* the Son of *Nathanael*, the *Samaritans* Pontificate, begun the *Mahometan Hegira*, and the *Arabian Chronology*.

Saladin took |||| *Samaria* in the 583*d* Year of the *Hegira*.

The Chronicle * of *Albuphætoe Danesæus* ends in the 5949*th* Year of the Creation of the World, and 898*th* of the *Hegyra*, which make Twenty Eight Years more than the *Julians*, because they are *Lunar*.

We find in the same Piece, a Catalogue of all the High-Priests that have govern'd this Church from *Aaron*, down to the 628*th* Year of *Jesus Christ*, and the 7*th* of the *Hegyra*; but this Catalogue is manifestly false, since the Priesthood at *Gerizim* begun not till *Alexander* the Great's time; and tho we should ascend as high as *Jeroboam*, who was the First Author of the Schism, yet we cou'd not find a true Succession from *Aaron*. Besides, there is so much Uncertainty concerning their High-Priests, that they can give no sure footing to Chronology. There we find a *Baba Raba*, who was *King and High-Priest of his Nation during the Life of his* Son Levi.

Note, This confirms the Testimony of *Abulpharagius*, who says, that the *Samaritans* revolted under the Empire of *Zeno*, and *made themselves a King*; for *Baba Raba*, whose Exploits are celebrated in the Ancient Chronicle, lived under this Prince. The High-Priest who lived in the Time of the *Hegira*, and concludes this Catalogue, was call'd *Eleazar*.

The present State of the Samaritans *in* Judæa *and* Egypt.

The present State of the *Samaritans* in *Egypt* and *Judæa* can't be better known than from Dr. *Huntington*'s † Letters. This Learned Englishman had seen them at *Cairo* and *Napolussa*, had corresponded with them, and examin'd them upon several Things, which common Travellers generally omit. 'Tis therefore worth while to give an Extract of these Letters, which are lately publish'd.

There are no *Samaritans* at *Damascus*; and tho those of *Sichem* boast of their Numerous Brethren at *Cairo*, I saw there but One *Samaritan* and his Wife, who were very poor. The Synagogue is a little, nasty, and obscure Chamber; here are kept Two Copies of the Law, which have an Antiquity of Five Hundred Years. They have a Form of Prayer. The Book of *Joshua*, which contains a very short Chronicle from the Creation of the World to *Mahomet*. This false Prophet is *cursed* at the End of the Book, but that Word is written in *Samaritan*, that the *Arabians* may not understand it: Lastly, they || keep in this little Library some Commentaries upon the Law, written in *Arabick*. This is the Language in common use, except when they quote any passage of the Law, or write the Names of their High-Priests; for then they use *Samaritan* Characters.

Those of *Sichem* or *Napolussa*, are for the most part Farmers of the Customs, and Collectors of the Tribute at *Sichem*, *Gaza*, *Joppa*, or else are Secretaries to the *Bassa*, which gives them some countenance. They walk the Streets |||| well enough dress'd, and are not so miserable as in other Places. Their Principal, *Merchib Ben Yacobs* writ to me at *Jerusalem*. The Letters were sign'd by Eighteen Persons, which were almost all of Consideration at *Sichem*. This Commissary of the Customs was afterwards oblig'd to retire to *Legborne*, because of the Vexations that were given him in the Holy Land. These *Samaritans* boast of having a Copy of the Law, written by the Hand of *Abisha*. We have, say they, in their Letters, *a Sacred Writing, 'tis the Copy of the Law, in which are found these Words*; " I *Abisha* the Son of *Phineas*, the Son of *Ele-*
" *azar*, the Son of *Aaron* the High-Priest, have tran-
" scrib'd this Copy at the Door of the Taberna-
" cle of the Congregation, in the Thirteenth Year
" of the Children of *Israel*'s entrance into the Holy
" Land, or upon the Frontiers. The *Samaritans* having boasted of this Copy, I was willing, in a Second Journey I made to *Sichem*, to examine the Truth of the Fact with my own Eyes. But I turn'd over the Manuscript long enough without finding the Words; and the *Samaritans* who were present, confess'd, that these Words were not now in their Copy; that they were there formerly, but some body had maliciously expugn'd them. Thus instead of honestly acknowledging their Imposture, they face it with a New Falsehood, and sacrifice their Conscience to a Chimerical Antiquity. Indeed 'tis question'd, whether this Copy be ancient. A Critick * excellently skill'd in the Oriental Antiquities, has observ'd, upon examining many *Samaritan* Copies, that there is perhaps not one Five Hundred Years old.

All the *Samaritans* hate mortally the Jews; for this Traveller relates, that they having one day ask'd him whether there were *Hebrews* in his Countrey, they were overjoy'd to hear there were; but when he went to undeceive them, because they took the Jews of *England* for *Samaritans*, they would not believe him: *No, no*, cry'd they, *they are* Israelites, Hebrews, *our most Brotherly-Brethren, Fratres Fraterrimi*. As they don't give the Jews the Title of *Hebrews*, or *Israelites*, they think all Nations do the like. And indeed they fansie, that they are the only Stock of ancient *Israel*. One of them † had a Design to come and see those whom he call'd his Brethren in *England*; but understanding that he must be upon the Sea on the Sabbath, he thought it was breaking the Rest of it, and wou'd hear no more of the Voyage; because they observe the Sabbath with the utmost Strictness.

They don't pronounce the Name *Jehovah*, but make use of the Word *Semau* שמא. Mr. *Ludolf* || with a great deal of Reason, believed it to be the Word *Shem* שם, which signifies the *Name* by way of eminence. What is more surprizing, is, that the Christians |||| of *Egypt* do the same Thing, never pronouncing the Word *Phta*, which is the Name the *Egyptians* gave God, to signify that he did every thing without Fraud, with Art, and Truth. But they call God *Ebrudi*.

Their Notions of the *Messiah* are very confus'd and very different, but they always speak honourably of him, and don't much declaim against those that worship him: Their Hatred for the other Jews makes them more moderate perhaps to the Christians.

They follow'd the *Æra* of the *Seleucides* as long as the *Grecian* Empire lasted; and even all the time that the *Greek* Tongue has been of any use in this Countrey; but now that they are subject to the *Mahometans*, they

* 4647. 222. † 4658. 233. || 5047. 622. |||| 5630. 1187. * 5945. 1492. † Huntington. Epist. Lond. 1704. Ep. 23. Ann. 1690. *p.* 48. || Huntington *has brought over into* England *a* Samaritan *Chronicle written in* Arabick, *from which 'tis hop'd to draw great Assistances to the Sacred and Ecclesiastical History*. Th. Smith Vita Huntingt. *p.* 15. |||| Hunting. Ep. Ibid. *p.* 49. * Smith Vita Hunting. † Ep. 34. *p.* 54. || Ep. 33. Ann. 1690. *p.* 51. |||| Gambl. de Myst. Ægypt.

count the Years of the *Hegyra*; which being compos'd of *Lunar* Months, they incercalate One every Thirty Three Years. They reckon 6130 Years from the Creation of the World to the Year 1690, when they wrote to Dr. *Huntington*.

It wou'd be of no uſe to make many Reflections upon what we are told about the Condition of the *Samaritans*; let us only obſerve, that we have too advantageous an Idea of theſe People, but not their Perſons and Books; becauſe they are very rare and hard to come at. They have endeavour'd for many Ages to impoſe upon the Publick by their Copy of the Pentateuch, as if it was as old as *Aaron*. They are not yet cured of this Impoſture, tho 'tis but opening ones Eyes to be convinced; and how many Falſhoods have they ſtuffed in their Chronicles. The Learned of the foregoing Age imagin'd that the *Book of* Joſhua, cry'd up by the *Samaritans*, wou'd ſupply us with a Thouſand fine Diſcoveries, for the underſtanding Scripture, and Sacred Story. This Book has been ſeen and found full of Fables. We regret the Loſs of Thouſands of Books, which we ſhou'd read with much Pain and little Profit, if they were retrieved. The Second Chronicle we have juſt produced, coſt Dr. *Bernard* a great deal of Trouble, the greateſt Maſter of the *Oriental* Tongues, in his Time. And yet we have been oblig'd to add a *Note* to moſt of the Articles, to illuſtrate or correct them. It would be natural to make the ſame Judgment of this Third *Arabick* Chronicle, which Dr. *Huntington* has brought over with him, if the Encomiums beſtow'd upon it by the Learned Dr. *Smith*, did not give a ſtop to our Prejudices. The *Samaritans* at preſent hardly underſtand their Language; and are oblig'd to recur to a Paraphraſt, as the Jews did, when at the Return from the Captivity, they boaſt the exact Knowledge of the *Hebrew*. They have alſo a Verſion of the *Arabick* Pentateuch written in *Samaritan* Characters, which claims an Antiquity of Six or Seven Hundred Years. Their Ignorance muſt neceſſarily be very groſs, ſince they groan under ſuch deſperate preſſures; and the only Thing that deſerves our Aſtoniſhment, is, that God ſtill preſerves in the Holy Land this Poſterity of Schiſmaticks, and little Relicks of a Nation, which muſt otherwiſe have been extinct by the frequent Revolutions, and the vaſt Succeſſion of calamitous Years, and Ages it hath undergone.

Let us now take a Survey of their Religion, and ſee how often it vary'd.

CHAP. III.

Of the Religion of the Samaritans. *The Canon of Scripture. The* Samaritan *Pentateuch: Its Original, and Uſe.*

I. *Whether the* Samaritans *were Hereticks.* II. *The Number of the Books which they receiv'd.* III. *Why they did not admit of the Books of the* Schiſmatick *Prophets.* IV. *Different Opinions concerning the* Samaritan *Pentateuch.* V. *It was impoſſible, that the Book of the Law cou'd be loſt.* VI. *The College of Prophets at* Jeruſalem, *in the Reigns of* Manaſſeh *and* Joſiah. VII. *The neceſſity of Studying the Law for the common Concerns of Life.* VIII. *The Prieſt of* Eſar-haddon *oblig'd to carry it to the* Samaritans. IX. *That the* Samaritan *Pentateuch muſt be judg'd by reading of it. Its Conformity with the Hebrew.* X. *Proofs, that the* Samaritans *obſerv'd the Law before* Ezra, *and* Manaſſeh. XI. *The Conformity of their Religion with that of the Jews at their return from Captivity.* XII. *Whether the* Samaritans *had any Copies of the Law in the Reign of* Jeroboam. XIII. *Their Idolatry examin'd.* XIV. *The Uſe of the Pentateuch. An Exceſs on that Subject.* XV. *Whether the* Samaritans *chang'd the Letter* Thau *out of hatred to the Croſs.* XVI. *An Explanation of a Paſſage of* Ezekiel. XVII. *Some different Figures of the Letter* Thau. *St.* Jerom's *Subtlety.*

1. SAint *Epiphanius* reckons the *Samaritans* among the Hereticks of the Jewiſh Church. St. *Auguſtin*, and ſeveral Fathers have trod his Steps. If St. *Clement*, a Diſciple of the Apoſtles, was the Author of the Recognitions under his Name, this Opinion is of an ancienter Date. But every Body is ſatisfy'd that this Piece is ſpurious. Beſides, the *Samaritans* and *Jews* were rather diſtinguiſh'd by a Schiſm than Hereſy. *Jeroboam*, who was the Firſt Author of this Separation, did not teach any new Tenets; and the particular Opinions of the *Samaritans*, ſince their Reformation by *Manaſſeh*, did not deſerve the ignominious Title of Hereſy, which St. *Epiphanius* gave them, only becauſe he charges them with Opinions, which they had not.

2. The great Crime of the *Samaritans* concerning Religion, was, that they did receive in the Canon of Scripture but the Five Books of *Moſes*, and rejected all the Oracles of the Prophets. Nevertheleſs, we muſt make a Diſtinction between the Sacred Books. 1. It is true, that they only acknowledg'd the Books of *Moſes* as the Rule of their Faith. They thought, that this Law-giver left them all the Tenets which they were bound to believe, and all the Ceremonies, which they were to practiſe. They ſtick ſtill to this Belief, which diſtinguiſhes them from the reſt of the Jews, who add the Prophets to *Moſes*, and *Oral* Tradition to the Prophets. 2. They alſo receiv'd the Hiſtorical Books of the Bible; but did not allow them the ſame Authority, as to the Law, whether becauſe the Jews themſelves, whoſe Canon was not ſetl'd, had not the ſame Veneration for them, or whether they were not ſo neceſſary to regulate their Faith as thoſe of *Moſes*. This Conjecture can't be call'd in queſtion, ſince the *Samaritans* intitul'd their Chronicle, the *Book of* Joſhuah, to make it more venerable. Beſides, they made uſe of the true Book of *Joſhuah*, to prove the Antiquity of their Temple on Mount *Gerizim*. They did not therefore reject it as Apocryphal. Laſtly, it appears by the Letter which they writ from *Sichem* to Mr. *Ludolf*, that they admitted this Book. Neither had they any Intereſt to reject the Book of *Judges*; ſince many of the Heroes mention'd in it came from their Tribes. The Books of *Kings*, and *Chronicles* were not writ, when *Jeroboam* made the Separation. The Book of *Job* contain'd only a Foreign, and Particular Hiſtory, wherein the *Samaritans* thought themſelves but little concern'd. 3. But *Jeroboam* had a great Intereſt to reject the Pſalms of *David*. The Number of thoſe Canticles was not ſo great as it is now; and altho thoſe who ſay that *David* did not compoſe them all, have been reckon'd Hereticks, yet what they affirm is true. Thoſe who pretend the contrary, deſerve to be upbraided with Raſhneſs and Ignorance. *David* ſpeaks often in theſe Pſalms of the Ark of the Tabernacle of *Jeruſalem*, of *Sion*. He affirms, that God hath ingraven his Name on this Mountain, and that it ſhall never be blotted out. Theſe Songs were lately compos'd by *Solomon*'s Father, whoſe Reign was very odious to the *Schiſmaticks*, and eſpecially to *Jeroboam*, who had been perſecuted by him. 4. The ſame Reaſon oblig'd them to reject *the Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Song of* Solomon. And indeed *Solomon* reign'd with a great deal of Splendour and Authority; but in the main the exorbitant Taxes, which he rais'd upon the

the People caus'd the Inſurrection againſt his Son *Reboboam*. He ſtain'd his Life by his looſe way of living, and Idolatry: And notwithſtanding he had aton'd for his Crimes by the Repentance, which is aſcrib'd to him; yet it is the common Character of People, that are revolted, to mind more the Faults, than Acts of Piety that follow the Repentance of their Princes; and *Jeroboam*, who exclaim'd ſo loud againſt *Solomon*, wou'd not to be ſure acknowledge that he was inſpir'd with the Holy Ghoſt, or that he was a Prophet and a Holy Pen-man.

3. But why did not the *Schiſmaticks* receive the Writings of the Prophets, that were born, and had liv'd and preach'd in their Schiſm? It is ſomething ſtrange, that their Works are inſerted in the Canon of the Jews; and that they are not admitted into the *Samaritan* Canon. But the Reaſon of it is palpable. The *Samaritans*, who liv'd ſince *Jeroboam* till their City was demoliſh'd by *Shalmaneſar*, hearken'd to their Prophets as much as the Corruption of the People, and the Idolatry of the Kings cou'd admit it. But the *Cuthæans* being tranſplanted into that Countrey, and had only the Law from the Prieſt that was ſent them, neglected the Prophets, who had neither liv'd nor writ for them, and were but very little known by them. And this is an Argument, that the *Samaritans* receiv'd the Law from the Prieſt, that *Eſar-haddon* ſent. For if the Canon had been already ſettl'd, the *Samaritans* had cut off from this Canon, what was not favourable to them: But they had kept the Books of *Hoſea*, and other Prophets, that belong'd to them, ſince they had adopted the Opinions and Religion of the Old *Samaritans*. This ought to be explain'd, ſince there have been very different Opinions concerning the Origin, and Uſe of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch.

4. Theſe Opinions are chiefly Five. 1. Father *Simon*, a very able Critick *, believes, that the Prieſt that *Eſar-haddon* ſent, did not bring the Book of the Law, which had been uſeleſs to People that did not underſtand *Hebrew*, ſince he might practiſe all the Ceremonies of the Law without having a Book in his Hand. So that it was a long time after, when *Manaſſeh* built a Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, that a Copy of the Law, done, or reform'd by *Ezra*, which the Jews read every *Saturday* at *Jeruſalem*, was brought. Another † Critick, who is us'd to diſpell very happily many Popular Errors, maintains, that the Law ought to be diſtinguiſh'd from the Pentateuch. The Book of the Law contain'd nothing but the Ordinances, which were of neceſſity to be obſerv'd, to ſcreen the People from God's Anger; whereas the Pentateuch contains the Hiſtory of the Creation, of the Captivity of the Jews, of their Travels in the Wilderneſs, *&c.* It is true, according to him, that the Prieſt carry'd the Law to the *Samaritans*, which he wanted for the due Obſervation of all the Rites; but the Pentateuch, that was bury'd and loſt under the Ruins of *Jeruſalem*, and writ over again by *Ezra*, cou'd not be brought to *Samaria* but a long time after. 3. The Prieſt that was ſent to the *Cuthæans* is ſome time || look'd upon as the Author of the Pentateuch of *Moſes*. So that the Holy Writings muſt be aſcrib'd to him. This Man, coming from *Chaldea* to inſtruct an Idolatrous People, reſolv'd, ſay they, to write for them a Hiſtory of the Creation of the World, of the proceedings of the Jews till the Law was given them, to let the *Cuthæans* know, that there was but One God. As he writ exactly in the 18*th* Year of *Joſiah*, when the Book of the Law was found, he inſerted this Eſſential part in his Book. He writ the whole in *Hebrew*; becauſe he had not had time to learn the *Chaldee* Language. Beſides, his Book had not been of a Piece, if the Law had been writ in *Hebrew*, and the reſt of the Hiſtory in another Tongue; and the Jews made no ſcruple to receive this Book, becauſe they did not ſuſpect this Prieſt. In fine, this Syſtem removes all the Difficulties, which ariſe from *Moſes*'s writing the Pentateuch, and from the Conformity of the *Samaritan* Copy, with that of the Jews. 4. Moſt of the Reform'd, and ſome *Roman Catholick* Divines, believe that the Conformity of the Two Copies, proceeds from the Prieſt, (who was ſent to the *Cuthæans*,) his bringing to them a Copy of the Five Books of *Moſes* writ in *Hebrew*, as were thoſe of the Old Jews before the Captivity. But theſe ſame Divines do not agree among themſelves. For ſome extol the *Samaritan* Pentateuch above the Jewiſh Copies; whereas others think, that it cannot be preferr'd to Others without undermining Religion. ||| *The Earth is diſquieted*, ſays *Solomon*, *for a Servant when he reigneth, and an Hand Maid that is Heir to her Miſtreſs*. Who wou'd not therefore be concern'd, when he ſees, that Criticks * will extol the Books of the Schiſmatick *Samaritans* above thoſe of the Jews, who are the Depoſitories of the Oracles of God, and the true *Librarians* of the Chriſtians. The LXX Interpreters had no Knowledge of this *Samaritan* Copy; or rather they cou'd not be Ignorant that there was ſuch a One. But they deſpis'd it. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* ſeems to quote it; but he rather points at the *Greek* Tranſlation, of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, which was done in *Alexander* the Great's time. St. *Jerome* ſeems to have ſeen it; but in the Main, it was ſo forgot for above a Thouſand Years, that it was not known. The *Samaritans* either out of Malice, or Hatred to the Jews, have diſguis'd their Tongue, and Characters. For they cou'd not but know thoſe of their Neighbours the Jews. It a was out of groſs Ignorance, that they have ſo barbarouſly alter'd the Names of Cities and other Places, that you can't tell what to make of them. They have diſguis'd the Name of *Joſeph*, whom the *Egyptians* call'd *Pſomtemphanck*, and this Term, according to *Kircher*, who ſaw in the *Vatican* a Copy of the Bible in the *Egyptian* Language, ſignifies a *Diviner*, a Title which ſuited very well with the Interpreter of *Pharaoh*'s Dreams; whereas you can't gueſs the meaning of it in the *Samaritan* Copy. To conclude, ſome other of their Alterations are more Criminal. Since whereas the Scripture ſays, that it was God, who made the *Ephod*, the *Urim*, and *Thummim* of the High-Prieſt, the *Samaritans* aſcribe this in their Books to *Moſes*.

5. Now that we have related theſe different Opinions of Criticks, we may be allow'd leave to make ſome Remarks upon them. Firſt, Some New Syſtems have been invented about this thing, only becauſe it was thought, that the Book of the Law was not extant when the *Cuthæans* were tranſported into *Samaria*, and devour'd by Lions. But if it be prov'd that this Book was not loſt, there will be no more need to recur either to *Eſar-haddon*'s Prieſt, or *Ezra*, or *Manaſſeh*, to transfer it to the *Samaritans*.

Theſe laſt muſt not be believ'd, when they ſay that *Moſes* made Thirteen Copies of the Law; One for each Tribe, and the Thirteenth for the *Levites*; or what they writ † ſome Years ago to the Learned Mr. *Ludolf*, that they read at this time in their Aſſembly upon Mount *Gerizim*, the Original of the Pentateuch, writ by *Abiſcua*, Son of *Phinehas*, Thirteen Years after their coming out of *Egypt*. For theſe are only prejudices, which they maintain without Proofs and Grounds.

It is impoſſible, that all the Copies of the Law ſhou'd have been loſt both among the *Samaritans* and

* Simon Critique du V. T. *l.* 1. *c.* 10. † Van Dale Epiſt. ad Morinum in Tract. de Idolol. || *Opinions of the Divines of* Holland *concerning the Critick of Father* Simon. ||| Prov. 30. 21, *&c.* * Fuller Pigaſhit, *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *p.* 195. Morin. Exercit. in Pentateuch. Hottinger Exercit. Antimorinianæ, *p.* 28, 37. & paſſim. Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. in Matth. *p* 327, & 935. † An. 1688.

Jews. For the Jewiſh or *Samaritan* Religion did not depend upon Tradition. It was loaded with too many Ceremonies to be preſerv'd that way. They were oblig'd to have the Book before them to regulate the Worſhip of the true God. This Book might ſometime become more ſcarce by the Corruption of the Prieſts, and the Idolatry of the Kings; but it was impoſſible that none of the Prieſts, and *Laicks*, among whom many were full of Piety and Devotion, had this Book for their farther Inſtruction. We muſt not charge the Jews with ſo criminal a Negligence, upon pretence that their Hiſtory is ſhort, and that we do not know what was done in times ſo diſtant from us. On the Contrary, we ought to ſupply what is wanting in Holy Writ, with what right Reaſon ſuggeſts concerning all Nations.

The *Mahometans* have not been ſo careleſs as to loſe their *Alcoran*. The *Roman* Catholicks, who had ſo great an Intereſt to conceal the Scripture, did indeed forbid the Reading of it, but did not ſuppreſs it. The *Proteſtants*, tho' confin'd within Dungeons, Fugitives in Caverns, and Slaves in the Gallies, where they are ſtrictly examin'd, and doubly puniſh'd for reading it; yet have and read this Book. The Modern Jews, who are freed from ſo vaſt a Number of Sacrifices and Rites by the Deſtruction of the Temple, and who were bound to perform them whilſt it ſtood, had nevertheleſs this Book as well before as after Printing was invented. The *Lay-Men* carry and read it as well where they are diſpers'd, as where they are quiet and happy: Can we then imagine, that the ſame Jews, divided into Two different Parties, agreed to let the Book of the Law be loſt, which they look'd upon as the Rule of their Faith, Worſhip, and Morality? Notwithſtanding, that great care was taken to tranſport the Inhabitants of *Samaria*, yet ſome remain'd; and thoſe, who ſtaid behind might have gather'd the Copies, which all the Multitude of *Iſraelites*, which were tranſported, left behind them. There was then no War made againſt their Books, as *Diocleſian* did againſt the Books of Chriſtians. So that private Perſons were not forbid having their Rolls of the Law. The greedy Soldier did not envy this part of the Priſoners Equipage, and ſaw it in their Hands without jealouſy, or a deſire to get them for themſelves. So that thoſe, who were carry'd away might take their Books along with them; and ſuppoſing they had been negligent enough to leave them behind; yet thoſe, who remain'd in *Samaria*, and the Neighbouring Provinces, might have collected them. However, let us ſuppoſe, that no body thought of it; and that thoſe, who were carry'd away, and they that ſtaid in their Countrey, were equally negligent of the Books of their Religion. But yet they might have thought of them when the Danger was over, and they ſaw, that God wou'd be worſhipp'd according to his Law. There were as yet ſome of theſe Books in being at *Jeruſalem*. Why then cou'd not they have ſent thither for ſome of them, at a time when Calamity had abated the Heat of the Schiſm? Did the Jews, when they were carry'd away to *Babylon*, forget too to take the Books of their Law with them? If it was ſo, how cou'd *Cyrus* read his Name in the Oracles of *Iſaiah*? How cou'd *Daniel* know, that the LXX Years of the Captivity were accompliſh'd? Since he ſaw it in the Writings of the Prophets, the Law of *Moſes* muſt not only have been preſerv'd, but alſo the Works of the ſucceeding Prophets. How can it be conceiv'd, that ſo numerous a Nation, compos'd of different parts, tranſported at ſeveral times, have agreed in this one Thing, (*viz.*) To ſuffer the Law which God gave them as the Rule of their Worſhip and Morality, to be loſt? I know that this Argument which I draw from the Behaviour of Nations, will not convince the Criticks, and at moſt appear but probable. But I confeſs, that I cannot aſcribe to the People of God a Behaviour different from that of Men, who have a Written Religion, and until I am convinc'd of the contrary by ſolid Reaſons, I cannot deprive them of all manner of regard for Devotion and the Law. Laſtly, if this be but a Conjecture, it is more probable and better grounded, than all the reſt.

6. The People was enjoin'd to write the Law, and the King himſelf, notwithſtanding the hurry of Buſineſs, was likewiſe bound to do it. I grant, that the Corruption ſo frequent in Courts, might often hinder the Kings from performing this part of their Duty; and tempt many Prieſt, and Lay-Men to follow their Negligence: But it was impoſſible, that all the Families, that read the Law, and were oblig'd to have a Book of it, ſhou'd be guilty of the ſame Fault. The Example taken from the Hiſtory of *Joſiah*, who never heard any thing of the Curſes of the Law, proves that the Corruption was very great in the Reign of *Manaſſeh*; and that the Church was reform'd by degrees. In the Main, there was as yet a College of Prophets at *Jeruſalem*; and *Hulda*, who was conſulted, was of that College. The Children of the Prophets went to School but to learn the Law: It was an Univerſity where they ſtudy'd Divine Service. It was impoſſible, that there ſhou'd be no Book of the Law in that College to ſtudy it; ſince God did as yet keep there ſome Women, who being inſpir'd by him, foretold what was to come. So that there muſt have been in that Place ſome knowledge of Piety, and a Worſhip agreeable to his Law. The Book, that was found in the Temple was the Original of *Moſes*, which ſhou'd have been put near the Ark, and was neglected in *Manaſſeh*'s Reign. Altho' the Original was thus neglected, that did not hinder but ſome Copies might be found in the College of the Prophets, and elſewhere. Notwithſtanding, *Jezebel*'s general Perſecution, there were Seven Thouſand whoſe Knees had not bow'd unto *Baal*. Did not theſe Zealous Perſons live according to the Law? Had not ſome of them kept their Books of it, eſpecially ſince *Jezebel* did not order them to be burnt? One wou'd think that theſe Books had been found in the Houſes of the Faithful, if they had not taken them away when they fled.

7. Add, that the Jewiſh Religion, which differ'd from all others, had a Character, which made the Book of the Law abſolutely neceſſary to thoſe Lay-Men, who intended to ſerve God. In vain ſome pretend, that it was only in the Hands of the Prieſts: For beſides, that they only ſay this to leſſen the Number of the Copies of it, and ſo to make it the more eaſily loſt, Lay-Men wanted it at every turn. They were bound to obſerve the Sabbaths, and New Moons. But it may be reply'd, that the Prieſts inſtructed them in theſe Things; ſince it was their Buſineſs to mark out the Feſtivals of every Year. But a great many Ceremonies were beſides to be obſerv'd by the Lay-Men themſelves. They were nicely to examine the Names of all Animals, that they might lawfully eat, or not eat. They were bound to know how to cut their Throats, that they might not eat the Blood, nor Milk in ſome caſes; and to ſtudy how to ſow, and the nature of Stuffs, that they were to wear. All this cou'd not be learn'd but by the Law; and Lay-Men were to learn it from thence. So that they muſt have had always the Book to conſult it. How then cou'd the Jews and *Samaritans* agree to let a Book be loſt, which was always neceſſary to Lay-Men themſelves? If this Book was always preſerv'd, there is no neceſſity to, to make *Ezra* new-model it, or *Manaſſeh* to carry it to *Samaria*.

It hath been a Thouſand times obſerv'd, that *Ezra* wou'd be an Impoſtor, had he publiſh'd under the Name of *Moſes*, and of ſo many Prophets, what he compos'd himſelf. Such a Cheat cou'd not be forgiven; and I queſtion whether he was ſo much reſpected at *Jeruſalem*, as to oblige the Clergy, and all the People

ple to own an Impoſture, that was ſo notorious at that time. But beſides, why had *Ezra* given himſelf the trouble to reſtore the Writings of the Schiſmatick Prophets? The Heat between the *Samaritans* and Jews was then at its height. By bringing again upon the Stage thoſe Prophets, who preach'd to the Ten Tribes, he had ſupply'd the Firſt with Weapons which they had loſt. To what purpoſe had *Ezra* done this? Since it had been a ſhame to the Jews, that the Schiſmaticks had had ſome Prophets, and that theſe Prophets had upbraided *Jeruſalem* with its Idolatry. This appears to me a new, but cogent Objection.

8. The Prieſt, that *Eſar-haddon* ſent to the *Cuthæans*, was oblig'd to bring them the Book of the Law. For the Religion, which he was to teach them, was clog'd with ſo many Ceremonies, and Rites, that they cou'd not be learn'd, or exactly retain'd, unleſs the Book of the Law was always at hand. Beſides, altho the *Cuthæans* did not then underſtand *Hebrew*; yet the Prieſt did deſign to make them learn it, ſince they really learn'd and ſpoke it; and therefore he wanted a Written Book for that purpoſe. He wanted the Book of the Law for Three ſorts of Perſons. 1. For himſelf; becauſe I cannot ſee any thing ſo prepoſterouſly contriv'd, as to ſend a Prieſt to teach a Nation a Religion full of Ceremonies, and at the ſame time to allow him no Rituals, or Rules to walk by. Wou'd they ſend a Miſſionary to the *Tartars* without *Breviary* or *Maſs-Book*, if there was occaſion to convert them? The Jewiſh Prieſt had ſo much the more Reaſon to be afraid, and cautious; becauſe he was inform'd, that ſome Lions devour'd the *Cuthæans*, who did not worſhip God, as he had directed; and that God had inflicted ſome exemplary Puniſhments on thoſe that did not exactly obſerve the Law. 2. He had need of this Book for the *Samaritans*, that remain'd in the Country, and were not carry'd away with the reſt. For theſe, who were deſcended from the Old Jews, wanted that the Law of *Moſes*, which they took for the Rule of their Worſhip, ſhou'd be produc'd to them. Laſtly, it was neceſſary to the *Cuthæans* themſelves; ſince this Prieſt deſign'd to convert them, to make them ſpeak the Holy Language, and to teach them the Religion which was inſtituted by *Moſes*. But how can any one think, that this Schiſmatick Prieſt new-modell'd the Law, and that this Man, who hath no marks of Divine Authority, is the true Author of the Holy Scripture?

9. Inſtead of looking out for Syſtems, that are intangl'd, *we muſt judge of the* Hebrew-Samaritan-Copy *by what appears to our Eyes.* This is the Maxim, which * Father *Simon* lays down. The Jewiſh Copy is writ in *Chaldee* Characters, and that of the *Samaritan* in *Hebrew* Letters: And if we judge by what appears, we muſt ſay, that the *Samaritan* Pentateuch was compos'd before the Captivity. This Argument concludes more ſtrongly, than one wou'd think. For the *Samaritans* came originally from *Chaldea*. So that they wou'd have preferr'd theirs to the *Hebrew* Characters; and when they receiv'd from the Jews the Book of the Law, they wou'd have more eaſily admitted of Letters, that were better known to them, and came from their Nation. So that they rejected theſe Characters; becauſe they were already us'd to the others, and conſequently they had receiv'd the Book of *Moſes* a long time before.

Farther, we find in the *Samaritan* Pentateuch the ſame Additions, as in the Jewiſh. Whence doth this Conformity proceed? The Jews did not receive their Copy from the *Samaritans*, whom they look'd upon as their bittereſt Enemies, and charg'd with having deprav'd *Deuteronomy*. The Hatred of the laſt was never more inveterate, than when *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* re-built the Temple. They kept before ſome ſort of Correſpondence, as we ſhall ſee in the Reign of *Joſiah*. But then their Jealouſy inducing them to oppoſe the Reſtoration of the Temple, the Breach cou'd never be heal'd, and was as wide as ever in the time of Chriſt. Every body knows, what the hatred of Parties is. They rather take a Delight to exaſperate, than to be reconcil'd with one another. So that it can hardly be imagin'd, that the *Samaritans* receiv'd the Law from either *Ezra*, or *Manaſſeh*, after it was new-modell'd.

10. A long time before *Manaſſeh* left *Jeruſalem*, the *Samaritans* obſerv'd the Law of God. Even before the People was led Captive to *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Joſiah* celebrated a ſolemn Paſſover, and invited all *Iſrael* to appear in the Temple, with the Men of *Judah*, and *Benjamin*. So that he made a tranſient Union of theſe Two parts of the Nation, who together celebrated the Feaſt of the Paſſover. This *Iſrael*, mention'd in Holy Writ, was compos'd either of the *Cuthæans* already converted by the Prieſt, that was ſent them; or of the Ancient Schiſmaticks. So that take it which way you will, you muſt acknowledge, that *Iſrael* obſerv'd the Rites of the Law; ſince they were invited, and admitted to celebrate the Feaſt of the Paſſover, at a time when the Church was to be reform'd, and all Idolatrous Worſhip aboliſh'd. God, and the Rites of the Law were known at *Samaria* in the Reign of *Joſiah*: And whence came this Knowledge which was without any mixture of Idolatry? For *Joſiah* wou'd not have tolerated it? So that, either the Old *Samaritans* had preſerv'd their Books of the Law; or the Prieſt brought them a New One, which was multiply'd afterwards; or rather theſe Two Things happen'd. This alſo might be ſaid, that *Joſiah* gave out Copies of the Law, conformable to the Book, which he found in the Temple. But then this ruins all that is alledg'd concerning *Ezra*'s new-modelling the Law, and the Preſent of the Law, which *Manaſſeh* made to the *Samaritans* who did not know it before. And indeed, ſuppoſing that all the Copies of the Books of the Law were loſt till then, wou'd it not be a great Obſtinacy to maintain ſtill, that *Ezra* ſupply'd the *Samaritans* with the Pentateuch (or the Law) rather than King *Joſiah*, ſince it cannot be deny'd but that this Prince had the Original of *Moſes*, and that the *Samaritans* had a Communion with him at *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of the Paſſover; whereas they always had an inveterate hatred for *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*.

11. When the Jews return'd from Captivity, theſe *Samaritans* offer'd their Service to *Nehemiah* to rebuild the Temple, and boaſted every where, that they worſhipp'd the *ſame God*. *Nehemiah* doth not diſpute this; but diſcovering, as a good Politician, that they had a Deſign to ruin him, and hinder the Re-building of the Temple, he refus'd their Offers. Religion was then the ſame at *Samaria* and *Jeruſalem*: However, as *Ezra* had not as yet ſet about to new-model the Books of *Moſes*; and it muſt neceſſarily be confeſs'd, that the *Samaritans* learn'd this Religion from the Prieſt, and theſe Books. They took the Cuſtom of celebrating the Jubilees out of the ſame Books, which begun the next Year after the Prieſt's coming to *Samaria*. They alſo took from thence their Sabbatical Years, during which they deſir'd *Alexander* the Great to exempt them from Taxes, before *Sanballat* follow'd him into *Egypt*, and *Manaſſeh* cou'd bring the Law to them, as ſome pretend. In a Word, the *Moſaical* Law being receiv'd at *Samaria* before *Manaſſeh*, *Ezra*, and the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, it muſt be concluded, that this Religion was preſerv'd by the Old *Samaritans*, that remain'd in *Judæa*, (whilſt the Others were tranſported into *Media*) and had

* Simon Critique du V. T.

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preſerv'd their Books of the Law, or collected thoſe, which the *Levites* and Faithful left behind them. The Prieſt return'd with a Copy of the Law, and inſtructed them; reform'd the Worſhip of the *Cuthæans*, and oblig'd them to obſerve the Law of *Moſes*.

12. It is carrying Things too far, to pretend, that the *Samaritans* that were tranſported, had no Copies of the Pentateuch *; and that they perhaps never had any, becauſe the *Levites*, who were intruſted with them, left the Kingdom of *Jeroboam*, to retire into the Boſom of the Church at *Jeruſalem*. I acknowlege, that the *Levites* went away, but can it be maintain'd that not one of them remain'd, and ſuppoſing never a one had ſtay'd, can it be ſaid that there were no Copies of the Book of the Law in a Kingdom where God kept ſo many Prophets, who had there ſome Colleges? *Hoſea* Preach'd and Propheſy'd not long before the Deſtruction of *Samaria*. What, ſhall we think, that theſe Holy-Men, who kept up the Piety of the People, and *Elijah* who demoliſh'd the Altars of *Baal*, and reſtor'd the Worſhip of God, had no Books of the Law; and that the Prophets, Kings, Prieſts, and People liv'd without Knowledge?

13. It is true, that the Prieſt that was ſent to teach the *Cuthæans*, taught them *the Fear of the Lord*; but this Term ſignifies in the Scripture all the Service of God. It is alſo certain, that this People fell often into Idolatry. It is from thence concluded, that as the Jews at their return from Captivity abhorr'd Idolatry, becauſe the Law was read to them every *Saturday*; the *Samaritans* who were often Idolaters, muſt not have had the Law, ſince they became guilty of Idolatry. But without obſerving, that it is impoſſible in ſo great a medley of Nations, that there ſhou'd not be a medley of Worſhip; ſhall People ſay, that God did not appear upon Mount *Sinai* in a terrible Manner, becauſe immediately after, People oblig'd *Aaron* to caſt them a Golden Calf? Let Mr. *Van Dale* caſt his Eyes upon that vaſt number of Chriſtians, who have the Law and Goſpel in their Hands, and yet worſhip Images; and he will be convinc'd that People, who have the Will of God revealed to them, nevertheleſs worſhip Creatures. The Abhorrence of the Jews for Images, is one of thoſe extraordinary Things obſerv'd in that Nation, which can't be accounted for, ſince notwithſtanding the prodigious Things, which God did for them, and at the time that his Law cou'd not be unknown; yet they wou'd formerly run after Idols.

14. After we have prov'd the Antiquity of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, we might ſhew its Excellency, and Uſe; but we will only obſerve, that Criticks contend about Trifles. *Hottinger* muſt be excus'd for being ſo incens'd againſt Father *Morin*, who defends this Pentateuch; becauſe he was then Young. He was unwilling to loſe the Pains he had been at in reading this Pentateuch, when he firſt learn'd the *Oriental* Languages; and perhaps he had a mind to try his Parts with a Man who was in ſo great Repute. But in the Main, what he and others have taken up, often concerns ſome faults of Copyiſts. The Names of obſcure Towns have been confounded, and a Letter put for another in the Name of *Joſeph*. Doth this deſerve ſo much noiſe? Can theſe Two Copies be compar'd together without deſpiſing One, and preferring at any rate the Other? An excellent uſe ſhou'd rather be drawn from hence. For it appears from the Conformity of the Copies of theſe Two bitter Enemies, that neither attempted to falſify the Text, or to corrupt the Scripture. This is a great Advantage, which the Chriſtians reap independently of the various Opinions of Criticks.

15. The *Samaritans* have been a long time accus'd of cutting off Three Letters from their *Alphabet*. But their Innocence hath appear'd, and they are now only charg'd with concealing a great Myſtery, that was found in *Ezekiel*. God enjoin'd the Man, cloath'd in Linen, to go through the midſt of the City, and ſet a Mark upon the Foreheads of the Saints with the Letter *Thau*. The Fathers ſince *Origin* found in it the Figure of the Croſs, whereby Men are ſav'd. But it is ſuſpected, that there was a Cheat in this; becauſe it is certain that the *T* of the *Samaritans* hath not now the Figure of a Croſs, as that of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. St. *Jerome*, † who had ſeen the Old Books of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, and quotes them ſometimes, maintains, that in his time, the *T* had the Figure of the Croſs, and draws from thence three Myſteries. He finds there the Sign of the Croſs, which the Chriſtians made upon their Foreheads. He alſo believes, that this repreſents the Saints, who ought to know their whole Alphabet of Sanctification, and carry it to the laſt Letter. In a Word, God wou'd declare, that there is a Remainder of Saints among Sinners. Theſe are the important Leſſons which the *Samaritans* deprive us of. Tho' they alter the Letter, we do not loſe all. For let the *Samaritans* write as they will, we have ſtill Two Myſteries. We only loſe the Sign of the Croſs upon the Forehead. Beſides, a great many Things are ſuppos'd to diſcover this Myſtery. For God muſt have order'd a long while before, that the *T* of the *Samaritans* ſhou'd have the Figure of the Croſs, to draw from thence ſome Advantages, when he ſaw it convenient. He muſt too have commanded that ſome People, who knew nothing of the Death of Chriſt, and that did not dream of it, ſhou'd be mark'd upon the Forehead with the Sign of the Croſs. Is the Sign of the Croſs upon the Forehead of Chriſtians ſo uſeful and neceſſary, that God was oblig'd to prepare it ſo many Ages beforehand, and give the Holy-Men under the Old Teſtament a Type, which they cou'd not underſtand? The Wiſe ſay, that it is an indifferent Rite; if the Superſtitious go farther, and aſcribe to this Sign the Power of driving away Devils, and to preſerve from the malignant Influences of the Air, they are in an Errour. Had God on the one Hand made ſo many Preparations for an uſeleſs Thing; and on the other, wou'd the *Samaritans* have had ſo great an Intereſt to deprive the Chriſtians of that Advantage, as to preſume to falſify their Sacred Writings? On the contrary, the *Samaritans*, who laugh at the Superſtition of ſome Chriſtians, wou'd leave them the quiet Poſſeſſion of it, and continue to ſcoff at a Rite, which ſhou'd only be grounded upon the Figure of one of the Letters of the Alphabet. It will doubtleſs be ſaid, that it is not the Sign of the Croſs, but the Croſs it ſelf, which the *Samaritans* endeavour'd to take away from the Chriſtians; who brag'd that they found that Type among them. Thus the Learn'd *Huet* Biſhop of *Auranches* argues. But the only Thing in queſtion, in *Ezekiel*, is only the Sign of the Croſs mark'd upon the Forehead of Saints. Beſides, it is pretended, that the *Samaritans* alter'd this Letter, ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity; which is a Thing impoſſible. Can't it be thought, that the Chriſtians had been depriv'd of this Advantage, and not complain'd of the Injury, eſpecially if it be true, that they ſtill enjoy'd it in St. *Jerome*'s time? Tho the *Samaritans* cou'd alter their Bibles, they cou'd not at leaſt change their Sicles; and theſe ancient Coins, which *Vaſerus*, and *Villalpand* have publiſh'd with *Samaritan* Characters, wou'd be a palpable Argument againſt them. Nevertheleſs the *Thau* ingraven on the *Samaritan* Sicles doth no more repreſent a Croſs, than in the Old Manuſcripts, that are kept in the *Vatican*. So thatthey muſt not be charg'd with Perfidiouſneſs

* Van Dale Ep. ad Mor. † Hieron. Quæſt. in Geneſ. *c.* 4. Id. Comm. in Ezek. *c.* 9. *p.* 724.

and

and Impoſture; ſince there is no likelyhood, that they are guilty of theſe Crimes.

16. God's true Intention by inſtituting this Sign, was to teach us, that as Kings ſeal with their Coat of Arms, what belongs to them, and they deſign to keep for their own Uſe; ſo the Saints were precious in his Sight, and therefore he Marks them. St. *Paul* makes alluſion to this Cuſtom, when he ſays, *that we are ſeal'd by the Holy Spirit unto the Day of Redemption.* God preferr'd the Letter *Thau* to all Others; becauſe the Word *Law* begins by it. He diſtinguiſh'd by this Character * thoſe that had obſerv'd *his Law*, from prophane Wretches that had tranſgreſs'd it, and ought to be puniſh'd. St. *Jerome* obſerves, that the Jews in his time gave this Interpretation to theſe Words of *Ezekiel*; and it is ſo natural, that there is no need to ſtrain for any other. Thoſe Interpreters, who to remove the Difficulty, make God ſay, *Mark them with a Mark*, becauſe the *Thau* ſignifies alſo a Mark, makes him repeat the ſame Thing twice to no purpoſe, and deſtroy the Character whereby God deſign'd to diſtinguiſh thoſe that had continu'd Faithful to him, by the Obſervation of the Law.

17. The *Samaritans* had various ways of writing their *Thau*, as that is uſual to ſeveral Nations. We may to this Day obſerve Three of theſe ſame Letters, that differ; One in *Scaliger*; One † in *Cellarius*'s Grammar; and the Third in a Letter of *Alexander* to Father *Morin*, which is confirm'd by ſome Old Sicles. No doubt but the way of Writing mention'd by St *Jerome*, *is* the Oldeſt of the Three; and then this Letter had the Figure of a *Greek* X. The ancient Jews borrow'd from thence the way, whereby the High-Prieſt was anointed. For as they had forgot, during the Captivity, the Form of this Anointing, which was expreſs'd in few Words in *Leviticus*, they believ'd, that they cou'd not do better than to ſet the ſame Mark to this High-Prieſt's Forehead, that God had ſet to thoſe of the Saints. They had as yet the Books, that *Ezekiel* writ in *Chaldea*; and were brought into *Judæa*. The Letter *Thau* was writ in them in Old *Hebrew* Characters, and repreſented an *X*. They the more readily follow'd this Method of the Prophet; becauſe they had not forgot the *Hebrew* Tongue ſo much, but they remembred, that this Letter had denoted *the Law*, whereof the High-Prieſt was to be an exact Obſerver.

But which way ſoever the *Samaritans* writ, St. *Jerom*'s Arguments are too much ſtrain'd; ſince St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, repreſented by the *Thau*, is very different from that of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and is not that Croſs, which the Chriſtians always ſign'd their Foreheads with. So that this is taking occaſion from a general and indefinite Term, to impoſe upon the Simplicity of the Vulgar. Other Fathers, who never ſaw the *Samaritan* Characters, and argu'd upon the *Greek* Letters, were plainly miſtaken; but the Crime is greater, when the *Samaritans* are accus'd of having alter'd their Letters, out of hatred to the Chriſtians and the Croſs; ſince this Imputation is groundleſs.

CHAP. IV.

A Continuation of the Religion of the Samaritans. *Of the Divinity of the Holy-Ghoſt. Of the Worſhip they paid to God, and of their Creed.*

I. *Whether they believ'd in a Corporeal God. Chriſt's Rebuke to them.* II. *Whether they rejected the Holy-Ghoſt.* Baronius's *Animadverſion againſt St.* Epiphanius. III. *Several of St.* Epiphanius's *Miſtakes concerning the* Samaritans. IV. *Whether they deny'd the Reſurrection of the Body.* V. *Several Fathers affirm it.* VI. Abravanel *refuted about the God* Azimah. VII. *The Goddeſs* Succoth-benoth. Abravanel's *Remarks are falſe.* VIII. Grotius's *Conjectures concerning the Gods of the* Cuthæans. IX. *The Reformation of their Worſhip by the Prieſt that was ſent to them.* X. *The Cunning us'd to elude* Alexander *the Great's Order concerning Images.* XI. *Some Idols hid under Mount* Gerizim. *Theſe Idols diſcover'd by* Iſhmael. XII. *This Story is refuted.* XIII. *St.* Epiphanius, *who adopted this Tale, confuted.* XIV. *Whether the Image of a Dove was worſhip'd in* Samaria. XV. *Chriſt cenſures their Worſhip* XVI. *St.* Epiphanius's *Miſtake concerning the touching of a Dead Corps.* Jeremiah *Explain'd.* XVII. *Whether Chriſt excluded the* Samaritans *from Salvation. Explanation of the Words, Salvation is of the Jews.* XVIII. *Their Worſhip alter'd ſince* Herod. *Their Inclination to the* Romans. XIX. *The Martyrdom of the* Samaritan *Woman, and her Name.* XX. *The* Samaritans *revolted from* Jeſus Chriſt *to follow* Simon Magus. XXI. *This Thing explain'd.* XXII. Lightfoot *contradicts himſelf concerning the* Samaritans. XXIII. *The* Samaritan *Creed.* XXIV. *Their High-Prieſts.* XXV. *Their Converſion ſeveral times attempted in vain.*

I. THE *Samaritans* are accus'd of having taught, that God was *Corporeal.* It is a common Thing to ſee ſome People, who becauſe they have not a clear Notion of a Spiritual Subſtance, aſcribe to the Soul, to Angels, and to God, a kind of a Body, which they ſay is much more ſubtile and fine than ours. But the *Samaritans* were not guilty of this Criminal Errour; and the Two Arguments, that are alledg'd againſt them, are very weak. *Maimonides* obſerves, that many Jewiſh Doctors were of that Opinion. He might have proceeded as far as *Samaria*; but without inquiring into the time, that theſe Doctors liv'd in, it is certain that they liv'd after Chriſt; and that the *Samaritans* who liv'd in the time of the Meſſiah, cou'd not have borrow'd this Opinion from them. Add, that the *Thalmudiſts*, who attribute *a Body* to God, ſpeak often as the Scripture, and that their Expreſſions ought to be taken in a figurative Senſe. In a Word, theſe Two parts of the Jewiſh Nation hated one another too much, to make us believe, that One borrow'd this Errour from the Other, ſuppoſing that it is true that the Jews taught it.

This Accuſation is grounded upon theſe Words of our Lord; || *Ye worſhip ye know not what.* But the *Samaritans* might be infected with ſome other Errors concerning the Deity; and yet not think God Material. What Chriſt ſays, doth not inſinuate that they had that Opinion. Neither can I tell, why it is ſaid, that when they came from *Aſſyria*, they believ'd, that God's Power was only extended to a certain Place; but that they lay'd down this Opinion ſince the Law was introduc'd among them. For I am perſwaded, on the contrary, that altho they believ'd that the Deity was preſent every where, yet they thought, that it only accepted the Adorations, and Sacrifices of Men, on Mount *Gerizim.* They did what People wedded to their own Opinion do. After their return to *Sichem*, they confin'd the Preſence and Almighty

* Torah † *The* Thau *of the* Vatican *Manuſcript, or of* R. Azaria, *hath theſe different Figures,* S. X. Z. *There is another* Samaritan Thau N. in computo Samaritarum apud Scalig. de Emend. Temp. *l.* 7. *p.* 657. Id. N in Cellarii Grammat. Samarit. *p.* 60. Id. X. apud Alexandrum, *&c.* || Apud Wolzog. Bibl. Frat. Pol. *t.* 6. *p.* 766.

Power

Power of God to a certain Place, and imagin'd that whilſt God did forſake *Jeruſalem* and its Inhabitants, he had only Mount *Gerizim*, and the City of *Samaria* in view. But this Errour was common to the Jews, who ſaid the ſame Thing of their Temple.

2. We ought to clear the *Samaritans* of another Accuſation, which the Ancients lay'd to their Charge. St. *Epiphanius* ſaid *, that they did not *receive the Holy Ghoſt, whom they did not know.* This ſaying hath alarm'd *Baronius* †, who pretended that it was falſe; becauſe we read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that the *Samaritans receiv'd the Holy Ghoſt*; and that it is not likely, that God wou'd grant his Holy Spirit to Hereticks, who deny'd his Divinity, whilſt he refus'd him to the Gentiles, who only ſinn'd through Ignorance. But ſome afterwards have ſided with St *Epiphanius*; and others with *Baronius.* For ſome believ'd that this Cardinal was in the wrong; becauſe he did not underſtand this Father, who only accuſes the *Samaritans* of not knowing the Holy Ghoſt. Others maintain'd that St. *Epiphanius* was miſtaken; but theſe great Men ought to be condemn'd.

Firſt, *Baronius* ſhou'd not have ſet any bounds to God's Mercy, or preſcrib'd him Rules about the Diſtribution of the Holy Ghoſt. Let St. *Epiphanius* be in the Right, or in the Wrong, it is certain that the *Samaritans* were more guilty than the Heathens; becauſe they had better Opportunities to inform themſelves. Notwithſtanding this, they foſter'd ſome groſs Errours, and yet receiv'd the Holy Ghoſt. But God hath ſome ſecret Aims, and thoſe who judge of the Election of Men, and the diſtribution of Gifts upon external Appearances, are guilty of Raſhneſs.

3. St. *Epiphanius*, who was often miſtaken with reference to the *Samaritans*, cannot be vindicated. As for inſtance, he affirms that the *Eſſenes*, ſo well known among the Jews, were a Sect at *Samaria.* He pretends that they celebrated the Feaſts of the Paſſover, and Pentecoſt in Autumn, which their Calendar ſhews plainly to be falſe. He ventur'd to call by the Name of *Ezra*, the Prieſt, whom *Shalmanezer* ſent to *Samaria*, which is no more to be depended upon, than what ſome Jews ſay, that Two Prieſts were ſent, One call'd *Eliezer*, and the Other *Doſitheus.* But he is chiefly miſtaken, when he charges theſe *Schiſmaticks* with *rejecting the Holy Ghoſt.* For how cou'd they oppoſe his Deity, *if they did not know him*? And why is this particular Errour laid more to their Charge, than their not admitting all the Tenets of Chriſtianity? Here wou'd be ſuch a defect of Judgment, that it cou'd hardly be conceiv'd. St. *Epiphanius* was not guilty of it. For this Father confounding the *Samaritans* with the *Saducees*, who deny'd the Exiſtence of all Spirits, he inferr'd, that they deny'd the Holy-Ghoſt. However, he ſhou'd not have made this a peculiar Tenet of the *Samaritans.* But this is not ſo great a Miſtake as that of *Philaſtrius*, who accuſes them of having deny'd the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or that of *Leo Bizantinus*, who doth not only ſay, *that they rejected the Holy Ghoſt, whom they did not know*, and expected a Meſſiah, who was not a God, but makes them to ſpeak in the Stile of his Time, when he affirms that they acknowledg'd but *One Nature*, and *Hypoſtaſis*, as if the *Samaritans* knew this Term which the *Greeks* made uſe of ſince the fourth Century.

It is true, that theſe *Schiſmaticks* complain'd that *the Holy Ghoſt was taken from them ſince* the Captivity. But they did not thereby underſtand One of the Three Hypoſtaſes or Perſons of the Trinity; but the Spirit of Prophecy, that ceas'd among them, ſince they were tranſported into the Plains of *Aſſyria.*

4. St. *Epiphanius* ſtill confounding the *Samaritans* with the *Saducees*, accuſes them of denying *the Reſurrection of the Body*, as well as the Exiſtence of Spirits: And it is to prove to them this important Truth, that he alledges the Example of *Sarah*, who conceiv'd in her old Age; and that of *Aaron*'s Rod, which *budded.* But there is ſo vaſt a Difference between a Rod that buds, and an old Woman that brings forth Children, and the Re-union of our ſcatter'd Aſhes, and the Reſtoration of Humane Bodies putrefy'd for many Ages, that I cannot conceive how he cou'd make theſe Notions hang together, and draw thence a Concluſion. He alledg'd beſides, that the Blood of *Abel* cry'd after his Death: Nevertheleſs, the Blood is not a Soul; and therefore the Body ought to be rais'd again. As if this was not a metaphorical Expreſſion, whence no Concluſion can be inferred for the Reſurrection of the Body. But be it what it will, the Imputation is falſe. For the *Samaritans* believ'd the Reſurrection.

5. I can't tell whether it was upon the Authority of St. *Epiphanius*, or of *Origen*, who had already confounded the *Samaritans* with the *Saducees*, that *Gregory* the Great || and *John* of *Damaſcus* accuſe them too of denying this Truth. But it is certain that they have done it ſeveral times. *Philaſtrius* ||||, who derives them from a fabulous King call'd *Samar*, charges them at the ſame time with ſaying, That the Reſurrection of the Body is perform'd every Day by the Generation of Children. This Explanation of that Myſtery, deſtroys it. Laſtly, *Leontius Byzantinus* * upbraids them with denying the Reſurrection of the Body, the Exiſtence of Angels, the Immortality of the Soul; and that Chriſt is to judge the World. Thus this Author makes them downright *Saducees.*

It is a ſtrange Thing, that ſo many Fathers have drawn one another into this Miſtake; and that far from correcting it, they rather added ſome new one of their own when ever they ſwerv'd from one another's Opinion. For it is an eaſy matter to vindicate the *Samaritans* from theſe Aſperſions. And indeed, *Scaliger* † hath prov'd from their own Writings, that they held the Reſurrection as a fundamental Tenet. They were confounded with the *Saducees*, meerly becauſe they did not admit of Traditions, and the Books of the Prophets, but only receiv'd the Law of *Moſes.*

6. It is a more difficult Task to give a clear Notion of their Worſhip. The Scripture ſays, that thoſe various Nations, which *Shalmaneſer* ſent, made Gods of their own, and had their peculiar Worſhip. It ſpecifies theſe Gods, whoſe Names are ſo barbarous, that no body can gueſs the Meaning of them. The *Rabbins* have taken hold of this to make their Comments upon theſe hard Names, in order to expoſe their Adverſaries. *Abravanel* relates, that they preſum'd to foiſt their Idols even in Holy Writ. He fanſy'd * that *Mordecai* was Author of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, already mention'd; and he grounds his Opinion upon this Deliverer's ſending ſome circular Letters to all the Jews, that were ſpread in King *Ahaſuerus*'s Dominions; and finding ſome relation between the *Words*, *Letters*, *and Copies*; he concludes, that *Mordecai*, Author of the Letters, is alſo the Author of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch. He adds another Whim to this, (*viz*) that the *Perſians* having inſerted this Book amongſt their Records, ſtruck out the Name of God *Elohim*, that was at the beginning of *Geneſis*, and ſubſtituted that of *Aſhima*, an Idol which they ador'd, and was alſo worſhip'd at *Samaria.* But this is a palpable Falſhood: For the *Samaritan* and Jewiſh Copies exactly agree in this as well as in abundance of other Places. The only

* Epiph. Hæreſ. 9. *p.* 24. † Baron. An. 35. *n.* 9. *p.* 251. || Greg. 1. Mor. in Job. *l.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 22. & *l.* 2. *c.* 19. *p.* 48. |||| Philaſt. de Hær. *p.* 4. * Leont. Byzant. de Sectis Act. 11. *p.* 502. † V. Scalig. de Emend. Temp. *l.* 7. *p.* 663.

Thing

Thing that is true, is that the Inhabitants of *Hamath*, who were tranſported into *Samaria*, ador'd *Aſhima*, that was their God.

7. The ſame *Abravanel* * imputes to the *Babylonians*, who went to inhabit the Land of *Iſrael*, that they carry'd thither their Goddeſs *Succoth-benoth*, which ſignifies, ſays he, *Hens with their Chickens*; and proves thereby that they were guilty of the groſs Idolatry of thoſe who worſhipp'd Animals, becauſe they fanſy'd, that the Deity had endow'd them with ſome peculiar Virtue. It is upon this Ground, or rather upon I know not what relations of Terms, that it is ſaid, that the *Cuthæans* worſhip'd a *Cock*; thoſe of *Hamath*, *a wild Goat*; thoſe of *Ava*, *a Dog*, and *an Aſs*; and thoſe of *Sepharvaim*, *a Mule*, and *a Horſe*. It wou'd be no wonder, that the Colony ſent into *Samaria* had worſhip'd their Gods under the Figure of Animals, becauſe it was commonly practis'd by the Heathens.

Notwithſtanding, that the *Egyptians* were ſo great Maſters of all Arts, and had ſo induſtriouſly improv'd Learning, yet they worſhip'd *Dogs* and *Cats*.

Illic æluros, hic piſcem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur: Nulla Dianam.

There is no difficulty about the *Dogs*, but Interpreters inſtead of joyning *Cats* to them, have corrected *Juvenal*, and read *Cæruleos* for *Æluros*, which among the *Greeks* ſignifies a *Cat*, and was one of the *Egyptian* Deities. If the Heathens did not down-right worſhip *Goats*, yet they aſcrib'd a *He-Goat*'s Legs to their God *Pan*, and a *She-Goats* Face: And how were Satyrs painted?

† *Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus*
Vidi docentem, credite poſteri,
Nymphaſque diſcentes, & aures
Capri pedum Satyrorum acutas.

But after we have diſcover'd all this among the Heathens, that doth not ſhew, who the Gods of the *Cuthæans* were. For every Countrey had its own Gods, and peculiar Symbols of the Deity. A *Dog* was worſhip'd in *Egypt*, only becauſe *Anubis*, one of *Oſiris* his Generals, put on a *Dog*'s Skin; and this did not concern the *Cuthæans*. Nay, the Inhabitants of one Province, often laugh'd at the Gods of another. The *Aſſyrians* were more guilty of this than others; and *Sennacherib* ſhew'd publickly his Contempt for the *Egyptian* Gods. So that we muſt not conclude, that becauſe a *Dog* was worſhip'd in one Countrey, that it was ſo too in another. People ſhou'd at leaſt produce a better Authority for it than that of the *Rabbins*, the inveterate Enemies of the *Cuthæans*, and *Samaritans*. Farther, *Abravanel* reports, that one of them being in *Africa*, learn'd that *Succi* || ſignify'd *a Cock*, whence he concludes that the ſame Word in the plural Number ſignifies *a Hen*, and joyning the Word *Daughters* to the Firſt, he found the *Hen* with her *Chickens*, and the *Succoth-benoth*, Goddeſs of the *Babylonians*.

8. The Learned *Grotius* found in that place Three kind of Deities. Firſt, *Venus*, ſo famous among the *Chaldeans* for the filthy Actions, that were perpetrated in her Temples, wherein Women were oblig'd to proſtitute themſelves to pay their Court to that Goddeſs. *Succoth-benoth* ſignifies the Tents of the Young Women who were brought up for that purpoſe. Single and Marry'd Women had Tents about theſe Temples, and there expected to be ask'd to ſacrifice their Honour. Thoſe, that had no Tents, were ſeperated only with Ropes; and to this *Jeremiah* alludes, when he repreſents the Jollity of Idolatrous Women; when their Cords were *broken* ||||, becauſe they were glad to find a Man, that made them go out of their Pen, that they might proſtitue themſelves in honour to the Goddeſs. This is the true Senſe of that paſſage, which ſeem'd ſo hard to be underſtood. Secondly, *Grotius* finds in the *Aſhima*, the Satyrs ſo famous among the *Pagans*. Laſtly, *Adrammelech*, was the *Saturn*, to whom People offer'd their Children. The Firſt, and Laſt of his Conjectures are good; but the other Deities ſeem impenetrable. We ought to be better vers'd in the Rites, not only of the *Perſians*, and *Chaldæans*, but alſo of the Nations that inhabited different Provinces, who had their peculiar Gods, beſides the Sun, which was commonly worſhip'd, to be able to explain them clearly at this Time.

9. However, this Colony did not long keep their Idolatry ſo intire, as they brought it from their Countrey. For the Jewiſh Prieſt, that came from *Chaldæa*, reform'd their Errors; and his Reformation being back'd by the fear of the Lions, that devour'd the Idolaters, made no doubt a conſiderable Progreſs. The Remainders of the Old Inhabitants, glad to find once more a Prieſt, their Law, and ancient Sacrifices, help'd very much to reſtore the old Worſhip. The *Samaritans* therefore boldly told *Ezra* *, *We ſeek your God as you do, and we do ſacrifice unto him, ſince the Days of* Eſar-haddon *King of* Aſſyria, *which brought us up hither.* They not only ador'd the God of the Jews, but *ſought him as they did*, and had offer'd him Sacrifices ſince the time of *Eſar-haddon*. Yet as the Governours of *Samaria* were ſent by the King of *Babylon*; and as Idolatry is not eaſily rooted out of Men's Minds, it is likely that ſome mixture of ſtrange Worſhip remain'd, notwithſtanding the Jewiſh Prieſt's Reformation; at leaſt this Opinion cannot be refuted, and is confirm'd by Scripture †.

10. When *Manaſſeh* left *Jeruſalem* to ſacrifice on Mount *Gerizim*, he put the Worſhip into a better Form, than it was before. But it is not known whether he carry'd his Reformation to the height of Piety. We ſhou'd eaſily believe it, was what is ſaid true, that *Alexander* the Great having order'd them to erect ſome Images and Statues, they gather'd together on Mount *Gerizim*, to beg of God, that a Decree ſo repugnant to his Law might be revok'd; and that they there reſolv'd to give the Name of *Alexander* to all their Children, and afterwards preſented them to him as ſo many living Images and Statues. But tho this Story is taken from *the* Samaritan *Chronicle*, yet it is not much to be depended upon.

11. The Jews likewiſe ſay, that the *Samaritans* were thought free from Idolatry, till *R. Iſhmael* going through *Samaria*, in his way to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, they attempted to ſtop him, upon a pretence that the Worſhip was as pure upon Mount *Gerizim*, as upon the Hill of *Sion*. But he refus'd them, comparing them *to Dogs that run after Carrion*; becauſe they were ſo zealous for the Idols, which *Jacob* hid under that Mountain, and they themſelves ador'd. The *Samaritans* ſeeing that their ſecret Worſhip was diſcover'd, were afraid leaſt *Iſhmael* ſhou'd take away their Images from them; and to prevent it, they reſolv'd to kill him: But he fled in the Night.

12. This, as moſt of the Stories of the Jews, is invented. 1. *Iſhmael* the Son of *Joſe*, is perhaps a fictitious Man. It is true that ſome Sentences of his ||, that are admir'd, tho they are of no great weight, are quoted in the *Thalmud*; but it is ſaid at the ſame time, that his Privy Parts were bigger than the Body of a-

* Abravanel in 2. Reg. Rabbi Levi in 2. Reg. *c.* 17, 32. † Horace. || שכוי. |||| Jerem. 10. *v.* 20.
* Ezra 4. 2. † 2 Kings 17. 33, 34. || Hieroſol. Avodah Zarah, fol. 444. Apud Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. in Matth. *p.* 328. *and in* Joh. 991. V. B. B. Rabbin, *t.* 111. *p.* 297. Utri novem caborum æquabatur; magnitudine cabus unus continebat 24 ova.

nother Man. To pretend, that this was inſerted, to draw ſome Moral Inferences from thence, or to prevent Peoples laughing at thoſe, whom Nature hath ſo amply ſupply'd, is to vindicate one Impertinence by another. 2. Beſides, this Romance is not well contriv'd. For it is not the cuſtom of Idolaters to bury their Idols. On the contrary, they have Idols only to worſhip ſome viſible Gods that go before them. 3. The Jews are better Witneſſes of the Purity of the Worſhip of the *Samaritans* than they imagine; ſince they acknowledge, that before *Iſhmael* made that Diſcovery, it was not known that they worſhip'd any falſe Deities. Idolatry, whoſe Worſhip is publick and ſenſible, cannot be long hid. Was it likely that the Jews, who were jealous of the *Samaritans*, and their Neighbours and Enemies, ſhou'd be ignorant of their Religion till the time of *Iſhmael*? This Ignorance alone is not enough to juſtify them. 4. It is true, that there is a queſtion in the *Thalmud* *, (*viz.*) Whether the *Samaritans* or *Cuthæans* ought to be rank'd among Heathens? A *Moor* pronounces againſt them, but another call'd *Simon* diſtinguiſh'd them from Idolaters; and ſuppoſing that the *Samaritans* had the plurality of Votes againſt them, yet the *Rabbins* ought not to be believ'd in their own Cauſe.

13. It ſeems that *Epiphanius* read this imputation of Idolatry laid by the *Thalmudiſts* againſt the *Samaritans*. For he alſo upbraids them with adoring the *Teraphims*, which *Rachel* carry'd away from *Laban*, and which *Jacob* bury'd. He maintains too, that when they pray'd, they look'd towards Mount *Gerizim*, as *Daniel* at *Babylon* look'd towards the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. But whether St. *Epiphanius* borrow'd this Story from the *Thalmudiſts*, or hath invented it, it is ſo much the more falſe in his Book, becauſe he imagin'd that Mount *Gerizim* was far from *Samaria*, and that they were oblig'd to turn towards that Mountain, becauſe it was too far diſtant for them to go to worſhip there.

14. It is ſaid likewiſe, that the *Samaritans* ador'd the Image of a Pidgeon as the Symbol of the Gods; and that they had borrow'd this Worſhip of the *Aſſyrians*, who had a Dove in their Colours, in remembrance that *Semiramis* was fed by that Bird, and chang'd into a Dove, and to whom they paid a Divine Worſhip. *Philo* affirms, that he ſaw at *Aſcalon* a vaſt quantity of Pidgeons; becauſe the People there wou'd not kill them for fear of eating their Gods.

Quid referam ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes
Alba Palæſtino ſancta columba Syro.

The *Cuthæans*, who were of that Countrey, might have retain'd the Worſhip of their Countrey, and kept the Memory of it for ſome time. For the love of ſenſible Objects in Religion is not eaſily rooted out, and the Vulgar are hardly wean'd from them.

But the Jews carry this Matter too far, as they do every thing elſe, that concerns the *Samaritans*. For they aſſert, that the *Samaritans* had erected a Statue with the Figure of a Dove, which they worſhip'd. But they only alledge their Opinion for a Proof of this: *I am fully perſwaded of it*, ſays a *Rabbin*: But is this perſwaſion enough to convince without any other reaſon? They add, that the *Samaritans* circumcis'd their Children in the Name *of this Dove*. In ſhort, *Ganz* † relates, that in *Meir*'s time, who liv'd in the Reign of *Adrian*, the Image of a Dove was found upon Mount *Gerizim*, which oblig'd this Doctor to vote, that they ought to be rank'd among all Infidels. But as he ſuſpects this Story, which doth not agree with what ſome other *Rabbins* ſay, (*viz.*) That the Temple of *Gerizim* is a great deal older than *Alexander*; and that this Prince, at the ſollicitation of *Simeon* the Juſt, had all the *Cuthæans* put to death; in order to reconcile things that cannot be reconcil'd, he relies on the Authority of Doctor *Jom Tof*, who ſays, that the *Cuthæans* had adopted the Worſhip and Laws of *Moſes*; but that in *Meir*'s time, that is, in the Reign of *Adrian*, they ſettl'd again at *Sichem*, and brought thither their ancient Religion, which was the Reaſon, that they were condemn'd as a prophane People. This variety of Opinions ſhews, what little certainty the Jews have about this Matter. We muſt ſwallow ſome monſters in Hiſtory and Chronology, to bring the *Cuthæans* back to *Sichem* in the Reign of *Adrian*. It muſt be own'd, that this Emperour ſent thither a Colony, but it was not compos'd of *Cuthæans*. All this turns upon a Paſſage of the *Thalmud*, where it is ſaid, that the Figure of a Pidgeon was found on Mount *Gerizim*. It was afterwards made the Object of the Adoration of the *Samaritans*, altho this Image might have been brought thither from *Aſcalon*; or ſome other Places of *Syria*; where we have already obſerv'd, that they worſhip'd a Pidgeon in remembrance of *Semiramis*, or, if you will, of *Venus*.

15. This is certain; The Temple of *Gerizim* was in the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes* conſecrated to *Jupiter*; and altho Perſecution was not always ſo hot, it is very likely, that they kept ſome mixture of Idolatry with the Worſhip of God; and that ſo much the more, becauſe the Kings of *Syria* had always a great Sway there. No doubt but *Hyrcanus*, who took this City, earneſtly labour'd to reform the Worſhip. He had not ſo inveterate a Hatred to theſe Schiſmaticks, that became his Subjects, as to let them be damn'd by an open and publick Idolatry. Yet there was of neceſſity ſome defect in their Adoration of the Supream God, when Chriſt came into the World; ſince he upbraided them, ſaying, *Ye worſhip ye know not what*: Ignorance was their great Crime, but that ignorance related to their Worſhip; and it is eaſy to apprehend, by joyning theſe Two Things together, that they were guilty of Error and Crime in their Adoration; and altho the Nature and Degree of their Fault can't be determin'd, we'll ſpeak of it hereafter.

16. The *Samaritans* obſerv'd the Rites and Ceremonies of the Law. For they were contain'd in the Books of *Moſes*, yet St. *Epiphanius* imputes it to them as a Crime, that they were afraid to touch a Carcaſe. As this Father cou'd not be ignorant that their Fear was grounded on the Law of *Moſes*, that ſays, that *whoſoever toucheth a Carcaſe, ſhall be unclean until Even*; he doth Three things to elude this Paſſage. 1. He maintains that there is an Article in the Original which denotes the *Carcaſe*, by way of excellency, and that this Carcaſe was *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom the Jews cou'd not crucify, without remaining unclean until Even. 2. He goes before an Objection, that might be drawn from another place of Scripture, which enjoins to ſhut *the Windows when a dead Body paſſes by, becauſe it wou'd otherwiſe be defiled*. He recurrs to a Figurative Senſe; and affirms that it is Sin, and the Windows, that are to be ſhut, are the *Eyes*, to prevent being tempted by Sin, which ſeduces, and is convey'd into the Heart through the Senſes. 3. Laſtly, He endeavours to prove his Aſſertion by the Words of *Jeremiah*, *Death is come up into our Windows*||. For if the Prophet ſpoke of Death, the inexorable Enemy to Mankind, there was no need but to keep the Windows ſhut, to hinder Death from coming in, and execute its rage. This Interpretation wou'd be ridiculous and falſe. So that we muſt again recur to the Eyes, through which Sin, *whoſe Wages is Death*, is convey'd into the Soul.

* V. Shcalim Hieroſol. fol. 46. 2. Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. in Evang. Matth. *p.* 328. † Ganz. Tſemach David, *p.* 106. & 61.
|| Jerem. 9. *v.* 21.

St.

St. *Epiphanius* needed only to read the Oracles of *Jeremiah*. For he had eaſily perceiv'd that the Prophet, ſpeaking of an examplary Puniſhment from God, repreſents to the People, that Death came in among them on every ſide. I grant, that this Expreſſion of the Prophet is figurative; but the Figure, that St. *Epiphanius* aſcribes is too ſtrain'd. Death doth not here ſignify Sin, and the Windows the Eyes; but the Executor of God's Orders, which flying every where, pulls a great many into the Grave; and the Prophet expreſſes its Fury by ſaying, that it came in as well at the Windows as at the Doors. Beſides, this Father needed only to conſult the Jews. They had taught him, that they all believ'd, that they were defil'd when they touch'd a Dead Body; and that their Belief was grounded on God's Injunction. And to look there for Chriſt, is to diſtort the Scripture. The *Samaritans* obſerv'd this Law of the Jews, and all the other Rites which *Moſes* left them.

17. But the main Thing, that ought to be diſcuſs'd is concerning the Salvation of the *Samaritans*. In vain the Woman to whom Chriſt preach'd juſtify'd her Adherence to Mount *Gerizim*, by *Abraham*'s and *Jacob*'s Example, who had worſhipp'd in this Mountain: For Chriſt ſtill maintain'd *that Salvation was of the Jews*. Some have inferr'd from thence, that the Son of God excluded all the *Samaritans* from Salvation, by reaſon that by their Schiſm they *had renounc'd the Holy People, and the Sacerdotal Race*. I cannot forbear making three Remarks to clear this Place of the Goſpel, which ſeems obſcure.

Firſt, you cannot exclude the *Samaritans* from Salvation, without running counter to Divine Revelation, and cancelling the Scripture. For moſt of the Canonical Books of the Prophets, were pen'd by Men born either at *Samaria*, or in the Schiſm. *Hoſea* was of the Tribe of *Iſſachar*; *Joel*, of that of *Reuben*; and *Jonas* of that of *Zabulon*; and all theſe Tribes were Schiſmaticks. *Abdias* was a Native of *Bethacad*, a Village near *Samaria*. *Elijah*, and *Eliſha*, who perform'd ſo many Miracles, liv'd always in the Schiſm. How can all the *Samaritans* be damn'd, ſince God reſerv'd at the ſame time even Seven Thouſand Perſons, whom he ſav'd? To pretend, that theſe Holy Men and Prophets long'd for a return to *Jeruſalem*, is to transform them into profligate Fellows, who knew the neceſſity of being united with the *Sacerdotal Race*, and yet did not endeavour either to be united, or to make others unite with it. For they never return'd to *Jeruſalem*, which was not far from *Samaria*, where they were perſecuted. After ſo many Ages, how can their Intention be alledg'd to excuſe them? They were ſo fond of their own Countrey, that they choſe rather to hide themſelves, and be perſecuted there, by *Jezebel*, than to go to *Jeruſalem*, that was in the Neighbourhood, and where the Temple and Prieſts were.

Secondly, when Chriſt taught the *Samaritan* Woman, that *Salvation was of the* Jews, he ſpoke of that great Salvation that begun to appear. It was the ſame, which *Simeon* held in his Arms in the Temple, when he ſaid, *Mine Eyes have ſeen thy Salvation*. It was indeed the Meſſiah that ſpoke to her, and who was born of the Tribe of *Judah*, and in *Bethlehem*.

18. Laſtly, Thoſe Inhabitants, whom *Herod* ſent to *Samaria*, caus'd ſome alteration in it. For he made a Draught of 6000 Men out of his Auxiliary Forces, and ſent them to that City. So that ſo many Idolaters might eaſily alter the Religion and Cuſtoms of the Countrey. Hence it is too, that they kept a ſtricter Correſpondence with the *Romans*, than with the reſt of the Jews. *Joſephus* reports, that Diſputes about Religion were ſo much the more frequent, becauſe moſt of the Soldiers in the *Roman* Pay were Natives of *Cæſarea* and *Samaria*; and that for this Reaſon they the more eaſily admitted the Worſhip, which the Emperours of that time impos'd upon them, to be paid either to themſelves, or to their Statues. *Caligula* order'd that his Statue ſhou'd be plac'd in their Temple, as well as in that of *Jeruſalem*; and we do not ſee, that they oppos'd his Decree. *Nero* had *Claudius*'s Statue carry'd thither, after he had deify'd him; and we have mention'd * a Medal ſtamp'd under the ſame Prince, whereon *Aſtarte* the Goddeſs of *Syria*, is ſeen holding the Head of *Oſiris* in her Hand, with theſe Words; Samaria *had this Medal ſtamp'd in honour of the Auguſt and Great Gods*. So that the Auguſts were rank'd with the Great Gods; and they were worſhipp'd in the ſame Temple at *Samaria* with the True God: Which is an evident Argument of the Mixture of Religion and Worſhip, that happen'd in this City, ſince the *Herods* became Vaſſals to the Emperours, and the introducing of ſo many different Nations in that Place. This gave Chriſt a juſt Reaſon to cenſure them, and made him ſay, that *they worſhipp'd they knew not what*.

19. It is ſaid, that the *Samaritan* Woman, whoſe Name was *Photina*, was fully converted at the preaching of Chriſt, or of St. *Peter*; and that ſhe drew after her all her Family, compos'd of two Sons, who were call'd *Joſeph* and *Victor*; of Duke *Sebaſtian*, *Anatolius*, *Photius*; and of *Photis*, *Paraſceve*, and *Cyriaca*, who were her Siſters. All theſe Proſelytes ſuffer'd Martyrdom together the 20*th* of *March*. The *Greeks* † and *Latins* || who have inſerted their Names in their Martyrologies, celebrate their Feſtival on that Day. The Fathers make an oppoſition between the Inhabitants of *Sichem* and the Apoſtles, very honourable to the Firſt. For *a Woman* preach'd to them all. *Mary Magdalene* related our Saviour's Reſurrection to his Diſciples, who did not believe her; whereas the *Samaritans*, upon the Word of a looſe Woman, went *out of the City* to hear the Prophet of whom ſhe had ſpoken to them, and believ'd in him. This is ſo much the more wonderful; becauſe the Meſſiah was not ſo clearly foretold in the Writings of *Moſes*, as in thoſe of the Prophets, which the *Samaritans* did not admit.

The Martyrdom of *Photina*, and her Acts, teach us a great many Things. For |||| it was not known how *Africa* was converted. But we find in theſe Acts, that the *Samaritan* Woman went to *Carthage* in the Reign of *Nero*, and introduc'd Chriſtianity in that great City. *Tertullian* was in the right not to aſcribe that Honour to the Apoſtles; ſince a Woman was the Firſt Miniſter of that Church. Let the Reform'd be now laugh'd at for having had ſome Handicrafts for Preachers, ſince under St. *Peter*'s Noſe a Woman perſwaded *Carthage* to embrace the Goſpel. The *Samaritan* Woman's Son was one of *Nero*'s Generals. The *Greeks* ſay, that he commanded this Emperour's Army againſt the *Avari*; but the *Spaniards* will have it, that it was againſt the Rebels of *Braga*; and that he was really Governour of *Italica*. This City was in *Andalouſia*. For there is a Medal of the Emperour *Adrian*, on the Reverſe of which is an Altar with theſe Words.

Municip. Italicen. Bæt.

It was from thence that *Cornelius* the *Centurion*'s Company, was *call'd the* Italian *Band*, as St. *Luke* calls it; and this Captain and his Soldiers were *Spaniards*. *Victor*, Governour of this Place, and Son to the *Samaritan* Woman, was order'd by *Nero* to put to Death all

* Norris Epoch. Syro-Maced. Diſſ. 5. Rom. cum not. Baron. Mart. 20. *p.* 117. † Menolog. Græcor. Mart. 20. apud Caniſ. Lect. Ant. *t.* 2. *p.* 743. || Martyr. |||| Acta Photin. Samar. & Soc. ex M. S. Cod. Græco Jeremiæ Conſt. Patr. apud Salaſar M. Hiſp. *p.* 330.

the Chriſtians, that were in his Government. The General of the Army being inform'd, that *Victor* and his Mother were converted by St. *Peter*, preſs'd him very much to renounce Chriſtianity; but *Victor* remain'd ſteady in the Faith. The General was ſtruck dumb, and contin'd ſo for three Days, and when he recover'd his Speech, he cry'd out; *There is but One God, and it is that of the Chriſtians.* He was immediately catechiz'd and baptiz'd by *Victor*. We learn here two Things; One, that the *Samaritan* Woman was not converted by Chriſt, but by St. *Peter*; the Other, that Generals, altho they were Lay-Men, preach'd and baptiz'd, notwithſtanding that there were ſome Prieſts in the Place. For *Italica* was full of Chriſtians.

Nero being inform'd of the vaſt Progreſs of *Photina*'s Sermons in *Africa*, and of her Son *Victor*'s Steadineſs in *Spain*, order'd that all that Family ſhou'd be tranſported to *Rome*. Chriſt appear'd to them, and fortify'd them in their way thither. *Photina* ſhew'd her Siſters to the Emperour, whereof one was call'd *Photo*, and the other *Photis*, which ſhews that *Sirlet*'s Calendar is vitiated. For we muſt read *Photo*, and not *Rhotius*, and transform the Man into a Maid, or Marry'd Woman, Siſter to *Photina*. After *Nero* had tormented theſe Women, he ſent the Princeſs (*Anthuſa*) his Daughter, gorgeouſly adorn'd with Pearls and Pretious Stones, to tempt them. *Photina* ſeeing her coming, cry'd to her, *Thou Spouſe of the Lord, welcome.* The Princeſs, who was a Virgin, anſwer'd; *My Lady, my Miſtriſs, the brightneſs of Chriſt, the Lord be with you.* This Princeſs and One Hundred Young Ladies, that attended her, were ſoon converted, and all baptiz'd by the *Samaritan* Woman. *Nero* rav'd at it, and reſolv'd to poiſon all theſe Holy Women. But the Magician *Lampadius*, who had prepar'd the Poiſon, was alſo converted, when he perceiv'd that it did not operate. They were put to all manner of Tortures; but as all that was to no purpoſe, they were flea'd alive.

It is no wonder, that we find ſo many Fables in the Chronicle of the *Samaritans*; ſince Chriſtians relate ſo many falſe Stories of a Woman of that Countrey, and of whom it is not even known whether ſhe ever was a Chriſtian. And yet we are gravely told, *that the Truth of theſe Acts ought not to be queſtion'd.* Mr. *de Tillemont*, who had ſome doubts about this Matter, thought to juſtify the *Latins*, by ſaying, that they only inſerted theſe Names in their Martyrology, without ſaying, that they ſuffer'd for *Jeſus Chriſt*. But this Apology is weak and falſe. For they in it call *Photina the* Samaritan *Woman*, and there is no *Samaritan* Woman a Martyr, but that mention'd by the *Greeks*. The Feſtival is obſerv'd the ſame Day; and they aſcribe to her the ſame Children and Siſters. So that ſhe muſt be the ſame Woman. This is ſo true, that it is ſaid in the Martyrologies of *Spain*, and of Mount *Caſſin*, that it is the Woman of *Samaria* mention'd in the Goſpel; and the Monks boaſt, that they have her Head at *Rome*.

20. It is ſaid, that the *Samaritans* did Apoſtatize; and that after they had believ'd in Chriſt when he preach'd to them, *they all gave heed, from the Leaſt to the Greateſt*, to *Simon Magus* their Countreyman, *ſaying, This Man is the great Power of God* *. *Lightfoot*, † who every where declares againſt the *Samaritans*, pretends, that they invented the Diſtinction of two Meſſiahs, One Son of *Ephraim*, that ſhall be wretched. They will not in truth have their Meſſiah die; but the Jews have added this Circumſtance to the Invention of the *Samaritans*, in order to elude the Oracles of the Prophets, who ſpeak plainly of the Death of the Meſſiah.

21. It cannot be deny'd, that the *Samaritans* were bewitch'd by *Simon Magus*, and it was this no doubt that led *Juſtin Martyr* into a Miſtake. For being ſtunn'd among the *Samaritans* with their Stories of *Simon Magus*'s Miracles, he without any great ſcrutiny eaſily believ'd that the *Romans* had plac'd him among the Demy-Gods; and that the Statue in *Rome* with this Inſcription, *Semoni Sanco*, was conſecrated to him. He confirm'd the *Samaritans* in their Errour, by informing them, that the Man whom they had reverenc'd ſo much, was look'd upon in *Rome* as a Saint. He impos'd upon a great many others; ſince for the ſpace of Fifteen or Sixteen Hundred Years, every body hath believ'd it. However, there is no neceſſity to make all the *Samaritans* Apoſtates. Chriſt gain'd his Proſelytes at *Sichem*, and *Simon Magus* might have taught in another Town of *Samaria*, which in this place of the Acts of the Apoſtles, as in a great many others, that might be produc'd out of *Joſephus*, ſignifies rather the Province, than the City of *Sebaſte*. Farther, notwithſtanding that *Simon*'s Diſciples might be very numerous; yet thoſe Proſelytes, that *Jeſus Chriſt* made, might have preſerv'd their Faith. We muſt not lay ſo great a Streſs upon theſe Words of the Holy-Pen-Man, *from the Leaſt to the Greateſt*, as if no body was free from being impos'd upon by him. For we muſt only underſtand by them a great Multitude, from which we may eaſily ſever thoſe that were converted to Chriſtianity. For we ſee that St. *Paul* viſited the Churches of *Phœnicia* and *Samaria*, which ſtill profeſs'd the Goſpel.

It is ſuppos'd without any manner of reaſon, that the *Samaritans* look'd upon *Simon Magus* as the Meſſiah. St. *Epiphanius* ‖ affirms, that this Impoſtor preach'd *to the* Samaritans, *that he was the Father*; *and to the Jews that he was the Son.* Thus he makes him a fooliſh Fellow, who cou'd never have deceiv'd any body by a Contradiction, which, conſidering the ſmall diſtance of Places, cou'd not be conceal'd. And indeed *Simon* being ador'd as a God by the *Samaritans*, cou'd not be a Teacher of the Jews. Farther, to preach to the Jews, that he was the Son, was to exaſperate them againſt him, as they were againſt Chriſt, when he took the Title of *the Son of God.* Nay, I do not believe, that he thought himſelf to be the Meſſiah. 1. Becauſe the Holy Writer only accuſes him of Sorcery, and it was by this that he deluded the *Samaritans*. 2. Becauſe the *Samaritans* only call'd him *the great Power of God. Simon* abus'd afterwards of this Title, and gave it another meaning, than that which was at firſt intended. But he did not himſelf take that Title, it was the *Samaritans*, who aſtoniſh'd at his Prodigies, call'd him *the Power of God.* That ſuited with the ſeeming Miracles, which he palm'd upon them; but it can't be inferr'd from thence, that he look'd upon himſelf as the Meſſiah. Thus *John* the *Baptiſt*, according to the Stile of the Jews, *was to be great in the ſight of the Lord.* Laſtly, it wou'd be the greateſt Prodigy that ever was, if *Simon* had pretended to be the Meſſiah, and was afterwards converted. He cou'd not have Aſſurance enough to ſtand the Shame of ſo groſs and plain an Impoſture. St. *Luke* lays nothing like this to his Charge. What he did was natural enough. For being convinc'd of the Falſhood of his Art, which the ableſt Magicians always ſuſpect, and of the Reality of the Miracles of *Philip*, he acquieſs'd to this Truth, and made himſelf a Chriſtian, hoping to become more formidable, and more admir'd by ſome Prodigies, more real and ſhining, than thoſe he had already perform'd. This was ſo plainly his aim in his Converſion, that he immediately offer'd Money to buy the Gift of Miracles.

22. In a Word, *Lightfoot* is very unjuſt to the *Samaritans*. For he pretends, that *Jeſus Chriſt* ranks

* Act. 8. 9. John 4. 31. † Lightfoot in Act. *p.* 82. ‖ Epiph. Hær. *p.* 54.

them

them with Pagans, and he owns that our bleſſed Maſter converted a great many of them, only to transform theſe new Converts into ſo many Apoſtates. Is not this a Contradiction? Since Chriſt preach'd the Goſpel at *Sichem*, did he not clearly put a difference between its Inhabitants and the *Gentiles*, to whom he never preach'd? Beſides, was not this Converſion, (which was almoſt general, and is mention'd in the *Acts*) perform'd in *Samaria* before the Vocation of the *Gentiles* was reveal'd, and St. *Peter*, who had the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, had open'd the Church to them?

Neither is it fair to aſcribe to this Nation the Diſtinction of a Victorious, and a Suffering Meſſiah. Since they do not admit of it, why is it imputed to them? And why is this Invention ſhar'd among the two Nations. Becauſe they make him deſcend from the Tribe of *Ephraim*, doth it follow that he is the Meſſiah of the *Samaritans*, or that they have invented this Fable? Don't we ſee, that a Poor and Dying Meſſiah is odious to the Jews; and that they wholly leave him to the *Samaritans*, and the Tribe of *Ephraim*, whilſt they reſerve to themſelves the Son of *David* deſcending from the Tribe of *Judah*. Be it what it will, the *Samaritans* did not adhere long to *Simon Magus*. For ſome embrac'd Chriſtianity, and others have conſtantly perſever'd in the Jewiſh Religion, without any other conſiderable Difference, than admitting no other rule of Faith, but the Five Books of *Moſes*, rejecting the Prophets, and reſerving to themſelves the liberty of offering Sacrifices on Mount *Gerizim*, when they can buy it. For as they are not ty'd up to the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and as an Altar is enough for them, they ſacrifice, when they can; as *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, who ſaw there the remains of theſe Schiſmaticks, relates it.

23. To omit nothing, that concerns the Religion of the *Samaritans*, we'll here add the Confeſſion of Faith, which the High-Prieſt *Eleazar* ſent to *Scaliger*, in the Name of the Synagogue of *Sichem*, which that great Man conſulted.

* " 1. The *Samaritans* obſerve the Sabbath with " all the exactneſs requir'd in *Exodus*. For none of " them goes out of the Place, where he is on the Sab- " bath-Day, but only to go to the Synagogue, where " they read the Law, and ſing God's Praiſes. They " do not lie that Night with their Wives, and nei- " ther kindle, nor order Fire to be kindl'd: Where- " as the Jews tranſgreſs the Sabbath in all theſe Points. " For they go out of Town, have Fire made, lie " with their Wives, and even do not waſh them- " ſelves after it.

" 2. They hold the Paſſover to be their Firſt Feſti- " val. They begin at Sun-ſet by the Sacrifice in- " joyn'd for that purpoſe in *Exodus*. But they ſacri- " fice no where but on Mount *Gerizim*, where they " read the Law, and offer Prayers unto God, after " which the Prieſt diſmiſſes the whole Congregation " with a Bleſſing.

" 3. They celebrate for Seven Days together the " Feaſt of the Harveſt, but they do not agree with the " Jews concerning the Day, that it ought to begin. " For theſe reckon the next Day after the Solemnity " of the Paſſover; whereas the *Samaritans* reckon " Fifty Days, beginning the next Day after the Sab- " bath, which happens in the Week of the Unleaven'd " Bread, and the next day after the Seventh Sabbath " following, the Feaſt of the Harveſt begins.

" 4. They obſerve the Feaſt of Expiation the Tenth " of the Seventh Month. They employ the Four and " Twenty Hours of the Day in Prayers to God, and " ſinging his Praiſes, and Faſting. For all except " Sucking Children faſt; whereas the Jews except " Children under Seven Years of Age.

" 5. The 15*th* of the ſame Month, they celebrate " the Feaſt of the Tabernacles upon the ſame Mount " *Gerizim*.

" 6. They never defer Circumciſion farther " than the Eighth Day, as it is commanded in " *Geneſis*: Whereas the Jews defer it ſometimes " longer.

" 7. They are oblig'd to waſh themſelves in the " Morning when they have lain with their Wives, " or have been ſully'd in the Night with ſome Un- " cleanneſs; and all Veſſels, that may become unclean, " become ſo when they touch them before they have " waſh'd.

" 8. They take away the Fat from Sacrifices, " and give the Prieſts the Shoulder, the Jaws, and " Belly.

" 9. They never marry their Nices as the Jews do, " and have but one One Wife; whereas the Jews " may have many.

" 10. They believe in God, in *Moſes*, and in Mount " *Gerizim*. Whereas, ſay they, the Jews put their " Truſt in others, we do nothing but what is ex- " preſsly commanded in the Law by the Lord, who " made uſe of the Miniſtry of *Moſes*. But the Jews " ſwerve from what the Lord hath commanded in " the Law, to obſerve what their Fathers and Doctors " have invented.

24. *Eleazar* added, that they reckon'd 122 High-Prieſts from *Aaron* to their time †. They have a Catalogue, and Succeſſion of them. They believe themſelves to be of the Poſterity of *Joſeph* by *Ephraim*; and that all their High-Prieſts deſcend from *Phinehas*; whereas the Jews have not one of that Family. They boaſt, that they have preſerv'd the *Hebrew* Characters, which God made uſe of to promulgate his Law: Whereas the Jews, *have a way of Writing from* Ezra, *which is curſed for ever*. And indeed inſtead of looking upon *Ezra* as the Reſtorer of the Law, they curſe him as an Impoſtor, who hath laid aſide their Old Characters to uſe New ones in their room, and authoriz'd ſeveral Books, that were writ to maintain the Poſterity of *David*.

25. Several Attempts have been made to convert theſe *Samaritans*. But they have been oppreſs'd inſtead of being made Chriſtians; and they are reduc'd to this ſmall Number rather by Miſery, than by the Multitude of thoſe that have been converted. Nay, they ſeem more ſtubbornly wedded to their Sect, than the Jews; altho theſe adhere very ſtiffly to the Law of *Moſes*. At leaſt *Nicon* ‖, who liv'd after the Twelfth Century, ſetting down the Formalities us'd for the reception of Hereticks, obſerves, that if a Jew had a mind to be converted, to avoid the Puniſhment, or Payment of what he ow'd, he was to purify himſelf, and ſatisfy his Creditors before he was admitted. But as for the *Samaritans*, they were not receiv'd before they had been inſtructed two Years; and they were requir'd to faſt ten, or fifteen days before they profeſs'd the Chriſtian Religion, and to be Morning and Evening at Prayers, and to learn ſome Pſalms. Others were not us'd with ſo much rigour. The Term of two Years, that was enjoyn'd to the *Samaritan-Proſelytes*, is an Argument that they were ſuſpected; and the reaſon why they were ſo, was, that they had often deceiv'd the Chriſtians by their pretended Converſion.

* Leo. *of* Modena. *p.* 156. † *In the Year* 1590. ‖ Timotheus ex Conone apud Coteler. Monum. *t.* 3. *p.* 422.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Sects of the Samaritans.

I. Essenes *misplac'd among the* Samaritans. II. *The* Sebuæans *a fabulous Sect.* III. *Some Mistakes concerning the* Gortheni. IV. *They appear'd after Christianity.* V. *Whether* Dositheus *is the Founder of the* Sadducees. VI. *He liv'd in the time of Christ.* VII. *The Causes of his Separation.* VIII. *His Fasts, and Celibacy.* IX. *Some* Dositheans *in* Egypt *in the 6th Century.* X. *Their Dispute with the* Samaritans. XI. *Decided by* Eulogius. XII. *Whether the* Samaritan *Pentateuch is deprav'd.*

1. THE Schismaticks were divided among themselves; and notwithstanding, that it was their Interest to unite against their common Enemies, yet they fell into different Factions. St. *Epiphanius* reckon'd Four; and as his Authority was great *, others without examining whether he was in the right, have been of his Opinion. *Johannes Damascenus* † and *Nicetas* are of these, and *Baronius* hath vindicated them. But it is easily observ'd that the *Essenes* are plac'd among these Sects, notwithstanding that they had a Schism of their own. They had their peculiar Temples and assemblies: They did not communicate with the Jews, but they were more averse to the *Samaritans*, with whom they ought not to be confounded. The other *Samaritan* Sects were the *Sebuæans*, *Gortheni*, and *Dositheans*, which we are going to examine.

2. It is pretended that the *Sebuæans* were the Second Sect. *Drusius* imagin'd, that they took that Name from *Sebaia*, the Priest that came from *Assyria* to teach them the Worship of God. The Name of this Priest ought to be known, to confirm this Etymology; Besides, the Sect of the *Sebuæans* wou'd be very old, since it had begun at that time. That Priest must also have taught them to celebrate the Passover in Autumn. But to what purpose is the inquiry of the Name of a Sect, that was invented? St. *Epiphanius* will have it, that their Hatred to *Ezra* and the Jews, that went to worship at *Jerusalem*, was the Cause of their Separation. But this Aversion, which was common to all the *Samaritans*, ought not to have distinguish'd the *Sebuæans* from the rest. He adds, that the *Sebuæans* celebrated the Feast of unleaven'd Bread in Autumn after the Month of *Tisri*, whereby they begun their Year, and delay'd the Feast of Pentecost till the end of Autumn. *Scaliger* believ'd, that they observ'd this last Festival Four times a Year; so that it was celebrated in Autumn. But this variety of Opinions, St. *Epiphanius*'s obscure way of expressing himself, and no peculiar Character being ascrib'd to this Sect, which is only distinguish'd from the *Samaritans* by the beginning of their Year, makes us believe that it never had a Being. St. *Epiphanius*'s Authority, which hath sway'd so many, ought not to impose upon any body. For his Commentator, who was one of the most Learn'd Men of the last Century, is mightily puzl'd to explain him; and we have already observ'd so many Mistakes of this ancient Father concerning the *Samaritans*, that we ought not to scruple laying another Mistake to his Charge, when he trump'd up a Sect which never was in a Church, he was little acquainted with.

3. The *Gortheni*, another pretended Sect of the *Samaritans* are not better known. It is said, that they celebrated the Feast of Unleaven'd Bread and the Passover at the same time, that the *Samaritans* observ'd both; and this was the Thing that characteriz'd them. It is added, that they *were divided among themselves*. So that according to this, there must have been a great many Branches of the *Gortheni*, and yet not one of them is known. It is no Explanation of St. *Epiphanius* to make him say, that they were not *divided among themselves but from other Sects*. For this is fathering upon him a Meaning directly contrary to his Words. Farther, if the *Gortheni* celebrated the Passover with the *Samaritans*, why are they look'd upon as a peculiar Sect? *Nicetas* calls them *Serotheni*, and contradicts himself, when he makes them solemnize the Passover with the *Sebuæans*, and Jews. For these differ'd very much about the Celebration of the Passover.

4. There is a greater Difficulty than this. For *Hegesippus* ‖ ranks the *Gortheni* among Hereticks, that appear'd since Christianity, and derives them from one *Gortheus* a Disciple of *Simon Magus*, as the *Cleobians* came from one *Cleobius*, and the *Dositheans* from *Dositheus*, who were bred up in the same School. *Theodoret* ‖‖ follows *Hegesippus*, and this Opinion appears to me the most probable; because St. *Epiphanius* being the First, who discover'd these different Sects of *Samaritans*, whereof neither *Josephus* nor *Philo* spoke, and having besides been so little acquainted with them, that he stumbles every step he makes, there is some reason to believe, that he took these Associates of *Simon Magus*, who mix'd the Jewish Religion with some appearances of Christianity, for *Samaritans*. There were so many Sects that appear'd at the beginning of Christianity, that they cou'd not easily be unravell'd. But it was not difficult to confound them. *Hegesippus*, who is older than St. *Epiphanius*, might have known them better than he. We therefore see that those, who divide the *Samaritans* into different Sects, accuse them of denying the Holy Ghost, and the Godhead of the Son. An Imputation which by no means belongs to Jews; but may fall on the Sectaries, that came out of this Nation, and liv'd after the Promulgation of the Gospel.

5. St. *Epiphanius* * makes of the *Dositheans* a fourth Branch of the Hereticks of *Samaria*. On the contrary the Jews † pretend, that *Dosthus*, or *Dositheus*, Son of *Jannæus*, liv'd in the Reign of *Sennacherib*, and that he was One of the Two Priests, that this Prince sent to instruct the Colony, which he had sent thither, and was devour'd by Lions. St. *Jerome* ‖ makes him the Father of the *Saducees*, and Chief of the *Samaritans* too; because he taught his Countrey Men to reject the Writings of the Prophets. But he is plainly mistaken; since the *Samaritans* had long before rejected these Sacred Books. However, *Serrarius* ‖‖ follow'd St. *Jerome*, and maintain'd, that *Dositheus* was Master to *Tsadoc* the Head of the *Saducees*; but he at the same time commits a greater Mistake when he places this *Heresiarch* in the time of Christ. *Photius* * believes, that after the Discourse which the Messiah had with the Woman of *Samaria*, near the Well of *Sichem*, two considerable Parties appear'd in the Countrey; One maintaining, that *Jesus* was the Prophet promis'd by *Moses*, when he says, *God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like me*; and the Other, that *Dositheus*, a Native of *Samaria*, a Towns Man and Contemporary of *Simon Magus*, was the true Messiah. How wide are these Opinions? Some have endeavour'd at least to reconcile the Fathers of the Church, who knew *Dositheus* no better than the Jews; and therefore have imagin'd

* Epiph. Hær. *l.* p. 28. † Damasc. de Hær. *p.* 575. Nicetas *l.* 1. *c.* 35. *p.* 63. B. Max. P. *t.* xxv. *p.* 63. Baron. Annal. Appar. ‖ Hegesi. apud Euseb. H. *l.* 4. *c.* 22. *p.* 142. ‖‖ Theodoret. Hær. Fab. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 193. * Epiph. Ibid. † Jauchum 172. ‖ Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. ‖‖ Drusius Resp. ad Serrarii Minerval, *c.* 10. Coteler Apost. Pat. *t.* 1. *p.* 335. * Phot. Cod. 130.

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that there were Two of that Name, One Father of the *Saducees*, who liv'd before Chriſt; and the Other a Contemporary and Aſſociate of *Simon Magus*. But to reconcile them all, a Third *Doſitheus* ſhou'd alſo be imagin'd, who was a Prieſt at *Samaria* to inſtruct the *Cuthæans* that were tranſplanted thither. But People will not perhaps be at the Pains to invent this in favour of the Jews, who, notwithſtanding that the Scripture ſays nothing of it, call that ancient Prieſt by that Name. And they'll be ſo much the more in the right, becauſe it is a *Greek* Name; now it is not likely that a *Greek* Prieſt had been found at that time in *Chaldæa* among the Jews, and preferr'd to all others to read the Law to People, who had not underſtood him; and alſo becauſe other Jews ſay that this Prieſt's Name was * *Lun*.

Well, let Chriſtians vindicate the Fathers of the Church, provided they do it to purpoſe. But how do they prove, that there were Two Men of that Name? Is it enough to fanſie it; becauſe it ſuits with their Deſign, to affirm that it is true? The *Saducees* never believ'd that *Doſitheus* was Founder of their Sect. They go no farther than *Antigonus* and *Tſadoc*. Why then ſhou'd he be impos'd upon them? But it is eaſy to diſcover the Grounds of this Miſtake. *Doſitheus* was a celebrated *Samaritan*. The *Samaritans* reject the Old Teſtament, and therefore they are often confounded with the *Saducees*. Thence it hath been inferr'd, that *Doſitheus* the Head of his Countreymen the *Samaritans* ought at the ſame time to be the Head of the *Saducees*; ſince both made but one and the ſame Sect. But all this is grounded upon an Errour; ſince the *Samaritans* differ'd very much from the *Saducees*, altho they all agreed to reject Traditions. Beſides *Doſitheus* liv'd after *Tſadoç*.

6. And indeed *Hegeſippus* who liv'd in the Second Century, places *Doſitheus* and his Adherents at the beginning of Chriſtianity with thoſe of *Simon Magus* †. In the Catalogue of the Works of *Hyppolitus* we find ſome ‖ *Songs upon all the Scriptures*. A Critick, who cou'd not conceive, that this Martyr had put all the Scripture into Verſe, hath corrected the Text; and diſtinguiſhing theſe Two Works, he pretends that the laſt was *againſt all Hereſies*. It doth not ſignifie much whether this Correction be good; ſince all thoſe that have ſpoken of *Hyppolitus*, reckon among his Works a Tract |||| againſt Hereſy, which begun by the *Doſitheans*; and yet he only confuted thoſe Errours which obtain'd ſince Chriſtianity. *Origen* * oppoſes Chriſt, whoſe Goſpel was preach'd all over the World, to *Simon* and *Doſitheus*, whoſe Sects were already dwindl'd to nothing, altho they boaſted of Miracles; and he poſitively ſays, that *Doſitheus* wou'd have perſwaded the People that he was the Meſſiah, when Chriſt appear'd. We alſo read in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions † that *Cleobius*, and *Simon Magus* were *Doſitheus*'s Diſciples; that they expell'd him, and degraded him from the firſt Place which he had in their Sect; and the Author of the Recognitions ‖ who alſo goes under the Name of *Clement*, fixes the Epocha of this Sect at the time that *John Baptiſt* loſt his Head. *Theodoret* |||| had the ſame Notion. So that he cannot be condemn'd for placing *Doſitheus* in the time of the Goſpel, ſince the oldeſt Authors, who were better acquainted with this Matter than St. *Epiphanius*, ſpoke after this rate.

7. *Doſitheus* was by Birth a Jew; but he went over to the *Samaritans* becauſe he cou'd not be * *the First in the Deuterotes*. This Term of *Nicetas* is obſcure, and ought to be corrected, and that of *Deuterotes* † put again in the Text. *Euſebius* ſpeaks often of theſe *Deuterotes* of the Jews, who made uſe of Ænigms to explain the Law. The Wits of the Nation of that time apply'd themſelves to this Study, which pav'd them the way to Dignity and Power. Few attempted it, becauſe it was very hard. However, it only requir'd Fancy. For as ſoon as it is lively and warm, it can eaſily find ſome Myſteries every where. *Doſitheus* ſtrove to diſtinguiſh himſelf by explaining the Law in an allegorical Senſe, and even wou'd be the firſt of theſe Interpreters. St. *Paul* being at *Rome*, *call'd the firſt of the Jews together*, that is the heads of the Nation; thoſe that had ſome Authority, and whom the *Sanhedrim* ought to have inform'd of his Caſe. The firſt of the *Deuterotes* were Maſters to the Others; and it was one of theſe Places, and perhaps the firſt among theſe myſtical Doctors, that *Doſitheus* wou'd have expected among the Jews, and which he cou'd not obtain.

8. It is ‖ pretended, that *Doſitheus* founded a Sect among the *Samaritans*; and that this Sect obſerv'd, 1. The Circumciſion and Sabbath, as the Jews. 2. They believ'd the Reſurrection of the Body. But this Article is controverted. For thoſe, who make *Doſitheus* the Founder of the *Saducees*, accuſe him of having oppugn'd this comfortable Truth. 3. He faſted very much; and in order to make his Faſting more mortifying, he did not allow the uſe of any thing that had Life: In a Word, ſhutting himſelf up in a Cave, he ſtarv'd himſelf to death, and his Diſciples ſome time after found his Body gnaw'd by the Worms, and full of Flies. 4. The *Doſitheans* had a great value for Virginity, which moſt of them preſerv'd; and others, ſays St. *Epiphanius*, abſtain'd from their Wives *after death*. People can't tell what to make of this; unleſs that they forbid ſecond Marriages, which many Chriſtians have thought unlawful and ignominious. But an ingenious Critick |||| hath found by altering one Letter, a clearer Senſe, and more eaſy to the Law of the *Doſitheans*, who abſtain'd from their Wives, when they were big with Child, or were *brought to Bed*. *Nicetas* ſtrengthens this Conjecture. For he ſays, that the *Doſitheans* parted with their Wives, when they had had one Child; and his Authority is the rather to be depended upon, becauſe he doth for the moſt part but copy St. *Epiphanius*. However, I like the firſt better; becauſe the *Doſitheans* laid aſide Women as uſeleſs, when they had anſwer'd the firſt intention of Matrimony, which is the generation of Children. 5. This Sect ſo fond of their Auſterities, look'd on all the reſt of Mankind with contempt. They wou'd neither come near, nor touch any Body. It is ſaid, that among other things, which they oblig'd themſelves to obſerve, they wou'd remain Four and Twenty Hours in the ſame Poſture they were in when the Sabbath did begin.

9. This Sect ſubſiſted in *Egypt* till the Sixth Century; and then aroſe a violent Diſpute between theſe Sectaries and the *Samaritans*. Theſe laſt fanſy'd that *Joſhua was the Prophet like him*, *that* Moſes *had promiſed to the Nation*. On the contrary, the *Doſitheans* maintain'd, that *Moſes* meant by this Encomium their Maſter *Doſitheus*, who *was* Simon *the* Magus's *Contemporary*; and that agrees with what *Origen* ſaid a long time before, that *Doſitheus* thought himſelf the Meſſiah; and it was rather to perſwade the World, that he was gone up into Heaven, than for the *love of Philo-*

* Patricides Hiſt. Eccleſ. † Hegeſ. apud Euſeb. *l.* 4. *c.* 22. *p.* 142. ‖ Ὧδαι εἰς πάσας γραφάς, *r.* ἀδαὶ εἰς πάσας αἱρέσεις. Hyppol. Laterculus. Le Moine Var. Sacr. *p.* 946. & 1087. |||| Euſeb. *l.* 6. *c.* 22. *p.* 223. Phot. Cod. 121. * Origen. contra Celſum, *l.* 1. & *l.* 6. *p.* 44. † Clem. Conſtit. Apoſt. *l.* 6. *c.* 8. *p.* 335. ‖ Clem. Recognit. *l.* 2. *p.* 506. |||| Theodor. Hæret. Fab. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. * Euſeb. Præp. *l.* 11. *c.* 3. & *l.* 12. *c.* 1. Δευτερώσεις, *r.* Δευτερωταὶ ς. † Apud Nicetam *l.* 1. *c.* 35. *p.* 62. ‖ Epiph. *p.* 30. |||| Epiph. μετὰ τὸ βιῶσαι, *read*, μετὰ τὸ κυῆσαι, *or* μετὰ τὸ ὑιῶσαι. Le Moine Var. Sacr. *t.* 2. *p.* 1102.

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ſophy, that he diſappear'd, and hid himſelf in a Cave, to die out of ſight.

10. The *Samaritans* and *Doſitheans* agreed about the Number of the Sacred Books. For they only receiv'd the Five Books of *Moſes*; but the firſt accus'd *Doſitheus* of having corrupted them. *Photius*'s Copyiſt muſt be corrected, who ſays, that he had alter'd the Eight Books of *Moſes*; notwithſtanding that there are but Five. *Doſitheus* had perhaps foiſted in ſome Expreſſions, or rather Oracles, which he apply'd to himſelf. A *Samaritan*, who hath ſince writ the Hiſtory of his Nation, imputes this very Crime to him; and affirms, that he was ſharply reprehended for it before his Death, by the High-Prieſt of Mount *Gerizim*.

He is alſo accuſed of applying to himſelf all the Oracles, and *the other Deity*. This Term is obſcure. Did *Doſitheus* make himſelf a God, becauſe he ſaw that Chriſt took that Title? I don't believe this was *Eulogius*'s meaning; ſince he only ſpeaks of another *Deity* but in oppoſition to Prophecy; But doubtleſs *Doſitheus* aſcrib'd to himſelf a Preſence of God, like that which *Moſes* had to guide and enable him to work ſo many Miracles, that made the People admire him.

Laſtly, he was upbraided with having ſully'd the memory of *Judah*, one of the Twelve Patriarchs, to whom the Scripture allows ſo great Privileges. But he did no more than the reſt of the *Samaritans*, whoſe Intereſt it was to leſſen that Tribe and their Head.

11. Let the Matter be how it will, the *Samaritans*, and *Doſitheans* writ againſt one another. Every one warmly aſſerted his Application of the Oracle of *Moſes*; and as they cou'd not agree, they choſe *Eulogius* for their Judge, who was then Patriarch of *Alexandria*. This Choice was very honourable, if it be true that they made it; becauſe they rely'd on his Moderation and Equity. Nevertheleſs it is plain, that he ſatisfy'd neither Party. For he overſet their Syſtem, and prov'd that this Oracle belongs to none but to Chriſt. He pronounc'd a Sentence which he intitul'd, *a Decree againſt the* Samaritans. Altho he publiſh'd it, yet it dy'd with him.

12. Some have taken occaſion from this Diſpute to cry down the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, and prefer the *Hebrew* one to it. And indeed, if it was true, that *Doſitheus* alter'd it, it cou'd not have that preference which is often given to it. The Learn'd *Uſher* believ'd, that the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, that is now read, is the ſame, that *Doſitheus* alter'd; which wou'd be enough to cry it down: And *Abraham Ecchellenſis* ſpeaks of ſome *Doſitheans*, who ſtill made uſe of their Maſter's Copy.

But this Diſpute ariſing between the *Samaritans* but towards the end of the Sixth Century, we cannot be ſure, that the Accuſation againſt *Doſitheus*, which was unknown till that time, is true. His Diſciples might have alter'd ſome places of the Pentateuch to maintain their Maſter's Glory. But there were a great many *Samaritan* Copies free from Corruption. Even thoſe, who diſputed at *Alexandria* againſt the *Doſitheans*, had ſome exact Copies. Why then will ſome have the Copy, that we have now, to be rather that of theſe Sectaries, who were but few, than that of the old *Samaritans*, who are as yet in Being, and own it to be genuine.

But it is an eaſy matter to decide this Controverſy. For by examining the Prophecies, that concern the Meſſiah, and comparing them with the Copies of the Jews, we may obſerve whether they differ, or whether ſomething, that might be apply'd to *Doſitheus* hath been foiſted into them. If theſe Oracles are pure without any Mixture, it is undoubtedly the *Samaritan* Pentateuch; and ſince the Criticks own, that theſe Oracles are pure, they reſolve the queſtion.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Saducees. *Their Original and Tenets.*

I. *TWO Opinions of* Lightfoot *concerning the Origin of the* Saducees *examin'd.* II. Antigonus's *myſtical Divinity.* III. *How he ſucceeded* Simon *the Juſt.* IV. *The time when the* Saducees *appear'd.* V. *Whether the* Saducees *rejected the Prophets.* VI. *Some Arguments againſt this Opinion.* VII. *A Third Opinion may be maintain'd.* VIII. *Whether they deny'd Providence.* Grotius *confuted.* IX. Theophilactus *and* Arnobius *accuſe the* Saducees *falſly.* X. *Mr.* Simon's *Opinion concerning the new Name of Angels.* XI. *Whether they be Powers inſeparable from God.* XII. *Theſe Notions refuted. The true Opinion of the* Saducees *concerning Angels.* XIII. *Whether they took their Opinion from* Herod *and* Plato. XIV. *The Reſurrection of the Dead oppugn'd.* XV. *Why they expected the Meſſiah.* XVI. *The Purity of their Worſhip.* XVII. *A Difficulty concerning the way of burning Incenſe.* XVIII. *The* Saducees *were ſevere about Marriage.* XIX. *Their ſavage Morals.* XX. *Whether they were* Epicureans. *Their Opinion of Rewards and Puniſhments.* XXI. *The* Saducees *juſtify'd of many Crimes.*

1. SOme make the *Saducees* older than they are, when they affirm, that their Opinion begun to ſpread in *Ezra*'s time. For they aſſert, * that as ſome Holy Men ſeparated themſelves from Idolatrous Nations at that time, and laid the Foundation of *Phariſaiſm*, ſome wicked Men begun to deny the Reſurrection of the Dead, and the Immortality of the Soul. It is farther ſaid, that *Malachi* introduces them, ſaying, *It is in vain to ſerve God*; and *Ezra*, who deſign'd to give the Church a Preſervative againſt this Errour, order'd that all Prayers ſhou'd end with theſe Words, *from age to age*. They only ſaid before, according to the *Thalmudiſts*, *Glory be to God in the Age*; but the Hereticks affirming that there was no other Life, the Ritual was alter'd, and they ſaid *from age to age*, that it might be known that there was an Age, and another Life after this. But notwithſtanding *Ezra*'s care, Errour gather'd ſtrength, and the Church decay'd after *Simon* the Juſt's Death. The Miracles of the Feaſt of Expiation ceas'd. Altho the *Scape*-God *Hazael* was thrown headlong from the Hill, yet he liv'd, and was eaten up by Infidels; and *Tſadoc* taking advantage of this Corruption, openly own'd his Opinions, and gave his Name to his Sect. Thus *Lightfoot* † derives this Sect; but he afterwards fell into another Extream. He reſolv'd to make the *Saducees* appear, but after the Verſion of the LXX was perform'd by *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*'s Command; and in order to that, inſtead of aſcending as far as *Ezra*, he lets two or three Generations paſs ſince *Tſadock*. He forſook the *Rabbins* and his own Opinion; becauſe the *Saducees* rejecting the Prophets, and admitting only of the Pentateuch, they cou'd not appear but after the LXX Interpreters, who only tranſlated in *Greek*

* Lightfoot in Matth. 3. 7. *p.* 234. † Lightfoot in Acta, *p.* 124.

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the Five Books of *Moſes*, and forbid that any thing ſhou'd be added to their Tranſlation. But without examining whether the LXX Interpreters did not tranſlate all the Bible, ſince *Ptolomy* had a mind to have in his Library all the good Books of the Jews, this Verſion was not us'd by the Jews, among whom the Sect of the *Saducees* ſprung. The Bible was read in *Hebrew*, and what ruins this Conjecture, the *Saducees* admitted of the Prophets as well as of other Books.

2. Myſtical Divinity did rather produce this Sect. And indeed, the Notions of a pure Obedience abſtracted from the hope of Happineſs, are not only found in the Works of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and other very old Fathers, but *Antigonus* had alſo ſcatter'd them under the diſpenſation of the Law. This Man liv'd 240 Years before Chriſt, and ſaid to his Diſciples; *Be not as Slaves, who obey their Maſters for Reward; obey without hoping any fruits of your labours. Let the fear of the Lord be upon you.* We are ſurpriz'd at the Maxim of a Divine, who liv'd under the old Diſpenſation. For the Law did not only promiſe ſome Rewards; but it alſo ſpoke often of a Temporal Happineſs, which was to be the ſhadow and conſtant attendant of Virtue. So that it was not eaſy to have any abſtracted Thoughts in ſo carnal a Religion. However, *Antigonus* had them firſt. People cou'd hardly ſoar ſo high and follow him. *Tſadock*, one of his Diſciples, who cou'd neither forſake his Maſter, nor reliſh his Myſtical Divinity, gave his Maxim another Meaning; and thence concluded, that there were no future Rewards and Puniſhments. He became the Father of the *Saducees*, who took from him the Name of their Sect, and this Tenet.

3. The Jews ſay, that *Antigonus ſucceeded* Simeon *the Juſt*. But we muſt diſtinguiſh in their Writings three ſorts of Succeſſions; that of the *High-Prieſts*; that of the *Princes* of the *Sanhedrim*; and the Third, that of *thoſe*, who preſerv'd Tradition, and handed the Law to their Poſterity. As the ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the ſame See, who handed the Faith to one another, is boaſted of in the Church of *Rome*; the *Rabbins* have imagin'd ſuch a ſeries of Succeſſion, whereby the Traditions of the Fathers paſs'd ſince *Moſes*, or *Ezra*, who renew'd them, to this time. The Firſt of theſe Succeſſions doth not belong to *Antigonus*. For *Onias* inherited the High-Prieſthood of his Father. The Second is a meer Chimera. For the High-Prieſts were by their Office the Chiefs and Preſidents of the great Council whilſt it laſted. But ſuppoſing this Succeſſion was real, *Onias* did not yield his Precedency to *Antigonus*. So that we muſt underſtand, that *Antigonus* receiv'd the Traditions of *Simeon* the Juſt, and convey'd them to *Joſe* the Son of *Joezer*. So that he kept the Line in the Succeſſion of Perſons, or Traditioniſt-Doctors. And therefore *Maimonides* * having included in one Article the 120 Succeſſors of *Ezra*; and thoſe, who compos'd after him the great Synagogue, namely *Simeon* the Juſt, as the laſt, and makes *Antigonus Sochæus* his Succeſſor. The Author of the *Juchaſin* doth the ſame Thing.

In a Word, that of *Pirke Abbot* †, or of *the Sentences of the Fathers*, ſpeaks clearly. For he obſerves, that *Antigonus receiv'd* Simeon *the Juſt*. He doth not ſay, that he ſucceeded him in the High-Prieſthood, but that he *receiv'd of him the* Oral Law.

4. So that the *Saducees* begun to appear, whilſt *Onias* was High-Prieſt at *Jeruſalem*, *Ptolomeus Euergetes* reign'd in *Egypt*, and *Seleucus Callinicus* in *Syria*, 240 Years before Chriſt. Thoſe who ‖ place this Event under *Alexander* the Great, and who affirm with St. *Epiphanius*, that this Sect ſprung in the Temple of Mount *Gerizim*, where *Tſadoc*, and *Baythos* were retir'd, commit a double Fault. For *Antigonus* was not High-Prieſt under *Alexander*, and *Tſadoc*'s Flight to *Samaria* was only invented to make his Diſciples the more odious. Not only *Joſephus*, who hated the *Saducees*, never upbraids their Head with this Crime, but they are alſo ſeen in the Goſpel worſhipping and attending Divine Service in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Nevertheleſs, the Jews and *Samaritans* had no dealings together at that time.

5. The *Saducees* ſticking only to the Holy Scripture, rejected the *Oral* Law, and all Traditions, which begun under the *Macchabees* to be reckon'd an eſſential part of Religion. St. *Jerome* |||| and moſt of the Fathers believ'd, that they cut off from the Canon the Prophets and all Sacred Writings except thoſe of *Moſes*. The modern Criticks * follow'd the Fathers, and obſerv'd that *Jeſus Chriſt* deſigning to prove the Reſurrection to the *Saducees*, who deny'd it, only quoted *Moſes*; becauſe a Text from the Prophets, whoſe Authority they did not own, had not been convincing.

6. It is a hard Task to decide this queſtion. It wou'd perhaps be imprudent to oppugn the general Opinion of the Fathers upon this Matter. However, we muſt not omit the Reaſons that ingage us to believe, that theſe Hereticks follow'd the common Canon of the Jews, and only oppos'd Tradition. 1. They only begun to appear, but when the Canon of Scripture was fix'd, and the Gifts of Prophecy over, and that there were no new Books to be admitted. It can hardly be imagin'd, that they oppos'd the common Canon; ſince it was receiv'd in *Jeruſalem*. 2. The *Saducees* taught and pray'd in the Temple. And yet the Prophets were read there, as that appears by the example of Chriſt, who explain'd a Paſſage of *Iſaiah*. It might too be added, that the *Saducees* receiv'd the ſame Bleſſing taken from the Prophets, which concluded Divine Service. But I do not know whether this laſt Cuſtom is as ancient as it is pretended. 3. But *Joſephus*, † who ought to have been well acquainted with this Sect, relates that they *receiv'd what was written*. *Scaliger* ‖ carry'd away by his prejudice againſt the Jeſuit *Serarius*, put in his Tranſlation *all* that is written; but this *all* is not found in the Original. However, the Teſtimony of *Joſephus* is very full. For he oppoſes *what is written* to the *Oral* Law of the *Phariſees*; and he inſinuates, that the Controverſy only turn'd upon Traditions; which makes us conclude, that the *Saducees* receiv'd all the Scripture, and all the Prophets as well as *Moſes*. 4. The Diſputes of the *Phariſees*, or the common Doctors of the Jews, againſt the *Saducees*, ſhew this more plainly. *R. Gamaliel* proves to them the Reſurrection of the Dead from ſome places taken from *Moſes*, the Prophets, and *Agiographers*; and the *Saducees* inſtead of rejecting the Authority of the Books quoted againſt them, only endeavour'd by quirks to elude the force of theſe Paſſages. 5. Laſtly, the *Saducees* reproach'd to the *Phariſees*, that they believ'd, that the Sacred Writing defiled, but that thoſe of Hereticks did not. What were theſe *Sacred Books*, which in the Opinion of the *Phariſees* defil'd? They were the *Eccleſiaſtes*, the Song of *Solomon*, and the *Proverbs*. So that the *Saducees* look'd upon all theſe Books as Sacred Writings; and even had a greater Veneration for them than the *Phariſees*.

7. A third Opinion might be maintain'd, *(viz.)* that the *Saducees* did not abſolutely reject the Sacred Writings. They look'd upon them as Books writ by

* Maimon. & Juchaſin apud Vorſt. Not. in Tſemach David, *p.* 114. † Pirke Abbot, *c.* 3. fol. 1. ‖ Micræl. Hiſt. Eccl. *l.* 1. Sect. 2. *p.* 265. Bartolocci Bib. Rab. *t.* 1. *p.* 380. |||| Hieron in Matth. Origen. cont. Celſ. *l.* 1. Serar. Trihær. *l.* 2. *c.* 21. *p.* 89. * Simon Hiſt. Crit. *of the New Teſt. l.* 1. *c.* 16. *p.* 93. Bartol. Bib. Rab. *t.* 1. *p.* 380. † Joſeph. Ant. *p.* 454. ‖ Scalig. Elench. Trihær. *c.* 16. *p.* 416.

Holy Men, whose Memory they reverenc'd. However, they did not believe that they had the same Authority as the Law of *Moses*. This Law was the only Rule of their Faith, and whatsoever was not taken from the Pentateuch, they did not receive as a foundamental Article of Religion.

The *Pharisees* themselves are oblig'd to own this Principle: * *It is not enough to believe the Resurrection of the Dead; but there is a necessity to be perswaded that it is taught in the Law, otherwise the Foundation is overturn'd.* Whether the *Saducees* had more Reverence for *Moses* than for the other Prophets; whether they observ'd, that the other Books afforded stronger Arguments for the Resurrection; whether People had a great deal of Liberty allow'd them concerning the Canon of Scripture, and the choice of Holy Books, as they had for a long time in the Christian Church; the *Saducees* read all the Prophets; suffer'd that they shou'd be quoted, that the Blessing for the People, some Oracles, and moral Precepts shou'd be taken out of them; and that they shou'd be inserted in the Canon. But they believ'd, that the Law, the only Foundation of their Religion, and the only Rule of Faith; and that all that *Moses* had not taught, ought not of necessity to be believ'd, to be sav'd.

8. The *Saducees* seem too to have deny'd a Providence; and therefore they are put among the *Epicureans*. *Josephus* † says, "That *they deny'd Fate*, de-"priv'd God of inspecting Evil, and all influence on "Good; because he set Good and Evil before Man, "when he left him at liberty to do either. *Grotius*, who cou'd not apprehend, that the *Saducees* were of this Opinion, thought we shou'd correct *Josephus*, and read, that God *hath no share in the Actions of Men, whether they did Evil or not.* Lastly, he hath said, that the *Saducees* being wedded to a false Notion of Liberty, thought it intirely in their Power to eschew Evil, and do Good. In the main he is in the right. But there is no necessity to alter the Text of *Josephus*, to ascribe this Opinion to the *Saducees*. For the Term that he uses, only denies a Providence, that influences Men's Actions. The *Saducees* depriv'd God of an active Direction of the Will, and only allow'd him the privilege of Rewarding or Punishing those, who voluntarily did Good, or Evil. And indeed, the Three chief Sects of the Jews differ'd in this, (*viz.*) The *Saducees* strain'd Man's Free-Will too far, and were the Predecessors of *Celestius* and *Pelagius*, who made Man absolute Master of his Actions and Doom. The *Essenes* ascrib'd all to Fate, and inclin'd to the Opinion of the Stoicks, whose austere Morals they borrow'd. But the *Pharisees* kept a medium between these two Sects, as we shall see hereafter. The *Saducees* were *Pelagians*, the *Essenes Predestinarians*, and the *Pharisees Semi-Pelagians*. At least they acknowledg'd a Divine Influence over good Actions, which they call'd *Grace*.

9. The greatest Errour of the *Saducees*, was concerning the Existence of Angels, and the Spirituality of the Soul. And the Evangelists upbraided them with asserting, that *there was no Resurrection, neither Angel, nor Spirit.* This Text of Scripture is clear; and yet Interpreters find it very difficult. *Theophilactus* says, that they deny'd the Godhead of the Holy-Ghost. Nay, he doubts whether they knew God; because they were of gross and heavy Understandings, and wedded to matter; and *Arnobius* || believing, that the Existence of Angels cou'd not be deny'd without making God corporeal, ascribes this Opinion to them. The Learn'd *Petavius* |||| fell into that Mistake, that he might conceal a Fault of St. *Epiphanius*.

But we must refer *Arnobius* to *Eumenius* the Philosopher. For this Heathen, more exact than a Doctor of the Church, hath not only vindicated the Jews on the score of this Doctrine, but also explain'd several places of Scripture, which gave occasion to say, that a material God was believ'd under the Old Testament. Granting that it is true, that there are several Things in the *Rabbins*, which shew that these Doctors ascribe a Body to God; that wou'd not justify *Arnobius*. For this Father never read the *Rabbins*, nor took this Opinion from their Writings, because they were not so old as he: And supposing, he had read and copy'd them; yet it is for all that true, that the *Saducees*, who deny'd the Existence of Spirits, because they had no clear Notions but of sensible and material Objects, look'd upon God as above their Understanding, and an incomprehensible Essence, because it was intirely abstracted from matter. In a Word, the *Saducees* oppos'd the Existence of Spirits, without denying the Person of the Holy-Ghost, that was no more known to them, than to the Disciples of *John Baptist*. *For they had not so much as heard whether there was any Holy Ghost:*

10. Father *Simon* * affirms, that the *Thalmudists* confess, that the Name of Angels was not us'd among them till their return from Captivity; and the *Saducees* concluded from thence, that the Invention of Angels was new, that whatever was said of them was added by the great Synagogue, and that all that they said of them, ought to be understood in an allegorical Sense. But this justifies the *Saducees*, who are condemn'd in the Gospel for that Errour. For was the Existence of Angels only grounded on a Tradition, that was but new, since it only begun at the Jews return from Captivity, when the Prophets ceas'd; it was not a very great Crime to deny it, or to turn into Allegories, what the *Thalmudists* said of Angels. Besides, the great Synagogue is a Fiction, which neither *Josephus* nor the *Saducees* ever knew.

11. Others fansie, that the *Saducees* look'd upon Angels as inseparable Powers of God, which however appear'd on Earth cloth'd with other Names, according to their various Functions; like the Rays of the Sun, which without being sever'd from that Planet, shine, and have their Influence here below. Nay, *Grotius* believ'd, that some Jews in *Justin Martyr*'s time still maintain'd that Opinion; and that this Father upbraided them with it. But *Grotius* was mistaken. For those whom *Justin Martyr* accuses of this Errour, were Christians †, or Hereticks, that separated from the Church, and made use of this Hypothesis, to prove that *Jesus Christ* was not a Divine Person distinct from the Father.

12. The *Saducees*, who admitted the Books of *Moses*, cou'd have none of these Notions. They read in them, that there had been some Apparitions of Angels; and therefore cou'd not fansie them a new Invention of the Doctors, that return'd from the Captivity. They saw in them, that these Angels came down on Earth, and therefore cou'd not fansie them inseparable Beings from the Deity. No doubt but they had quite another Notion of them, maintaining that these Angels were but Phantasms, which appear'd only for a time. As the Bodies, which the Angels put on lasted but a Moment, and had perhaps but the appearance of humane Bodies, the *Saducees* said the same thing of the Spirits, which animated those Bodies, because every thing, except God, was material.

13. Lastly, it is pretended, that *Herod*, originally an *Athenian*, drew from thence the Doctrine of *Plato*, concerning the nature of the Soul, and carry'd it along with him into *Judæa*, where the *Saducees*, who appear in the Gospel to be the same as *the* Herodians, did warmly assert it. This Philosopher taught, that the Souls were form'd of a very subtil Air; and that

* Gloss. in Sanhed. fol. 90. † Καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἔφασαν τὰ δρᾶν τὶ κακὸν ἢ ἐφορᾶν τίθεται. Grot. *reads* δρᾶν τι κακὸν ἢ μὴ δρᾶν; Joseph. Ibid. || Arnob. *l.* 3. *p.* 100. |||| Petav. Dogm. Theol. *t.* 2. V. Not. in Epiph. Hær. Sad. * Simon Hist. Crit. *of the Old Test.* † Origen. contra Cels. *l.* 1.

they

they were only call'd Spirits, in oppoſition to the Body, that was compos'd of a groſſer Matter; that theſe Spirits, or ſubtil Bodies after Death return'd into the Air, whence they were taken; and that this is exactly what ought to be imputed to the *Saducees*.

Thus People take a great deal of pains to darken what is clear. The Goſpel ſays, that the *Saducees* maintain'd that there were *neither Angels, nor Spirits*. Why ſhou'd we not ſtop here? What, is it ſo hard to conceive, that there have been ſome, who having no notion of a ſpiritual Subſtance, believ'd that every thing, except God, was Corporeal? This Notion is ſo natural, that moſt Men inſenſibly fall into that Errour. Some Fathers, notwithſtanding the Light of the Goſpel, thought the Soul material. It is eaſy to extend this Notion to Angels. Why is *Herod*'s Countrey, and *Plato*'s Opinion trump'd up here? Why ſhou'd the *Herodians* and *Saducees*, who differ'd ſo much, be confounded together? Why ſhou'd People go as far as the great Synagogue, or impute to the Jews ſome Errours which only appear'd in the time of Chriſtianity; inſtead of ſaying only with the Evangeliſts, that the Errour of the *Saducees* lay in this, that they deny'd the Exiſtence *of Spirits and Angels*, as well as that of Souls. As we do not examine how they deny'd the Reſurrection of the Body, we ought not to inquire too nicely into the firſt Article, How they deny'd Angels. However, if there is need of a Commentary, why ſhou'd we not take that of *Joſephus*, who informs us, that the *Saducees deſtroy'd the Soul with the Body?*

14. The third Errour of the *Saducees* was, That they deny'd the Reſurrection of the Body, which they thought impoſſible. They affirm'd, That Man was wholly deſtroy'd by Death, whence flow'd a neceſſary, and dangerous Conſequence, That there were neither Rewards, nor Puniſhments after this Life. The Opinion of theſe Sectaries is ſometimes ſtretch'd too far, when they are accus'd of taking away all manner of Ideas of Puniſhment and Reward. Since they at leaſt receiv'd the Books of *Moſes*, they cou'd not be ignorant of the Hiſtory of the Deluge, and of the Conflagration of *Sodom*, or of thoſe exemplary Puniſhments, which God often inflicted in the Wilderneſs on the *Iſraelites*, whoſe Poſterity they were. They only deny'd the Eternity of Puniſhments, and reſtrain'd God's avenging Juſtice to this Life.

15. Since the *Saducees* deny'd the Spirituality of the Soul, and the Reſurrection of the Body, one wou'd think, that they were not concern'd in the coming of the Meſſiah, who they however impatiently expected as well as the reſt of the Jews. On the contrary, they argu'd in this reſpect more coherently than the *Phariſees*. For the Meſſiah was look'd upon as a temporal Deliverer and King; and the *Saducees*, who confin'd all their Hopes to this preſent Life, had a great Intereſt that he ſhou'd appear in their time, that they might enjoy the Fruits of his Conqueſt, and the Happineſs, which the Prophets promis'd during his Reign: But according to the Notion of Chriſtians, it is an undoubted Truth, that the *Saducees*, who believ'd neither a Heaven, nor a Hell, were in the moſt oppoſite Diſpoſition imaginable to Chriſt.

16. Their Worſhip was pure. For they ador'd the God of Heaven and Earth, and ſacrific'd with the reſt of the Jews in the Temple. Nevertheleſs, they have been accus'd of worſhiping God under the Figure of a Goat, and to have chang'd the firſt Words of *Geneſis*. In order to authorize this Worſhip, they put *Azimah* inſtead of *Elohim*, and by this Alteration, they made *Moſes* ſay, That a Goat created *the Heaven and the Earth*. We have already refuted the ſame Accuſation, which was exhibited againſt the *Samaritans*, and is alſo falſe with reference to the *Saducees*.

17. *Maimonides* * doth alſo impute to the *Saducees* to have believ'd, that the Incenſe was on the day of Expiation to be plac'd near the Veil of the Temple, to be immediately carry'd into the Holieſt of Holies, when the Smoak begun to come out of the Cenſer, becauſe God had ſaid, that *he wou'd appear in the Cloud upon the Mercy-Seat*. Whereas others maintain'd, that the Incenſe was not to be burn'd, but when the High-Prieſt was in the Holieſt of Holies; becauſe God had commanded that † *he ſhou'd put the Incenſe upon the Fire before the Lord*. This Difference, which is not very great, gave occaſion to the Oath, which the High-Prieſt was oblig'd to take the Eve before this Ceremony, to clear himſelf of being ſuſpected of Hereſy, or *Saduciſm*. For the Senate ſent him ſome Deputies to ſwear in the Name of him to whom the Temple was conſecrated, that he wou'd make no Innovation in the ancient Rites. The High-Prieſt went away weeping; becauſe he was ſuſpected of ſo pernicious a Deſign, and afterwards took the Oath. Suppoſing that this Ceremony was practis'd during the Second Temple; this proves, that the Jews were more jealous of their Rites, than of their Tenets; ſince inſtead of examining the High-Prieſts concerning the capital Errours of the *Saducees*, they were only uneaſy about ſome Formalities. But there is ſome reaſon to queſtion the Truth of this Cuſtom; ſince *Maimonides* quotes no body for his Warrant.

18. Laſtly, the *Rabbins* impute to them the auſterity of their Morality as a Crime and Hereſy. The *Saducees* pretend that theſe Words of *Leviticus* condemn plurality of Wives: (*viz.*) ‖ *Thou ſhalt not take a Wife to her Siſter to vex her, to uncover her Nakedneſs, beſides the other in her Life time.* The *Thalmudiſts* ‖‖‖ who are zealous Aſſertors of *Polygamy*, teach, that it is lawful for *a Man to have a Hundred Wives at the ſame time*, and that the firſt hath not Right to oppoſe it, provided the Husband keeps and cloathes them, *and gives them ſome mark of conjugal Love, as belongs to every one of them.* They think, that the Examples of *David* and *Solomon* warrant them in that; and infer, that the *Saducees*, who oppoſe theſe venerable Authorities, are Hereticks with relation to Matrimony.

19. It is ſaid, that they were very ſevere with reference to the puniſhment of Crimes; and that they thence borrow'd their Names of *Juſt* *; but beſides that they were made Judges againſt their Wills, *Joſephus* † ſays, that the *Saducees* were oblig'd to be very complaiſant to the *Phariſees*. Theſe laſt had the greateſt ſway; and when the *Saducees* were made Magiſtrates againſt their Will, they were forc'd to ſtoop, and follow the advice of the *Phariſees*. This is not properly doing Juſtice. St. *Jerome* made another Conjecture. For ‖ he imagines that they were call'd *Saducees*, or *Juſt*, becauſe they had attain'd a perfect Righteouſneſs by their fulfilling of the Law. But beſides, that this ſuits better to the *Phariſees*, who boaſted that they had fulfill'd the Law; it is well known, that *Tſadoc* gave this Sect this Name, and therefore we ought not to look for another *Etymology*.

20. Farther, there are very different Opinions concerning their Morals. *Joſephus* doth not draw a very favourable Picture of them. For ‖‖‖‖ he repreſents them, *as People, whoſe Morals were ſavage, and with whom Strangers cou'd have no correſpondence. They were often divided among themſelves.* To explain this hideous Character, by the liberty they took to diſpute on matters of Religion, is to palliate it too much. For *Joſephus*, who relates theſe two Things, blames one, and praiſes the other. At leaſt he doth never ſay,

* Maim. de Solemni die Expiationum. Faſcis vi. *p.* 656. Tract. Jebamot *c.* 6. * Tſedec *ſignifies* Juſtice, *and thence the* Saducees. in Matth. 22. ‖‖‖ Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 2. *c.* 7. *p.* 788. † Levit. *c.* 16. *v.* 13. ‖ Levit. *c.* 18. *v.* 18. † Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 18. c. 2. *p.* 617. ‖‖‖‖ Thalm. ‖ Hieron.

that the Diverſity of Opinions, or the heat of Diſputation, occaſion'd the Diviſions that were ſo common in their Sect.

21. Some Chriſtians * make them Hogs of *Epicurus*, given up to Senſuality. They imagine, that as they deny'd Puniſhments and Rewards in the other World, and the Immortality of the Soul, their Doctrine led them to Licentiouſneſs. But Conſequences of this nature ought not to be inferr'd, becauſe they are often falſe. Two Things are Curbs to humane Corruption; the puniſhments of this preſent Life, and the pains of Hell. The *Saducees* broke down the Laſt, altho they did not meddle with the Firſt. For they believ'd neither future Rewards, nor Puniſhments; but admitted of a Providence that puniſhes Vice, and rewards Virtue during this Life. Their deſire of being happy in this World, kept them within the bounds of their Duty. A great many wou'd not concern themſelves about an eternal Felicity, cou'd they be happy in this Life. For they toil and labour for nothing elſe. So that we muſt not think, that the *Saducees* were looſe in their Morals, becauſe they deny'd the Immortality of the Soul, and the Eternity of Rewards, and Puniſhments. For their fear of Temporal Puniſhments, and their hopes of the Bleſſings which God beſtows in this World on thoſe that ſerve him, reſtrain'd the Corruption of their Hearts.

22. They are eſpecially unjuſtly charg'd with many Crimes. For it is ſaid † for inſtance, that *Alexander Jannæus*, at their Inſtigation, put Eight Hundred *Phariſees* to death; that before he had their Throats cut, he order'd their Wives and Children to be murder'd before them; and that during this barbarous Execution, he was at Table feaſting with his Concubines, and the *Saducees*. It is alſo affirm'd, that this Sect abuſing their Credit with *Herod*, committed a great many Crimes, and made him ſtrangle his Children, and ſtone to death Three Hundred Captains. Yet *Joſephus*, who was no Friend of the *Saducees*, lays none of theſe Things to their Charge. It is true, that *Herod* did not love the *Phariſees*, who even refus'd to take a new Oath of Allegiance to him. He had a little more kindneſs for the *Saducees*; but is that a ſufficient Reaſon to accuſe them of all the Crimes, which this Prince committed even in his own Family? To call *Joſephus* to witneſs, is to expoſe ones ſelf to be cenſur'd by all Criticks; ſince he doth not ſay one Word of all this. And to rely on the Authority of ſome Modern *Rabbins*, is to acknowledge, that there is no ancient Authority to make it out; and to make an Oſtentation of Learning, and do a kind of Injuſtice to the *Saducees*; ſince every body knows, that the *Rabbins* are their mortal Enemies, and have an Intereſt to find a Foreign motive of *Herod*'s Hatred to the *Phariſees*.

CHAP. VII.

Some conſiderable Events in the Hiſtory of the Saducees; *their Decay, and preſent State.*

I. *A General Notion of this Chapter.* II. *Whether the* Saducees *have been condemn'd as Hereticks.* III. *This prov'd to be falſe.* IV. Bathuſées, *fictitious Hereticks.* V. Hircanus's *Declaration in favour of the* Saducees. VI. *His Apology by the Proteſtants, and* Roman *Catholicks.* VII. *The Refutation of this Apology.* VIII. Ariſtobulus *and* Alexander *Friends to the* Saducees. IX. *A Diſpute concerning Traditions.* X. *The Condition of the* Saducees *under* Alexander Jannæus. XI. *They are Maſters of the* Sanhedrim. *A Diſpute concerning the manner, that Criminals were burn'd.* XII. Caiaphas, *and* Ananus *High-Prieſts, were* Saducees. XIII. *Whether they were all cut off at the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem. XIV. *They appear'd again in* Egypt *in the third Century.* XV. Ammonius *writes againſt them. The time wherein he liv'd.* XVI. *A Novel of* Juſtinian *againſt them.* XVII. *Whether* Ananus *reſtor'd that Sect in the ſixth Century.* XVIII. Alphrag's *Diſpute in the twelfth Century. His Arguments againſt the* Rabaniſts. XIX. *Whether there be a Sect of* Saducees *among the* Mahometans. XX. *Whether they can be confounded with the Manichees of* Bagdet. XXI. *The* Saducees *are but little known at this time.*

1. THE *Saducees* made up a conſiderable part of the Jewiſh Nation whilſt Chriſt was upon Earth. They had already ſome High-Prieſts at their Head, and they alſo had ſome others ſince that time. Perſons of Quality willingly crowded into a Society, which rid them of the gnawing Fears of Futurity, and confin'd their Thought to this preſent World. The Goſpel teaches us, that their Arguments were ſubtle, and the Objections they offer'd to Chriſt againſt the Reſurrection, plauſible, and dazling. It is ſaid, that they periſh'd immediately after the death of the Saviour of the World. But this is a Miſtake: For they were powerful until the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. They were involv'd in the ruin of their Country; yet they have from time to time made a Figure, notwithſtanding the conſtant Perſecutions of the *Phariſees*. And this is what we are going to relate in few Words.

2. It is aſſerted, that the *Saducees* are the only Hereticks among the Jews; becauſe that Church, jealous of the Purity of her Tenets, ſolemnly condemn'd them as ſoon as they appear'd. *Tſadoc* and *Baithos*, who made another Branch of *Saduceiſm*, are always odious to that Nation. It is added, that the Doctors do not agree about the Title of *Epicurean*. They give it ſometimes to them, who read prophane Authors; ſometimes to Writers of Magick; ſometimes to thoſe who deſpiſe the Sages, and their Deciſions: And altho others apply it to thoſe, who pronounce the Name of *Jehovah*; yet it is certain, that it is more eminently given to the *Saducees*, as well as that of *Minim* or Hereticks. A *Rabbin*, who derives this Word from the *Hereſiarch Manes*, is groſsly miſtaken. For the *Saducees* were condemn'd, and had the ignominious Title of Hereticks a long time before. The Jewiſh Church ſpar'd the other Sects, that aroſe in her; becauſe they were purer and leſs dangerous. But ſhe cou'd not endure thoſe, who deny'd the Exiſtence of Spirits, the Reſurrection of the Body, and future Rewards and Puniſhments.

3. People argue upon what ſhou'd be. But they are often miſtaken, when they prefer concerning Hiſtorical Facts, the Rules of good Senſe and Reaſon to the Teſtimony of Hiſtorians. Neither the Church, nor Mankind, are always what they ought to be. The Errours of the *Saducees* were ſo groſs, that it is very ſtrange, that they were not condemn'd as ſoon as they were broach'd; and that the Jewiſh Church which had not as yet broken her Covenant with God, had ſo little Zeal for Truth, and ſo much Indifferency for Religion, to cheriſh in her Boſom a ſet of Men who openly undermin'd it. However, read the Goſpel,

* Helvicus Villemer Diſſ. Philol. de Saduc. Wittemb. Anno 1680. † Helvicus Villemer Diſſ. Philol. de Saduc. Wittemb. 1680.

and

and you'll ſee the *Saducees* praying in the Temple with other Sects, miniſtring at the Altar, and ſacrificing with the reſt of their Nation. It is true, that temporal Rewards and Puniſhments kept the *Saducees* within bounds. But as they deny'd Hell and Heaven, they deſtroy'd the fear of Futurity, and broke down the greateſt Fence that God hath put againſt Vice and Impenitency. They did not as the *Epicureans*, juſtle Providence out of the World; yet they dug up the very Foundations of Piety, by looking upon the Eternity of Happineſs and Miſery as a Fiction. So that theſe Errours were dangerous enough to deſerve a thundering Sentence againſt them from the *Sanhedrim*. But whether that Aſſembly was not inſtituted, when *Saduceiſm* appear'd, or that they were us'd to ſee it in the Church, when *Gabinius* eſtabliſh'd that Council ſome Years before the coming of Chriſt, the *Sanhedrim* did not think fit to condemn it. Thoſe that ſay it, can neither produce the Decree, whereby they were condemn'd, nor offer any ſolid Arguments againſt the Goſpel, which ſhews us the reaſon of the *Saducees* riſing againſt *Jeſus Chriſt* with the *Phariſees*, and the reſt of the People, that worſhip'd at *Jeruſalem*. They had ſome High-Prieſts of their own, till that great City was deſtroy'd. The *Rabbins*, that call them Hereticks, are in the right; but they came afterwards, and they did not think it neceſſary, that the Church ſhou'd condemn an Opinion, to make it Heretical. Hereſy depends on the importance and nature of the Errour independently of *Anathema's*, and the thundering Sentences of Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies: But then the *Phariſees* and *Eſſenes* ſhou'd alſo be rank'd among Hereticks.

4. Criticks have made a ſecond Sect of *Saducees*. *Baithos* was their Head, and Contemporary and Aſſociate of *Tſadoc*. But theſe two Chiefs differ'd; becauſe *Baithos* believ'd the Reſurrection of the Dead, which the other publickly deny'd. Others affirm, that it is the ſame Sect, which prefer'd the Name of *Tſadoc* to that of *Baithos*; becauſe the laſt was a Baſtard; and that the illegitimate Birth of the Head had ſully'd the whole Sect. *Maimonides* makes only one Sect of them, which were indifferently call'd *Saducees*, and *Bathuſées*: *The Sages call'd them ſo, but they were call'd in* Egypt Caraites. *Maimonides*'s Miſtake is palpable. For the *Saducees* differ'd very much from the *Caraites*; and ſo learned a Man cou'd not without Injuſtice confound ſo different Sects. We ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of *Fuller*'s Opinion, who confounds them with the *Eſſenes*. Let us only here obſerve, 1. That *Baithos* is a Man wholly unknown to *Joſephus*, and the Holy Writers; and that his Name is to be ſeen no where, but in the Books of the *Rabbins*, who ſay that he was a Baſtard. But is their Authority ſufficient to convince that he was baſely Born; and to affirm that his Diſciples, who were aſham'd of it, durſt not take his Name? The *Rabbins*, that are quoted to prove this, are too modern to be believ'd upon their bare Word. 2. Theſe Doctors knew ſo little of his Sect, that they often diſtinguiſh it from the *Saducees*, and oftner confound it too with them: So that their Teſtimony cannot fix our Opinion. Nay, we have juſt now ſeen *Maimonides* confounding them with the *Caraites*. St. *Epiphanius*, who lov'd to multiply the Sects of the Jews without any neceſſity, doth not ſpeak of this. Which is an evident Argument, that the *Rabbins* had not as yet invented it in his time; and makes me conclude that both *Baithos*, and his Sect, is but a Fiction.

5. So that the *Saducees* were neither condemn'd by the Jewiſh Church, as ſoon as they appear'd in it, nor divided into ſeveral Branches. For this Sect was always united, and powerful. *Hircanus* the High-Prieſt declar'd for them againſt the *Phariſees*. Theſe ſuſpected the Mother of this Prince of Incontinency with ſome Heathens, when they took her at *Modin*, which was a ſtain to his Birth. Beſides, they wou'd oblige him to chuſe either the Scepter or Tiara, the Kingdom or Prieſthood. God who inflicted ſo ſevere a Puniſhment upon a King for pretending to burn Incenſe upon the Altar, tolerated *Hircanus*, who did publickly exerciſe theſe two Offices; and thus deſigning to keep the Government of the Church and State in his own Hands, he was deaf to the Reproaches of the *Phariſees*. He was exaſperated againſt them; and put ſome to death. But the reſt fled into the Wilderneſs; and this hath made ſome fanſie that the *Eſſenes* came from theſe. *Hircanus* at the ſame time ſided with the *Saducees*; and order'd, *upon pain of death*, that the Cuſtoms of *Tſadoc* ſhou'd be obſerv'd. The Jews ſay, that he caus'd a Decree to be publiſh'd in all his Dominions, that all thoſe, that *wou'd not receive* * *the Rites of* Tſadoc, *and* Baithos, *and would receive the Cuſtoms of the Sages, ſhou'd loſe their Heads.* Theſe Sages whoſe Cuſtoms were not to be obſerv'd, were the *Phariſees*, who had afterwards that Title; becauſe their Party is uppermoſt. Let the Thing be what it will; here is the Hereſy of the *Saducees* eſtabliſh'd by the Authority of a High-Prieſt, who upon pain of death condemn'd Traditions.

6. There hath been a great deal of Pains taken to juſtify *Hircanus*, whom *Joſephus* repreſents as a Saint, to whom God beſtow'd the Gift of Prophecy, and reveal'd what was to come.

Firſt, a famous Proteſtant † believ'd, that this Prince was malitiouſly deſcrib'd as a *Saducee*, only to make him odious to the Nation; whereas he was but a *Caraite*, very zealous for the Holy Scripture, an Enemy to the Traditions that were added to it, and who, unable to endure the *Phariſees*, becauſe they wou'd tyranize over the Conſcience of Kings, and were Maſters of the Traditions, which he did not admit, was oblig'd to baniſh them: And yet it is not likely, that ſo great a Prince, and a High-Prieſt wou'd have deny'd the Exiſtence of Souls, and the Eternity of Torments.

Secondly, ‖ Some cannot endure, that one, who was head of the Church, and ſat in *Moſes*'s Chair, ſhou'd have err'd. *Albert* the Great, far from looking upon him as the Patron and Head of the ancient Hereticks, believ'd him a Saint, and invok'd him with the reſt of the *Maccabees*. His Fall can't |||| be deny'd; but it is compar'd with that of *Solomon*, who recover'd himſelf by a ſincere Repentance. It is ſaid, that he condemn'd the *Phariſees*, yet did never approve the Hereſy; that on the contrary he gave a free liberty of Conſcience to thoſe who had a mind to join with the *Eſſenes*, who had their private Aſſemblies. He did not decide, that the Errours of the *Saducees* were neceſſary to Salvation. He did not pronounce his Judgment as High-Prieſt, but as a private Doctor; and God, who ſaw that his Conduct might be of ill conſequence to the Church, took him out of the World, and ſhortn'd both his Reign and High-Prieſthood.

7. A ſecret Intereſt to maintain the Infallibility, which ſome wou'd aſcribe to the Synagogue, and its Chiefs, makes them apply moſt of theſe Diſtinctions to *Hircanus*, which have been lately invented. But notwithſtanding their ſubtle Arguments, this Prince's Fall can't be diſſembl'd; and therefore to place him among the Saints whom they invoke, without knowing either the Judgment or Will of God, is to love to multiply the Objects of their Devotion, and the bleſſed Spirits in Heaven, and to ſin with a great deal of Temerity. *Joſephus* was zealous for the *Maccabees*,

* R. Abrah. Ben Dior Cabbala apud Trigl. de S. Caræor. *c.* 6. *p.* 49. † Trigl. ibid. *p.* 50. ‖ Bartolocci Bib. Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 379. |||| Serarius Trihær. *l.* 2. *c.* 28. *p.* 102. nov. Edit. 1703.

cabees, and had always a mighty Veneration for their Memory. He look'd upon *Hircanus* as one of the Heroes, and Deliverers of his Nation, and ſpeaks of him as of a Saint who had ſome Revelations, and the Gift of Prophecy. So that this Hiſtorian cannot be accus'd either of having deſign'd to render him odious to Poſterity, or of Ignorance; ſince he did not live long after this Prince. Nevertheleſs, he leaves him ſully'd with the Stain, that we aſcribe him; and affirms, that he declar'd for the *Saducees*, whilſt he perſecuted their Enemies, the *Phariſees*. *Joſephus*, who had ſtudy'd all theſe Sects, knew them too well to be miſtaken. He was almoſt *Hircanus*'s Contemporary, and makes him a *Saducee*. How then can his Teſtimony, and ſo ſure an Authority be diſputed upon ſome vain diſtinctions? It is true, that this Hiſtorian makes *Hircanus* a Prophet; but it was becauſe he did not think the Gift of Prophecy inconſiſtent with Errour; ſince he aſcribes the ſame Gift to the *Eſſenes*, who had adopted ſeveral heatheniſh Rites. This ſhews, that the Errours of the *Saducees* were neither thought very dangerous Hereſies, nor condemn'd by the Church; ſince they were attributed to *Hircanus* the High-Prieſt.

8. His Son *Ariſtobulus* took the advice of the *Phariſees*, and did not put his hand to the Cenſer; yet he wag'd a cruel War with them. *Alexander*, who ſucceeded his Brother, continu'd to maintain the *Saducees* till about the time of his Death. For then perceiving that the *Phariſees* were beſt belov'd by the People, he adviſ'd the Princeſs his Wife to ſhift ſides. She did it, and in her Reign the *Phariſees* being rais'd to the higheſt pitch of Power, oppreſs'd their Enemies. Theſe even became ſo odious for ſome time, that their Followers, who were promoted to the High-Prieſthood and Magiſtracy, durſt do nothing but what the *Phariſees* pleas'd, leaſt they ſhou'd expoſe themſelves to publick Hatred.

9. The *Saducees* had a famous * Conference with their Enemies before the Deſtruction of the Second Temple. This Diſpute, if we believe the Jews, was about the neceſſity of Traditions. The *Phariſees*, who aſſerted them, made uſe of theſe Two Arguments; One, that the Law was deficient in ſeveral Articles, which were neceſſary to be known. As for Inſtance, the Law did not preſcribe what was to be done to a Man, that had loſt all his Teeth, and had broken one of his Adverſaries; and to a Blind Man, who had put out the Eye of another. They alledg'd for their Second Argument theſe Words of God to *Moſes*, † *I will give thee a Law and Commandments that thou mayſt teach them.* The Law, ſay they, is *written*, and we muſt underſtand by the Commandments the Tradition that was verbally intruſted to *Moſes*. It is ſtrange, that ſuch Proofs ſhou'd be made uſe of to ground Traditions upon; and that the Law ſhou'd be accus'd of Imperfection upon Principles of this nature. It is yet more ſurprizing, that ſuch Arguments ſhou'd be tranſmitted to Poſterity, as if they were irrefragable. Nevertheleſs, the *Rabbaniſts* affirm, that to perpetuate the Memory of their Victory, they order'd that the 15*th* Day of the Month *Thammus*, which anſwers to *July*, ſhou'd be celebrated as a Feſtival, during which it wou'd be unlawful either to ſhed Tears, or grieve. Some Criticks find in this Relation, the *Caraites*, inſtead of the *Saducees*; and make uſe of this Story to prove their Antiquity. It muſt be confeſs'd, that the Diſpute being only about Traditions, which were the only cauſe of the Separation of the *Caraites*, there are ſome grounds to believe, that theſe maintain'd the Conference in queſtion. But as we there find the Name of *Bathuſees*, we durſt not alter it. Beſides, this Story is ſo uncertain, that it affords no convincing Proof, ſuppoſing that it was transferr'd from the *Saducees* to the *Caraites*.

10. *Maimonides* ‖ relates too, that in the Reign of *Alexander Jannæus*, the *Saducees* ſeiz'd upon all the Offices of the *Sanhedrim*; and that *Simeon* the Son of *Scerab* was the only Perſon in it, that was for Traditions. As it was the Cuſtom to propoſe ſome Queſtions to the *Sanhedrim*, and that every one gave his Opinion to decide them; *Simeon* propos'd to the *Saducees*, that none ſhou'd be admitted into the Council, who cou'd not ſolve by the Law the Queſtions propos'd. He by this means drove out of the *Sanhedrim* all the *Saducees* one after another; becauſe they cou'd not quote ſome places of the Law to prove their Aſſertions. The Traditioniſts, whom he always calls *Iſraelites*, were again reſtor'd to the Council; and the Day that the *Saducees* were expell'd, which happen'd the 28*th* of the Month *Thebet*, which anſwers to *February*, was celebrated as a Feſtival.

11. However, the *Saducees* not long after recover'd the Authority they had loſt, at leaſt if we believe their Adverſaries. For the Thing in queſtion being how Criminals were to be burn'd, *R. Eleazar* alledg'd a Fact, whereof he had been an Eye-witneſs in his Infancy, Forty Years before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. The Daughter of a Prieſt arraign'd for Whoredom, was condemn'd to be Burn'd. Some Branches were gather'd for a Funeral Pile, wherein ſhe was conſum'd. This Fact puzzl'd the Doctors, who believ'd, that this kind of Puniſhment was not lawful. For the Criminal was commonly put into Dung; he had a Napkin ty'd ſtrait about his Neck, that his Mouth being open, the melted Lead which was pour'd into it, might go in and burn his Vitals, They pretended, that they borrow'd this kind of Puniſhment from God himſelf; becauſe the Scripture ſays, that *a Fire from the Lord* |||| conſum'd *Nadab* and *Abihu*; yet they did not appear burn'd, ſince they were carry'd in their Shirts out of the Camp; and Tradition teaches, that they were burn'd inwardly. But God did not deſign to give thereby either a Law, or an Example. It was a wonder, that cou'd not be copy'd. There was in this no Lead melted; and it was the Fire of the Altar deſign'd to burn the Incenſe, which unexpectedly choak'd thoſe, who had offer'd ſtrange Fire. However, the Example quoted by *Eleazar* puzzl'd the Doctors, becauſe he propos'd a Tradition different from theirs. Three Things were anſwer'd to his Objection. One, that *Eleazar* was but young, when he ſaw the Executiou of the Daughter of the Prieſt, that was burn'd with ſome Vine Branches; and that the Teſtimony of a Child ought not to be allow'd: The Other, that the *Samaritans* preſided at that Judgment; which is ridiculous, ſince the Thing happen'd at *Jeruſalem*, the firſt Year that Chriſt enter'd into his Miniſtery, at which time the *Samaritans* had no Privilege in *Jeruſalem*. Laſtly, it was anſwer'd, that the *Saducees* pronounc'd the Sentence, and that as they allow'd but what was contain'd in Scripture, and had no regard to Tradition, it was no ſtrange thing that they ſwerv'd from it. If this Fact be true, the *Saducees* had then more Votes in the *Sanhedrim* than the *Phariſees*, and, as we have ſaid, triumph'd over their Adverſaries.

12. *Caiaphas*, who condemn'd Chriſt to death, was a *Saducee*, as it appears by the acts of the Apoſtles *. The *Saducees* had afterwards another High-Prieſt of their Sect nam'd *Ananus*, who was a cruel and bloody Man. He took advantage of the Death of *Feſtus*, and the Abſence of *Albinus*, who was coming from *Alexandria* to take poſſeſſion of his Government,

* Megillat. Taanit. *c.* iv. † Exod. 24. 12. ‖ Maimon. Hilc. Sanh. *c.* 11. 553. Vitringa de Syn. *l.* 1. *c.* 7. *p.* 160.
|||| Levit. 10. 2. * Acts 5. 17.

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to call the Council together, and to put St. *James* to death. His hasty Proceedings offended *Albinus*; who in a huff depriv'd him of the High-Priesthood a little after his Arrival. At least *Saduceism* triumph'd whilst he was High-Priest.

13. The Destruction of *Jerusalem* weaken'd this Sect extreamly. Some Criticks affirm, that it was intirely involv'd in it; and that this is the reason that no Copy of the Bible remains, that was peculiar to any *Saducee*; because they were all consum'd in the Conflagration of that great City, and their Sect having never recover'd that fall, we cou'd not have any of their Books. But the *Saducees* had the same Fate as other Sectaries, who cou'd scarce recover themselves after the general Desolation of *Judæa*; and the Number of the *Saducees* being always inferiour to that of the *Pharisees*, they found more Difficulty to appear again, and be considerable in their Nation, that is so overwhelm'd with Calamity. Nevertheless notwithstanding the obscurity and distance of Time, which have depriv'd us of several ancient Monuments, we from time to time discover them.

14. A modern * Author affirms, that they appear'd so formidable at the beginning of the third Century, that *Ammonius*, who saw them teaching in *Egypt*, where they were retir'd, writ against them. He unfolds the Method, which *Ammonius* follow'd in that Book. The *Saducees* deny'd the fundamental Points of Religion, *Yet they maintain'd themselves against the* Pharisees; *because they were included in the old Covenant. Whereas* Ammonius *successfully made use of the Light, which the Gospel had spread over these Truths, which did seem doubtful or ambiguous to the Jews, and especially to the* Saducees, *who had taken thence occasion to make a Schism and a Sect of their own.*

15. I will take no notice of the Fault already observ'd about the time wherein *Ammonius* liv'd. It is plac'd *at the beginning of the third Century, in the Year* 320, *or* 330. But this is a fault of Impression, and it is not fair to lay a Mistake, occasion'd by a Cypher's being misplac'd, to the charge of a Man, who expresses himself clearly. We must rather observe, that *Ammonius* liv'd a little later, than is commonly set down; since *Dionysius Alexandrinus* directed a Letter to him against *Sabellius*, which gave occasion to suspect this great Bishop of Heresy, and oblig'd him to make his Apology. This Circumstance shews, that *Ammonius* taught at *Alexandria*, at the time that *Dionysius* was Bishop of it.

As *Ammonius*'s Book is lost; it can't be guess'd what method he took against the *Saducees*. But that which is ascrib'd to him was not good. To make use against Hereticks, of an Authority which they do not acknowledge, is to confess that one doth not design to convince or convert them. The Arguments of St. *Paul*, or of Christ, about the Resurrection of the Dead, were of no force against the *Saducees*; since they did not acknowledge those two Doctors; and the Light which the Gospel cast upon that Tenet cou'd not enlighten them, since they shut both this Book and their Eyes, that they might not see it. In order to convince the *Saducees*, Arguments ought to have been taken, either from Reason, or the Old Testament, which prove the Immortality of the Soul, and future Rewards and Punishments. However, one of these Methods must not be attributed to *Ammonius* preferably to the other, since we are wholly ignorant of what he writ.

16. It is more certain, that the Emperour *Justinian* † spoke of them in his Novels, wherein he banishes them out of all his Dominions, and commands that they who taught some certain Tenets of Impiety and Atheism, shou'd be put to death. For they deny'd *the Resurrection, and the Last Day of Judgment*. So that this Sect was in Being at that time; but it was still wretched.

17. *Justinian*'s Decree, was a new Calamity to this Sect, that was already very weak. For the Christians using themselves to look upon the *Saducees* as a Set of impious Men, who deserv'd the worst of Punishments; they were oblig'd to fly, and to forsake the *Roman* Empire, which was of a vast Extent. They found some new Adversaries in other Places, where the *Pharisees* were settl'd. So that it was wandering and fugitive, when *Ananus* gave it some Reputation about the middle of the Eighth Century ‖. At least ‖‖ the Jewish Historians say, that this Man whom they call Annen, *a Disciple of the great Light*, Juda Nachmanides revolted from his Master, who was head of the Academy of *Sora*, and declar'd for the *Saducees*. *They had been mightily reduc'd, since the destruction of* Jerusalem; but they yet subsisted, *and* Annen *restor'd them again, and confirm'd them in their Opinion*. For he protected them as long as he liv'd. But the *Caraites* deny this, and complain that their chief Patrons were taken away from them out of Jealousy, that they may afterwards be confounded with the *Saducees*. Some Christians join with the *Caraites*, and look upon *Ananus* as the Father of these Last, and the Founder of their Sect. But as we are to examine their Origin in the following Chapter, we'll only observe here, that *Ananus* was neither the Restorer of the *Saducees*, not Father of the *Caraites*, who were much older than he; but that he restor'd this Sect, that was oppress'd by their Enemies.

18. There is another potent Patron ascrib'd to the *Saducees*, who flourish'd in the Twelfth Century, and stoutly maintain'd their Interest in *Spain*. *Alphrag*, which was the Name of this famous Doctor, asserted against the *Pharisees*, his Adversaries, that the Jewish Church was only to be found in his Sect; and prov'd, by some publick Writings, the Insignificancy of Traditions, which were multiply'd *ad infinitum*. He exclaim'd against a great many Ceremonies which were needlesly impos'd on the Jews. A *Rabbin*, who is call'd *Haravad*, because these Four Words, *Abraham, Ben, David, Halevy*, are abbreviated, answer'd this Head of the *Saducees* by a Treatise, wherein he shew'd, that his Doctrine was by a continued Succession handed down to the Year 1167. Besides, the Argument, that he drew from the Succession of Doctors, and his Doctrine; he added, that Universality was a demonstration against the *Saducees*, and that there was such an Universality, since all the Synagogues in the World taught his Doctrine. Which shews plainly, that these very Arguments, and Prejudices, are made use of in all Communions. They are only alter'd, put in a Dress suitable to the taste of the present Age, and are happily apply'd according to the circumstances of the Times. But Truth and Falshood put on the same Garments. *Alphrag* wou'd not yield to these Prejudices, which he found so empty. The *Pharisees* were oblig'd to encounter him again, but cou'd not foil him. He dy'd, and left some Disciples, who afterwards asserted his Doctrine. There are as yet at this time some *Saducees* in *Africa*, who deny the Immortality of the Soul, and the Resurrection of the Body; but they are but few. Some even pretend, that *Alphrag*'s Conferences concern'd the *Caraites*, more than the *Saducees*.

19. It is said, that there is among the *Mahometans* a Sect of *Saducees*, who are even to this Day call'd *Zindikites*, and believe neither Providence, nor Resurrection of the Dead. But this is a Mistake occasi-

* *Essays of* Literature, an. 1704. *p.* 190. ‖‖ Ganz. Tsemach David, *p.* 125. † Justinian Authent. Collat. 9. *t.* 27. Nov. 146. *p.* 614. ‖ An. 755.

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on'd by *Giggoius*, who explain'd the term *Zindig*, by that of *Saducee*. It is true, that ſome Interpreters * have been of this Opinion; but this Term rather denotes the *Magi*, Diſciples of *Zoroaſtres*, and Worſhipers of Fire. For this Name is borrow'd out of two Books of *Zoroaſtres*, which contain all the Religion of the *Magi*, which are call'd † *Zend*, and *Pazend*. Beſides, the Sect of the *Zindikites* believes the Tranſmigration of Souls. It was this Sect, which for that reaſon gathering together in the City of *Haſcemia*, that was the Capital City of *Almanſor*, wou'd have ſome Proceſſions about the Califf, like thoſe, which are made about the Temple of *Meccha*, becauſe they affirm'd that the Soul of *Ali*, was tranſlated into the *Califf*; who, offended at this Impiety, order'd a Hundred of the forwardeſt to be ſeiz'd. The reſt took a Coffin, and appear'd before the Priſon Gates, as if they deſign'd to bury ſome body. The Gates were open'd to them, and they all ruſh'd in, and carry'd away the Priſoners, and went together to *Almanſor*'s Palace to kill him; but he and his People made ſo vigorous a Defence, that they were repuls'd. However, as he did not think himſelf ſecure in his Capital City, he built *Bagded*, that he might retire thither. The Sect of the *Zindikites* was compos'd of People, that believ'd the Tranſmigration of Souls, and it was wrong to make them a company of *Saducees*.

20. Neither do I believe, that they ought to be confounded with the *Manichees*, that *Hadi Almanſor*'s Grand-Son order'd to be hang'd at *Bagded*. I acknowledge, that they were call'd *Zendik*, which is the Name of the *Saducees*. But if I am not miſtaken, this Name among the *Orientals* is common to all Hereticks. At leaſt the Tenets, which are aſcrib'd to the *Saducees* of *Bagded*, did not belong to the Sect of that Name. On the contrary, they taught, that Men ſhou'd labour for the World to come, and contemn the Goods of this: Whereas the *Saducees* minding nothing but the Goods and Evils of this Life, had no thoughts of Futurity. Add, that theſe Doctors, who wou'd have their Diſciples keep themſelves from the Vulgar, and never eat any Meat, acknowledg'd two Principles, one Good, the other Bad; Light, and Darkneſs. So that they were rather *Manichees*. *Hadi* the Fourth *Califf* of the Family of the *Abbaſides*, found them near *Bagded*, and purſuant to his Father's Orders directed to him, he had a Thouſand Gibbets ſet up near that City, whereon all theſe *Saducees*, or rather *Manichees*, that cou'd be found, were hang'd.

21. So that it muſt be confeſs'd, that except ſome places of *Africa*, there are no *Saducees* now found any where, that meet in a body together. They might formerly live in the ſame Church and Temple with the Jews; but their ſmall Number hath made them ſo odious and contemptible, that they are not now tolerated. So that none, but ſome looſe Fellows, and pretended Wits, cheriſh theſe Errours in private, and thereby keep up the Succeſſion of *Saduceiſm*. But theſe cannot be follow'd through thoſe dark Paths; therefore let us come to the *Caraites*, who have often been confounded with theſe Hereticks.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Caraites. *Of their particular Tenets.*

I. *Whether the* Caraites *deſcended from the Ten Tribes. The Language of the* Lithuanian Caraites *agree with that of the* Tartars. II. *Whether they be as ancient as* Ezra. III. *A Catalogue found at Grand* Cairo *of their Doctors ſince* Ezra. IV. *The* Rabbins *place them in the Reign of* Alexander *the Great. A groſs Miſtake.* V. Abravanel *confounds them with the* Saducees. VI. *He is confuted.* VII. *Whether they rejected* Saduceiſm *out of Policy.* VIII. *They deſpiſe Tranſlations.* IX. *Their Averſion for Traditions prov'd.* X. *Mr.* Simon's *Arguments to the contrary refuted.* XI. *Of Intercalations. The Method, that the Jews obſerv'd to find out the New Moon.* XII. *The* Caraites *reject the Aſtronomical Tables.* XIII. *Some Diſputes and Stories of the Jews concerning Intercalations.* XIV. *The* Caraites *oppoſe them.* XV. *Their Reaſons.* XVI. *The Anſwer of the* Rabbaniſts. XVII. *The Antiquity of Intercalation ill prov'd.* XVIII. *Some Diſputes about Inceſt.* XIX. *Their Notion of God, his Operations, and Grace.* XX. *Of the Meſſiah.* XXI. *Their way of Worſhip.* XXII. *Their Feſtivals and Rites.* XXIII. *The Purity of their Morality concerning Temperance.*

1. THE *Caraites* were doubtleſs a conſiderable Party, and if we believe ſeveral *Caraite* Authors, this wou'd be the Oldeſt of all the Jewiſh Sects. For they affirm, that they came from *Ezra*. They prove the Succeſſion of their Church ſince that time by an exact Catalogue of all thoſe who have either taught, or oppos'd *Caraiſm*.

Were they believ'd, we ſhou'd go yet higher. For thoſe that are at this time in *Poland*, and *Lithuania*, maintain, that they are deſcended from the Ten Tribes, which were carry'd away by *Shalmaneſer*; and went into *Tartary*. They therefore ſpeak the ſame Language as the *Tartars*, and *Turks*; || and their Tranſlations of the Scripture, which they read in their Synagogues, are in that Tongue.

But we can't very well rely on theſe Obſervations. We ſhall ſee hereafter, what is become of the Ten Tribes, which never went into *Tartary*; and altho it were true, that the Verſions of the *Lithuanian Caraites* have a great affinity with the *Turkiſh* Language, we ought not to wonder at it; becauſe they have had great Correſpondence with the *Mahometans*. There are ſome Jews at *Conſtantinople*, ſince the time of *Conſtantin*, who might borrow ſome Words of their laſt Maſters; but the Learned |||| ſay, that there is but little affinity between the *Turkiſh* Language, and that of the *Lithuanian Caraites*; and that to find it, all the Words muſt be plainly alter'd.

2. It is alſo wrong to derive them from *Ezra*, and we need but know the Foundation of this Sect, to be convinc'd of the contrary. For theſe pretended *Hereticks*, oppos'd other Doctors meerly becauſe theſe made Traditions equal to Scripture, and boaſted of an *Oral* Law given by *Moſes*. But Traditions did not begin to be in vogue among the Jews, but a long while after *Ezra*, who only gave them the Law to regulate their Behaviour. An Errour is not oppugn'd, till it hath appear'd, and a Tenet contradicted, till it be publickly taught. So that the *Caraites* cou'd not make a particular Sect, till they ſaw the Practice and Number of Traditions ſwell to that degree, that there was reaſon to fear leaſt Religion might be endanger'd by it.

3. It is true, that a *Caraite* * very well vers'd in the *Oriental* Languages, who had travell'd all over the *Eaſt*, to collect the Monuments of his Sect, maintains

* Pietro de la Valle, Voyages. † *The Year of the* Hegira 140. Jeſus Chriſt, 762. Herbelot Bibl. Orient. *p.* 552. & 929. || Peringerus ad Lud. apud Schupart. |||| Scupart. Cht. Hakkarim ſeu Secta Charræorum Diſſertationibus aliquot Philologicis adumbrata, Jenæ 1701. * Moſes Beſchitſi.

that

that the Catalogue, which they produce of their Doctors ſince *Ezra*, is true and genuine. Nay, it is ſaid, * that it was found at Grand *Cairo*, written upon the Skin of a Fiſh; and was there carefully preſerv'd for ſeveral Ages. But is not this Romantick?

However, we muſt do the ſame Juſtice to the *Rabbaniſts*. Both Parties ſhew the Catalogue of the Doctors, who continuing the Succeſſion of their Church, have either maintain'd, or oppos'd Traditions. Theſe two Catalogues muſt be equally either receiv'd or rejected. For they are grounded on the ſame Proofs, and claim the ſame Antiquity.

4. The *Rabbins* derive their Enemies from another Original; but betray at the ſame time their groſs Ignorance. For they make them appear in the time of *Alexander* the Great; and ſay, that when this Prince came into *Jeruſalem*, *Jaddus* the High-Prieſt was then the Head of the *Rabbaniſts*, or Traditioniſts; and *Ananus* and *Caſcanatus* were conſiderable Patrons of the *Caraites*; and that God declar'd for the Firſt. For *Jaddus* perform'd a Miracle before *Alexander*; whereas *Ananus* and *Caſcanatus* ſhew'd their Inſufficiency; And indeed *they were Hereticks, whoſe Memory ought to rot.* But this is a palpable Errour. For *Ananus* the Patron of the *Caraites*, whom the *Rabbins* give out to have been Contemporary of *Alexander* the Great, liv'd only in the Eighth Century of the Chriſtian Church.

5. Laſtly, They are look'd upon as a Branch of the *Saducees*. Moſt of the Ancients, and Moderns, confound them with theſe Hereticks. *Abravanel* † who writ againſt them about the neceſſity of an Intercalation, aſſerts, that the Jewiſh Church had made a very good uſe of Aſtronomical Calculations, for the ſpace of Eleven Hundred Years from *Moſes* to *Antigonus*, the Head of the Captivity, Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, and had *Baithos* and *Tſadoc* for his Diſciples; and that the Enemies to Traditions ſprung from them. They are alſo ſaid to agree in their Tenets. For in the famous Book ‖ Intitul'd, *The Victory over Chriſtians*; becauſe *Lipmannus*, who writ it, pretends to have defeated them with ſome Paſſages from all the Books of the Holy Scripture; the neceſſity of Traditions is often prov'd againſt the *Saducees*. "Some things, ſays "he to them, may be done, that are not commanded "in the Law, ſince *Elijah* offer'd Sacrifices in another "place than in the Temple. What is wanting in the "Law muſt alſo be ſupply'd. For *Joſhua* ſays, that he "took *Achan* and his Children, and that they were "burn'd; which, ſays he, is falſe, if we ſtick exactly to the Letter, as the *Saducees* do. For the Children of *Achan* cou'd not be puniſh'd; ſince they "were not guilty of their Father's Sin; but *the Beaſts "were burnd, and* Joſhua *took the Children to inſtruct "them.* His Proof is weak, and Explication falſe. But it is no matter. Let us only obſerve two Things. One, that the *Caraites* are confounded with the *Saducees*, becauſe they had the ſame Opinion of Traditions: The Other, that *Abravanel* derives them from the ſame Original. And yet theſe two Things are evidently falſe.

6. For *Abravanel*, who places *Antigonus* at the Head of the *Sanhedrim*, left him out in the Catalogue of the Sucеſſors of *Ezra*, who were to have preſerv'd Tradition. So that he forgot himſelf. Add, that he makes him a Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, that was not then inſtituted. For had there been a Great Council at that time, *Simeon* II. had been Preſident of it before him. He ſays, that *Antigonus* liv'd Eleven Hundred Years after *Moſes* altho he liv'd near three Hundred Year after the time that he ſets down. He makes him *a Chief of the Captivity*, when that of *Babylon* was long before over, and the People, who were return'd to *Jeruſalem*, enjoy'd a full Liberty under the High-Prieſts. Laſtly, *Tſadoc* was the Father ‖‖‖ of the *Saducees*, but he had no Affinity with the *Caraites*, whoſe Origin is of an older Date, as we ſhall prove hereafter, by following the Steps of a Judicious Critick, who ſtudy'd that matter better than had been hitherto done.

7. The *Caraites* are charg'd * with having follow'd all the Doctrine of *Tſadoc* and of his Diſciples. But it is added, that they vary'd from them afterwards; becauſe they perceiv'd that this Syſtem render'd them odious; and therefore they rejected part of it, and only oppos'd Tradition, and the *Oral* Law, that was added to the Scripture. Yet the *Caraites* never deny'd the Immortality of the Soul; and none of their Writings can be produc'd, wherein this Errour is aſſerted. On the contrary, the *Caraite* quoted by Father *Simon* †, believ'd that *the Soul comes from Heaven*, as the Body is of the Nature of Sublunary Beings; and that *the Soul ſubſiſts as the Angels*, and that *the World to come was made for the Soul* ‖.

The *Caraites* have not only confuted this Accuſation, which they look'd upon as the greateſt Affront that cou'd be put upon them; but they alſo maintain, by way of Recrimination, that their Enemies were rather to be ſuſpected of *Saduciſm* than they; ſince they believe that the Souls ſhall be annihilated, after they have ſuffer'd for ſome Years the Pains and Tortures of Hell. Laſtly, They reckon neither *Baithos* not *Tſadoc* as their Anceſtors, or Founders of their Sect. Thoſe who vindicated *Cain*, *Judas*, and *Simon Magus*, were not aſham'd to aſſume the Title of their own Chiefs. The *Saducees* adopted that of *Tſadoc*; But the *Caraites* reject and curſe it; becauſe they condemn his pernicious Opinions.

It is true, that the *Rabbaniſts*, who are their Enemies, have often accus'd them of having adopted the fundamental Articles of the *Saducees*; but *Abraham Halevy* hath juſtify'd them. He ought to have known the *Saducees*, ſince he writ againſt them. Nevertheleſs, far from confounding the *Caraites* with theſe Sectaries, he ſays that they differ'd very much from them, and the moderate *Rabbins* have follow'd this Doctor, who liv'd about the middle of the Twelfth Century.

8. And indeed the Religion of the *Caraites* is much purer, than that of all the reſt of the Jews; becauſe they more ſcrupulouſly ſtick to the Text of Holy Writ.

They commonly read it in *Hebrew* in their Synagogues; and if they have ſome *Arabick* and *Greek* Verſions, it is only out of neceſſity, that the Vulgar, which cannot always read the Original, may have the Benefit of reading them. They aſſert, that God's Meaning cannot be ſo clearly underſtood in Tranſlations, as in the Language of the Prophets.

Purius ex ipſo fonte bibuntur aquæ.

As there are in the Scripture ſome metaphorical Expreſſions, which ſeem harſh in other Tongues, and cannot be well tranſlated, they exhort Children to learn the *Hebrew* Tongue, that they may make uſe of it to underſtand the Holy Text.

9. They reject the Book, which we call the *Apocrypha*, and condemn the Traditions, that have been added to the Law. I own that this laſt Article is queſtion'd. For ſome maintain, that they cull out ſome Traditions, which ſeem to them well grounded, from thoſe, which a too preſumptuous Fancy hath

* V. Trigland. de Caräit. *c.* 2. *p.* 182. † Abravanel. in Append. ad lib. Coſri Buxtorf. *p.* 451. ‖ Lipman. Nizzachon. ex Joſue, *p.* 154. ex editione Snellii, An. 1654. ibid. ex Libro Reg. *n.* 191. ‖‖‖ Trigland. Diatribe de S. Caræor. * V. Pfeifferus de Theolog. Judaïca arq; Mahomedica, Sect. 2. aſſert. 2. *p.* 909. *t.* 2. † Morin Sacr. Bibl. Sim. Crit. ‖ Leo of Modena's *Supplement concerning the* Caräites, *p.* 157. An. 1089. ‖‖‖ V. Trigland. Diat. de S. Caræor. *c.* 5. *p.* 44.

tack'd to the Holy Scripture. But the Opinions of the *Caraites* cannot be better known, than of themselves. They acknowledge, but two Guides in Religion; One is *the Lamp of Scripture*; and the Other, *that of the Understanding*. "Truth * according to them, "is known by Reason, which draws it from the Pro- "phecies. An Argument is known to be solid, when "it agrees with the Words of a Prophet; only some "Articles are too profound for the Understanding. "However, they are receiv'd with respect; because "they were dictated by a Prophet. Cou'd Man ap- "prehend every thing, neither the Prophets, nor "Prophecies had been necessary. So that they do not explain the Scripture by Tradition, but only by the light of Reason, which serves them to understand the Words of Scripture, and to draw from the Law, some natural and necessary Conclusions.

They † say this, and confirm their Opinion by some Quotations from other Doctors, who were before them. But they affirm, *that every thing is written in the Law*; that there is no *Oral* Law given to *Moses* on Mount *Sinai*; that this *Oral* Law, invented by the *Thalmudists*, is the Cause of their Separation; because they were fill'd with Horrour, when they saw, that a New Law was added to God's Law; and that Others might be added upon the same Grounds. They ask the reason, why God had been oblig'd to write part of his Laws, and conceal the Other, or trust it to Men's Memories.

They look upon the *Thalmud* as an Abomination, and Turpitude, which they are asham'd to divulge. However, they cry out in a fit of Zeal, *O* Rabbanists, *I will reveal your Abominations*.

Abraham Halevy, that famous Traditionist of the Twelfth Century, confesses, that they reject the *Oral* Law, and only draw some Inferences from the Holy Text. In a Word, *F. Morin*, after he maintain'd for a long time, that the *Caraites* made use of the *Thalmud* and *Misnah*, is forc'd to own in one of his Letters, || that *they acknowledge no Tradition*, and *Pietro della Valle*, a famous Traveller, to whom he writ, adds, that they only minded the litteral Sense of the Law, *without admitting any other Interpretations, or Traditions of the Fathers*.

10. To prove to the *Caraites*, that they make use of Tradition, because they admit of the point of *Masorethes*, is to abuse that Word. A *Regius* Professor ||| of the *Hebrew* Tongue at *Paris*, deny'd, that they us'd these Points. He says positively, "That the *Ca-* "*raites* do not put any Points in their Bibles; be- "cause they are perswaded that they come from Tra- "dition. So that they look upon the Copies of the "Scripture that have some Points as Prophane. But that is not true. For it is certain, that the *Caraites* admit of Points; but it doth not follow from thence, that they own Tradition, or that they are of a newer Date than the *Masorethes*, who are believ'd the Inventors of Points. This was objected to them in the famous Conference of King *Cozar*. They did not then deny, that they receiv'd the Points; and it was concluded against them, that if Tradition was necessary for the reading of Scripture, and meer Vowels, it ought with much more reason to be so too for the Tenets and Rites; since without them, what *Moses* said, *this Month shall be unto you the first Month*, can't be guess'd at. For Tradition alone teaches, whether he spoke of the *Egyptian*, *Solar*, or *Lunar* Months, *&c.* But these are Trifles, like those which the *Roman* Catholicks object against the Protestants, when they handle the same Controversy. The *Caraites* are introduc'd, saying, that after they had receiv'd the Tradition in one Article, they were not oblig'd to receive it in all others. But this Answer is suspicious; since it is only found in their Enemies Writings, who design'd to triumph over them. The Protestants, who are as zealous a the *Caraites* against Traditions, do yet admit of certain Customs, which were practis'd from the first Centuries to this. They follow some Interpretations of Scripture taken from the Fathers of the first Centuries of the Church. Lastly, they make use of Vowels and Points to read *Hebrew*, altho most of them contend, that they are of human and new Invention. As the Reform'd Churches are Enemies to Traditions, because they reject the Tenets that have been tack'd to those of Christ, and will not pay a blind Obedience to their Authority; the same Thing must be own'd of the Ancient and Modern *Caraites*, who have the same Aversion to Traditions. As it cannot be said, that the Protestants admit of Tradition, because they explain a Passage as St. *Jerom* explain'd it, or kneel when they repeat the Lord's Prayer, altho Christ did not enjoin it; Mr. *Simon* ought not to maintain that the *Caraites* approve of Tradition, because they admit of the Points invented by the *Masorethes*. For that hath no Influence on the Tenets of Religion. The *Caraites* do two Things. 1. They reject the important Tenets, that have been added to the Law, which is sufficient for Salvation. 2. They will not have indifferent Traditions to be upon the same Level with the Law.

11. The *Caraites* have been nice in some Things, even to Superstition, against Traditions; since one of their great Controversies with the *Rabbanists* is about the Intercalation of Months and Days. The Jewish Months were *Lunar*; but in order to make their Year as long as ours, and to make it agree with the Course of the Sun, they from time to time inserted a Month. Thus there were sometimes Twelve, sometimes Thirteen Months in one Year. Besides, as the First Day of every Month was solemnly kept, and that this Beginning depended upon the appearances of the Moon; care was taken to send some People on the top of Hills, to observe the first Moment that the Moon appear'd above the Horizon, and to inform the Council of it, who upon their Report, back'd with due Circumstances, * declar'd that such a Day was the New Moon, a Feast to the Lord, and the beginning of the Month. As every Thing is usually refer'd to *Moses*; the *Rabbins* say, that God shew'd him in a Vision the Figure of a New Moon, and order'd him to look upon, and fix from it the First Day of the Month, which he always practis'd. So that this was the First and most Antient way of fixing the Calends, or beginning of the Month. But the Doctors observing, that this Method was liable to several Inconveniencies, because the Moon doth not always appear above the Horison, or is not seen by reason of Clouds and Mists, especially in its First Quarter, wherein it hath but a dim and wavering Light; they endeavour'd to remedy this. But that deserves, that we shou'd insist upon it.

12. The Jews, that were transported into *Babylon*, and learn'd Astronomy of the *Chaldeans*, made more use of this Art at their Return: And that they might know the Course of the Moon, according to Astronomical Calculations; some Tables were made (which they study'd) and with which the Report of those that came from the top of the Hills, to inform the Council that they had seen the Moon appear at such an Hour, was compar'd.

13. There was besides another Difficulty concerning the beginning of the Year. The *Thalmudists* say, that the Great *Sanhedrim* met, and examin'd whether the Intercalation of the Thirteenth Month was to be made. The King, according to them, cou'd not de-

* Moses Eliahu Adderet. Trigl. de S. Car. 153. † Caleb in Præf. M. S. Asarah Maamarot It. M. S. ex verbis R. Tobiæ, Trigland. Ibid. *p.* 117. & 125. || Ant. Eccl. Orient. Ep. 13. *p.* 159. & 165. ||| Apud Simonville Leo *of* Modena P. *Supplem. of the* Caraites, *p.* 160. * V. Cosri, P. 3. & Not. Buxt. 207, ad 213.

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cide this Queſtion; becauſe as he gave a certain Pay to his Forces, he wou'd have made all the Years *Solar* to lengthen them. The High-Prieſt, ſay they, was alſo ſuſpected; becauſe, being oblig'd to waſh himſelf ſeveral times at the Feaſt of Expiation, he had an Intereſt not to retard the Months and this Feſtival, that he might not be incommoded by cold Weather. This was therefore referr'd to the Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, who was neither High-Prieſt, nor King, and whoſe Province it was to decide this Queſtion. *Scaliger* * believ'd, that he order'd the Intercalation of the Month for the following Year. But he was miſtaken. For the Intercalation was made towards the end of the ſame Year; and after it was reſolv'd upon, it was communicated to the Jews diſpers'd into Foreign Parts. *Maimonides* ſets down the Formulary, which is in the *Gemara*. *To our Brethren diſpers'd in* Babylon, &c. *Greeting*, " Know ye, that " ſince the Lambs are as yet tender, and Pidgeons too " Lean to be employ'd in God's Service, and time of " Harveſt not ſo near; it ſeem'd good to me and my " Colleagues to add Thirty Days *to this Year*. This Decree was receiv'd by all the Nation with a great deal of reſpect; and tho they had perceiv'd, that the *Sanhedrim* had been miſtaken in its Reckoning, it was not lawful for them to ask, that its Deciſion ſhou'd be Reform'd; becauſe this Council was abſolute Judge of that Matter; and indeed, if every one had made their private Calculations, a diſmal Confuſion had happen'd in the Celebration of the Feſtivals. The Chriſtians had a Cuſtom much like this; ſince every Patriarch appointed *Eaſter-Day*. The Biſhop of *Alexandria* appointed it to his Dioceſs, and that of *Rome* too to his. To proceed, the *Thalmudiſts* affirm, that this Cuſtom laſted no longer than the *Sanhedrim*; and that ſince the time that this Council was diſſolv'd, it wou'd be a Crime to make theſe Intercalations, which were only allow'd in the *Holy-Land*; and they made uſe of a Cycle of Nineteen Years, invented by *Hillel*, who liv'd about the Middle of the Fourth Century of the Chriſtian Church.

14. The *Caraites* oppoſe this Opinion; and ſay, that the High-Prieſt, *or ſome Prophet*, was impower'd to appoint the Feſtivals and Years, during all the time that the Republick ſubſiſted: And indeed, this Prince of the *Sanhedrim* is a Fiction. *Selden* † is angry with the *Roman Catholicks*, who put the High-Prieſt at the Head of the Council, that they may draw from thence a Conſequence in favour of their High-Prieſt, and eſtabliſh the Eccleſiaſtical Authority over Kings, becauſe that is repugnant to the *Rabbinical* Tradition. But he did not take notice, that he only took his Tradition from *Maimonides*, who liv'd Eleven Hundred Years after the Deſtruction of the Temple; and ſo diſtant a Tradition is not ſure. The Patriarchs of *Judæa*, or the Princes, were not inſtituted till the High-Prieſthood was extinguiſh'd. Beſides, the Reaſons alledg'd againſt the King, and High-Prieſt, to deprive them of the Right of making Intercalations, are ſo trival, that it is not likely that they ever were made uſe of againſt them, or that the Kings, who ſway'd the *Sanhedrim*, and the High-Prieſts, who had ſo great a Power, had comply'd with ſo ill grounded a Law. So that the *Caraites* are in the right. We are only to obſerve, that they divide this Buſineſs between the High-Prieſt and a *Prophet*. They do not underſtand thereby a Man who was inſpir'd from Heaven, as *Moſes*, or *Iſaiah*; but a skilfull and experienc'd Man. Theſe aſſert too, that ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* the New Moons muſt always be obſerv'd, becauſe that Feaſt was celebrated a long time before the People was in the *Holy-Land*; but they refer this Queſtion to be decided to Three able Perſons, who are choſen for that purpoſe. Laſtly, They have rejected the uſe of Aſtronomical Tables, becauſe they ſay, that the Beginning of the Month ought not to be fix'd, but when the Moon appears, and is ſeen; and that this being God's Injunction, it cou'd not be alter'd but by Humane Tradition. Whereas the *Rabbaniſts* object to them the neceſſity of the Intercalations of Cycles and Calculations, which are ſurer than the ſight of the Planet. *Abravanel*, who handl'd this Subject, aſſerted this warmly againſt the *Caraites*, till the End of the Fifteenth Century.

15. The *Caraites* ground their Opinion, 1. Upon God's Authority, who tells the || *Iſraelites*, before they came out of Bondage, *This Month ſhall be unto you the beginning of Months, it ſhall be the Firſt Month of the Year to you.* So that unleſs |||| the Law of *Moſes*, and the Command of God be contradicted, the Year muſt begin in the Month of *March*, or *Niſan*, when the New Moon begins to appear. For the Term which ſignifies the * *Month*, ſignifies too *the Change of the Moon.* God expreſſes himſelf clearly in another Place; ſince he plainly ſpeaks of the New Moons, that were to be conſecrated to him, and fixes the Feſtivals to the Day wherein that Planet ſhall begin to appear. 2. They upbraid their Enemies with Preſumption for altering this Cuſtom, and ſaying, *that the Viſion of the Moon ceas'd with the* Sanhedrim; notwithſtanding that they obſerv'd it all the time, that their Commonwealth ſubſiſted. They pretend that this Alteration happen'd but after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and when *Gamaliel* was Patriarch of *Judæa*. 3. They confute the Objection of the *Rabbaniſts*, who believe, that the Moon was of neceſſity to be ſeen to regulate the Beginning of the Month, only whilſt they were in the *Holy Land*; but then their Baniſhment and Diſperſion have cancell'd this Obligation. For according to them, *Akiba* did not follow the Method of the *Rabbaniſts*, and preferr'd that of the *Caraites*, even when he was out of the *Holy Land*. 4. Laſtly, They reject the prejudice of their Adverſaries, who affirm, that *Moſes* receiv'd from God the uſe of the Intercalations of the Months, and Aſtronomical Calculations, which he handed down to his Succeſſors with the reſt of the Traditions, wherewith he intruſted them. For, according to them, the Firſt Fathers of the Jewiſh Church were ſo fully perſwaded, that nothing cou'd be added to the Law; and that the Prophets themſelves had not the Privilege to make any Alteration in it, that they ſcrupl'd mightily to obſerve the Order, which *Mordecai* and *Eſther* gave to read every Year the Roll, that contain'd the Hiſtory of the Deliverance, which they had procur'd to their Nation. Had not theſe Doctors, who were ſo nice upon the bare Reading of a Hiſtory ſo glorious to their Nation, ſpoken of that of Intercalations, and Aſtronomical Supputations, which are preferr'd to the ſight of the Moon, had they been us'd in their time. And the *Caraites* conclude from thence, that the *Rabbaniſts* aſcribe a falſe Antiquity to this Cuſtom.

16. Their Enemies anſwer, that the Year begun originally in the Month of *September*, wherein the World was created; and altho the Authors of the *Gemara* have fix'd the Creation in the Month of *March*, yet they own, that the Beginning of the Year ought to be referr'd to *September*; becauſe the Conception, and Birth of Creatures ought to be diſtinguiſh'd. All Creatures have their Conception in *September*, wherein they caſt their Seed, and begin to bring forth in *March*. So that right Reaſon requires, that time ſhou'd be reckon'd from the Conception; and God,

* Scalig. Canon. Iſag. *l.* 3. *p.* 278. calcem Coſri Buxtorf. *p.* 444. *to* 1154.

† Selden de Anno Civili, *c.* 11. *p.* 63.

|| Exod. 12. 12.

|||| Abrav. ad

* רֹאשׁ *ſignifies* the Month, *and* the New Moon.

according to the *Gemariſts*, chang'd this Order when he created the World in the Month of *March*, only becauſe he choſe rather to make it appear in its Perfection. *Moſes* ſays indeed, that the Month of *March*, ſhou'd be the Firſt of the Year. But two ſorts of Beginnings muſt be again diſtinguiſh'd; one mark'd out by Nature; and the other, which proceeds of Humane Inſtitution. According to Nature, the Year ought to begin in *September*; but *Moſes* and God deſign'd, that the Memory of the going out of *Egypt* ſhou'd be celebrated; and therefore they inſtituted a New Beginning of the Year, which doth not cancel the Cuſtom of the *Rabbaniſts*. Since it was only introduc'd for a peculiar Reaſon, and God hath in it no regard to the *New Moon*, but to the Deliverance of his People.

As for Intercalations, the *Caraites* did in this reſpect ſwerve from the Rule and Uſages of the Maſters, only to ſhew a greater Averſion to all manner of *Cabbala*, that is of Tradition; without conſidering that they themſelves want it to regulate the courſe of Years and Months. *Ptolomy*, who try'd the Skill of the Jews in this Matter, had a very great value for them; and maintain'd, that the Cycle of Nineteen Years, invented by their Doctors, was a plain Demonſtration, that they had had ſome Prophets among them. The Ancients intruſted the Great *Sanhedrim* with the Care of this; becauſe it requir'd a great deal of Wiſdom and Exactneſs. *Moſes* himſelf had charg'd them with it. Tho he had not done it, it ought not *to be preſum'd, that the* Sanhedrim *cou'd err in any thing that concern'd the Law.* *Abravanel* too did not ground the Infallibility of the *Sanhedrim*, but upon a Preſumption, and a Judgment, of Charity, which doth not allow, that a venerable Aſſembly ſhou'd be ſuſpected of Errour. But ſome have ſpoken more confidently, ſince the Chriſtians have diſputed among themſelves about the Infallibility of this pretended *Sanhedrim*.

17. The *Rabbaniſts* prove, that Aſtronomical Calculations were in uſe in the time of *Moſes*; ſince he prais'd the People which he led for being * *Wiſe and Underſtanding*. The Author of the *Chronicles* is yet more full and expreſs, when he ſays, that *the Children of* Iſſachar † *were Men that had Underſtanding of Times, to know what* Iſrael *ought to do*. They quote *David*, who ſaid to *Jonathan*, ‖ *To Morrow is the New Moon, and I ſhou'd not fail to ſit with the King at Meat*. How cou'd he have foreſeen this, if he had not calculated the Courſe of this Planet, which had not as yet appear'd above the Horizon? They make uſe too of a natural Reaſon, deduc'd from the continual Changes of the Air, which do not often permit us to ſee the New Moon, when it is to appear; which makes the Beginning of thoſe Feaſts very uncertain. Laſtly, They maintain, that this depended of the *Sanhedrim*; ſince *Ezechias* and his Principal Officers, ſeeing that there were not Prieſts enough that were purify'd to celebrate the Feaſt of the Paſſover in the Month of *Niſan*, defer'd it till the next; and the *Caraites* blacken the Reputation of this Prince, becauſe they pretend that he trangreſs'd the Law, and that it was a Remainder of the Impiety of *Ahas*, which was transferr'd from the Father to the Son. The *Caraites* go too far. But it is certain, that *Ezechias* did a very bold Thing, which cou'd only be authoriz'd by meer Neceſſity; and that it was not the *Sanhedrim*, but the Prince, with all the Chief Officers of his Houſhold, and the People, or ‖‖ *the Congregation*, that order'd this Alteration. Both Parties were in the wrong. For on the one hand the *Rabbaniſts* make the Intercalations, that were little known in the time of *David* and *Moſes*, of too ancient a Date. On the Other, they cou'd not wholly depend upon the Appearance of the Moon. It is very likely, that the Cuſtom chang'd often. When the Jews came out of *Egypt*, they reckon'd by New Moons, and thereby appointed their Feſtivals; but they were not ſo ſcrupulous, as they are repreſented upon the firſt Moment that the Moon appear'd. And altho they had been miſtaken of 24 Hours, they had not been much concern'd at it. When they were in quiet Poſſeſſion of *Judæa*, and ſtudy'd Aſtronomy, they made uſe of it to calculate the Courſe of the Moon, and to preſume that it was to appear at ſuch an Hour. There was no difficulty, when the Aſtronomical Calculation agreed with the Appearance of the Moon. But if the Sight of it was hinder'd by a Miſt, the queſtion is, whether the *Sanhedrim* was to determine this Matter, or whether they ſtaid till it appear'd. I do not doubt, but the Deciſion was in favour of the Appearance of the Moon preferably to the Aſtronomical Calculation; becauſe the Determination of the *Sanhedrim* cou'd not in a little time be carry'd every where, to have the Celebration of the Feaſt, and the Beginning of the Year kept the ſame Day; whereas the Moon appear'd in all Places to thoſe who were upon the Hills to ſee it. The difference cou'd not be great; and it ſometimes happen'd, that the Appearance of the Moon being retarded by ſome foreign Cauſe, as the thickneſs of the Clouds, there was ſome diſorder in the Beginning of the Year, and thence in all the Feaſts: But when this Diſorder was obſerv'd, and was plain by the Appearance of the following Moon; the Errour might be reform'd, and they might ground this Reformation upon the Aſtronomical Calculations, till this Science being improv'd, ſome Intercalations and Cycles were invented. However, This Diſpute ſhews, that the *Caraites* very much abhorr'd the Traditions, which concern'd the Worſhip of God, and the Ceremonies of the Law; and that appear'd much more important to them, than to us.

18. The *Caraites*, have a Third Diſpute about Inceſt. The *Rabbaniſts* contend, that the Degrees forbid by the *Leviticus* ought not to be ſtretch'd farther, than the Terms of the Law, which muſt be exactly obſerv'd. *Juda*, Son of *Eliezer*, who handl'd * this Matter, obſerves, that there were among them three ways to diſcover the true Meaning of Scripture: The Text, Reaſon, and the Authority of the Ancients. As for the Authority of the Ancients, it is with them as with the Proteſtants, of mighty uſe to determine ſome doubtful Points; but they do not blindly follow what the Fathers have ſaid, and the Moderns have a Right to reform what the Ancients have aſſerted. This Principle is common to all Religions and Sects. The Teſtimonies of ſome Authors † are quoted to ſtrengthen an Aſſertion; but what the *Caraites* condemn, is the neceſſity that their Adverſaries impoſe to follow and believe them. *Rome* calls that the Tradition of the Fathers, and of the Church; but the *Caraites* have not that Notion. They argue upon ſome Text of Scripture, and draw ſome Inferences *à pari, & à majori ad minus*; and that eſpecially in the caſe of Inceſts, wherein they conclude, that if the Law hath forbid ſuch a degree of Conſanguinity, that which ſeems equal or nearer, ought ſo much the more to be forbid. But the *Caraites* do not agree among themſelves about the ſecond way of explaining the Scripture. For the Ancients believ'd, that a Conſequence might be drawn from another Conſequence; but the Moderns more judiciouſly pretend, that People ought to ſtick to the Text of the Law, and to the Conſequence which immediately flows from it, and no farther. So that examine the *Caraites* on every ſide, and they agree with the Proteſtants con-

* Deut. 4. 6. † Chron. 12. 32. ‖ 1 Sam. 20. 5. ‖‖ 2 Chron. 30. 2. * *He intitles his Work*, The Gate of *Juda*.
† V. Selden. Uxor. Hebr. *l.* 1. *c.* 3.

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cerning the Interpretation of Scripture. We have perhaps enlarg'd too much upon this Matter; but as this Sect is but little known, we thought it our Duty to relate whatever we cou'd collect concerning it.

19. The *Caraites* have a very plain and pure Notion of * the Deity. For they aſcribe ſome eſſential and inſeparable Attributes to it; and theſe Attributes are nothing elſe but God himſelf: *God is his Attributes*; ſo that there is nothing in God, but what is God, as the Chriſtians ſpeak. They afterwards conſider him as an operative Cauſe, which produces different Effects; as the Sun, that ſoftens and hardens with its Rays. They explain the Creation as *Moſes* hath done in his Hiſtory of it. "*Adam* had not dy'd, had not he eaten of the "Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. The abſolute Power, that God gave him over Animals, is ſufficient to prove, that he might cut their Throats and feed upon them. Why then had this Aliment, which agrees with the nature of his Body, been forbid him till the time of the Deluge? God's Providence extends as far as his Knowledge, which is Infinite, and diſcovers generally every thing. *All things are in God's Hands*, ſay they, *except the fear of God.* Altho God influences the Actions of Men, and lends them his Aſſiſtance; however it is in their Power to determine themſelves to Good, or Evil, to fear God, or to tranſgreſs his Commands. There is, according to theſe Doctors, who follow in this the Opinion of the *Rabbaniſts*, a common Grace, which is extended to all Men, and which every one receives according as he is diſpos'd; and this Diſpoſition proceeds from the nature of their Temper, or from the Stars. They diſtinguiſh Four different Diſpoſitions in the Soul. One of Death, One of Life, the Other of Health, and the laſt, Sickneſs. It is dead, when it grovels in Sin; but is alive when it applies to Good: It is Sick, when it doth not apprehend Heavenly Truths; but is Sound and in Health, when it knows the Concatenation of Events, and the Nature of Objects, that fall under its Cognizance. It might be thought, that this Diſtinction of the *Caraites* was known in the time of Chriſt, and that it is ſaid in alluſion to this; † *She that liveth in Pleaſure is dead.* || *Let the Dead bury their Dead.* |||| *They that be Whole need not a Phyſician, but they that are Sick.* This is a Metaphorical and Figurative Stile. Laſtly, They believe, that when the Souls go out of the Body, they are rewarded or puniſh'd. Righteous Souls ſhall go into the World to come, and the Garden of *Eden.* Thus they call * *Paradiſe*, where the Soul is nouriſh'd by the Sight and Knowledge of Spiritual Objects. One of their Doctors acknowledges, that ſome imagin'd, that the Souls of the Wicked were by way of Metempſycoſis infus'd into the Body of Beaſts; but he refutes and ridicules this Opinion, being perſwaded, that thoſe who are *expell'd* from the Manſion of God, go into a Place, which he calls *Gehenna, where they ſuffer for their Sins*, and live full of Pain and Shame, where there is a Worm that never dies, and a Fire that ſhall burn to all Eternity.

20. The *Caraites* expect the Meſſiah, whom as the reſt of the Jews they look upon as a Temporal King, and who will make himſelf known by the extent of Conqueſts, without having need of Miracles. As they are uneaſy about the time of his Coming, they forbid the Calculation of Years. They do not diſſemble, that his Coming is delay'd, ſince they aſſign two Reaſons † for it. One taken from the Sin and Corruption of the People; The Other from the ſlowneſs of *Saturn*, which is the Planet of the Sabbath, and of the Jewiſh Nation. Yet they believe, that this Coming of the Meſſiah is neceſſary to ſtrengthen the Faith of the Church.

21. They exact from the People an implicit Faith for the Holy Scripture. For they will not have them examine, whether an Article of the Law is true, or falſe. They ſeverely condemn || all doubts about the Exiſtence of God, or the Divinity of the Law. They forbid putting Confidence in any other than God; and maintain, that whoever relies on Creatures, is an Idolater as well as he that worſhips them; that it is an open breach of the Law to worſhip Angels, or Heaven, or ſome Planet; and they commonly quote the Second Commandment, to prove that ſort of Worſhip, a Crime. They have ſo great an abhorrence for Images, that they will not endure them even in their Houſes, where they have neither Statues, nor any Figures in Relievo, and theſe are ſtill more ſharply condemn'd when they repreſent any Thing which other Nations adore. They do not allow that any of their Sect ſhou'd trade in Images deſign'd for the Worſhip of Pagans or Chriſtians. It wou'd not even be lawful for them to make uſe of one conſecrated to the Service of Idols. They bitterly exclaim againſt the Traditioniſt-Jews; becauſe they are relax'd about this laſt Article. They appear before God in their Prayers *with fear and trembling.* This Expreſſion of St. *Paul* is found among the *Caraites.* They kneel down, lift up their Hands to Heaven, turn their Eyes towards *Jeruſalem*, and only make uſe of the *Hebrew* Tongue in their Prayers; becauſe they think it more Pure and Holy, and the only one wherein the Name of *Jehovah* can well be pronounc'd. For they do not make a ſcruple, as other Jews, to name God, altho according to the Obſervation of a Learn'd Critick, |||| they write it otherwiſe than the reſt of the Jews, by two *Jods*, and one *Vau.* If it be objected to them, that *Daniel* pray'd in the *Chaldee* Tongue, they ſay, that he only did it to be underſtood, and to ſhew plainly, that inſtead of worſhiping Idols, he only addreſs'd his Prayers to the God of the Jews.

22. They have no Phylacteries, nor Parchments with the Sentences of the Law writ on them, ſtuck to the Doors of their Houſes. They call the Jews *bridl'd Aſſes*, when they ſee them in their Synagogues with their Frontlets; and believe that the place of *Deuteronomy*, that enjoyns the uſe of Frontlets, ought to be figuratively explain'd; and that God only deſigns thereby that he ſhou'd be remember'd at Peoples coming in and going out. However, They make uſe of the *Thaled*; They beg of God to forgive them their Sins, through a Grace and Mercy which they have not deſerv'd. They obſerve the ſame Feaſts as the Jews; but not after the ſame Manner. For the *Caraites* obſerve the New Moon when it riſes, and begins to appear; and they ſay, that the *Rabbaniſts* by their Aſtronomical Calculations, incroach upon the preceeding Moon, and celebrate the New Moon whilſt the Old ſtill appears. They have another Diſpute about the time of offering the Paſchal Lamb. The Law ſays it ſhall be between the two Evenings; which the *Rabbaniſts* explain from the time that the Sun declines, that is, from half an Hour paſt Six at Night; Whereas the *Caraites* believe, that the Sun muſt be quite down before this Lamb be ſacrific'd. Notwithſtanding that theſe Differences are of no great Importance, yet they occaſion warm Diſputes between them.

23. Their Morality is pure. They chiefly pretend to a great deal of Temperance. They are afraid to eat too much, or be too nice about what is ſet before them. They have a very profound Reſpect for their Maſters. The Diſciples dare not ſit down before

* Moſes Adderet. Eliah. Seder. Gnaſcer. Aaron. M. S. Trigland. de S. Caræor. *c.* 10. *p.* 154, & 155, 156. † 1 Tim. 5. 6.
|| Math. 8. 22. |||| Id. 9. 12. * Moſes Tract. M. S. Adderet. Eliahu. † Moſes Tract. M. S. Eliahu, Ibid. *p.* 60.
|| Moſes Tract. M. S. Adderet. Eliahu, Ibid. *p.* 174. 175. ||| Simonville Leo *of* Modena, *of the Ceremonies of the Jews*, *p.* 1. *Supplement of the* Car. *p.* 169.

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them, unless they are bid; nor go away without leave, and then they go backwards with their Faces towards the Doctor, whom they always call *their Lord and Master*. On the other hand, the Doctors are charitable, and teach *gratis*. They pretend to distinguish themselves thereby, from those who make themselves *Gods of Silver*, by gathering vast Sums from their Lectures.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Caraites. *Their Original, and History to this Time.*

I. *THE Design of this Chapter.* II. *The true Origin of the* Caraites *under* Ptolomeus Philometer *in* Egypt. III. *A famous Division by* Hillel, *and* Schammay. IV. *The* Caraites *distinguish'd by* Jesus Christ. V. *Pointed at in the Gospel according to St.* Luke. VI. *And in that according to St.* Mark. VII. *An Explanation of this Passage.* VIII. Josephus *vindicated about his Silence concerning the* Caraites. IX. *Some* Caraites *in* Origen's *time.* X. *The Authority of St.* Epiphanius *not to be rely'd upon.* XI. *A place of St.* Jerom *more express and full.* XII. *The Confession of the* Rabbanists, *concerning the Antiquity of the* Caraites. XIII. F. Morin *fixes their Origin in the Eighth Century.* XIV. *Some Reflections about* Ananus. XV. *He only restor'd the Sect of the* Caraites. XVI. *The King of* Cozar, *favourable to the* Caraites. *The Method of the* Rabbanists *in their Dispute.* XVII. *The Succession of the* Caraites *in the Thirteenth, and following Centuries.* XVIII. *The* Caraites *famous at* Constantinople. XIX. *They retire into* Judæa, *and* Nineveh. XX. *Some* Caraites *in the West.* XXI. *The* Caraites, *and Traditionists have a reciprocal Hatred for one another.*

1. AFter we have related the Opinions, which separate the *Caraites* not only from the rest of the Jews, but also from the *Saducees*, with whom they have been often confounded; we will inquire into their Origin; and without insisting on the Antiquity, which they assume to themselves, deriving their Pedigree from *Ezra*, or the Captivity of *Babylon*, what we shall discover must be more solid and certain.

2. *Eusebius* supplies us * with a new Conjecture upon this Subject. For making an Extract out of *Aristobulus*, that celebrated Philosopher, who was a Jew and a Peripatetick, famous at *Ptolomeus Philometer*'s Court; he observes, that there was at that time two different Parties among the Jews, whereof one understood the Laws of *Moses* in a Literal Sense; and the other, in an Allegorical one. We there find the true Origin of the *Caraites*, who begun to appear under that Prince; because Allegorical Interpretations, and afterwards Traditions, were receiv'd with more greediness and respect.

The Jewish Religion begun to alter, by reason of the Jews Correspondence with Foreigners. This Commerce was much more frequent after *Alexander*'s Conquests than before; and they chiefly convers'd with the *Egyptians*, especially whilst the Kings of *Egypt* were Masters of *Judæa*, took their Progress, and made some Expeditions thither, and transported the Inhabitants from thence. They did not borrow from the *Egyptians* their Idols, but they took from them their Method of handling Divinity and Religion. The Jewish Doctors, that were transported, or born in that Countrey, took up with Allegorical Interpretations. They made no scruple to wander from the Law, and to tack their Fancies to the Holy Scripture. *Aristobulus* writ a Commentary on the Laws of *Moses*, for his Prince *Ptolomeus Philometer*. It is perhaps the first Commentary that ever was writ upon the Law, and as this Philosopher introduc'd his Notions with those of the Law-giver, the two Parties mention'd by *Eusebius* begun to be form'd, and to divide the Nation. Those who had corrupted the Law pass'd for *Ancients* in the time of Christ. For so he calls them; and to make them first appear under *Philometer*, and continue in the succeeding Reigns, is not to assign them too venerable an Antiquity. These two Parties at first made a Schism. The *Caraites*, who stuck close to the Literal Sense of the Law, remain'd in the Bosom of the Church, where they continu'd to oppose the Traditionists; and as in the time of Christ the *Saducees* and *Pharisees* were seen at the same Altars, this Redeemer found too *the Lawyers* there, that is, the *Caraites*, who defended the Law against Innovations. They were a considerable Party in the Reign of *Judas Maccabeus*. For we read in his History, that the Synagogue of *the* Scribes *sent some Deputies* to *Alcimus* to require *Justice* †, whilst others wou'd have every body rely on the good Faith and Promises of that Traytor. What was this Assembly of *Scribes*, that oppos'd the Invasion of *Alcimus*, and exhorted him to do Justice? It was the Party of those that stuck close to the Law, and wou'd oblige *Alcimus* to observe it punctually; whilst an opposite Party, that had a mind to negociate with him, run after mystical Interpretations, and apply'd to themselves some Words, which *David* had utter'd, but never meant them.

3. However, This Difference, which was hatch'd under *Philometer*, grew very warm, something more than one Hundred Years before Christ. For then *Hillel* and *Schammay* being at the Head of both the Parties we have just now mention'd, came to a more open Rupture. The *Rabbanists* put *Schammay* in the wrong, who was, say they, a hot and hasty Man. He won'd fall into a Passion when he disputed, whilst *Hillel* kept his Temper. Some justify him, saying, that he was warm against the Wicked, but very meek to good Men. They extoll his Humility; because in his Old Age, he went to meet his Disciple *Jonathan*, leaning upon his Stick; whereas it was the Disciple's Duty to wait upon him at his House. It is pretended, that these two Masters of *Israel* did not separate. Those who own this Separation, affirm, that it was only occasion'd by three Rites of little moment. But the Opinion of private Doctors cannot destroy what is read in the *Thalmud*, and elsewhere; that their Dispute grew so hot, that it cou'd never be cool'd. *Elijah* himself had not been able to have ended it. Every one set up his own School: These Schools were one day call'd together; but if they agreed on some Articles, they were divided in a great many more. *Hillel* ‖ stifly maintain'd the Traditions; and it is also said, that he begun to put them in Writing, and his Adversary *Schammay* wou'd not own them. It is at least very likely, that as *Hillel* was the Father of the Traditionists, and asserted that there was an *Oral* Law, handed from *Moses* or *Ezra* to him; *Schammay* contended on the contrary, that they were by no means to deviate from the written Law. The Prepossession of the Jews, who put *Schammay* in the wrong, confirms this Conjecture. Add, that it is not probable that the *Caraites* wou'd own an odious Original, were not they perswaded that it is very true. And yet *Moses Betschitsi*, a famous *Caraite*, says positively,

* Euseb. Præp. Ev. *l.* 8. *c.* 10. † 1 Mc c. 7. 12. ‖ Misnah 5.

tively * that they came out of the School of *Schammay*; as the *Rabbanists* have taken their Doctrine from that of *Hillel*. It is yet less likely, that none of the Nation had vindicated the Authority of the Law against the Traditions and the Comments of *Hillel*.

4. Christ, who liv'd afterwards, distinguish'd three sorts of Jews; the *Saducees*, the *Pharisees*, and the *Doctors of the Law*. He denotes these Last by a Term that signifies properly *Lawyers*. † What cou'd these *Doctors of the Law* be, who differ'd from the *Pharisees*, boasted that they were Interpreters of it, and enjoy'd with the *Saducees* all the Offices of the Church, unless they were those, who kept close to the Text of Scripture, explain'd it literally, and despis'd Traditions?

5. The Text of St. *Luke* deserves to be insisted upon. For we find in it a considerable Party in the Jewish Church, which is not much taken notice of. Christ ‖ pronouncing several Curses against the *Pharisees*, which they justly deserv'd, a Lawyer heard him patiently, and was not uneasy at them; because they did not concern him. But Christ having cry'd out, *Wo unto you* Scribes *and* Pharisees; *for ye are as Graves, which appear not, and the Men that walk over them are not aware of them*, this Lawyer then finding himself included in the same Curse with the *Pharisees*, exclaim'd, and complain'd to Christ of the ill things that he told him, and which he believ'd he had not deserv'd. So that this Lawyer, or Doctor of the Law, who differ'd from the *Pharisees*, and wou'd not be involv'd with them in the same Condemnation, was of a third Party among the Jews.

The *Pharisees* taught the Law as well as the Lawyers. But their Method of teaching it was different from that of these Doctors, and the two other Sects. This Difference lay in that the Lawyers stuck close to the Text of *Moses*, whilst the *Pharisees* went from it, adding some Traditions and Comments to the Law. This is the reason, that Christ gives some the Title of ‖‖ *Doctors of the Law, or of Lawyers*, and not to the others.

6. The same Thing appears from St. *Mark*'s Recital. The four Bodies of the Jewish Church took turns to tempt the Son of God. The *Pharisees*, and *Herodians* appear'd first. They were scarce overset, but the *Saducees* attack'd him with a pretty subtle Quark concerning the Resurrection. The Defeat of these Last made a great Noise, and oblig'd the *Pharisees* to meet together to take some new Measures against him. Whilst they held their Council, the fourth Party, *the Lawyers, or Doctors of the Law*, who differ'd from all the rest, renew'd the Onset. Every one had arm'd himself with Sophisms drawn from his own System. The *Herodians* from the Tribute, that was to be paid to *Cæsar*: The *Pharisees* from the Quality of the Messiah, who was to free the Nation from so heavy a Yoak; and the *Saducees*, from the Resurrection of the Dead, which they deny'd. But what did the Lawyer do? He questions *Jesus Christ*, in his turn, about the Law, according to his own Principles. He ask'd him, which was *the first Commandment*; and upon the Answer, which the Saviour of the World made him, who quoted the Text of *Moses*, and shew'd that the fulfilling of the Law was to adore one God, and to love him with all our Heart; the Lawyer charm'd with it, acknowledg'd the Truth; which made Christ say, that this *Man was not far from the Kingdom of God*.

7. We see there the Character and Description of the *Caraites*, who make their Salvation consist in the observation of the Law; and instead of loading themselves with Traditions and useless Commands, reduce it to its Summary, and own Christ for a Doctor as soon as he quotes the Text, and follows it. The only Difficulty that occurs upon this, arises from a parallel Place, where St. *Matthew* relating the same Thing, seems to confound the Lawyer, or Doctor of the Law, with the *Pharisees*. This is the Text * : "When the Multitude heard this, they were asto-"nish'd at his Doctrine; and the *Pharisees* hearing, "that he had put the *Saducees* to silence, they gather'd "together; then one of them which *was a Lawyer*; "*ask'd him a Question, tempting him, and saying, Ma-"ster, which is the great Commandment in the Law?* One wou'd think by that, that the Doctor of the Law was one of the *Pharisees*, since *he was one of them*; but two Things, which are essential, have not been observ'd. One, that the *Pharisees* cou'd not be there present; since they retir'd after they were baffl'd, to gather new Forces against Christ who had routed them. The other, that the Evangelist speaks of the retreat of the *Pharisees*, but by way of Parenthesis, after he had spoken of the Multitude † that admir'd him. It was not then *among the* Pharisees, who were absent, that the Doctor of the Law was; but *among the Multitude*, whereof St. *Matthew* speaks immediately before; It is no wonder, that this Doctor of the Law was among the Multitude, and to this must be referr'd what the *Evangelist* says, *one of them ask'd him a Question*; because he takes notice afterwards of the return of the *Pharisees*, whom Christ puzl'd with some new Questions, after he had dismiss'd the Doctor with a great Encomium.

8. The Silence of *Josephus*, who only reckons three different Sects of the Jews, ought not either to startle us, or be brought as an Argument against our Assertion. For this Historian doth not speak of the *Herodians*, whose Sect appears too plain in the Gospel to be disputed. Add, that the *Caraites* having no peculiar Tenets, and only teaching the Law, according to its Literal Sense, and being still look'd upon as Doctors of the Law, *Josephus* cou'd not discriminate them by the Name of a particular Sect.

9. *Origen* ‖, who ought to have known the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, puts this difference between them; the *Scribes do not deviate from the Letter of the Law*, but the *Pharisees*, who separated from others, because they thought themselves much Holier, pretended to interpret it. He represents the *Scribes* of his time to be the *Caraites*, that we look for, and if they appear'd in the time of *Origen* with the same Tenet, that distinguishes them, there is some ground to conclude, that far from owing their Original to the eighth Century of the Christian *Æra*, as is commonly suppos'd, they subsisted in the time of *Jesus Christ*.

10. I do not know, whether St. *Epiphanius* ‖‖ ought to be quoted as one of the Authors who discover the Origin of the *Caraites*. It is true, that he makes *of the* Scribes a particular Sect, for which he hath been blam'd by the Criticks, who knew no other *Scribes*, but those who had a publick Employ in the Synagogue, and who ought to be distinguish'd from the Scripturists, or *Caraites*. However, he might have borrow'd this Opinion from the Author of the Recognitions * which are publish'd under the Name of St. *Clement*, who also characterizes the *Scribes*, as a particular Sect of the Jews. He makes them first appear a little after the *Saducees*. Lastly, He observes, that they explain the Law; and that as for other things, they had the same Customs as the rest of the Jews, which agrees with the *Caraites*. But he says at the same time some things so repugnant to the Principles of this Sect; that after we had follow'd and vindicated St. *Epiphanius*, we shou'd be oblig'd to forsake him, and

* Moses, *l.* M. S. apud Trigland. Ibid. *c.* 6. *p.* 72, & *p.* 94. † Νομικοί. ‖ Luke. 11. 44, 45. ‖‖ Mark. 12. * Matth. 22. † Ὄχλων. ‖ Orig. Tr. 24. *in* Matth. & *in* Matth. 13. 52. ed. H. *t.* 1. *p.* 818. ‖‖ Epiph. Hær. *l.* 1. H. 15. * Recognit. *l.* 1. *c.* 54.

leave

leave him bound hand and foot to the Mercy of the Criticks. We shou'd be forc'd to acknowledge, that he knew, and did not know the *Caraites*. So that to produce what he says, wou'd be to alledge a Proof too weak and uncertain.

11. St. *Jerome* * seems much more full and expres. For speaking of *Schammay*, and *Hillel*, as of two Heads of Sects; he assures, that from thence sprung *the* Scribes *and* Pharisees. If he spoke there of Secretaries of State, or the Copyists of the Law, he had been in a gross Errour; because these *Scribes* were known a long time before *Schammay*, whom he represents as their Founder. Besides, What reason cou'd he have to oppose the *Scribes* to the *Pharisees*? But this Father is not mistaken, and agrees exactly with what the *Caraites* say, that they came from *Schammay*, and that in his time they vigorously oppos'd the Traditionists.

12. But perhaps, the *Caraites* ought not to be heard in their own Cause, especially when they *sometimes* ascend as far as the Captivity of *Babylon*, during which they pretend to have help'd the Prophets, and groan'd with them for the Sins of the People. The Arguments which they alledge of their Antiquity, drawn from that of their Doctrine, are enough to shew that their Cause is better than that of the *Rabbanists*; but they do not demonstrate the Antiquity of their Origin. Their Enemies may better supply the place of Witnesses, who cannot be suspected in this matter; And they own †, that they subsisted before *Herod*. Some will have it, that they had the Power in their Hands at *Jerusalem* ‖ in the Reign of the *Asmonæans*. Others make them appear first in the time of *Alexander Jannæus*, in whose Reign they triumph'd, whilst the *Rabbanists* were banish'd. Far from upbraiding them with being Upstarts, they make them as old as the *Saducees*, with whom they endeavour to confound them. Lastly, Others ‖‖ will have them appear at the same time, that *Tsadoc* and *Baithos* did. Nothing but truth cou'd have extorted this Testimony from the Pens of their bitterest Enemies. To place all this on the Score of the Ignorance of the Jews in Chronology, as *F. Morin* doth, is to cut the Knot, but not to solve the Difficulty. For it is not likely, that the Learned Jews had given the *Caraites* this Advantage, which others will not allow them; had not they seen in the Ancient Monuments of their Nation some Proof, that convinc'd them of a Truth, which it was their Interest to oppose, and which they acknowledge against their Will.

13. However, *F. Morin* * being perswaded that the *Thalmud* was not compleated till the end of the seventh Century; and that it was this Collection of Traditions, that occasion'd the Schism of the *Caraites*, affirms, that they only begun to appear but in the 740, or 750*th* Years after Christ; that it was *Ananus*, who seeing, that a Divine Authority was ascrib'd to Fables, and being something angry, that his Brother was preferr'd before him to be Chief of the Captivity, separated from the rest of the Jews, and became the Founder of a new Schism in his Nation. He grounds this Hypothesis on the Testimony of a great many *Rabbins*, who all agree to fix there the Origin of the *Caraites*, and on the silence of Christian Doctors, who ought to have known the *Thalmud*, had it been compos'd in their time; and yet they never quote it. For *Origen*, St. *Epiphanius*, who was born a Jew, and St. *Jerome*, who so often consulted the Doctors and Books of the Jews, do not speak of it.

14. We have no need to speak here of the Origin of the *Thalmud*, because it is not now to our purpose. For whether the *Thalmud* was compos'd sooner or later, yet it is still true, that *Ananus* liv'd but in the eighth Century. Whether he was an ambitious Man, and jealous of his Brother's Preferment, is a Question that doth not deserve to be discuss'd. Nothing is more common, than to accuse of Pride and Discontent, those that leave us. But we ought only to mind matter of Fact, and see whether *Ananus* and his Son are the First, that founded the Sect of the *Caraites*.

15. We have already set down the Testimonies of *Eusebius*, *Origen*, St. *Jerome*, and of some Jews, who reckon this Sect to be of a much ancienter Date; and these Testimonies ought to be prefer'd to those, that contradict them; because it is natural to commit a Mistake, that suits with our Interest, and to cry down our Enemies. The Jews do not spare the most sacred Things to blacken the *Caraites*; but they ought to be believ'd, when they are forc'd to depose for their Enemies.

The *Rabbanists* † acknowledge that the *Hereticks*, that is, the *Caraites*, *were very much weaken'd since the Destruction of* Jerusalem, *till* Ananus *arose, who restor'd them.* The *Caraites* grant this to the Jews. For they do not deny, but their Doctrine remain'd in darkness, till *Ananus* restor'd it to its pristine Lustre and Splendor. They add, that he oppos'd the Followers of *Hillel*, who were Traditionists, gain'd a great many Disciples, and became Chief of the Captivity in *Babylon*. It is certain, that *Japhet*, one of the *Caraites*, doth anticipate this Event of one Hundred Years, since he places it in the beginning of the seventh Century: But his Errour doth not invalidate his Testimony. So that the *Caraites*, who begun to appear at the same time that the *Pharisees*, the Chief of the Traditionists Party did, were considerable till the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. They were seen too in the time of *Origen*; but it is likely that their Number lessen'd the more, by reason of some of their Opinions about Marriage, which weaken'd their Party very much. Farther, Men have a secret Tendency to prefer their vain Imaginations to so dry a Religion; as that contain'd in the Law of God. Lastly, the King of *Cozar* upbraided the Jews with the Sect of the *Caraites*, which was in Being a long time before the Conference, that he had with them. *Juda Halevy* says, that this Conference was held Four Hundred Years before he was born. This *Rabbin* liv'd in the Year 1089, or in 1140, according to some. He might have been born in the Year first mention'd, and yet write in the Second. But it is no matter whether the Conference of *Cozar* was Four Hundred Years before it. He cou'd not say, that the Sect of the *Caraites* was a long time before, since by adding Four Hundred to Seven Hundred and Fifty, it must be acknowledg'd that the Schism was not form'd, but that it begun at the soonest to be form'd, at the same time that the Conference was held.

16. The King of *Cozar* found ‖ this Sect, preferable to that of the *Rabbanists*, because the Patrons of it stuck closer to, and were more zealous for the Law; and the Jew, who instructed him, was oblig'd to have recourse to the Method of Variations, and the Authority of the Church and Fathers, to make him alter his Opinion. You cannot, said he to the King, find two *Caraites* of the same Opinion. They ‖‖ are divided among themselves; they continually vary, and *the Unity of Faith* is only found among us. If the Hereticks agree sometimes, it cannot be but in those Things, which they have taken from our Doctors, and from Tradition. *Ought not our Masters, who are more numerous, and have liv'd in the Holy Land, and*

* Hieron. in Isai. 8. 14. † V. Trigl. de Car. *c.* 3. *p.* 10. ‖ V. Cosri, *p.* 241. ‖‖ R. Schabtai apud Carpzov. Introd. ad Raimundi. Pugionem Fidei, *c.* 4. *p.* 1. * Morin. Exercit. Bibl. *l.* 2. Exerc. 6. *c.* 2. & Exerc. 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 307. † R. Abraham Halevy Ben Dior apud Morin. Exerc. & Trigl. de S. Cazor. *l.* 26. R. Japhet Karæus. Ibid. *p.* 108. ‖ An. 750. ‖‖ Cosri, *p.* 3. *a.* 58. *p.* 206.

whose

whose Traditions ascend as high as the Prophets to be prefer'd? "Altho it was granted, that our ancient "Doctors had only decided by Prepossession and Con- "jecture, they ought more to be follow'd than the *Ca-* "*raites*, who often vary. Wou'd not one think, that the Doctors of the Church of *Rome* have copy'd this old Controversist, and that they borrow his Method, Arms, and Arguments to run down the Protestants, or to make some Conversions?

This *Rabbanist* pretended, that the King ought to be satisfy'd with these general Maxims, taken from the Number and Authority of Doctors, and the Unity of Faith, and by no means to examine the Controversies of the *Caraites*. He had another general Principle; that the Consequences, which his Doctors infer'd from Scripture, were to be receiv'd, even when they seem'd contrary to Reason and the Law; because it was impossible that so many Learn'd Men, who had examin'd that Matter throughly, shou'd be mistaken; and that so much the more, because they had the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, the Daughter of the Voice, *and another Operation*, which was a Medium between that of the Prophets, and the Daughter of the Voice. He also alledg'd some Examples taken from Philosophy. It is thought, says he to the King, that *there is no Vacuum*; *that Matter is divisible* ad infinitum; and that the Sun is much bigger than the Earth; altho appearance contradicts these Things, because it is presum'd that Astronomers and Philosophers, who have examin'd these Questions, are not mistaken in their Consequences, from some undoubted Principles. The same Deference must be paid to the Consequences of the Traditionists.

The King objecting, what God says, that nothing ought to be added, or taken from his Law; the *Rabbanist* reply'd, that this only concern'd the Vulgar, who was not allow'd to make a Religion according to their Fancy; and that by *the Law*, what *Moses*, and the Doctors, who have follow'd him to this time, have determin'd, must be understood. The King objected besides the Laws against *Uncleanness*, which the *Caraites* observ'd more religiously than the *Rabbanists*. But his Tutor answer'd, that most of those Laws were only to be observ'd in the Holy Land, and were of no force now the Jews were dispers'd. He laugh'd at the Scruples of the *Caraites*, who wou'd not allow a *Nazarite* to be drunk with Hydromel, or to eat a Bunch of Grapes.

Let us yet add another Stroke, that makes the *Rabbanists*, and *Romish* Doctors look yet more like one another. The *Rabbanists* object to their Adversaries, that they are but two or three Fugitives dispers'd in several Places, whilst they can muster a numerous Army: In a Word, they pretend to triumph by their Multitude, as if that was a Mark of the true Church. The *Caraites* answer this Objection, by alledging that *Job* was more Orthodox and Holier than his Wife, and his three Friends; and that *Joshua* was a better Man than the Spies, that discourag'd the People; whence they conclude, that the greatest Number is not always in the right, more especially in matter of Religion, than in any thing else. However, The *Caraites* made a considerable Figure in the time of the King of *Cozar*, since, notwithstanding the distance of his Countrey, they were known to him.

It is very likely, that *Juda Halevy*, who related this Conference of the King of *Cozar*, design'd to promote the Glory of his Nation, as we will prove hereafter. However, we may draw from thence these two Conclusions; one, that this celebrated *Rabbin* believ'd that *these Hereticks* were very famous in the eighth Century; since he introduces them in his Dispute; the other, that they were in great Repute in his time. And indeed, this Doctor was oblig'd to maintain a long Controversy with *Alphrag* the Head of the *Caraites*; who contended, that there was an Universality, and Personal Succession in his Church, as in that of the *Rabbanists*, who being non-pluss'd by this Ingenious *Caraite*, got King *Alphonsus*, with whom they had more Interest, to interpose his Authority. Nay, it is said, that *Halevy*, who cou'd claim a considerable Sum from this Prince, and expected to be rewarded for his Services, sacrific'd all to the satisfaction of seeing his Adversaries silenc'd; which he beg'd of the King as a favour, that he prefer'd to all others.

17. The Blow, which a powerful King gave the *Caraites*, in the twelfth Century, did not over-whelm them. *Alphrag*'s Writings remain'd, and his Disciples did not only take care to hand them, but also his Doctrine to Posterity. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* found them spread in the *East*, at *Damascus*, and in the other Towns of *Syria*, as well as in *Egypt*. Another *Caraite*, as famous as *Alphrag*, appear'd about the end * of the following Century. This Doctor, whose Name was *Aaron*, writ probably in *Germany*, since he oppos'd in his Writings the Rites of the *German* Jews. He compos'd a Collection of *the Impertinencies of the* Thalmudists, *refutatio nugarum Thalmudicarum*. Mr. *Leger*, who was a long time in *Constantinople*, brought from thence a New Testament in the Modern *Greek*, which he put out at his return; and as he had kept a great Correspondence with the *Eastern* Jews, whose Tongue he was Master of, he also took notice of this Book, that was not then known. *F. Morin* had a Commentary of this Author, which he valu'd very much. But it made him expose himself. For this Father having a mind to make an advantage of the Treasure that was in his Hands, boasted, that he wou'd write the History of the *Caraites*, and unravel a Religion, that was hardly known. He besides assur'd the World, that he wou'd say nothing, but what was taken from their Works. These Books were very rare, because the *Caraites* write but little, print less, and their Enemies take care to suppress their Performances. Every body was charm'd with his Promise. The great *Buxtorf*, whose Sleep was interrupted by such Notions, had not patience enough to stay till the Book was printed. He desir'd to know the Title of the Books, whence *F. Morin* did promise to take his History; but this Father was oblig'd to confess his Indigence, and own that he only had the Commentary upon the Law Writ by Doctor *Aaron*, who liv'd in *Germany*, towards the End of the thirteenth Century.

18. They have always enjoy'd a great deal of Liberty in the Dominions of the *Grand Signior*. They had their Synagogues at *Constantinople*; and it was there, that in the fifteenth Century *Elijah* the Son of *Moses* made a Figure, and calculated his Astronomical Tables for the Meridian of *Constantinople*: And according to the Opinion † of *Albatenius*, an *Arabian* Astronomer ‖, very much esteem'd by the Jews, *Juda Pocki*, that great *Caraite*, who publish'd *the Gate of* Juda, was seen there One Hundred Years afterwards. He deplores the Misfortune of his Sect, which hath lost in *Egypt* above Three Hundred Volums compos'd by the Ancient Doctors, that were plunder'd and torn in pieces. He quotes a great many Authors of his Party, who writ in *Arabick*, and were translated into *Hebrew*. In a Word, they subsist there to this Day, as well as in Grand *Cairo*, and in some other Towns of *Egypt*.

19. They prefer the *Holy Land* to all the Countries in the World. They go thither, when they can find means to live in it; and it is properly in that Coun-

* More Aharon an. 1299. † Sleden de An. Jud. *c.* 2. *p.* 8. ‖ Uxor. Hebr. *l.* 1. *c.* 3. Can. 1583.

trey, that they meet together. Some are also found in *Syria*, and in the *East* as far as *Ninevah*; and few Years ago * one of these Sectaries came from that Countrey to *Francfort*, where he try'd the Cruelty of the *Rabbanists*. For they refus'd to admit him into their Synagogues. Boys gather'd together to affront, and cast Dirt upon him. Some Stones were thrown at him; and he had starv'd, if Mr. *Ludolf*, a Man both generous and learned, had not taken him into his House, whence he did not go till Mr. *Ludolf* had got from him, what he wanted to compleat his Work. His Design was to go to meet his Brethren in *Poland*, and *Volhinia*. He carry'd his Library along with him, that consisted of a few *Caraite* Books † which he valu'd very much.

20. I can't tell why it is positively said, that this Sect is extinct in the *West*. For there are some *Caraites* in *Moscovy*, *Poland*, and *Lithuania*, who pretend to be descended from the *Tartars*, or come from *Constantinople*, where they still have Synagogues. But their wretched Condition, Ignorance, and small Number, are the Cause that they are hardly taken notice of.

21. Their Hatred against the Traditionists, and the Traditionists Hatred against them, is implacable. There is no Correspondence, or Marriages between the Families of the *Caraites*, and those of the *Rabbanists*, tho they sometimes marry *Pagan* and Idolatrous Women. They very seldom live in the same Place, because they bitterly exclaim against, and persecute one another; and every one makes use of his Interest with the Magistrates to drive away his Adversary. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* observes || in his Travels, that the Four Hundred *Samaritans*, and Two Hundred *Caraites*, that he had seen at *Damascus*, liv'd quietly together, but yet that they did not marry into one another's Families; or into those of the *Rabbanist* Jews, whereof Three Thousand were in that City.

On the one hand, the *Caraites* collect together all the Curses, which the Prophets have denounc'd against evil Pastors, and thunder them out against the *Rabbanists*. On the other, the *Rabbanists* say, that at the Feast of the Tabernacles, they meet upon the Mount of *Olives*, and after they have bless'd one another, they take the Book of the Law, and pronounce against the *Caraites* all the Curses, which they find in it. They are often near them in a neighbouring Place, and hear themselves curs'd by the greater Number, without daring to open their Mouths, like dumb Dogs, that dare not bark when they are beaten. The *Rabbanists* seldom put in the Number of their Proselytes, those that willingly come over to them; because they suspect, that they did it out of Interest, or Treachery. They are kinder to those *Caraites* who are born down by ill Usage, or Authority. It is a Proverb among them, *that a* Caraite *ought to become a* Mahometan, *or* Christian, *before he be admitted among the* Rabbanist Jews.

Lastly, They are so jealous of one another, that they will often dispute about the Title of *Rabbins*. I do not question, but Custom hath ascrib'd it to the Traditionists preferably to the *Caraites*; because they have always been more Numerous, Powerful, and fond of honourable Titles. And therefore *Benjamin* having a mind to distinguish the two Sects, which he had seen in his Travels, says, that some were call'd *Rabbins*, and the other *Caraites*. But he is suspected of speaking out of prejudice, and for the interest of his Sect, which hath too great a contempt for its Adversaries to honour them with the Title of Masters. The *Caraites* do not appear so haughty. For if they they stile themselves *Rabbins* too, they also give this Title to their Adversaries, and even sometimes add these Words, *of blessed Memory*, which the others never do. However, there is but one Instance of this sort of Civility, and I do not know whether we can draw any inference from it for all the Writers of this Sect.

CHAP. X.

The History of the Pharisees, *and of their Tenets.*

1. *A General Notion of this Sect.* II. *Its Antiquity.* III. *Love for Traditions.* IV. *Fate taught by the* Pharisees. V. *The Influence of the Stars.* VI. *The Opinion of the Modern Jews.* VII. Baronius *refuted about the Worship of Stars.* VIII. *What Fate is.* IX. *The Opinion of the* Pharisees *explain'd.* X. *An Explanation of the 13th Verse of the 1st Chap. of St.* James. XI. *The Prayer of the* Pharisee *of the Gospel.* XII. *The Necessity of the following Articles.* XIII. *The Principles about the punishment of Sin, common to all Nations.* XIV. *The* Pharisees *think, that they expiate their Sins by Sacrifices. Their Washings.* XV. *The Opinion of Philosophers, who laugh'd at the Vulgar, and yet offer'd Sacrifices.* XVI. *Contrition, Prayers, and Virtues were join'd to the Sacrifices.* XVII. *The* Pharisees *agreed with the* Pagans *about Justification.* XVIII. *They contradicted one another concerning Virtues, and good Works.* XIX. *In what they differ'd about Justification.* XX. *St.* Paul *shews, that Sacrifices, and Ceremonies are not to be rely'd upon.* XXI. *The main Argument of St.* Paul *was taken from the Moral Law.* XXII. *A New Way to be justify'd by Mercy.* XXIII. *The Righteousness of Christ imputed to Sinners.* XXIV. *An Objection, which St.* Paul *makes to himself, concerning the neglect of good Works.* XXV. *St.* Clement's *Comment on St.* Paul's *Opinion.* XXVI. *Ways to elude that Apostle.* XXVII. *The Works of the Law taken for the Oeconomy of Works.* XXVIII. *The Law was the Oeconomy of Faith, and the Gospel that of Works.* XXIX. *Whether the* Pharisees *confided in useless Devotions.*

1. NEither the Origin of the *Pharisees*, nor the time wherein they begun to appear, is known. Common Tradition makes *Hillel* their Founder; but some ||| say that he liv'd under *Herod* the Great. Nevertheless the *Pharisees* had a great deal of Credit with the Crowd, in the Reign of *Alexander Jannæus*, a long time before *Herod*. It is better to own, that we do not know their Original, than to make a vain Inquiry after it. People might have been for several Ages fond of Traditions. Men commonly hate Restraint; and love what God hath not commanded. However, it may be said, that *Hillel* and *Schammay* begun to make an open breach about that matter. *Hillel*'s Disciples begun to add an austere way of living to their Traditions, and to run down with more success their Enemies, who oppos'd the Settlement of the *Oral* Law. There was a palpable Contradiction in their System. For they extoll'd their Austerities, whilst they flatter'd the Corruption of the Heart, and cancell'd the most severe part of the Law. But the People, who are easily impos'd upon by a mortify'd Exteriour, and the deluding Appearances of Devotion, look'd upon them as Saints. They were not all of the Tribe of *Levi*, nor concern'd in the Priesthood; and *Pharisaism* was not an Office in the Church, as some have imagin'd. Some Priests, and High-Priests were of this Sect; but the Lay-Men made up the greatest Number. They made themselves formidable to the Kings, who flatter'd them out of Policy, least they

* Jac. Schwidt Compend. Hist. Jud. *c.* 13. *p.* 528. † Ludolf dixit. || Benjam. Itiner. *p.* 56. ||| Ganz. Chronol. *p.* 83.

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ſhou'd become their Enemies. For they were the more to be fear'd, becauſe they fought under the ſhroud of Religion. They diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by the bigneſs of their Phylacteries. They went with their Heads downwards, leaſt they ſhou'd caſt ſome impure Looks, or be tempted by ſome beautiful Objects. Thorns were fix'd to the hem of their Robes, that the Blood might trickle from their Feet as they walk'd along. They added New Devotions to the Law, notwithſtanding it was already ſo heavy, that no body cou'd bear it. They extoll'd the Worth of theſe Devotions, and their Virtue, giving out that they had fulfill'd every thing, and that they ſhou'd certainly go to Heaven. They ſever'd themſelves from the reſt of Mankind, as being more Holy than they, and fearing to be defil'd by touching them. They not only flouriſh'd in the time of Chriſt, who curs'd them; but this Sect is yet in being, and almoſt all the Jews are now *Phariſees*; and therefore we are a-going to deſcribe their Tenets, and Rites.

2. The *Phariſees* derive them from *Moſes*. For they boaſt that they receiv'd from his Mouth their Traditions and the *Oral* Law, whoſe Depoſitaries and Interpreters they pretend to be. St. *Epiphanius* reckons *Akiba* among their greateſt Maſters, and makes him live before the the Captivity of *Babylon*. But he is groſly miſtaken. For this Doctor was Maſter of *Aquila*, that famous Interpreter who tranſlated the Holy Scripture in the Reign of *Adrian*. *Hillel*'s and *Schammay*'s Controverſy ſeem'd to have produc'd *Phariſaiſm*. St. *Jerome* * believ'd, that this Production of the *Phariſees* made theſe two Doctors ſo odious, that they were call'd, one *Hillel*, that is, *Prophane*; and the other *Schammay*, that is, *Waſter*. But none can more evidently miſtake than this Father of the Church. For the Jews are perſwaded, that this Diviſion was beneficial to the Synagogue. They blame *Schammay*, and extol *Hillel* to the Skies, to whom they gave the Title of *Praiſe-worthy*. They ſay, that he was ſo poor, that he was forc'd to work for his Living. He beſtow'd half of his Gain on the Porter of the School, and liv'd upon the other Half. Wanting Work, and having no Money to bribe the Porter, he hearken'd at the Window, and being there all Night, he was found in the Morning all cover'd with Snow. *Schammay*, who ſaw him in that Condition, admir'd his eagerneſs for Learning, and thought, that he deſerv'd that the Sabbath ſhou'd be broken to warm him. His Brother, who was a rich Man in *Babylon*, wou'd never aſſiſt him. He became famous; had a great many Scholars, whereof ſome are compar'd with *Moſes*; and the reſt, who were 40, were able to ſtop the Sun, as *Joſhua* did. No Encomiums are ſpar'd on this Man, who is made Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, Founder of *Phariſaiſm*, and Defender of Traditions.

Joſephus, who muſt have known this Sect better than theſe, (for he was a Member, and zealous Aſſertor of it) ſeems to fix its Original under *Jonathan*, one of the *Maccabees*, about one Hundred Years before Chriſt. *Hillel* liv'd perhaps at that time. For we muſt not rely in Chronology on the *Rabbins*, who are often miſtaken, and only make ſome Conjectures about the time of this famous Aſſertor of Traditions.

It was hitherto believ'd, that they took the Name of *Separated*, or *Phariſees*; becauſe they ſever'd themſelves from the reſt of Mankind, and upon the ſcore of their Auſterities thought themſelves above them: And the Prayer of the *Phariſee* of the Goſpel, who ſtood far from the Publican, and what this Sect reproach'd Chriſt, that he did eat with ſcandalous and profligate Fellows, confirm this Notion. Notwithſtanding that there is a new Conjecture † about that Name. The *Phariſees* were oppoſite to the *Saducees*, who deny'd the Rewards of a future State. For the *Phariſees* maintain'd, that there was a *Paras*, or Remuneration after Death. And therefore St. *Paul*, who had been a *Phariſee*, and knew that moſt of the Jews were of that Sect, tells them in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, ‖ that *Moſes* forſaking *Egypt*, *had reſpect unto the recompence of the Reward*, and aſſures the *Romans* that Eternal Life ſhou'd be their Reward. This Reward being the ground of their Controverſy with the *Saducees*, and call'd *Paras*, the *Phariſees* might rather have deriv'd their Name from thence, than from Separation, which alſo belong'd to the *Eſſenes*.

3. The firſt Crime of the *Phariſees*, was their Zeal for Traditions. They contended, that beſides the Law promulgated upon Mount *Sinai*, and writ by *Moſes*; God had verbally intruſted this Law-giver with a great many Rites and Tenets, which he tranſmitted to Poſterity without writing of them. They nam'd the Perſons, who had preſerv'd theſe *Oral* Traditions, and gave them the ſame Authority as to the Written Law. And they were in the right; ſince they ſuppos'd, that they alſo came from God. Chriſt condemn'd theſe Traditions, which weaken'd the Scripture, inſtead of explaining it, and were fitter to flatter, than curb the Paſſions. But his Cenſure, far from reclaiming the *Phariſees*, did but exaſperate them. They took it very heinouſly, that a Man, whom they thought had no Miſſion, ſhou'd take upon him to reprove them. This is natural enough. For the Miniſters of the Church are generally more wedded to ſome ancient Cuſtoms, and humane Fancies, than to the Laws of God. They abandon the Eſſence of Religion, whilſt they obſtinately maintain the Superficial Part of it. They make that their chief Buſineſs; and imagine, that there is a Deſign againſt their Perſons; and that their Miniſtery, and Authority, which are heighten'd by theſe Ceremonies, are attack'd. Their incens'd Pride kindles them into a Rage, and makes them often imitate the barbarous *Phariſees* who crucify'd Chriſt. The modern *Phariſees* are as much wedded to Traditions, as the ancient *Phariſees* were. They ſay, that whoever *rejects the* Oral *Law*, *becomes an Apoſtate*, *and*, ipſo facto, *deſerves death*. They have an implacable Hatred for the *Caraites*, who adhere religiouſly to the Text of *Moſes*, and the Word of God.

4. *Joſephus* affirms ‖‖, that the *Phariſees ſubjected all things to Fate*, *and God*; *that it was always in Man's Power to do Good*, *or Evil*, *and that Fate aſſiſted him.* Whence it hath been concluded, that they made Events depend upon a certain Fatality, which depriv'd Man of his Liberty. St. *Epiphanius* *, who is the Author of this Opinion, adds, that this Fatality proceeded from the Stars, to which they gave ſeveral Names. *Baronius* † going farther than this ancient Doctor, ſaid, that they believ'd that the Stars were animated; and that they worſhip'd them as ſo many Angels. And therefore the Chriſtian Proſelytes, that came out of that Sect, endeavour'd to introduce into the Church the Worſhip of Angels. But St. *Paul*, who knew this Worſhip, and their Wile, oppos'd it, when he exhorted the *Coloſſians*, *not to be beguil'd of their Reward in a voluntary Humility*, *and worſhipping of Angels*. Laſtly, A learn'd Man, who had no Intereſt to find out the adoration of Angels, but had ſome other prejudices, obſerves, 1. That according to *Joſephus*, the *Phariſees* aſcrib'd nothing to God in the Adminiſtration of Sublunary Events; becauſe they believ'd, that having given to the Creatures a certain moving Faculty in the beginning of the World, they continu'd to act and move. 2. That they underſtood *by Fate* the influence of Stars, and the Concatenation of ſecondary Cauſes, which depend of them. 3. That they imagin'd, that

* Hieron. in Iſaiah, *c.* 8. † Vitringa Obſ. Sac. *l.* 1. ‖ Heb. 11. ‖‖ Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 11. *c.* 7. *p.* 788. * Epiph. Hær. 16. *p.* 34. † Baron. an. 65. *p.* 660.

Fate made almost all Events absolutely necessary, and excepted but very few, to which they allow'd a kind of a Liberty; and that even Fate help'd these free Actions. It is in this Sense, that we must understand this Axiom of the ancient *Rabbins*, *that every thing is in the hand of Heaven, except the fear of God*; that is, that every thing necessarily, and inevitably happens; and that the Will of Man alone is free in matters of Religion. 4. One wou'd conclude, that the *Pharisees* left to Man a free Will to Good or Evil. But *Bullus* || will not have it so, and affirms, that they subject all things to Fate; because their System wou'd not otherwise be coherent. And indeed Heaven ought to have the same Influence upon all humane Actions; and as soon as the Will is bound in some things, by the Concatenation of secundary Causes, it must be bound in all its Acts. What wou'd become of a Man, that was born under an ill Constellation? Cou'd he become a good, and be no ill Man? If he cou'd, he acted against Fate, and became Master of his Doom. Fate wou'd not then have a Power over the beginning, and sequel of his Life. So that the *Pharisees* spoke of Free Will for fashion sake, but own'd in the main an inevitable Fatality, which destroy'd it. 5. St. *James* * hath refuted this Tenet of the *Pharisees*. For when he says, *Let no Man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: For God cannot be tempted with Evil, neither tempteth he any Man.* He speaks against these Doctors, who by owning Fate, made God Author of Sin. He adds, that *every good Gift, and every perfect Gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.* He speaks of a *perfect Gift*, that comes from above, to denote a more exalted Place than *the Heaven of Stars*, whence the *Pharisees* deriv'd some Influences upon all Transactions here below. He calls God *the Father of Lights*, that is, of *the Stars*, which are call'd the Children of God, to shew that it was not the Stars, but God who created them, that governs the Actions of Men. Lastly, He asserts, that there is no *shadow of turning* in God, and the Term † which he uses is borrow'd from Astronomy. The Sun hath its Tropicks, which it leaves, and returns to them again, but God never alters. It may easily be perceiv'd that this Interpretation is new, and therefore deserves that we shou'd take notice of it.

5. This may be added to it, *(viz.)* that the Modern Jews have a great Veneration for the Stars, and their Influences. There is, say they ||, *no dispute between the Sages about the Stars*; because they all agree, that they have a great Influence upon the Generation and Corruption of *Sublunary* Bodies; and this Errour is also common among the Christians. Some Jews have rather given the direction of Events, and also of some Plants, to Angels, than to the Stars; God leaving every thing to their Management hath only reserv'd to himself the Keys of Life, the Resurrection, and Rain; and *Elijah*, who brought down Rain, and rais'd one from the Dead, had a very particular Privilege. But others contend, that the Stars pour down their Influences upon Earth. Every Herb hath its peculiar Star, which gives it its Virtue. They also extend this Power to humane Bodies, and the principal Actions of Life. They wish *a happy Planet* to their Friends upon their Wedding Day. They alledge this Reason for it, that the Sun and Moon being created to rule the Day, and the Night, they exercise their Dominion by the Influences, which the Stars send down upon Sublunary Bodies, to which they communicate several Qualities. They refer themselves to Experience, since Health very often depends upon the Air; and the Faculties of the Soul, upon the Disposition of the Body; and they quote several Predictions of Astrologers, which have come to pass.

6. Notwithstanding that this Structure seems strongly built, it is easy to pull it down, if we closely follow *Josephus*, and do not make him say, what he did not say. We must not be impos'd upon by the Authority of some unknown Names of *Rabbins*; but always ascend to the Fountain-head to discuss a matter of Fact.

Those, who submit the Body, and some Events to the Stars, confess that Man may defy Fate, and raise himself above it by his Virtue. As for Instance, We read |||| in the *Thalmud*, that *there is no Planet for* Israel; and in another Place, that there is *a Planet for* Israel, as for other Nations. This is a kind of Contradiction; but it is solv'd by saying, That the People do not depend upon the Stars, when they are Faithful, and observe the Commandments of God; but that they depend upon them, when they rebel against the Almighty. Besides, *Maimonides* disown'd these Influences of the Stars, when he observ'd, that if so great a Power was ascrib'd to them, Man's Free Will must of necessity be given up. So that a general Inference can't be deduc'd from the Doctrine of the *Rabbins*, that have been quoted; the rather, because tho *Maimonides* hath had some Opponents, the Crowd hath follow'd his Opinion.

7. *Baronius*, who imputes to the *Pharisees* to believe, that the Stars are living Bodies; and who transforms these Stars into Angels, and makes the *Pharisees* adore Angels, and St. *Paul* oppose this Worship; hath been led into all these Mistakes by his Prejudices. He was afraid that his Church shou'd be involv'd in the same Sentence, that St. *Paul* pronounc'd against the Worship of Angels; and he thought to screen it from this Sentence by putting the *Pharisees* in the room of the *Roman* Catholicks, and hath spar'd nothing to effect it. Instead of inquiring of *Philo*, *Judæus*, *Josephus*, and the Gospel, whether the Jews admitted of any Idolatry, and whether Angels were worship'd among them, he goes no farther than St. *Epiphanius*; because he hop'd to make him patronize his Cause. This Father says, that the Jews call'd the Planets *Zodia*, whence *Zodiack* is deriv'd. The Latin Interpreter having translated, that they call'd the Planets *Animals*, this Fault of this Translator was enough to make *Baronius* believe, that the *Pharisees* thought that the Planets were living Bodies.

But there is still a great difference between living Stars, and Angels; and between Angels and their being worship'd, and an Adoration which was only paid out of humility of Spirit at *Colloss*, a small Town of *Phrygia*, where Proselytes coming out of *Pharisaism*, were very rare, and perhaps never known. But *Baronius* goes boldly over these Precipices, and ascribes to the *Pharisees* a Superstition, that begun to be introduc'd into the Christian Church, and which St. *Paul* condemn'd.

8. *Josephus*, who ought chiefly to be believ'd, makes a Concourse *of God, of Fate, and of the Will of Man assisted by Fate.* The difficulty lies only in this, to know what he means by Fate. Dr. *Bull* * will have it a Power distinct from God, and makes *Josephus* say, that the *Saducees take away the second Order*, that is, *Fate.* But he hath not well translated this. For that Historian † says, that the *Saducees* made *a second Order*, or the second Order of Sectaries among the Jews. Neither must we understand the Stars by the Name of Fate; since the Jews did not pay them any manner of Worship; or even to Angels, altho they ascrib'd to them a Super-Intendency over several Events. Fate, among the Heathens, was the Concatenation of Secun-

|| Bullus Harmonia Apostolica Diss. posterior. *c.* 15. *p.* 96. &c. * James, 1. 13, 17. † Τροπῆς. || V. Maimon. Ep. & More Nevochim, *p.* 2. *c.* 10. *p.* 206. Thalmud in Mæd. Katom fol. 28. R. Aben Ezra, Abarbanel, Bahye, Isaac Cohen, Levi Ben Gerson, Meser de Leon, Joel Ben Sueb. Joseph Albo, *favour this Opinion.* |||| R. Manasseh in Termino Vitæ, *p.* 9. * Bullus Harm. Apost. Diss. 2. *c.* 15. *p.* 197. † Σαδδυκαῖοι δὲ τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα τὴν μὲν εἱμαρμένην πάντα τῶν ἀφαιροῦνται. Joseph. Ant. *l.* 13. *c.* 9. *p.* 442.

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dary Causes, that were link'd together by *the eternal Truth*. Thus *Cicero* expresses himself. But Fate among the *Pharisees* signify'd Providence, and its Decrees about humane Transactions, which seem to render them infallible.

And indeed the *Chaldee* Paraphrast, who must have known the Opinions of his Nation, and Time, explaining these Words of *Solomon*, *One Event happeneth to the Just and the Wicked*, says, as the *Pharisees* of his time, that this is perform'd by *Fate*; but explaining at the same time his thought, he adds, that indeed *it was decreed in Heaven, and that God hath resolv'd it*. This is *the Fate* of the ancient Jews, which subsisted in the Decrees of God, whose infinite Knowledge makes Events infallible.

The *Saducees*, in opposition to the *Pharisees*, rejected *all manner of Fate*. Fate hath no different Parts, that can be distinguish'd, and reasonably oppos'd to a *Whole*, if it be meant thereby a Concatenation of Secondary * Causes, which impose an inevitable necessity. For it is the same for all Actions, and Events. But Providence hath its different Operations, and Influences. More, or less, may be ascrib'd to it. *A Whole* may be attributed, or taken from it; or else it may be said, God and Man divide the Empire between them. This was the Opinion of the *Pharisees*, whilst the *Saducees* deny'd any Operation of Providence, that had any Influence over Men's Actions. It was then to this *Influencing* Providence, which these ancient Hereticks wou'd not admit, that *Josephus* gave the Name of Fate; because he had no other to bestow upon it, and that the different Sects of that time disputed about the necessity of Events, and the Liberty, that God granted to Man in their Production; which had a great affinity with the Controversies of Philosophers concerning Fate.

Josephus † speaking of the *Pharisees*, explains their Opinion so plainly, that I can't conceive how it cou'd be made intricate. *They believe*, says he, *that every thing is perform'd by Fate; However they do not take away from the Will, the freedom of determining it self; because, according to them, God uses this Medium*, (viz.) *That altho all things happen by his Decrees, or Council; Man yet preserves a Power to chuse either Vice, or Virtue.*

Nothing can be clearer than the Testimony of this Historian, who was of the Sect of the *Pharisees*, and must have known their Opinions. 1. We see by it, that *Fate* so much talk'd of, which makes Events necessary; but at the same time we perceive, that this Fate, *is the Decree, or Council of God, whereby every thing comes to pass*. 2. This Decree goes no farther than common Events, and Man hath, notwithstanding it, always a power to chuse Virtue, or Vice. God doth not deprive the Will of the freedom of Choice. How can it then be fansy'd, that the *Pharisees* believ'd themselves under the Influences of Planets, and the Concatenation of Secondary Causes? So that a place of *Josephus*, which seems difficult, must not be insisted upon, when he explains himself elsewhere with so much clearness and perspicuity.

The Jewish Fathers, Masters of Traditions, Depositaries of the *Oral* Law, Witnesses of the Opinions of their Church, and the Offspring of the *Pharisees*; whose *Sentences* have been collected as so many Oracles, have said ‖, *God sees all things. However, he hath left a Free-Will to Man: The World shall be judg'd in good, and Sentence shall be pass'd according to the number of good Works*. These first Fathers, the Offspring of the *Pharisees*, speak, and express their Opinion in few Words. 1. They admit of a Providence, that watches over, and regulates all Events. 2. They allow Man a full liberty to Good, or Evil. 3. Lastly, They ‖‖ add, that Men shall be judg'd by the number of their Good Works. Interpreters translate this otherwise, and understand that God shall judge in good, that is, by his Mercy, rather than by his Justice, and will prefer the number of Alms to their Magnificence. But then they must alter the use of Terms; For * *Good* signifies rather good Works, than God's Mercy. Thus we find there the third Principle of *Pharisaism*, which lay'd down, that the Sentence, which God shall pronounce at the Last Day, shall be grounded on the number of every Man's good Works.

To conclude, the Modern *Rabbins* are *Pharisees*; They have imbib'd their Opinions from their Masters, and still follow them. It is very well known, that they do not differ much from those, who are call'd Remonstrants in *Holland*. They approve of the Concourse, which these last ascribe to God in humane Actions, and of the Liberty, which they attribute to Man, to chuse Good or Evil. They do not incline to that side out of Policy, they follow the Tradition of their Fathers. In a Word, they say with the ancient Doctors, *that all things are in the hand of Heaven, except the fear of God*; and *the Heaven*, which they mention, is not that of Stars; but they understand thereby the Deity that resides there. Sure, none will believe, that Christ did introduce the Prodigal Son after he repented, as wedded to the Stars, and begging Pardon of the Stars, which he had not offended. Yet he makes him cry out, *I have sinn'd against Heaven, and before thee*. *Heaven* there signifies God himself. Thus the Name of Fate is given to Providence, because it produces, by its Decrees, a necessity like that of the Concatenation of Secondary Causes.

9. It is easy to discover by this natural Signification, the true Opinion of the *Pharisees*, who maintain'd these three Things. 1. They believ'd, that natural and common Accidents necessarily happen'd, because Providence had foreseen and determin'd them. This they call'd Fate, which impos'd a necessity to Actions and Events.

Secondly, They left Man *his Freedom to Good, or Evil*. *Josephus* says it positively, when he affirm'd, *that it was in Man's Power to do Good, or Evil*. So that Providence govern'd all humane Transactions, but impos'd no necessity to Vice, or Virtue. And the better to assert the Empire, which they pretended to have over the Notions of their Hearts, and the Actions that were the results of them, they alledg'd the Words of *Deuteronomy*, wherein God declares, *that he hath set before his People Life and Death, and exhorts them to chuse Life*.

This suits very well with the Pride of the *Pharisees*, who boasted, that they fulfill'd the Law, and expected the Reward due to their good Works, as if they had merited it. We are not to examine, whether this System of the *Pharisees* is coherent, or to suppose by some Arguments, that they depriv'd Man of his Free-Will. For when we inquire into the Opinions of a Sect, we must necessarily depend on the Testimony of Authors, who were well acquainted with, and were leading Men in it, as *Josephus* was. Besides, how many Divines leave to God his Prescience, and Decrees of natural Events; and yet suppose in Man an intire Freedom in Acts of Religion and Piety? Can it be said, that they deny Free-Will, even when they so warmly assert it? The *Pharisees* did the same Thing.

Lastly, Altho they believ'd a freedom to Good and Evil, they admitted of some assistance from God; For they were *assisted by Fate*. This last Principle takes off all the difficulty. For if Fate was with them a blind Cause, and a Concatenation of Secondary Causes, or the Influence of Stars, it wou'd be ridiculous to say, that Fate *assisted them*. Fate cannot manage its Operations and Efficacy, or help Mankind at this rate,

* Joseph. Ant. *l.* 13. *c.* 9. *p.* 442. † Joseph. Ant. *l.* 18. *c.* 2. *p.* 617. ‖ Pirke Abbot, *c.* 3. *n.* 15. *p.* 36. ‖‖ Leusden, Not. in Pirke, *p.* 40. * ובמוב Ubetob in bono.

because

becauſe it makes their Actions neceſſary. But Providence acted with an abſolute Sway in natural Events, and temper'd its Power in Acts of Piety, that theſe Acts might be free, and worthy either of Rewards, or of Puniſhments. So that the *Phariſees* muſt not be plac'd among the *Stoicks*, who ſubmitted all things to Fate, as ſeveral Ancients *, and Moderns have believ'd.

10. *Bullus*'s † Explication of the Words of St. *James*, vaniſhes as ſoon as we have diſcover'd the Opinion of the *Phariſees*. He ſuppoſes, without grounds, that this *Apoſtle* oppos'd them when he ſaid, *that every perfect Gift is from Above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights.* He afterwards transforms this Apoſtle into an Aſtronomer, who alludes to the Tropicks, and Revolutions of Planets, to teach us God's Immutability. *The Father of Lights* ſignifies, ſays he, the Father of *Stars*; and the Term *from Above*, a more exalted Place, than that of Planets. How vain are theſe Subtilties; which are grounded upon this Suppoſition; that the *Phariſees* made God the Author of Sin, and that their Salvation depended on the Influences of Planets, or on the Concatination of Secondary Cauſes.

But this Foundation is overſet; ſince the *Phariſees*, far from believing God the Author of Sin, and that the Planets made Actions neceſſary by their Influences; they maintain'd that they had an abſolute Freedom *to chuſe Good, or Evil.* Was it not to St. *James*'s purpoſe to call God the *Father of Lights*, when he ſpoke of the Knowledge, which he infuſes into our Hearts? Was there any neceſſity, that he ſhou'd put the *Phariſees* in mind of the Tropicks, and teach them, that God's Throne is above the Stars, to make them by this nice turn, think upon his Power and Immutability, which were too well known in their Sect, to be ever queſtion'd?

Bullus doth here aſcribe to the *Phariſees* ſome Opinions which they never had, that he may ſay that St. *James* hath refuted them. He afterwards ſuppoſes, that this Apoſtle pointed at them, that he might vend his new Conjectures, and make the Holy Ghoſt affect ſome trivial Alluſions. Laſtly, It happen'd to him, what happens commonly, when People read the Holy Scripture with too much nicety; inſtead of explaining what is clear, they make it intricate.

For St. *James*'s Words are plain, provided they are not clouded. He ſays, that the Grace, that converts, and ſaves, doth not flow from Man's Heart, and Inconſtancy, but from Heaven, and God the Author of our Knowledge; and that very indirectly points at the *Phariſees*.

11. Some will perhaps think, that they can overſet our Opinion by the Prayer of the *Phariſee* of the Goſpel, who is introduc'd ſaying, || *God, I thank thee, that I am not as other Men are, Extortioners, Unjuſt, Adulterers, or even as this* Publican. For ſince he acknowledg'd God the Author of the Virtues, which he practis'd, and aſcribes the Glory of them to him; he muſt either have contradicted himſelf, or have acknowledg'd an efficacious Grace, which byaſs'd his Will to Good. But this Difficulty confirms, that the *Phariſees*, far from ſtooping to Planets, or a blind Fate, recurr'd to God himſelf, ſince they glorify'd him for their Actions. Beſides, we know that the *Semi-Pelagians* uſe the ſame Prayers, as the Aſſertors of a conquering Grace. They own with the *Phariſees*, that God *helps them*, and they give to that *Fate*, which is God, part of the Glory of their Virtues. It is perhaps a ſecret Teſtimony, which Truth extorts from them. Theſe haughty Men, intoxicated with their Free-Will, are yet forc'd to humble themſelves before God, and to acknowledge the neceſſity and influence of that very Grace, which they oppoſe. But it is perhaps an artifice of Pride, which ſhrouds it ſelf under *the Deity*, and ſpeaks more boldly under his Name. The General of an Army, orders the *Te Deum* to be ſung for a Victory, for which he applauds himſelf, as if it had been at his diſpoſal. The Bigots ſpeak often after the ſame rate. They brag of their Virtues, as being the effects of God's Aſſiſtance, and yet they inwardly think themſelves the true Authors of their good Works. Laſtly, Some think themſelves oblig'd to God for that Portion of Aſſiſtance which he gives them, and thank him, that they are not wicked Men, notwithſtanding that they believe, that it was their Will that choſe Good from Evil. This Contradiction, which is now between the Hearts and Mouths of all the *Semi-Pelagians*, might be in the Mouth of this *Phariſee*. Beſides, ſome *Rabbins* of this Sect have cry'd out, notwithſtanding that they were very zealous *Semi Pelagians* |||; "You know, O God, that our Will is "to fulfil Yours: But we find a difficulty in it. For "the Leaven is in the Maſs, and Concupiſcence in the "Heart. Humble it before and after us; that we "may with an upright Heart accompliſh what you "have commanded. But we have inſiſted long enough upon this Subject, which we were oblig'd to explain, by reaſon of the Authority of St. *Epiphanius*, and of the Learned, who have added their Conjectures to his.

12. This is only part of the Syſtem of the *Phariſees:* It is worth while to unravel the means, whereby they pretended to be juſtify'd before God, not only to give a clear notion of their Opinions, but alſo to explain the true meaning of St. *Paul* about Juſtification, which hath been ſo long controverted. For this Apoſtle compos'd his Epiſtles to the *Romans* and *Galatians*, to diſpute againſt the Phariſees, and to pull down their Pride by expoſing their Opinions.

13. All Nations have agreed, that Men were oblig'd to pay ſome certain Duties to the Gods; that there were ſome general Laws that were to be obſerv'd to pleaſe them; and that the Violation of theſe Laws expos'd the Tranſgreſſors to their Indignation. But as Sins cou'd not be avoided, every one hath endeavour'd to find out ſome means to avoid the Puniſhments that they deſerve, and ſcreen themſelves from the Wrath of God. I preſume to ſay, that all Nations have agreed upon this Article, except the Chriſtians, who ſtick to the Goſpel and St. *Paul*.

14. The Heathens thought to appeaſe the Deity with Sacrifices; and that the Number and Quality of the Victims help'd to expiate Crimes. They therefore offer'd Children. *Maimonides* believes, that the *Canaanites* made their Children only paſs through Fire, becauſe they aſcrib'd the Power of Purifying to that Element; a Superſtition which ſome Chriſtians have adopted; ſince the * Council of *Conſtantinople* cenſures thoſe that made Bonfires before their Houſes, to go over them every New Moon. However it is true, that the antient Idolaters look'd upon their Children as Victims, which they put in their ſtead to aſſwage the Deity; and to this the Scripture alludes, when it introduces a Woman crying out in a fright, † *Shall I give my firſt-born for my Tranſgreſſion?* She believ'd that the Sacrifice of a Child, and the Eldeſt of her Family, would be a more acceptable Sacrifice to the Deity, which ſhe ador'd. All the Heathens did not exactly agree in the matter of Sacrifices: For ſome only offer'd Oxen, and Lambs, and alſo purify'd themſelves by Fire, or by waſhing in Fountains.

Ah! nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis,
Fluminea tolli poſſe putatis aqua.

15. Philoſophers rather laugh'd at the Vulgar's Veneration for theſe Ceremonies, than at the Ceremo-

* Juſtin Martyr. Ephipha. Lanſſelius ad Juſtin Martyr. Calumniarum Caſauboni Diſpunctio, *c.* 4. *p.* 525. † Bullus Harmon. Apoſt. *c.* 15. || Luke 18. 11. ||| N. Alexander. * Concil. in Trullo. Can. 65. † Micah 6. 7.

nies

nies themſelves; As Miniſters often reprehend Chriſtians, for being fond of certain Devotions, and for their overſtrain'd Opinion of the Efficacy of the Sacraments independently from Piety. *Iamblichus* ſaid, *that the Union with the Deity was not acquir'd by Contemplation alone, but by the Practice of the ineffable Ceremonies, and Operations worthy of the Deity.* The Sages offer'd Sacrifices with the Vulgar; and *Socrates*, when he had nothing to hope, or fear from the Mob, had a Sacrifice offer'd, whilſt he drank Hemlock.

16. It is only true, that Philoſophers, who had more Senſe than the Crowd, often told them, that the ſmoak of ſtinking Fat, and ſome Bones, which Dogs won'd hardly gnaw, were not ſufficient Attonements to the Gods for Crimes. They endeavour'd to make them prefer the Acts of Virtue, to the Number of Sacrifices. But the People lik'd Sacrifices better; becauſe it was eaſier to cut a Sheep's Throat, than to ſacrifice their Paſſions; but Philoſophers thought that the Acts of Repentance, and Piety, muſt be more acceptable to the Gods. But they agreed in the main in theſe two Principles; one, that it was requiſite to worſhip the Gods in their Temples, and offer them ſome Sacrifices; the other, that Sin was more truly expiated by Repentance, and the Sorrow of having committed it; ſince the Gods

Sæpe levant pœnas, ereptaque lumina reddunt
Cum bene peccati pœnituiſſe vident:

They diſtinguiſh'd between Attrition and Contrition; for they requir'd that Repentance ſhou'd be produc'd rather by ſorrow and ſhame, than by the fear of Puniſhments.

Cumque ſit exilium, magis eſt mihi culpa dolori.

They cry'd out as well as the *Publican* in the Goſpel, *Be merciful unto me*; and aſcrib'd a great Efficacy to their Prayers. *Our Mind is awaken'd by them*, ſaid *Iamblichus*, and our Souls *deſire the Fruition of the Supream Being: We frame our ſelves to the Reſemblance of God, by our Converſation with him; and inſtead of our Imperfections, we acquire his Perfections.* They did not think either Contrition, or Prayers, enough, unleſs back'd with Virtue and good Works. "We muſt, ſays "*Plato*, love Juſtice, and practiſe Piety; have a "tender regard for our Relations, Friends, and "Countrey; ſeek for Wiſdom during this Life, and "we ſhall paſs the reſt of our time without Ignorance, "Fear, and without the reach of Misfortunes. To "conclude, * we ſhall be with God. So that the Heathens thought that Sacrifices, and Acts of Piety, did attone for Sins.

17. The *Phariſees* were of the ſame Opinion, but with this difference, that being bred in the School of *Moſes*, they had a more accurate Knowledge of the nature of good Works.

Firſt, it cannot be deny'd, but they had a mighty Veneration for the Sacrifices, and Ceremonies of the Law, whoſe Excellency they extoll'd. And therefore St. *Paul* found it a hard matter to undeceive them, and convince them, that the Blood of Goats, and Bulls, and † thoſe Sacrifices *which they offer'd Year by Year, did not make the comers thereunto perfect.*

Secondly, they believ'd that they cou'd fulfill the Law; and that they became acceptable to God by an exact obſervation of his Commands. For they taught, that God weigh'd their Sins with their Virtues, and that they were juſtify'd, and ſav'd, if their Virtues out-weigh'd their Crimes.

18. They were guilty of a plain Contradiction. For not ſatisfy'd with the Precepts of the Law; they added to it ſome works of Supererogation, Faſts, Abſtinences, and very mortifying Devotions, which they believ'd very Meritorious; but they at the ſame time curtail'd the Law, flatter'd the Paſſions and Corruption of the Heart by their falſe Interpretations. They even thought, that Sins that were hatch'd in the Heart were no Sins, when they were not put in Execution. And therefore *Joſephus*, who had been of that Sect, laugh'd at *Polybius*, who believ'd that the Gods puniſh'd *Antiochus* for deſigning to plunder their Temple. The *Phariſees* were alſo like the Heathens in this, that ſome Bigots among them wou'd voluntary undergo ſome Abſtinences, which they thought of great Efficacy.

19. The *Phariſees* differ'd from the Pagans in two things. One, that they ſaid, that they had *the aſſiſtance of Fate, either for Good or Evil.* This Fate was not *that Grace of God that bringeth Salvation*, which is acknowledg'd by Chriſtians. For *Nicodemus*, a Doctor of the Law, and a *Phariſee* too, had no notion of it: But they underſtood thereby a general Providence, that had ſome influence over Men's Actions. It did not confine their Free-Will, but left them at their Choice to act, or not act; yet when they had made a good Choice, it aſſiſted them. Beſides, the *Phariſees* were much more haughty than the Heathens, becauſe it was certain that God had given them his Law, which was the rule of their Actions. He had many times extoll'd the excellency of the Sacrifices, which he had inſtituted with ſo much Pomp. In a Word, The Covenant, which he made at the Foot of Mount *Sinai*, was endow'd with a great many Privileges, which ſwell'd the Heart and Hope of the *Phariſees* ſo much, that they contemn'd the reſt of Mankind, as being inferiour to them. But in the main, they had the general Idea of Juſtification, which moſt Nations receive, (*viz.*) That Crimes are atton'd for by ſome Satisfaction given to the Deity, and by a New Change of Life and Converſation. This appears by St. *Paul*'s Diſpute againſt them, wherein he doth theſe three Things.

Firſt, He annuls their Notion of the Sacrifices of the Law, which, they believ'd, had expiated the Sins of the People.

Secondly, He explodes their great Value for their good Works, and Virtues, which they thought juſtify'd them.

Laſtly, He diſcovers a new way to be juſtify'd by Faith, which relies on the Merit of Chriſt, and the Satisfaction which he gave for us upon the Croſs. But we muſt explain this more clearly.

20. Every body owns, that St. *Paul* oppos'd the excellency, and worth of Sacrifices. But ſome Divines imagine, that the Apoſtle proceeded no farther; as if the *Phariſees* wholly rely'd on the Luſtrations and Ceremonies of the Law, and aſcrib'd no Merit to good Works. But they did not know the Temper of this Sect, which being exceſſively proud, made the Juſtification of its Members depend rather of their own Strength, Virtues, and good Works, than of Victims. Beſides, They make them more ignorant than the Heathens themſelves, who requir'd from Sinners, Prayers, Contrition, and ſome Acts of Virtue as well as Sacrifices. Do they imagine, that the *Phariſee*, who boaſted of his Faſting, and Alms, and ſaid, that he had fulfill'd all things from his Childhood, thought Victims only meritorious, and aſcrib'd nothing to his good Works? People muſt be very little acquainted with Man's Heart to argue at this rate. We naturally love what cometh from us, and our Virtues puff us up, and make us fancy that God cannot refuſe us any thing, when we are virtuous.

21. So that it was St. *Paul*'s chief Deſign in this Diſpute, to prove to the *Phariſees*, that none cou'd be juſtify'd by the Works of the Law, and therefore he

* Plato in Phæd. *p.* 386. init. † Heb. *c.* 10. *v.* 1.

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repeats Ten or Twelve times this Truth, (*viz.*) That the Law *includes all under the ſame Condemnation*; that it only expos'd the Deformity of Sin, but did not enable to perform good Works; and and therefore *no* Fleſh was juſtify'd *by the Works of the Law*. He doth not except from this general Rule either the Saints, or the Prophets, or *Moſes* himſelf, the Chief of the Prophets, and the Perſon who had given the Law. He introduces the greateſt Men of the Law; as *David*, a Man after God's own Heart, who yet confeſs'd, that, *Bleſſed is the Man unto whom the Lord imputeth not Iniquity*. He thought it not enough to offer Sacrifices, but he alſo perform'd good Works. For he knew too well the Inſignificancy of Sacrifices, not to rely rather upon his own Virtues, than upon the blood of Victims. *Thou deſireſt, ſaid he to God, no Sacrifice, elſe I wou'd give it thee*; and inſtead of doing it, he hath recourſe to God's Mercy; whence this neceſſarily follows, that the greateſt Saints cou'd be juſtify'd by the Works of the Moral no more than by the Sacrifices of the Ceremonial Law. Laſtly, He aſcends as high as the beginning of the Church, and proves the ſame Thing of *Abraham* the Father of Believers, againſt whom the *Phariſees* cou'd make no Objection.

22. After he hath lanc'd the *Phariſaical* Tumor; he lays down a new way to be juſtify'd, which Chriſt hath procur'd us. But to clear this Point, he teaches, that as the Law includes all under the ſame Condemnation, it is by a meer effect of God's Mercy, that we are ſav'd: And to take away from the Fleſh all manner of Pretences of boaſting, he goes as far as the Decrees of Predeſtination, which were made a long time before us. He gives an Inſtance of it in *Jacob*, and *Eſau*. Theſe Children being not yet born, neither having done any Good, or Evil, God ſaid of them, Jacob *have I lov'd, but* Eſau *have I hated*. As this Decree of Predeſtination, which preceeds Man's Birth, ſeems to have ſomething harſh in it, St. *Paul* compleats the Humiliation of Man's Pride, by comparing him to a lump of Clay, over which the Potter hath power to make one Veſſel unto Honour, and another unto Diſhonour. I grant that the Compariſon is very degrading, and ſeems beſides to be much more harſh, than the Decree of Predeſtination. But one proves the other, and ſhews, that Man abſolutely depends of God; and St. *Paul* is the Inventor of this Compariſon.

23. After he hath humbl'd Man by taking away all reliance on Himſelf, and good Works, he ſhews him the true way to be juſtify'd before God; It is the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt, that Satisfaction of an infinite Price, which *is counted to us for Righteouſneſs*. St. *Paul* uſes this Expreſſion to make us apprehend, that our Sins are written in thoſe ſeal'd Books, which ſhall be open'd at the Day of Judgment, as ſo many Debts, that we have contracted with his Juſtice. God finds nothing on the other ſide to make the Balance even. There are no Sacrifices under the Goſpel to be plac'd to account, neither are any Virtues, or good Works, ſet down on the Regiſter of God, to ballance our Sins; but inſtead of Victims, and our good Works, he accounts unto Men the Righteouſneſs of his Son; and this Righteouſneſs, being perfect, makes an intire Propitiation for our Sins; and as this Righteouſneſs, which God's Mercy offers us, is accepted by Faith, St. *Paul* ends his Diſpute, by concluding, that Man is not juſtify'd by the Works of the Law, but by Faith. * *Therefore we conclude that a Man is juſtify'd by Faith without the Deeds of the Law.*

24. There remain'd a Difficulty, which naturally flow'd from the Syſtem of St. *Paul*, ſuch as we ſuppoſe it. For if we are juſtify'd meerly by God's Mercy, and through the Merit of Chriſt, and all that we do towards it, is to accept it by Faith, being in that caſe like Beggars, who ſtretch and open their Hands to receive the Alms which keep them from ſtarving; it may be concluded, that good Works are not neceſſary, and that the number and enormity of our Crimes will but heighten the glory of Grace. † *Shall we continue in Sin, that Grace may abound? God forbid.* St. *Paul* who had foreſeen this Objection, ſolves it. It cannot ariſe from the other Syſtems that are father'd upon this Apoſtle. For whether he rejected the Sacrifices of the Law, or extoll'd the Oeconomy of the Goſpel, or of *Faith*, above the Oeconomy of Works, as ſome ſpeak, no body cou'd thence fancy, that good Works might be laid aſide. And indeed, becauſe St. *Paul* excludes the Sacrifices and Ceremonies of the Law from Juſtification, it doth not follow from thence, that Piety ought to be neglected; but if he excludes the Moral Law, he gives occaſion to the wicked to ſay, that he ſtifles the love of good Works, ſince he juſtifies Sinners without them. It is an Argument, that we have explain'd St. *Paul*'s Opinion, ſince the Objections which he ſtarts againſt himſelf, flow from the Syſtem, which we aſcribe to him, as it is a Mark, that a Phyſitian hath hit the Diſtemper, when all the Symptoms, whereof the Patient complains, ariſe from the Principles, which he hath laid down.

25. In order to remove all Scruples about this Matter, let us add to it the Commentary of St. *Clement* Biſhop of *Rome*, and St. *Paul*'s Diſciple. His Letter to the *Corinthians* is not ſpurious, and who can be a better Commentator of St. *Paul* than his own Scholar? Yet after he hath prais'd the Holy Men of the Old Teſtament, as *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, he affirms, *that theſe Holy Men did not acquire eternal Happineſs either by themſelves, or their Works, or good Actions, but by the Will of God.* Whence he concludes, that we alſo, who are call'd by the Will of Chriſt, *are not Righteous through our own Wiſdom, or Knowledge, or Piety, or the Works we have perform'd with Uprightneſs of Heart; but through Faith, whereby the Almighty juſtifies all thoſe that have ever been Righteous.* The Sacrifices and Ceremonies of the Law are not concern'd here. For *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, have never pretended to be juſtify'd by them; but by Acts of Piety and *Works perform'd with uprightneſs of Heart.* Theſe St. *Clement* ‖ excludes from Juſtification, to make it depend *upon the Will of God, and Faith.* This is *Paul*'s Syſtem, whence the ſame Fear aroſe in the Scholar's Mind, as had ſprung in that of the Maſter, (*viz.*) Leaſt ſome might conclude from thence, that good Works ought to be neglected. And he therefore prevents this Objection of impious Men. *What ſhall we do, Brethren?* ſays he, *Shall we leave off doing Good, and neglect Charity? God forbid, that this ſhou'd happen: On the contrary, let us make haſt to produce theſe good Actions with zeal and eagerneſs*; and of what uſe can theſe good Works and Zeal be, if they have no ſhare in our Juſtification? They ſhall not be loſt. For St. *Clement* ſays, *That God will take delight in them.*

26. However ſeveral attempts are made to ruin the Syſtems, which we have aſcrib'd to the *Phariſees*, and to St. *Paul*, who diſputes againſt them. Three things have been alledg'd to elude what St. *Paul* ſays in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* concerning Juſtification. Some contend, that this Controverſy is not ſuch a one as is now between the Church of *Rome* and ſome Proteſtants. This is, ſay they, one of thoſe Prejudices which Divines employ to dazle the Mob, notwithſtanding that it is only grounded upon ſome Expreſſions of St. *Paul*, which they abuſe, for want of knowing what they mean. One ſays, that *by the Works of the Law*, which the Apoſtle debars from the Glory of being able to juſtify, we muſt underſtand the Ceremonies of the Law, thoſe Abolutions, and Sacrifices, *that cou'd not purify thoſe who come unto them.* But he thereby makes not only the *Phariſees*, but alſo *Abra-*

* Rom. 3. 28. † Rom. 4. 1, 2. ‖ Clemens Ep. ad Cor. 1. c. 32. 33. p. 164.

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ham and *David*, and all the Fathers of the ancient Teſtament more ignorant than Idolaters, who, as we have already obſerv'd, thought that Juſtification depended rather upon the practice of Virtue, than upon Victims, and Offerings.

27. Others pretend, that St. *Paul* doth not make an oppoſition between Works and Faith; but between the Law, which was the Oeconomy *of Works*, and the Goſpel, which is the Oeconomy of *Faith*. So that the Works of the Law ſignify the Legal Diſpenſation, and Faith ſignifies the Goſpel, under whoſe Diſpenſation Men are juſtify'd. But without entering into a Diſpute, it may eaſily be obſerv'd, that they alter the natural meaning of theſe Words: And to what purpoſe? Is it becauſe theſe Expreſſions of the Apoſtle are not common and underſtood? Are People ignorant of what good Works and Faith ſignify? Doth St. *Paul* teach here a Doctrine ſo contrary to right Reaſon, that we ſhou'd be oblig'd to recurr to ſome ſtrange and unknown Significations? I confeſs that the Truth that he teaches is humbling, but yet it is plain, and full of Comfort.

28. Beſides, why hath St. *Paul*, when he handl'd a Controverſy wherein proper terms ought to be us'd in order to be underſtood, always ſpoken of *the Works of the Law* to denote the Legal Covenant? Why hath he always call'd *the Goſpel* Faith? Is it becauſe the Words *Covenant and Goſpel*, which were infinitely more proper to expreſs his Thought, did not naturally occurr in his Mind, or that he did not know them? This no body will preſume to ſay. Faith was known under the Oeconomy of the Law as well as under the Goſpel. For the Fathers of that Oeconomy were juſtify'd by Faith. They believ'd in a Meſſiah that was to come, and the Modern Jews have adopted from their Anceſtors, that lively Faith, which relies on the Promiſes of God. Virtue and good Works muſt be practis'd as well under the Goſpel as under the Law. So that Men might be juſtify'd under the Legal Diſpenſation, tho not by its means; as we are oblig'd to be Holy under the Goſpel, altho that is not the means of Juſtification. So that this was not properly the Queſtion which St. *Paul* diſcuſs'd, whether Men cou'd be juſtify'd under the Law, or under the Goſpel; but he ſhew'd that they cou'd not be juſtify'd by good Works, but by Faith alone.

29. But the moſt ſubtle Argument againſt our Aſſertion is this. St. *Paul* oppugn'd the *Phariſees*, who corrupted the Law by their falſe Interpretations, and rely'd upon a very imperfect Righteouſneſs, which was produc'd by the practice of External Devotions, wherein the Heart had no ſhare, and upon Ablutions and Ceremonies unable to juſtify Sinners. It is true, that he ſpoke of the Moral, as well as of the Ceremonial Law. But then he ſpoke of it in the Senſe of the *Phariſees*, as of a Law, *that was not well interpreted, but was weaken'd, and mangl'd* by falſe Explanations; and it is this Righteouſneſs of *Phariſaical* Works, which he rejects as no way conducive to Juſtification.

We might diſpute about the Nature of the good Works of the *Phariſees*. For they did not only avoid Sin, and faſt, but they gave very conſiderable Alms, and practis'd Charity. Beſides, they believ'd that they fulfill'd the Law. But without deſcending to theſe Particulars, I own that the Righteouſneſs of the *Phariſees* was imperfect, ſuperficial, and deceitful: St. *Paul* doth not only confute them, but alſo aſcends as high as the Law, and the Holy Men, who ſtrove to obſerve it, and yet cou'd not be thereby juſtify'd. *Abraham* was no *Phariſee*, and his Obedience was pure and ſincere. Nevertheleſs, he was not juſtify'd by good Works, but by Faith. *David* liv'd under the Law, when the *Phariſees* were not ſo much as thought of; and yet he makes his Happineſs conſiſt in the Pardon, which God freely grants to Mankind; and it is thence that St. *Paul* concludes, that we are not juſtify'd by good Works, but by Faith without the Works of the Law. He doth not then ſpeak of the Law, as it is not well interpreted; but of the Law, ſuch as God gave it, and his Intention is to prove, that the moſt perfect Obedience is not ſufficient to ſcreen Man from Condemnation, and lead him to the Salvation of his Soul. This is enough to clear this Difficulty, which ſeveral Divines have handl'd more at large, and have rather embroil'd than clear'd.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Phariſees. *Their Opinion of a Metempſycoſis, and their Auſtere way of Living.*

I. *THE* Phariſees *accus'd of believing a Metempſycoſis.* II. *Whether Chriſt was* Elias. III. *Some Remarks upon the Man that was born Blind.* IV. *Whether Tranſmigration deſtroys the Reſurrection.* V. *The Silence of the* Saducees. VI. Joſephus's *Authority.* VII. *The falſe Zeal of the* Phariſees. VIII. *They impoſe upon Mankind.* IX. *Seven Orders of* Phariſees. *Whether they were like the Monks.* X. *Their Mortifications.* XI. *Their Ablutions.* XII. *Some Miſtakes of St.* Epiphanius *concerning the* Phariſees. XIII. *Their Zeal.* XIV. *Their Titles.* XV. *Their Power over the Kings.* XVI. *The preſent State of that Sect.* XVII. *Whether the* Phariſees *were Hereticks.*

1. THE *Phariſees* are accus'd of teaching the Tranſmigration of Souls, which they had borrow'd of the *Orientals*, with whom that Opinion was common. But the truth of this Accuſation is queſtion'd; becauſe Chriſt never upbraided them with that Errour; *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and St. *Epiphanius* ſaid nothing of it; and it ſeems to deſtroy the Reſurrection of the Dead; ſince, if a Soul hath belong'd to ſeveral Bodies upon Earth, it will be a hard matter to chuſe the Body, that ſhe ought to prefer to the reſt to wear it in Heaven. *Whoſe Wife ſhall ſhe be?*

2. I do not know, whether that is enough to juſtify this Sect; becauſe the Tranſmigration of Souls, is a very ancient and common Opinion among the Jews, who are all *Phariſees*. Our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* did not deſign to refute all the Errours of the *Phariſees*; and if St. *Paul* had not ſpoken of this Sect, we ſhou'd not at this time know their Opinions concerning Juſtification. We muſt not then conclude from the Silence of the Goſpel, that they did not believe either the Preexiſtence of Souls, or their Tranſmigration. We might preſume the contrary from ſome places of Scripture. For the Multitude believ'd, that Chriſt was * Elias, *or* Jeremias, *or one of the Prophets.* But they might have imagin'd, that *Elias* was come down from Heaven, or that *Jeremias* was rais'd from the Dead. But as this is only a Conjecture, it may as well be ſaid, that they believ'd that the Soul of the Prophets came to enliven another Body to reſtore the Church; and this laſt Conjecture is as probable as the other.

3. The Apoſtles ſeeing a Man, that was born Blind, and unable to find out the true Cauſe of ſo exemplary a Puniſhment, aſk'd of our Saviour, whether it was his Father, or his Mother, or he himſelf that had ſinn'd. It is manifeſt that this Blind Man cou'd not have ſinn'd; or his Soul been puniſh'd for the Crime

* Matth. 16. 14.

he had committed, unleſs his Soul had pre-exiſted, or been in another Body before. For there wou'd be no Senſe to ask, whether a Man, who had no Being before his Birth, *had ſinn'd?* So that the Apoſtles muſt have pointed either at the Tranſmigration, or the Pre-exiſtence of Souls, ſuch as *Origen* believ'd afterwards. Thus the Goſpel doth rather inſinuate, that it was a common Opinion among the Jews, who had borrow'd it of the *Orientals*.

4. Neither ought we to juſtify the *Phariſees*; becauſe they had deſtroy'd the Reſurrection by a Metempſycoſis. For the Modern Jews admit both of the Revolution of Souls, and the Reſurrection of the Body; and the *Phariſees* might have done the ſame thing. They even remove the Difficulty, ariſing from the Soul's being puzl'd about the Choice of the Body, which ſhe ſhall be oblig'd to make, out of all thoſe, that ſhe hath animated. For they maintain, that only one of them ſhall be rais'd from the Duſt, and that the reſt ſhall be overlook'd as dry and uſeleſs Lumps. Yet this doth not determine, which of them ſhall be preferr'd, and their Opinions are divided about it. For ſome are for the Firſt Body, wherein the Soul was lodg'd; but others prefer the Laſt; becauſe it is the Body wherein ſhe hath perfected her ſelf. Let the matter be how it will, one Body only ſhall riſe. * *One of theſe Bodies ſhall be*, ſays *Jeremiah*, *like the Heath in the Deſart, and ſhall not ſee when good cometh, but ſhall inhabit the parch'd Places in the Wilderneſs, in a ſalt Land, and not inhabited.* But the other ſhall be as the Picture, which the Pſalmiſt hath drawn of it; † *A Tree planted by the Rivers of Water, his Leaf ſhall not wither, and ſhall bring forth his Fruit in his Seaſon.*

5. Laſtly, The Silence of the *Saducees* doth not prove any thing to juſtify the *Phariſees*; becauſe the Writings of theſe ancient Hereticks are loſt. Whence is it known, that they held their Peace, and did not hit their Adverſaries in the Teeth with this? Hath any body read their Diſputes? Add, that they tolerated one another ſo much, that they all ſacrific'd in the ſame Temple; and they rather ſtudy'd to inſinuate themſelves into the favour of thoſe that were rich, and in power, than to propagate their Tenets, or to diſpute againſt their Enemies: And the Goſpel ſpeaks ſo little of either, that we cannot judge thereby how far the Errours of theſe two Sects extended.

6. *Joſephus*'s Authority, who ſpeaks clearly about that Matter, ought to prevail over the Silence of the *Saducees*, and even of the Goſpel. He affirms ‖ that the *Phariſees* believ'd, *that the Souls of the Wicked were ſhut up in Priſons, and there ſuffer'd Eternal Torments, whilſt, that of good Men found an eaſy return to Life, and went into another Body. This return of the Souls* ‖‖ *to Life* can't be explain'd by the Reſurrection. For the Immortal Soul ſhall never die, nor riſe again. Neither can it be ſaid, that ſhe ſhall go into another Body at the Laſt Day. For, beſides that ſhe ſhall put on again, by the Reſurrection, the ſame Body that ſhe hath animated in this Life, and that its Qualities only ſhall be chang'd; the *Phariſees* did thereby repreſent the different State of good and wicked Men immediately after Death; and therefore to make *Joſephus* point at the Reſurrection, is to father too quaint a thought upon him. A Hiſtorian, who relates the Opinions of a Sect ſpeaks more naturally, and expreſſes himſelf with more perſpicuity.

7. It is true, that we ſhou'd ſpeak of the auſtere way of Living of the *Phariſees*. For they thereby ſeduc'd the People; and acquir'd an Authority, which made them formidable to the Kings. It is a ſtrange thing to ſee Men, who boaſted to God of the Perfection of their Holineſs, ſtudy how to find out ſome Lenitives, which made the Law of no effect, and that ſome Bigots, who loaded themſelves with new Precepts, as if the Law was not ſevere enough, did weaken it by their falſe Interpretations. But we ought not to think it ſtrange when we conſider, that this happens in moſt Religions. And there is a very plain reaſon for it. For had a Man always an exact Notion of the extent and perfection of Piety, he wou'd fall into deſpair, if he did rely on his Virtues, and good Works. We are conſcious of our Imperfections, Defects, and Impotency, when we examine our Obedience, and regulate our Examination by the Law. Pride then ſinks, which a Man that relies on his Righteouſneſs cannot endure: And we are oblig'd to have recourſe to God's Mercy; and proud Man doth not care to have ſo intire a Dependence upon him. He makes up the Difference between God and him. For he keeps the Notion of his own Righteouſneſs, and Virtues; and that he may ſtill keep it, he complies with the eaſieſt Commands. He adapts Morality to his Strength, and Weakneſs; and afterwards ſpeaks as confidently, as if God was oblig'd to ſubmit to what he determines.

8. He doth not think it enough to attempt to deceive God, but he will alſo endeavour to impoſe upon others, whoſe Applauſe he wants to keep up a falſe Zeal. The Vulgar doth not dive into the Heart to unravel its Motions. A dejected Countenance, and the Report which he gives out of his Faſts, Hair-cloth and Mortifications, whether true or falſe, draw Peoples Eyes, and Confidence, and afterwards their Acclamations upon him. He is prais'd, without curbing his Paſſions: On the contrary, his Pride feeds upon Encomiums. He values himſelf in his Retirement; and a motion of Self-love, which he thinks lawful, makes amends for a great deal of Trouble. But this Trouble is not ſo great, as we commonly imagine. The Body doth not find ſo much reluctancy as we fanſie, to uſe it ſelf to Temperance, and Stripes; whereas the Paſſions are not reſtrain'd and broken, but after long and vigorous ſtruglings. They reſiſt thoſe, that ſtrive to conquer them; grow boiſterous, when they are attack'd; rally and charge again after they have been routed; and when you think that you have bury'd them, they riſe again from the Grave. A Man cannot expect any Glory from the ſucceſs of his Attempts againſt the Paſſions. For he contends alone with them in the innermoſt part of his Heart; and he is conſtantly rack'd with the fear of his being vanquiſh'd. The Mob leaves him as one whoſe Morality is too harſh, whilſt they crowd about thoſe, who deceive and adore them. This is the Charm, which ſeduces ſo many Ghoſtly Fathers; and this Charm is very old. The *Phariſees* were abſolute Maſters of this Art; but they were not the firſt Inventors of it. They affected Mortification, and flatter'd the Paſſions. They boaſted of their Merit, and works of Supererogation, but made the Law eaſy by their Interpretations. *Jeſus Chriſt* in his excellent Sermon upon the Mount, diſcover'd the Venom of their Doctrine, and Conduct; nevertheleſs we will explain their Auſterities.

9. The *Thalmud* ſpeaks of Seven Orders of *Phariſees*; one was obedient for Glory and Profit; the other did not lift up their Feet as they walk'd. A third knock'd their Heads againſt Walls to make them bleed; a fourth hid their Heads in Cowls, and look'd out of that hollow place as from the bottom of a Mortar. A fifth haughtily ask'd, *what muſt we do, and we will do it?* What is there *to be done, that we have not done*? The ſixth obey'd out of love of Virtue, and Reward; and the laſt put God's Commands in Practice out of fear of Puniſhments.

We muſt not look upon theſe ſeven Degrees of *Phariſees*, as on ſeveral Orders of Monks, into which the whole Sect was divided. I own, that ſome Monaſtical

* Jerem. 17. 6. † Pſal. 1. 3. ‖ Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 18. *c.* 22. *p.* 617. De Bello, *l.* 2. *c.* 7. *p.* 788. ‖‖ Μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα.

Orders

Orders are diſtinguiſh'd by ſome differences, that are not ſo plain and material. But I ſhou'd be in the wrong, had I the ſame Notion of this Sect. For theſe Orders were only compos'd of private Men, who liv'd at home without Rule, or Vows, whereof ſome endeavour'd to carry their Perfection farther than others. They were all of the ſame Society; but as they neither had a Head, nor made any Vow of Obedience, and as every body begun and ended his Auſterities when ever he thought fit; we cannot confound them with the Monks, who appear'd afterwards; or aſſert that Religious Vows were practis'd among the Jews. This Remark is of conſequence; becauſe *Baronius* was miſtaken in it, and drew ſeveral Learned Men into his Errour. A Modern * *Greek*, imputes to them, that after they had obſerv'd Chaſtity for ſeveral Years, *they laugh'd at it*; but he runs into another Extream. They made no Vow, as *Baronius* hath ſaid, neither had they a ſet time, wherein they made a jeſt of having preſerv'd their Virginity. Laſtly, They might go from this Sect to a more auſtere one, without being a Deſerter. *Joſephus* relates of himſelf, that being inform'd that one *Banus*, was retir'd into the Deſart, where he liv'd upon Roots, and Fruits, and often waſh'd himſelf with cold Water, he had a mind to join with him, notwithſtanding that he was a *Phariſee*. He liv'd three Years in that retiring Place, and return'd to *Jeruſalem when he had perform'd what he had deſign'd to do.*

10. In ſhort, the *Phariſees* employ'd a great deal of their time in watching; and even deny'd themſelves Sleep. Some lay upon a very narrow Plank, that they might not ſecure themſelves from a dangerous Fall, if they ſlept ſoundly: Others more rigid, ſtrew'd theſe Planks with Flints and Thorns, that they might prevent their Reſt, part of the Night. They made long Prayers to God, which they repeated without moving their Eyes, Arms, or Hands, and they compleated their Mortifications of the Fleſh with Faſting, which they obſerv'd twice a Week; and they added ſome Flagellations to it. This was perhaps one of the reaſons why they were call'd *Blood-Drawers*; becauſe they unmercifully mangl'd their Skins, and ſcourg'd themſelves till they bled plentifully. But this Title was given to ſome others; becauſe as they walk'd in the Streets with their Eyes either upon the ground, or ſhut, they often knock'd their Heads againſt the Walls. They frequently walk'd with their Heads bow'd down to the Ground, leſt they ſhou'd touch God's Feet, which they thought were not above five Foot from the Earth; or rather to denote a more humble Countenance; and they did not lift up their Feet as they walk'd, to ſhew that they did not mind what might hurt them, and to appear to the Mob wholly taken up with Heavenly Thoughts. They loaded their Garments with Phylacteries, which contain'd ſome particular Sentences of the Law. They not only carry'd them on their Foreheads, but alſo on their Sleeves, and the Hems of their Garments were overſpread with them.

11. They did waſh oftner than others, to ſhew how careful they were to purify themſelves. Chriſt reproach'd them with *waſhing up to their Elbows*; becauſe, whereas the People only waſh'd their Hands, the *Phariſees* join'd the end of their five Fingers cloſe together, and held them up, and receiv'd the Water upon them, which often did run down to their Elbows. They repair'd the Tombs of the Prophets, which they ſet off with ſeveral Ornaments, and were as ſo many Monuments of their Piety, and made the World believe, that they were Followers of the Zeal of Holy-Men; ſince it was not likely, that they wou'd have ſo great a Veneration for their Relicks, had not they been acted by the ſame Spirit. Chriſt upbraids them with this Affectation, as if they had only deſign'd to put the Jews in mind of the Cruelty of their Anceſtors, who had often made the Prophets ſuffer Martyrdom: Whereas the Son of God intended to check the Pride of the *Phariſees*, who had no other aim in building up again the Tombs of the ancient Prophets, but to raiſe themſelves above their Anceſtors, ſhewing thereby that they had more Religion, and more reſpect for the Prophets, than they.

12. St. *Epiphanius* ſays, that the *Phariſees* paid out of Zeal the tenth part of the Tithes, that they receiv'd: This is a plain Miſtake. For Tithes were only paid to the *Levites*, and it wou'd be wrong to imagine, that all the *Phariſees* were *Levites*, or that all the *Levites* were *Phariſees*. This is not the only Miſtake St. *Epiphanius* † is guilty of in this matter. For he affirms, that the *Phariſees wore little Cloaks, as Women, and Slippers with Latchets.* What doth this mean? What makes it leſs intelligible is, that they ſeverely condemn'd Luxury, and ty'd ſome Thorns to the bottom of their Gown to tear their Legs and Feet.

13. They appear'd very zealous to make Proſelytes. *Jeſus Chriſt*, who reprov'd them for it, did not pretend, that it was a Crime to have a mind to increaſe the Church with new Converts; but he cenſur'd them, becauſe they did it more out of vain Glory than Zeal, made uſe of unlawful means to effect a thing that was good in it ſelf, and led their Proſelytes to Hell, by loading them with uſeleſs Ceremonies and Rites, inſtead of inſpiring in them a Spirit of true Devotion.

14. However by this ſeeming Zeal they got the Veneration of the People. The Title of *Sage* was given them by way of Eminency; and their Diſciples wou'd ſay to one another, *the Sage expounds this Day.* Chriſt cou'd not endure, that the Name of *Rabbi*, or Maſter, ſhou'd be apply'd to Doctors, who taught ſo pernicious a Morality. However, they affected to have it; and the People, who look'd upon them as Maſters full of Wiſdom, call'd them generally by that Name. As Merit is wanting, Titles ſwell; and the Mob muſt be impos'd upon by great Names, when their reſpect cannot be acquir'd by extraordinary Virtues. The Jews own this Truth, ſince they confeſs, that the Doctors of the great Synagogue had no Titles; and that the *Phariſees* begun to aſſume that of *Rabbi*. Young People || had ſo great a Veneration for them, that they durſt not ſpeak, or anſwer, even when they were reprehended. And indeed, they kept their Scholars in a kind of Slavery, and govern'd with an abſolute ſway whatever concern'd Religion.

15. But they were not ſatisfy'd with that. For they had ſo great |||| an Influence over the Minds of Women, and of the People, that they did what they pleas'd with them. They cou'd raiſe the Waves of that tempeſtuous Sea whenever they wou'd; and notwithſtanding were guilty of ſeveral great Faults; yet the Mob, who was intirely devoted to their Opinions, wou'd always believe them. They report, that an Officer of *Alexander Jannæus* having committed Murder, they demanded of the Prince, that he ſhou'd put this Officer into their Hands; but not ſatisfy'd to have the Criminal in their Cuſtody, they compell'd the King to appear, becauſe the Scripture ſays, that * *the Owner of the Ox that hath done ſome miſchief* ought to be try'd with him. Whence they inferr'd, that Kings were anſwerable for the Officers of their Houſhold. *Alexander* appear'd, but attempting to ſit down, *Moſes*'s Words were quoted to him, which enjoyns, that a Man at the Bar † *ſhall ſtand before the Lord.* The King complaining that this Text was miſapply'd, ask'd the *Sanhedrim*'s advice, that durſt not determine againſt this Prince. But *Simeon*, who was at the head of that Aſſembly, blam'd them for their

* Expoſit. accuratiſſ. &c. apud Coteler. Recogn. Clem. Mon. Apoſt. *t.* 1. *p.* 499. † Epiph. *t.* 1. *p.* 34. || Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 18. *c.* 2. *p.* 617. |||| Joſeph. *l.* 13. *c.* 23. *p.* 463. * Exod. 21. 29. † Deut. 19. 17.

faint-heartedneſs, and threatned them with an exemplary Puniſhment, which the Angel *Gabriel* inflicted, by killing the whole *Sanhedrim*, and ſince that time, that Grand Council hath never taken cognizance of the Affairs of the Kings. This is a Story, that doth no credit either to the *Phariſees*, or *Sanhedrim*, that never were the Kings Judges. However, it is certain that *Alexander Jannæus* was afraid of this Sect. This appear'd by the Counſel, which he gave to his Queen at his Death. For he adviſ'd her to let the *Phariſees* have their own ways, and to flatter them; becauſe having the People at their Devotion, they wou'd by their Praiſes of her, make them have an Affection for her too. That Prince was not in the wrong. Church-Men are won by the Careſſes of the Court; and as they cannot return the Honour, which is ſhew'd them any otherwiſe, than by Encomiums, they do not ſpare them. Their Commendations are often fulſom, and always copious. Notwithſtanding they have been often impos'd upon, yet they take the Demonſtrations of kindneſs that are ſhew'd them, as ſo many acts of Devotion, and Love, towards God. A ſtrange Illuſion! Thoſe, that are not deceiv'd by them, pretend that they are deceiv'd; becauſe their Minds are not ſtrong enough to deſpiſe worldly Honours. The *Phariſees* fell into the Snare, and the Queen, who executed her Husband's Laſt Will, retriev'd by their Means the Affection of the exaſperated People. Some make *Joſephus* ſay, that the *Phariſees* were *Enemies* to the Kings. But this is a Fault of the Interpreter. It is very likely, that the *Eccleſiaſticks* being proud, and jealous of their Authority, did not like to have a Sovereign above them. But *Joſephus* only ſays, that *they cou'd oppoſe the Kings*, when they had a mind to it. They reſiſted *Herod*, even when that Prince was moſt formidable to the Nation by his Cruelties and long Reign. This miſtruſtful Prince, who found ſome Enemies in his own Family, and among his Children, requir'd towards his latter End a new Oath of Allegiance of all the People. Six Thouſand *Phariſees* refus'd to take that Oath. *Herod*, who was us'd to make every body obey, laid a Tax upon their Diſobedience; but they were ſo Potent † and ſo much reſpected, that a Woman of the Court, the King's Siſter in Law, paid the Aſſeſſment. They rewarded her with ſome Prophecies, and being incens'd againſt *Herod*, they begun to foretel, that the Scepter ſhou'd be taken away from his Family, and transferr'd into that of his Brother *Pheroras*, whoſe Wife had protected them. Thoſe that made theſe Prophecies were put to Death. For *Herod*, who was inform'd of it by *Salome*, that was his Spye, (notwithſtanding their Character, and the Opinion which they had infus'd into the People, that they convers'd with God, who reveal'd to them what was to come) condemn'd them to be executed. So that tho they were formidable to the Kings; yet the Kings wou'd puniſh them, when they had courage enough to undertake it.

16. The *Phariſees* are alſo accus'd of having been ſome of thoſe Zealots, and *Sicarii*, that committed ſuch havock in *Jeruſalem*, and in *Egypt* where they retir'd. But this Accuſation is only grounded upon a conſiderable Number of theſe Sectaries, that ſided with *Judas*, who own'd no Maſter but God. That Sect was weaken'd by the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; yet it hath always ſubſiſted but with leſs ſplendor; and moſt of the Jewiſh Doctors are *Phariſees*. This is the Title, which the celebrated *Acoſta* gives to thoſe of his Nation, whom he ought to have known by the ſharp and long Controverſy, which he had with them. However, if they are not now ſo rigid, and have rejected part of the Devotions that were peculiar to this Sect; they have ſet up others in their room, and preſerv'd their Affection for Traditions, their Opinion about Free-Will, and the Revolutions of Souls. But this we ſhall ſee hereafter more at large.

17. The Fathers ‖ have look'd upon the *Phariſees* as Hereticks. But ſome Modern Authors vindicate them; becauſe they had no dangerous Errour among their Tenets; and that the Church hath not condemn'd them, ſince Chriſt ſays, that *they ſat in* Moſes *Seat*, and order'd that |||| *whatſoever they bid, ſhou'd be done*. And indeed a great many Things were tolerated in that time of Ignorance, which are now condemn'd. Add, that all the *Phariſees* did not believe Fate; and this is what hath deceiv'd the Fathers, who aſcribe the Errour of ſome Members to the whole Sect, and reckon it among Hereticks.

This is the Apology, which ſome make for the *Phariſees*, contrary to the Authority of the Fathers. But the Prejudice theſe Men had for Traditions, and for the Authority of the Church, whoſe Depoſitaries they make theſe Sectaries, engag'd them to contrive this Defence. As for me, if I condemn the *Phariſees*, it is not becauſe they aſcrib'd every thing to Fate. They did not want to have any Errours laid to their Charge that did not belong to them. For they had too many of their own. Don't we ſee that they undermin'd the very Foundation of Religion, by their Comments and Traditions? Chriſt who is the Infallible Judge of Errours, hath not only upbraided them with Hypocriſy, and thunder'd out Ten or Twelve Anathema's againſt them, but alſo bids his Diſciples, * *to take heed and beware of their Leaven*, that is, of their Doctrine: A plain Demonſtration, that he look'd upon it as erroneous and deſtructive. If our Saviour will have them be heard, becauſe they were in *Moſes* Seat; it is an eaſy thing to ſolve him from a Contradiction, by diſtinguiſhing the Law which they read in the Church, from the Traditions which they added to it as a fatal Leaven. But they pretend, that this was not Chriſt's meaning, becauſe he ſays, that *whatſoever* they ſaid, ſhou'd be done. He makes no Exceptions. Beſides, he cou'd not give private Men a power to diſtinguiſh between the Law, and the Explications of Doctors; becauſe that Examination was above their Capacities. But theſe Arguments are grounded upon Prejudices. For we muſt abſolutely apply *whatſoever* to the Precepts of *Moſes*; otherwiſe it wou'd follow, that the Diſciples were bound to reject Chriſt, becauſe the *Phariſees* taught it ſo in their Synagogues, and in *Moſes* Seat, and ſtrengthen'd their Aſſertion with all their Authority. Add, that by ſparing the People the trouble of an Examination about Traditions, they oblig'd them to make another, which is harder, (*viz.*) about what the *Phariſees* taught by Virtue of the Authority which *Moſes* had left them; and what they ſaid out of Paſſion and Prejudice. For how cou'd theſe Things be known? Whereas there was a Diſtinction, which the People knew, between the Law of *Moſes*, and the *Oral* Law. So that the Authority that our Lord allow'd them, was only with reference to what they taught out of the Law; and if he commands, that they ſhou'd be obey'd in that caſe, he alſo enjoins, that their other Tenets ſhou'd be rejected. If the Jewiſh Church did not condemn them, we muſt not conclude from thence that they were no Hereticks; ſince it tolerated the *Saducees*, whoſe Errours ſubverted all Religion.

* Id. *p.* 462. † Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 3. *p.* 585. ‖ Serrarius Trihær. *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *p.* 72. Voiſin. Pug. Fid. Obſ. Finus Flagellum Judæor. *l.* 9. *c.* 11. |||| Math. 23. 2. * Math. 16. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Eſſenes, *and* Kaſideans. *Their Origin, Tenets, and Hiſtory.*

I. THE *Goſpel and* Thalmud *ſays nothing of the* Eſſenes. II. *The Miſtakes of thoſe that have ſpoken of them.* III. *St.* Epiphanius *confuted.* IV. *Different Derivations of the Name of* Eſſenes. V. *The* Kaſideans *found in the* Maccabees. VI. *In St.* Paul. VII. Scaliger *confuted.* VIII. *The true Origin of the* Eſſenes. IX. *They remov'd from the Sea.* X. *Their Dependance upon Fate.* XI. *An Explanation of that Opinion.* XII. *This Syſtem implies Contradiction.* XIII. *Whether they offer'd Sacrifices.* Joſephus *corrected.* XIV. *Freſh Proofs of this matter of Fact.* XV. *They preſerv'd the Names of Angels.* XVI. *The Names of Seven Angels known at* Palermo *and* Rome. XVII. *Whether they worſhip'd the Sun.* XVIII. *Their Veneration for* Moſes *and their Doctors.* XIX. *Some ridiculous Opinions concerning the Soul.* XX. *Their Stewards.* XXI. *Their Temperance.* XXII. *Their Celibacy.* XXIII. *Their Charity.* XXIV. *Their Probation-time, and Profeſſion.* XXV. Herod *favours them. The* Romans *perſecute them.* XXVI. *An Alteration in this Sect. How long it laſted?* XXVII. *A Second Branch of the* Eſſenes. XXVIII. *A Third Branch of* Contemplatives. XXIX. *Some make them Chriſtian Monks.*

1. THE *Eſſenes*, who ſhou'd be ſo well known for their Auſterities, and the Exemplary Holineſs, which they profeſs'd, are yet hardly known. We find no Footſteps of them in the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, in whoſe Reign they ought to have firſt appear'd. The Goſpel never ſpeaks of them; becauſe they did not come out of their Retirement to diſpute with *Jeſus Chriſt*. Add, that they wou'd not join with the *Phariſees*, or the reſt of the Jews, becauſe they believ'd themſelves more Holy than they. Laſtly, there were but few of them in *Judæa*. For they chiefly reſided in *Egypt* were *Philo* ſaw them.

The *Thalmudiſts* * ſpeak no more of them than the Holy Pen-Men; and the only Jew, that mentions them, was ſo little acquainted with them, that he makes them all *Nazarites*; and gives them at the ſame time *Judas* the *Galilean* for their Head and Founder; which betrays a groſs Ignorance. We find often in the *Thalmud* the Name of *Baithos*, and the *Bathuſees* his Diſciples, whom ſome Criticks confound with the *Eſſenes*. But that doth not help us forward. For this *Baithos* appears only to be a fictitious Man. The great Chronicle of the Jews which mentions him, is not ſo ancient, as it is pretended; and *Maimonides*, who writ an Abridgment of his Life, hath not a ſufficient Authority to have this *Hereſiarch*, who is known by no body, inſerted in Hiſtory. Opinions vary about him. For he is ſometimes made the Founder of the *Saducees* with *Tſadoc*; and yet ſome will have him the Father of the *Eſſenes*, as if theſe two Sects, that were ſo different, cou'd be confounded together.

The Heathens, who ſpoke of the *Eſſenes*, were alſo miſtaken in them. For *Pliny* †, and *Solinus*, who copy'd him, admire that a Society, wherein the Generation of Children was condemn'd, cou'd have ſubſiſted for ſeveral Thouſand of Years. Here is a double Fault. For part of the *Eſſenes* marry'd; and their Sect was not ſeveral Thouſand Years ſtanding. On the contrary it was a New Sect.

2. The Chriſtians dazl'd by their Mortifications, have endeavour'd to take them from the Jews, and to make them Hermits or Monks of the Goſpel. *Euſebius* will have them profeſs Chriſtianity, which they did not. His Miſtake, which did no honour to the Chriſtian Religion, was adopted. But this is not the only one about them. For *Suidas* || ſays, that they were the Fathers of the *Rechabites*. Some have endeavour'd to correct this Miſtake by altering the Text, and reading, that they were their *Offspring*. But read this Author either way, he is miſtaken. The *Rechabites*, who ſoon decay'd, did not produce a New Sect, call'd the *Eſſenes*. However, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that the ſecond Miſtake is not ſo great as the firſt; and that it is the moſt common. For *Nilus* |||| affirms, that they deſcended from *Jonadab*; and that they all liv'd in Tents, and never drunk Wine. Some Modern Criticks are ſtill of that Opinion. St. *Epiphanius* places them among *Samaritan* Hereticks, whom he calls *Jeſſeans*. He fanſies, that they borrow'd that Name of *Jeſſe* the Father of *David*, or of *Jeſus*, whoſe Doctrine he aſcribes to them. He explains the Name of *Jeſus*, and finds that it ſignifies in the *Hebrew* Tongue *a Phyſician*, which ſuits very well with the *Jeſſeans*, who boaſted that they were the Phyſicians of the Soul. He makes them a different Sect from the *Oſſenians*, to whom he aſſigns a particular place among Hereticks. Laſtly, He ſays that *Philo* writ a Book concerning the *Jeſſeans*. How many things doth he affirm, and not one well grounded?

3. We have already obſerv'd, that the *Eſſenes* are wrongfully plac'd among the *Samaritans*, with whom they had no manner of Correſpondence, and they are without any reaſon diſtinguiſh'd from the *Oſſenians*, who made but one and the ſame Society with them. St. *Epiphanius* doth indeed ſay, that in the Reign of *Trajan*, one *Elxai* appear'd, who introduc'd ſome Tenets in the Sect of the *Eſſenes*, and gave them a New Book full of Prophecies; and that he had a Brother, whoſe Name was *Jaxæus*, another Impoſtor, who perſwaded them to worſhip the Stars. But granting all this to be true, it cannot be infer'd from thence, that there was a Schiſm in this Sect; and that the *Oſſenians*, unknown every where elſe, compos'd a Society different from that of the *Eſſenes*. For we ſhall ſee hereafter that the *Eſſenes* had from the Beginning borrow'd ſeveral Superſtitions of the *Egyptians*, among whom they were retir'd. We cannot above all things conceive how St. *Epiphanius* calls them *Jeſſeans*, nor why he derives their Pedigree from *Jeſſe* the Father of *David*, with whom they had no manner of Relation. *Nilus* gives them too the Name of *Jeſſeans*. But this is ſo far from juſtifying St. *Epiphanius*, that he gives that Name quite another Etymology. For he contends, that it ſignifies *Learned*, as if the *Eſſenes*, who were intent upon their Mortifications, ever pretended to Learning. *Petitus* * hath follow'd St. *Epiphanius*, and made them ſo related to *David*, that they were oblig'd to take the Name of his Father, *Jeſus*, or *Jeſſe*. But this is a meer Whim, which contradicts the Holy Pen-men, who tell us, that the Name of *Jeſus* doth not ſignify *Phyſician*, but *Saviour*. Beſides it is wretchedly apply'd to the *Eſſenes*. Laſtly, No body can tell whence St. *Epiphanius* hath it, that *Philo* writ a Tract of the *Jeſſeans*. For that is not true. He only compos'd Two Books, that ſpoke of this Sect. One is intitl'd, *The Contemplative Life*, wherein he makes mention of the *Eſſenes*; and the other intitl'd, *Every good Man is free*. For it muſt be thus tranſlated, and not as Mr. *Thiers* hath done, who follow'd the *Latin* too cloſe, and turn'd it, *that every Book is good.*

* R. Abraham Zachut in Libr. Juchazin apud Scultet. Exercit. Evangel. *l.* 1. *c.* 28. Critic. *t.* 6. *p.* 1898. † Plin. Hier. *l.* 5. *c.* 17. Solin. *c.* 35. *p.* 47. Edit. Salm. || Suidas προγονοι, *lege* απογονοι. |||| Nilus Aſcet. *c.* 3. * Petiti Variæ Lectiones, *c.* 28. *p.* 2600.

He

He explains in this last Book the Rites of the *Therapeutes*. *Philo* knew him better than any body; since they liv'd in *Egypt*; and therefore we'll prefer his Account of them to that of any other.

4. The Moderns have imagin'd twelve Derivations of the Word *Essenes*. *Serrarius* * was sufficiently teaz'd for saying, that this Term signify'd, *the Separated*, because they lov'd to live retir'd, and separated themselves from the rest of their Nation. *Scaliger* and *Drusius* oblig'd him often to buckle to them, and he only secur'd himself by making some Incursions upon them. The great *Salmasius* † keeping too close to the Rules of *Grammar*, affirm'd, that there was in *Judæa* a Town call'd *Essa*, whence the *Essenes* took their Name, because they liv'd there; notwithstanding that no Geographer, no Historian ever mention'd that place. *Fuller* ‖ believ'd, that the *Essenes*, and *Bathusees* were the same, because this Name signifies, *Houses of heal'd Persons*, and suits with People, who distinguish themselves by the Title of *Therapeutes*, that is of Physicians, or of Persons that were heal'd. But he vary'd afterwards, and thought that they deriv'd their Name from a Word, which signifies *to hide*. *Scaliger* |||| contends, that they borrow'd it from their *Holiness*; and that they were descended from the *Kasideans*, who are so famous in the History of the *Maccabees*: And therefore it is requisite, that we shou'd insist a little upon this last Opinion.

Scaliger * makes the *Kasideans*, a Fraternity of Religious Men, or an Order of the *Knights of the Temple* of *Jerusalem*; because they had join'd together chiefly to maintain that Structure, and adorn its Porches. And in order to this, they did not only pay the common Tax design'd for the Reparation of that vast Building, but they also voluntarily set other Taxes upon themselves. They *swore by the Temple, and by the Gift that is upon the Altar*. And it was this Oath, which made *Jesus Christ* severely rebuke the *Pharisees*, who had borrow'd it of them †. They offer'd a Lamb every day, except on the 11*th* Day of the Month *Tisri*; and this Sacrifice was call'd the Sin-Offering of the *Kasideans*. The *Pharisees* sprung from these *Kasideans*, and the *Essenes* from the *Pharisees*. If you ask, where this Sect of the *Kasideans* is to be met with; *Scaliger* will tell you, that you may find them in the *Maccabees*, in the Gospel, and in *Josephus*. We read in the History of the *Maccabees*; that *Matthias* ‖ *gathered together a company of Holy Men, who were mighty Men of* Israel, *even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the Law*. These Holy Men were the *Kasideans*, who are nam'd there, as well as their Power and Zeal, since *they were voluntarily devoted unto the Law*. Criticks have thought, that this place wanted to be corrected, and that the Name of *Jews* shou'd be put instead of that of *Kasideans*. And indeed the sense requires it. For *Matthias* gather'd together the Jews, that were powerful, and the Manuscripts confirm this Conjecture. But if this passage will not do, another is trump'd up, where the Historian represents the Scribes, who demand Justice of *Alcimus*, and *the* Kasideans |||| *the mightiest Men of* Israel, *who seek for Peace*. The two contending Parties are here mention'd. The first of the Scribes, who sticking close to the Letter of the Law, require an exact Justice; and the second of them, who are more charitable, and having a more favourable Opinion of their Enemies, are satisfy'd, provided they obtain Peace. These last are call'd *Kasideans*, and always describ'd as the *most mighty Men of* Israel. So that there must have been at that time a very numerous and potent Sect among the Jews. It wou'd be to no purpose to object, that the Jews themselves say, that there was no Sect in their Nation before *Simeon* the Just. But these sorts of Calculations are not to be rely'd upon. For some Christians say, that their Church was for two Hundred Years a Virgin, notwithstanding, that it was defil'd by Heresies a long time before. Add, that *Scaliger* doth not make the *Kasideans* a Sect, but only a Fraternity, which signaliz'd it self by its Zeal for the Temple.

6. St. *Paul* * says, *that scarcely for a Righteous Man will one die*; that it wou'd sooner happen, that some wou'd dare to die for their *Benefactor*; but that Christ dy'd for the *Ungodly*. Some † find in these Three Words of St. *Paul*, Three Orders known among the Jews, to which they believe, that the Apostle alludes. The *Ungodly*, was he, who violently seizing upon his Neighbour's Goods, wou'd cry out, *what is thine, is mine*; The *Righteous* pretended to an exact Observation of the Law, and wou'd say, *what is mine, is mine, and what is thine, is thy own*. Lastly, The *Kasidim*, or Saint, who had a great deal of Charity, appropriated nothing to himself, and wou'd say, *what is mine, is thine*; *and what is thine, belongs to thee*. Altho all these distinctions of Persons, were as ancient in the Synagogue as it is pretended; yet it wou'd not follow, that they were so many Sects, and different Societies: There is above all things a great Fault in the application of the Words of St. *Paul*. For to make it good, the Title of *Kasidim* must be put in the Text; which is not there, instead of that of Benefactor.

7. Lastly, *Josephus* relates, that *Alcimus*, who had usurp'd the High-Priesthood, being an Enemy to *Judas*, fled to *Demetrius*, and caus'd *Sixty Persons of this Sect* to be put to death. The Multitude was inrag'd at it, and fansied that *David* had foretold this Massacre, when he complain'd to God, that ‖ *the Blood of his Servants was shed like Water round about* Jerusalem: As the Word *Kasidim* is found in the Original to express that of Servants, they have concluded, that he spoke of the *Kasideans*, who had their Throats cut by *Demetrius* his Order.

Josephus says farther, that *Alcimus* had an exemplary Punishment inflicted upon him; because he had a mind to pull down the Wall *of the Holy Place, which was built by the Holy Prophets*. *Scaliger* believes, that some body hath inserted the Word *Prophets*; whereas *Josephus only* spoke *of Holy Men*; and that he meant by these Holy Men the *Kasideans*, who being zealous for the Reparation of the Temple, had built the Wall which *Alcimus* had a mind to demolish. In a Word, he confirms his Conjecture by *Eusebius*'s Authority, who only said, that *Alcimus* design'd to pull down the Wall of the Court of the *Saints*.

Scaliger's Services to the Republick of Learning got him so great a Reputation, that his bare Name seems enough to make his Conjectures pass for current. Yet we must own, that these are very bold. For, 1. *Josephus* doth not say, that *Alcimus* caus'd Sixty Persons *of the Sect* of *Kasidim*, to be put to death. Nay, He says nothing of them in that place. Those, who had their Throats cut, were some of the People, who surrender'd to *Bacchides*; Lieutenant to *Demetrius*, after he had sworn to spare their Lives. They had no Affinity with the *Kasideans*, who are not mention'd by the Jewish Historian. When he says, that those of the same Sect, or Party, wou'd not afterwards trust *Bacchides*, he means those Jews, who did not side with *Judas Maccabeus*, but doth not thereby denote any Religious Sect. Those that were kill'd, were look'd upon as Martyrs, and *David*'s Words were apply'd to them; but it was never design'd to make them a particular Sect. 2. There is no reason to correct *Jo-*

* Serrar. Trihær. *l.* 3. *c.* 2. *p.* 116. † Salmas. in Solin. *c.* 35. *p.* 432. ‖ Fuller. Misc. Sacr. *l.* 2. *c.* 3. *l.* 4. *c.* 4. *p.* 2276, & 2393. |||| Scal. de Emend. Temp. Philo quòd omnis probus, *p.* 678. Ὁσιοί. Chrysost. in Acta Hom. 46. *p.* 404. * Scal. Elenoh. Trihær. *c.* 22. *p.* 441. † Math. 23. ‖ 1 Macc. 2. 42. 1 Macc. 14. 7. |||| 1 Macc. 7. 13. * Rom. 5. 6, 7. † Godwin Moses *and* Aaron. *l.* 1. *c.* 9. ‖ Ps. 79. 3.

sephus,

ſephus, or to cut off the word *Prophets*, to whom the building of the Wall of the Holy Place is aſcrib'd. For it plainly alludes to *Ezra*'s Words, who ſays, that *Zerubbabel*, and *Joſhua* * *began to build the Houſe of God, with the Prophets of God helping them.* Here are the Holy Prophets, who built the Wall, which *Alcimus* had a mind to demoliſh. *Euſebius* † doth not warrant *Scaliger*'s Correction. For he only ſays, that there was a deſign to pull down *the Wall of the Holy Place.* Laſtly, He ought to have prov'd, that the *Kaſideans* built that Wall. And whence can this be prov'd? *Joſephus* ſays nothing of it, nor of this Sect, which *Scaliger* wou'd find in his Writings. He alſo brings the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees* by Head and Shoulders to make good his Aſſertion.

8. There is no neceſſity to run the Origine of the *Eſſenes* ſo far back, or to make them the Spawn of a Sect of *Kaſideans*, that never had a Being; or laſtly, to derive them from the *Phariſees*. *Druſius* ſays, that thoſe, whom *Hircanus* perſecuted, fled into the Deſerts, and being forc'd by neceſſity to inure themſelves to a very hard way of living, they afterwards willingly continu'd it: And this is the moſt likely Conjecture. that hath been as yet offer'd. They appear in *Joſephus*'s Hiſtory in the Reign of *Antigonus*. For then an *Eſſene* Prophet call'd *Judas*, foretold, that *Antigonus* ſhou'd be kill'd upon a certain Day in the Tower of *Strato*. The Day came, but that Prince was ſo far from that Tower, that the Prophet was afraid of being ſhamefully convinc'd of a Lye. *I muſt*, ſaid he, full of Deſpair, *I muſt die, ſince my Prediction is falſe.* He had the good Luck to eſcape both Death, and Shame. *Antigonus* was kill'd the ſame Day, in a place call'd the Tower of *Strato*, but not the ſame which *Judas* meant; becauſe he did not know the other. The *Eſſenes*, who were already in repute for their Predictions, were of an antienter Date; and perhaps begun to appear as ſoon as the *Phariſees*, and after the *Saducees*, and diſtinguiſh'd themſelves from both by their very auſtere Lives, and alſo by their different Opinions.

9. The *Eſſenes* were divided into ſeveral different Branches. The firſt was compos'd of four or five Thouſand Perſons, who were ſcatter'd in Towns and the Countrey, and had no ſettl'd Habitations. They prefer'd the Countrey to Towns; becauſe it allow'd them fitter Opportunities to meditate, and they ſhun'd as much as they cou'd, the company of looſe Men. For they believ'd, that the lewdneſs of Morals is as catching, as the Infection of the Air. *Pliny* || ſays, that the *Eſſenes remov'd from the Sea ſide.* Interpreters ||||, who did not well underſtand this, have corrected the Text, and made him ſpeak juſt contrary to his meaning. For they, inſtead of his Words, put in theſe, *they dwelt along the Shore.* But this ancient Author's Expreſſion is very true. For the *Eſſenes*, who were afraid of the Frauds, which can hardly be avoided in Commerce, *remov'd* from Maritime Towns, whoſe Inhabitants chiefly follow Trade, and where Sins are oftner committed. They inhabited one part of *Jeruſalem*. For *Joſephus* ſpeaks of *the Gate of the* Eſſenes, but they wou'd not come into the Temple; neither did they offer any Sacrifices there, but only ſent their Oblations, becauſe it is better to mortify ones Heart, than to offer Sacrifice: As they thought their Religion more pure, than that of other Men, they wou'd keep no manner of Correſpondence with them. Thus Pride is the conſtant Attendant of particular ways of Worſhip. They inſpire a ſecret Vanity, which puffs us up, and raiſe us above our Neighbours. It makes us ſeparate from them; and tho we thereby tranſgreſs two of the moſt important Duties of Piety, and trample upon Humility and Charity, yet we fanſie our ſelves more Holy, than other Men. This is not the only Contradiction the *Eſſenes* were guilty of. For they were alſo guilty of as groſs a one as that; as we are going to ſee.

10. They had a profound reſpect for God, to whom they attributed an abſolute Power over all Events; and ſaid, that nothing happens, but by his Decrees. *Joſephus* affirms, that they aſcrib'd *every thing to Fate.* But ſome have ſince endeavour'd to clear them from this Imputation, by contending * that they underſtood thereby Providence, which governs all Creatures according to their Natures, and impoſes no neceſſity upon Man, and doth not even prejudice Free-Will. The Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions doth alſo acquit them of that Errour; ſince he equally diſtinguiſhes them from the *Phariſees*, who depended upon Fate; and from the *Masbotheans*, who deny'd Providence. He ſays beſides, that the *Eſſenes* obſerv'd the Rites of their Anceſtors, who knew nothing of that Fate, which impoſes a neceſſity on humane Actions.

11. It can't be eaſily determin'd what the *Eſſenes* meant by *Fate*, and whether People who had ſo great a Veneration for the Sun, did not depend upon the Influences of the Planets. I wou'd rather believe, that they underſtood *Providence* by it, as a great many Philoſophers did. But it muſt be own'd at the ſame time, that they aſcrib'd ſome Decrees to Providence, which made all Events neceſſary, and allow'd no liberty to Man. *Joſephus*, oppoſing them to the *Phariſees*, who made one part of Tranſactions depend upon Fate, and the other upon Man's Will, ſhews, that they extended the Influence of Fate, and the neceſſity which it impoſes, to all Actions. The *Scientia Media* was not as yet invented. So that the *Eſſenes* cou'd not build upon that Principle. The Author † of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions is not a fit Witneſs to be ſet againſt *Joſephus* in this matter. For he did not know the Jewiſh Hereticks, as that appears by a great many Faults, which ſlipt from him in a very ſhort Chapter. Add, that he doth not ſay, what they make him ſay. For he repreſents the *Eſſenes as People, who are ſeparated from all other Sects, and very much addicted to the Rites of their Fathers.* 1. The buſineſs in hand was not Fate, but the Schiſm of the *Eſſenes* from all the reſt of Mankind, becauſe they thought themſelves more Holy than they. 2. Their Affection for *the Rites of* their Fathers, concerns the Auſterities and Ceremonies, which they ſcrupulouſly obſerv'd. So that it is to no purpoſe to look out in this Place for their Tenets, and Opinion about Providence, ſince it ſays nothing of it.

12. It is a ſtrange Thing, that People, who ſet up for overſtrain'd Devotions, and for obtaining Heaven by their voluntary Auſterities, ſhou'd yet wholly ſtrip Man of Free-Will, and make every thing ſolely depend upon Fate, or upon Providence. It is a very common Prepoſſeſſion, that if Man is not Free, there can be no Religion; Actions are neither good nor evil; there are no Rewards, nor Puniſhments; and God's Judgments may reaſonably be charg'd with Injuſtice. And yet we ſee here the *Eſſenes*, who load themſelves with Devotions, which are not requir'd of them, think to merit Heaven by theſe voluntary Devotions; and at the ſame time depend upon Fate, and admit it as the *Stoicks* did, whoſe ſevere Morality they adopted.

But this is the Cuſtom of many Divines. They are often conſcious of the Contradictions, that are in their Syſtems, but dare not get rid of them. Being wedded to an Opinion, which they take to be true, they deny the Conſequences, that flow from it, and others infer, but their Faith is not ſtagger'd by it. This Character

* Ezra 5. 2. † Euſeb. τότῳ καθαιρεῖντι τὸ τεῖχος τῦ ἁγίυ. Edit. vet. Scalig. *p.* 383. || Plin. Hiſt. *l.* 5. *c.* 17. *p.* 102. |||| Daleçamp. not. Marg. * Serrar. Trihær. *l.* 3. *c.* 4. *p.* 123. † Conſt. Apoſtol. *l.* 6. *c.* 6. *p.* 377.

doth

doth not only belong to the *Eſſenes*. For ſome Chriſtians among the ancient Fathers, and Hereticks, have acknowledg'd Fate. Add, that it is the temper of your ſpeculative Bigots to reſign themſelves wholly to God and his Decrees. They ſubmit to whatever he is pleas'd to do, and expect every thing from him. We ſee ſome at this time, who ſay, that they wou'd conſent to be damn'd, if God wou'd order it ſo. But notwithſtanding this ſeeming Humility, Pride lies lurking in their Heart. When they argue and ſpeak with others, they attribute every thing to God; but when they examine and weigh their Actions, they aſcribe all to their own Hearts and Strength. For they cou'd not otherwiſe applaud and admire themſelves, or look upon the reſt of Mankind with contempt. Let us leave the *Eſſenes* to their own Illuſions; ſince we know ſome like theirs; and let us only obſerve that they are not new.

13. Notwithſtanding they honour'd God, they offer'd him no Sacrifices; at leaſt they did not do it in the Temple, where they were afraid to defile themſelves by the frequentation of thoſe that went into it, and had not the ſame Devotion as they. This laſt thing is certain; but the firſt is grounded upon the Remark of a Critick * which we muſt ſet down in order to canvaſs it. He believes, that *Herod* caus'd a *Greek* Tranſlation of the Pſalms and Prophets to be made, which was wanting till that time; and that he imploy'd in it the *Eſſenes*, for whom he had a particular Eſteem, becauſe one of them foretold him, that he ſhou'd be King. Theſe Interpreters did not omit inſerting their Opinions in ſeveral places. When *David* tells God, † *Sacrifice, and Burnt-Offering thou didſt not deſire, mine Ears haſt thou open'd:* They made uſe of this Paſſage to authorize three of their Tenets, or Rites. They made the Prophet ſpeak abſolutely, as if God had intirely rejected Sacrifices; becauſe they wou'd offer him none. *Philo* teſtifies of them, *that they never ſacrific'd any Beaſts; but that they did prepare themſelves, and offer their Souls to God.* *Joſephus* ſays juſt the contrary. For he affirms, that they did not offer any Victims *in the Temple*, leaſt they ſhou'd prophane themſelves there; but that they offer'd ſome in their own Houſes. But the Text of this Hiſtorian is corrected, wherein ‖ *Sacrifices* were foiſted, inſtead of *Purifications*. The ſame *Eſſenes* have put in their Verſion, *but a Body thou haſt prepar'd me*, becauſe having neither Servant-Men, nor Slaves among them, they wou'd not have Slavery authoriz'd by theſe Words of *David*, *mine Ears haſt thou open'd*. They found another Advantage in this Tranſlation. For by *the Body*, which God had appointed in the room of Sacrifices, they underſtood the Colleges of devout *Eſſenes*, who met together in a Body, and made but one, which by its Auſterities was more eminent than all other Societies.

14. I muſt confeſs, that this is too finely ſpun. If *Petitus* deſigns to ſay, that the *Eſſenes* ſacrific'd no where; which indeed is very likely, becauſe they did not ſacrifice in the Temple, and had not been ſuffer'd to have ſacrific'd any were in *Judæa* but in *Jeruſalem*. He hath no need to ſuppoſe that *Herod* order'd theſe *Eſſenes* to make a new Verſion of the Pſalms; or to make them change Slaves into a Body, or to find a College of Religious Men inſtead of a Humane Body, which *David* plainly meant in that place. A more probable Conjecture might be made, by ſaying, that they offer'd to God their Bodies in the room of Victims, as ‖‖ St. *Paul* exhorts the *Romans* to do with certain Diſpoſitions. The Text of *Joſephus* muſt not, above all things, be corrected; ſince *Rufinus* an ancient Writer read this Hiſtorian, as we read it at this time. *Zonaras* follow'd the ſame reading, and it is a bold thing to ſuppoſe that a Fault is of ſo long ſtanding, without being induc'd to it by any other Proof, or Neceſſity, than that of making a Syſtem coherent: But theſe two following Things may be done.

Firſt, It may be ſaid, that *Joſephus* was not ſo well acquainted with the *Eſſenes* as *Philo*, who had ſeen them in *Egypt*, where they had moſt of their Colleges, and places of Retirement. Secondly, We muſt rather depend upon the Teſtimony of *Philo*, which is full and expreſs, and cou'd not be ignorant of what Men did, whoſe Deſcription he gave ſo accurately, and for whom he had ſo great a Value. If we compare the large and particular Relation of *Philo*, with the dry account, which *Joſephus* gave of this third Sect of the Jews, we ſhall ſoon prefer the Firſt to the Laſt. Had the *Eſſenes* offer'd ſome Sacrifices any where, they had ſooner done it in *Egypt* than in *Judæa*; becauſe their great diſtance from *Jeruſalem* ſeem'd to warrant this Practice, or at leaſt to palliate the Crime. However, they did not ſacrifice.

15. They are alſo accus'd of having tranſlated into *Greek*, not only the Pſalms and Prophets, but alſo the Book of *Job*, and alter'd theſe Words of *Eliphas*, *To which of the Saints wilt thou turn?* And put Angels inſtead of Saints, in order to authorize their Cuſtom of making their *Neophytes* ſwear, *that they wou'd keep the Names of Angels.* It is true, that this Oath was taken when any one was admitted into the Sect of the *Eſſenes*. But was there any neceſſity to change the Text to warrant this Cuſtom? Every body knows, * that the Jews, who appointed at that time ſome guardian Angels to every Man, invented Names for Angels, and that in proceſs of time, they increas'd them mightily. The *Eſſenes* found this Rite countenanc'd by the *Apocryphal* Books of *Tobit*, whence the Chriſtians have borrow'd their Angel *Raphael*; and by the 2*d* of *Eſdras* †, whence alſo St. *Ambroſe* took his *Uriel*. The *Eſſenes* gave perhaps ſome particular Names to Angels. As it is the Character of your ſpeculative Men, to pretend that they ſee from Earth what is done in Heaven, they wou'd not have theſe Names alter'd, becauſe they fanſy'd, that they had hit them better than others.

16. The *Eſſenes* and Jews are in this Age laugh'd at for thinking, that they had gueſs'd ſo right the Names of Angels: But are not others often guilty of the ſame Fault? Had not St. *Ambroſe* as much reaſon to take *Uriel* from the ſpurious *Eſdras*, as the *Roman Catholicks* to invoke *Raphael*; becauſe *Tobit*, who is more romantick than the other, ſpeaks of him? Muſt the grand Machine of the Authority of the Fathers be ſet at work to juſtify this Father? Can't he eſcape, but by the negligence of the Councils, which did not pronounce till the Council of *Trent*, that *Eſdras* was *Apocryphal?* Were not the Angels *Raguel*, *Tubuel*, and *Adimis*, whom *Aldebert* did invoke, as good as others, to whom the ſame Honour is paid? The Names of Seven Angels with their Epithets, are ſeen ‖ in a Church of *Palermo*; *Michael*, the Conquerour; *Gabriel*, the Meſſenger; *Raphael*, the Phyſician; *Uriel*, the brave *Camarade*; *Jehudiel*, the Rewarder; *Barachiel*, the Helper; *Scealtiel*, the Orator. The ſame Angels are found in the Church of St. *Mary* of Angels, which was conſecrated by Pope *Pius* IV. They are ſeen upon the great Altar about the Virgin, and every one of them hath his Encomium, without being nam'd. *Michael* ſays, *I am ready to receive the Souls.* *Raphael* the Phyſician ſays, *I am with Travellers, and heal the Sick.* *Jehudiel* the Rewarder cries out, *I reward thoſe that ſerve God.* *Gabriel* ſalutes the Virgin, *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee.* *Uriel* full of Zeal, exhorts Men to inflame their Charity, *Flameſcat igne Charitas.* *Barachiel*, whoſe province it is to aſſiſt the Diſtreſs'd, is told, *do not forſake us, thou who aideſt o-*

* Petiti Variæ Lect. *c.* 28. † Pſal. 40. 6. ‖ *Read* τὰς δ' ὁσίας ἐπιτέλεσιν, expiationes faciunt; *inſtead of* τὰς θυσίας Sacrificia. ‖‖ Rom. 12. 1. * V. Bartol. B. R. *t.* 1. *p.* 230. † 2 Eſdras 4. 1. ‖ V. Bartol. B. R. *t.* 1. *p.* 232.

thers;

thers. Laſtly, *Shealtiel* at the Virgin's Feet, tells her, that *he humbly offers his Prayers to her.* Say what you will, the Figures of *Angels* ought not to be plac'd in Churches with Encomiums, which denote the Power and Adminiſtration of theſe Spirits; unleſs it be intended, that the Vulgar ſhou'd make uſe of Mediators, that are offer'd to them; and the *Roman Catholicks* ought not, above all Men, to ridicule the *Eſſenes* and Jews, who gave Angels Names; ſince the ſame thing is done in their Churches, upon the Altars, under the *Pope*'s Noſe, and with his Approbation. For the moſt that the *Eſſenes* did, was to call Angels by ſome Names, but they did not worſhip them.

17. But a groſſer Idolatry is laid to their Charge. For it is pretended, that they ador'd the Sun, or at leaſt, that they had a great Veneration for that Planet. They impatiently expected its Riſing: They haſten'd it, by the Vows and Prayers which they offer'd to it. They durſt not ſpeak of Buſineſs till it was up. They were afraid to tarniſh its Splendor and Light, by the Filth, that came out of the Body; and they therefore took care to hide it in the Ground, and to cover it nicely, leſt ſome Exhalation might ariſe from it, and tarniſh the Light of God. Theſe Words of *Joſephus* have made People believe, that the *Eſſenes* ador'd the Sun. *Porphyry* hath confirm'd that Opinion. For he ſays, that theſe Sectaries were afraid to tarniſh *the Light of the Gods*; and as Faults inſenſibly ſwell, *Porphyry*'s Interpreter makes him ſay, that the *Eſſenes* were afraid to offend *the Gods by their Shirts*; which is Nonſenſe. The thing there in queſtion, is only the Rays of the Deity, which they were afraid to defile by their *Excrements*. Thoſe, that cannot endure, that a Society, whence ſo many Chriſtians were taken, ſhou'd have ſuch a Slur put upon them, as to compare their Worſhip with that of Heathens, inſiſt very much upon what * *Joſephus* ſays, that *they ador'd God*; and they are in the right. For it muſt be own'd, that the *Eſſenes*, as well as the reſt of the Jews, did acknowledge but one God. *Porphyry* † prefer'd the Prejudices of his Religion to Truth, when he put thoſe *Gods*, inſtead of the only God, mention'd by *Joſephus*. An ingenious Critick, jealous of the Honour of theſe Sectaries, clears them to all intents and purpoſes of Idolatry, by ſaying, that their || Prayers were directed to God, and not to the Sun. *Joſephus* ſays, that they addreſs'd their Prayers to the Sun, but by only cutting off one Letter from a Word, it may be referr'd to God, from whom they beg'd, that at the ſame time, that he made his Sun to ſhine upon Earth, he wou'd be pleas'd to ſpread his Light into their Souls. Add, that they were not afraid to defile the Rays of the Sun, as it hath been hitherto read in *Joſephus*, but the *Halls of God* ‖‖. For the Earth is the *Manſion* and Palace of God, which they wou'd not ſully with their Dung. But all theſe Conjectures are too ſubtle. The Firſt wou'd be tolerable, but the Second is too ſtrain'd: And *Joſephus* wou'd be the firſt, who ever call'd the Earth the *Halls of the Deity*; whereas the *Eſſenes* ſaw the *Pythagoreans* afraid, as well as they, to diſhonour the Rays of the Deity. Laſtly, They are vindicated by the Examples of *David* and *Daniel*, who have cry'd out, *Sun and Moon praiſe the Lord.* But theſe Apoſtrophes only prove, that the Moon and Sun are God's Creatures, and his Miniſters, that ought to praiſe him. I think, that a juſt medium might be taken, by ſaying, 1. That the *Eſſenes* were not Idolaters. For the Jews, as *Philo*, and *Joſephus* cou'd not have prais'd them, had they worſhip'd the Sun; but they only turn'd *toward it* at its Riſing, to pray. This is *Joſephus*'s Senſe, which was not well tranſlated. He doth not pretend, that the *Eſſenes* addreſs'd their Prayers to the Sun; but they worſhip'd towards the riſing Sun; and ſpoke to it, *as if they had deſir'd this Planet to riſe.* *Joſephus* ſoftens by this ſecond Expreſſion, what was harſh and ambiguous in the firſt. For he lets us underſtand that they did not pray to the Sun, but only acted as if they had pray'd to that Planet. 2. It may thence be inferr'd, that the Worſhip of the *Eſſenes* was not free from Superſtition. For they did not only worſhip God, by turning themſelves towards the *Eaſt*, as the Chriſtians have done ſince, but they alſo ſpoke to the Sun, and did as if they offer'd their Prayers to it. They beg'd it to grant them its Light; and look'd upon it as a ſhining and viſible Image of the Deity. And they therefore were afraid to defile it with their Excrements; and this ſecond Superſtition, which is clearly expreſs'd by *Joſephus*, was borrow'd of the Heathens. For *Heſiod* affirms, that they forbid turning towards the Sun, when they made Water.

18. The *Eſſenes* honour'd *Moſes* as their firſt Lawgiver, look'd upon thoſe who ſpoke ill of him, as Blaſphemers, and condemn'd them to death without mercy.

Their Veneration for this Law-giver was extended to their old Men, whom young Men reſpected by bearing with Infirmities, and carefully ſupplying their Wants. Nay, they had a particular regard for one another. No body ſpoke, before he had leave of thoſe that were preſent; nor ſpit in the Congregation, nor on his Right Hand. A Hundred Perſons commonly determin'd Controverted, or Litigious Queſtions; and what was once carry'd by the plurality of Votes was irrevocable. The Diſciples lay down at their Maſter's Feet, who explain'd to them the difficult Parts of the Law. They gave a myſtical Senſe to ſeveral Places of the Prophets, and even drew ſome Predictions for the time to come, from the ancient Oracles; and *Joſephus*, whom *Porphyry* hath copy'd *, aſſures, that their Predictions were often juſtify'd by the Event; which was the reaſon, that they were the more valu'd and eſteem'd.

They were very much wedded to the Books *of their ancient Doctors.* Theſe Doctors, were the Prophets. For the *Eſſenes* rejected Traditions. They writ from time to time ſome Books of Devotion and Morality, which were greedily read by their Followers.

19. They maintain'd the Immortality of the Soul againſt the *Saducees.* If the Body, ſay they, is compos'd of Parts, and corruptible Matter, the Souls, which are Spiritual, eternally ſubſiſt. But they adulterated this Truth by their extravagant Fancies. For they pretended, that the Souls came down from a very ſubtle Air into their Bodies, only becauſe they were drawn in by I know not *what natural Charm:* They only remain'd there as in a Priſon †, and when that Priſon was broken down, they gladly came out of it, as out of a very hard Slavery. They fled away with Exultation and Joy, and ſoaring up in the Air, they went on the other ſide of the Sea, in a warm place, where neither Snow, nor Rain diſturb'd them. A gentle Gale conſtantly fann'd this Abode of the Souls of good Men, whilſt the Souls of the Wicked were tranſported into very cold Places, where they were forc'd to ſtruggle with hard Froſts, and continual Storms, which being always renew'd made their Puniſhment eternal. They borrow'd this Notion of the *Greeks*, who gave the ſame Deſcription of their *Elyſian* Fields, and plac'd the Souls of good Men on the other ſide of the Sea. *Herod* had this engrav'd upon the noble Monument, which he erected for his Wife.

Ζεὺς μὲν ἐς ὠκεανὸν θαλερὴν ἔϛειλε γυναῖκα,

* Serar. Trihær. & Minerval. † Porphyry *reads* Θεοῦς *inſtead of* τῦ θεῦ. *The Interpreter read in* Porphyry τὰις ἀυτᾶις *inſtead of* τᾶις ἀυγᾶις, *and refer'd that to the Shirts,* interulæ, *we have mention'd.* Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. *l.* 2. *p.* 785. || Ἀυτὸν, *read* ἀυτό, *namely* Θεῶον. Petiti Variæ Lect. *c.* 21. ‖‖ Ἀυγᾶς *read* ἀυλαὶς Θεῦ. * Porphyr. apud Cyrill. contra Julian, *l.* 5. *t.* 7. *p.* 181. † Joſeph. de Bello Jud. *l.* 2. *c.* 7. *p.* 788.

Nothing is more common among Poets. But it is ſtrange, that ſuch groſs Errours ſhou'd be taught in the Jewiſh Nation in the time of our Saviour, and yet that he ſaid nothing of it.

20. I do not know, whether God hath forgiven them theſe Extravagancies for the ſake of their Auſterities; but it is certain that Men being dazl'd with the Mortifications of theſe Sectaries, have admir'd them. And therefore it is requiſite that we ſhou'd give an account of them. None was admitted into that Society, till he had given all his Eſtate to his Relations, or to the Poor, or at leaſt to the Community, where * the Pooreſt enjoy'd it as much as the Richeſt. They had ſome Stewards, who iſſu'd out Food and Raiment as every one wanted them. Theſe Stewards were commonly choſen out of the Prieſts, as Perſons of ſingular Piety in the Sect. There was one of theſe Treaſurers in every Town, who took care of Strangers, and of whatever concern'd the Congregation. They did not trouble themſelves to carry Neceſſaries upon the Road, becauſe they were confident, that they ſhou'd be conveniently ſupply'd in Houſes appointed for that purpoſe.

21. They liv'd very ſoberly, and moſt part of the time upon Herbs. It hath been ſaid, that they ſtretch'd their Temperance ſo far, that they cou'd be *a whole Week without going to Stool*; but it was not taken notice, that what is tranſlated † a *Week*, ſignifies the *Sabbath-Day*, which they kept ſo ſtrictly, that they durſt not then ſatisfy Nature, leſt they ſhou'd be oblig'd to tranſgreſs the Holineſs of the Day. They got up before the Sun; and every one went to work till Eleven a Clock; and then the whole Community met together, and every one waſh'd himſelf in cold Water. They thought it a Crime to make uſe of Unctions; and that he who had anointed himſelf wanted to be purify'd. They wore white Garments to denote the Purity of their Souls, which had been waſh'd. After their Purification every one retir'd into his Cell, and no Strangers were admitted in to them. They went from thence into the Hall, where every one had his Loaf, and Meſs of thick Milk. The Prieſt ſaid Grace before and after Meals. They eat as much as was neceſſary to preſerve Life; and afterwards retir'd gravely without ſaying one Word.

22. *Celibacy* was religiouſly obſerv'd by the *Eſſenes*. They thought the Society of Women troubleſome, and fitter to cool, than warm Devotion. Beſides, they believ'd few Women true to their Husbands, and they had an inſuperable Averſion for Cuckoldom. *Pliny* fanſy'd, that whoever had not kept his Maidenhead, cou'd not be admitted into that Sect: But it was only requir'd at his coming in to renounce Women, and make a Vow of Chaſtity whilſt he continu'd among them. They wou'd not have any Servant-men, no more than Women; becauſe they believ'd that this Diſtinction among Men was contrary to the Laws of Nature.

23. A great air of Charity was obſerv'd among them. They ſeem'd united, and to love one another cordially; they mutually ſupply'd their wants, and ſuffer'd none of their Brethren to be needy. They wou'd not furbiſh Swords, nor make Cuiraſſes, or other Warlike Inſtruments; becauſe they wou'd not contribute to the effuſion of Blood. Yet they carry'd ſome Arms to defend themſelves againſt Robbers. Nay it appears, that their Magazines were well ſtor'd; but their chief Imployment was to manure the Ground, and to ſtudy the Virtue of Simples to apply them to Phyſick. They addicted themſelves to uſeful Manufactures.

24. Their *Noviciate* laſted a Year, during which time the Probationer gave ſome Marks of an exemplary Continency and Temperance. Before he was admitted, he took a ſolemn Oath to be a ſtrict Obſerver of God's Commands, to hate all the Wicked, to aſſiſt good Men, and never to hurt them. He alſo promis'd that if ever he became *Superior*, he wou'd not abuſe his Authority; and that far from exerciſing it as a Tyrant, he wou'd be very Moderate. He beſides engag'd, not to make any Innovation in the Doctrine, which he had receiv'd; but to teach it faithfully, and without any reſerve to thoſe of his Congregation; never to divulge it to Strangers; to keep choicely the Books which contain'd that Doctrine; to remember exactly the Names of Angels; to avoid Stealing; and as much as in him lay to practiſe Charity.

If any one broke his Vows, and neglected theſe Duties, he was ſhamefully expell'd out of the Society, and he commonly made a miſerable End; becauſe he was not allow'd to take the Food, that was offer'd him. Theſe excommunicated Perſons were ſeen to graze as the Beaſts of the Fields, and to pine away with hunger. All that they cou'd hope for, was that their Brethren wou'd ſome time pity them, and take them in again, when they were juſt ready to give up the Ghoſt, becauſe their being at the point of Death was a ſufficient Puniſhment. *Solinus* affirms, that thoſe, who were guilty of a ſmall Fault, were expell'd out of the Society, and cou'd never return into it again. For notwithſtanding all their endeavours to be re-admitted, their return was *hindred in a Divine manner*. I can't gueſs what theſe *Divine* Obſtacles were, whereof *Solinus* who was a Heathen makes mention; or how God did authorize, by a perpetual Miracle, the Anathemas of theſe Sectaries. However, that teaches us theſe two Things: 1. That the auſtere way of Living of the *Eſſenes*, was taken notice of by the Heatheniſh Authors, who prais'd them. 2. That this Sect might have borrow'd ſome of the Pagan Superſtitions, ſince the Heathens aſcrib'd them ſome Miracles, and divine Operations to expel Delinquents out of their Society; a thing, which they never ſaid either of the Jews, or Chriſtians.

25. And indeed, this Sect had a great Intercourſe with the Pagans; and it was particularly in *Egypt*, that the *Eſſenes* made ſome conſiderable Settlements. However, there were ſome in *Judæa*.

Herod the Great diſtinguiſh'd them there above the other Sects, and was kind to them as long as he liv'd; and *Joſephus* ‖ who believ'd, that God did often inſpire theſe Sectaries, gives this reaſon for it. An *Eſſene* nam'd *Manahem*, ſeeing *Herod*, who was then but Young, come into the School, ſaluted him, calling him *King of the Jews*. The young Scholar thought, that *Manahem* laugh'd at him, or elſe did not know him. He anſwer'd, that he was but a private Perſon, who had no manner of Pretenſions to a Crown; but the *Eſſene* ſtroking him gently on the Shoulder, reply'd, that his Reign wou'd be happy. Remember, ſays he to *Herod*, the Strokes which I give. Do juſtice to your Subjects, and govern them quietly. I know, that you will not do it. You will trample upon Divine, and Humane Laws; and yet your Reign will be Fortunate, and your Name Immortal. Nevertheleſs, you ſhall not deceive God, who towards the latter end of your Life will puniſh you ſeverely. When *Herod* came to the Crown, he remember'd *Manahem*, and ſent to know of him, if his Reign ſhou'd be long. He gave to underſtand, that it might laſt thirty Years. *Herod* being well pleas'd with an Anſwer, which allow'd him a pretty long time, was kind to the *Eſſenes*, whom he look'd upon as People that were inſpir'd.

The *Romans* on the contrary hated them very much; and employ'd the greateſt Torments to force them to renounce their Sect; but they cou'd not make them ſtagger. For they bravely ſuffer'd thoſe Tortures. Far from crying, and ſighing as they went to

* Joſeph. Ibid. *and* Philo. † Ἐβδομάς. ‖ Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 15. *c.* 13. *p.* 542.

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the place of Execution, they insulted over their Tormenters, and gave some Demonstrations of Joy, believing that so honourable a Death was more to be coveted than Immortality it self.

26. This Sect was considerably alter'd in the Reign of *Trajan*; because one *Elxai* putting himself at their Head, corrupted their ancient Constitution. St. *Epiphanius* * sets down Three New Tenets, which this old Jewish Heretick broach'd. 1. He taught his Followers to swear by the Creatures; *by Salt, by Water, and by the Earth*, as if they were so many Deities. 2. He condemn'd Celibacy, and requir'd Marriage. 3. Lastly, He allow'd dissembling; and believ'd that Idols might be worshipp'd, provided the Intention was directed to God; or the external Kneeling was inwardly condemn'd. *Nicetas* † adds, That he deny'd the Incarnation of Christ. But we must not think it strange; since St. *Epiphanius* assures, that he remain'd a Jew, notwithstanding that he did not exactly observe the Law. This Errour belong'd to all his Nation, as well as to him; and therefore it is wrong, to ascribe it to him, as a peculiar Tenet of his.

This Man had a Brother, whose Name was *Jessæus*; and some || say, that he appear'd with his two Sisters in the Reign of *Constantine* the Great. But this is an egregious Mistake. For how can a Man, who was his Brother's Contemporary in the Reign of *Trajan*, have lived till that of *Constantine* with his two Sisters, who were ador'd as two Deities? *Nicetas*, who committed this blunder as he copy'd St. *Epiphanius*, hath alter'd his Expressions, and Meaning. He doth not say, that *Jessæus* appear'd in the Reign of *Constantine*; but that this Sect subsisted as yet under *Constantius*. He doth not pretend, that *Martha* and *Marthana*, were either *Elxai*'s, or *Jessæus*'s Sisters; but only that they were descended from his Posterity, which was enough to make some worship them. One of these Women dy'd a little before St. *Epiphanius* writ his Treatise of Heresies: But *Marthana* was still alive; and the Sectaries had so great a Veneration for her, that they wou'd take her Urine, and other Excrements of her Body to rub the Sick therewith, believing them excellent Remedies. However it can't be doubted, but the *Essenes* preserv'd a sort of a Succession in their Sect till the end of the fourth Century: But it had then lost part of its Splendor. Its Doctrine was also chang'd, and degenerated to such a degree of Superstition, that two living Women were worshipp'd in it, as if they had been two Goddesses.

Heu quantum mutatus ab illo!

You cou'd not have known these ancient Enemies of Women, who wou'd not admit any into their Congregation.

This Sect subsisted till the Reign of *Justinian*, wherein it was known under the Name of the *Inhabitants of Heaven*, or *of Angels*, that they might perswade the People by this stately Title, that their Lives were as Holy, as that of those Celestial Spirits. But few were deceiv'd by them; and we now find no Footsteps of these ancient Anchorets.

27. The second Branch of the *Essenes*, differ'd from the first in this one Thing, (*viz.*) They not only approv'd of Marriage in their Sect; but they also contended, that to forbid the Use of Women was to destroy Mankind, and hurry on the end of the World. An Ancient, to whom that Objection was made, upon the score of the Christian Monks, did answer; that if the Earth became desolate without Inhabitants, Heaven wou'd be the sooner full. But he did not consider, that stretching the Advantages of Celibacy and Virginity too far, as is generally done, he made Grace, and Nature jar. And yet Grace instead of opposing, or destroying Nature, ought rather to improve it. It must also be confess'd, that by extolling the Perfection of that State so, that it seems necessary to those who desire to be sav'd, is a plain Opposition of the Decrees of God, who doth not design to empty the Earth, or fill Heaven, but after a certain number of Ages and Men, who are to be partakers of Life.

28. The third Branch of the *Essenes* was compos'd of speculative Votaries. These were mystical Divines, who made a great noise in the World. They minded nothing else but the Contemplation of God, which they made their only delight. It was for that reason, that they kept themselves mew'd |||| up every one alone in his Cell without speaking, going out, or even looking out of their Windows. They beg'd of God, that their Soul might always be fill'd with a Heavenly Light; and that being rais'd above all material Beings, they might the better search after, and know Truth in their Retirement; and soaring above the Sun, Nature, and all Creatures, they directly fix'd their Thoughts on God, the Sun of Righteousness. The Notions of the Deity, and of the Beauties and Treasures of Heaven, on which they had fed in the Daytime, follow'd them in their Sleep and Dreams. They deliver'd some excellent Precepts. They left their Goods to their Relations. For after they had inrich'd themselves with Celestial Philosophy, they had a great contempt for Wealth. They felt a strong Motion, and a *Divine Zeal*, which forcibly engag'd them to the Study of that Divine Philosophy, which afforded them the most refin'd Delight; and therefore they never left off their Study, till they had arriv'd to that degree of Perfection, which made them happy. I am mistaken if we do not see here the Contemplation of the *Mysticks*, their Transports, their Union with the Deity, which makes them here on Earth happy to the highest Degree. Thus in all Religions Unitive ways have been imagin'd, and some means to raise the Mind above all material Beings, that she may only see God, be United with him, and become perfectly happy in the Vale of Sin and Misery.

29. This Sect, (which *Philo* hath describ'd in a Book, which he writ on purpose to set off thereby his Religion against the *Greeks*, who boasted of the Morality, and Uprightness of their Philosophers,) seem'd so holy, that the Christians have envy'd the Jews the Glory of their Austerities. As the most Moderate cou'd not wholly deprive the Synagogue of the Honour of having produc'd and foster'd them in its Bosom; they have contended, that they had embrac'd Christianity as soon as St. *Mark* preach'd the Gospel in *Egypt*; and that altering their Religion, without altering their way of Living, they became the Fathers, and first Instituters of a Monastick Life. It is what we ought now to examine. We have made elsewhere * some Remarks upon this Question; but without transcribing what we said there, we will add some new Observations, and give a better Light to this controverted Point.

CHAP. XIII.

Whether the Essenes *from being Jews became Christians, and Founders of a Monastick Life.*

I. *THE Opinion of* Eusebius. II. *St.* Jerome *corrected.* III. *The Testimony of several Fathers.* IV. *The Remarks of* Baronius. V. *The Jealousy of the Christians.* VI. *A Conjecture taken from* Josephus *and*

* Epiph. Hær. 19. *p.* 40. † Nicetas Thesaur. *l.* 1. *c.* 33. B. P. Maxim. *t.* 25. *p.* 64. || Ibid. ||| Philo de Vita cont. *p.* 689, 691, 695. * Basn. Hist. de L'Eglise. *l.* 2.

Philo VII. *Of the time* Philo *writ in.* VIII. *His Teſtimony diſcuſs'd.* IX. *Their Devotions upon Feſtival Days.* X. *Some Reflections upon all theſe Characters.* XI. Euſebius's *Contradictions.* XII. Philo's *Voyage to* Rome, *a Fiction.* XIII. *His being a Chriſtian, a Fable.* XIV. *The Converſion of the* Eſſenes, *falſe.* XV. *Whether the Name of* Therapeute *is Chriſtian.* XVI. *The Books of the* Eſſenes. XVII. *Their Spiritual Songs.* XVIII. *Their Biſhops, and Anchorets.* XIX. *Their Converſion to Chriſtianity confuted.* XX. *The Silence of Pagan and Chriſtian Authors concerning the* Eſſenes *examin'd.* XXI. *The true Origin of the* Eſſenes *deriv'd from* Pythagoras. XXII. *Whether this Philoſopher was an* Eſſene, *or of the Order of the* Carmelites. XXIII. *Whether* Balilides *was a Prophet and a Monk.*

1. BOth Ancient and Modern Writers were poſſeſs'd, that the *Eſſenes* were, or became Chriſtians. *Euſebius* * thought, that this cou'd not be queſtion'd. He aſſerts, that *Philo Judæus*, from whom he takes all his Proofs, deſign'd to deſcribe the Primitive Church. He finds among them the different Orders of the Miniſters of that Church, the Biſhops not excepted; and obſerves that they perform'd ſome miraculous Cures in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt.* He might have added to theſe things, the Predictions, which *Joſephus* relates, and whoſe accompliſhment made this Hiſtorian believe, that moſt of thoſe *Anchorets* were inſpir'd. *Euſebius* grounds his Opinion upon the following Reaſons. 1. Becauſe the *Eſſenes* upon their entrance into their Society, gave their Poſſeſſions to the Poor, or ſurrender'd them to the Community, as the Apoſtles and firſt Diſciples did. 2. Becauſe they lov'd Allegories, and carefully div'd into the Myſtical Senſe of the Law, whoſe Literal Senſe they compar'd to the Body, and the Myſtical Senſe to the Soul. 3. Becauſe he was charm'd with the Faſtings of the *Eſſenes*, and their Affection for Celibacy.

2. St. *Epiphanius* † maintains, that *Philo* gave the Plan of the ancient Monaſteries, which the Chriſtians erected in the Province of *Mareotis.* So that here they are not only Chriſtians, but Monks too. St. *Jerome* obſerves, that *Joſephus* writing againſt *Appian*, prais'd mightily the *Eſſenes*, becauſe they abſtain'd from Women, Fleſh, and Wine, and faſted every day: But he had not carefully read this Treatiſe againſt *Appian*, which doth no where mention the *Eſſenes*; nor the other Books of *Joſephus*, who doth not any where aſcribe to the *Eſſenes*, either a daily Faſt, or Abſtinence from Fleſh and Wine. But he hath added a Proof which the others had not ſeen. For he quotes a new Treatiſe of *Philo*, concerning the Foundation of the Church of *Alexandria* by St. *Mark.*

3. *Sozomenus* ‖ did not conceal, that theſe Monks retain'd ſome Rites of the Jewiſh Church, which they had forſaken. However, upon the Teſtimony of *Philo*, which ſeems unexceptionable to him, he adorns the Chriſtian Church with them. *Caſſianus* ‖‖ names neither the *Eſſenes*, nor *Philo*; but after he hath obſerv'd the Inſtitution of Monks in *Egypt*, by St. *Mark* the firſt Biſhop of *Alexandria*, he praiſes the Zeal of theſe firſt Monks, and makes their Panegyrick, whether he had taken it from the Writings of this Jew, or rather from the Hiſtory of *Joſephus*, which he ſeems to quote. Laſtly, This Opinion was ſo univerſally receiv'd, that the falſe *Dionyſius* * the Areopagite, writing to a Monk nam'd *Cajus*, and deſigning to imitate the Stile of the firſt Centuries, call'd him *Therapeute*; becauſe the *Eſſenes* went under that Name. *Euſebius* aſſerts, that the Name of *Therapeutes* was common to all the Diſciples of Chriſt, and of the Apoſtles, before that of Chriſtians was invented, and that it was us'd in all the Churches. An old *Latin* Interpreter, who tranſlated the Canon of the Council † in *Trullo*, which contains ſome Precepts about Monaſtick Life, was no doubt led by this Prepoſſeſſion to inſert in it, *the* Therapeutick *Life*, alluding to the ancient *Therapeutes*, whence he thought the Monks of the ſeventh Century were deriv'd. To conclude, a new Critick ‖‖, who very peremptorily maintains againſt the general Opinion, that the Works, that go under the Name of *Dionyſius* |||| the Areopagite, are not falſly aſcrib'd to him, ſeeing that this Impoſtor ſpeaks of the Monks, that were not known in the time of *Dionyſius*, hath recourſe to the Teſtimony of *Philo*, who hath extoll'd ſo much the Monaſtick Auſterities, and given a Deſcription of them, when he ſpeaks of the *Therapeutes.* But I can't tell whether this be not proving one Falſhood by another.

4. I will not quote all the * Moderns, who have follow'd the Ancients. The Proteſtants are not here jealous of the Antiquity, which is aſcrib'd to Monaſteries. They only adopt theſe ancient Anchorets among Chriſtians, and endeavour, as the reſt, to wreſt the Senſe of the Words of *Philo*, that they may find in this Hiſtorian, the Biſhops, and the Oath that was taken upon the Euchariſt. The *Roman* Catholicks have too great an Intereſt in this Hypotheſis not to defend it.

Baronius † their Leader, obſerves, that none of the *Pagan* Hiſtorians, who have ſpoken of the Jews, mention'd the *Eſſenes* before the coming of Chriſt. According to him, no body can believe, that they are older than the Chriſtian Church; nay, the Goſpel it ſelf, which gives ſo lively a Deſcription of the other Sects, makes no mention of them. Chriſt and his Apoſtles cou'd not paſs them over in ſilence, but for one of theſe two Reaſons; either becauſe being very well diſpos'd to embrace Chriſtianity, they did not perſecute him, or becauſe they had not as yet appear'd. Altho we ſhou'd allow the Jews the Advantage of having produc'd the *Eſſenes*, yet it muſt ſtill be acknowledg'd, that moſt of them receiv'd the Goſpel. The Fathers not only ſay it; but you may alſo obſerve a plain difference between the *Eſſenes* mention'd by *Joſephus*, and thoſe deſcrib'd by *Philo.* The firſt were much more remiſs, and the ſecond more rigid. The firſt, who were but few ſettl'd in *Judæa*; whereas the others, who were very numerous, liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria*, and in all parts of the World. If *Philo* hath aſcrib'd ſome Jewiſh Rites to the *Eſſenes*, it was only becauſe he was jealous of the Glory of the Name of Chriſtians, and of the Integrity of thoſe that bore that name; and therefore he wou'd give his Nation the Honour of having theſe Anchorets. Beſides there were a great many Chriſtians, who did judaize in the time of the Apoſtles. Laſtly, If this Hiſtorian gives them the Title of *Eſſenes*, it was becauſe the Chriſtians of *Alexandria* were call'd by that Name, either becauſe moſt of them came out of that Sect, or becauſe they imitated their Lives and Auſterities; which was enough to make *Philo* give thoſe Chriſtians their Name. But in the main, they were the firſt Converts, who compos'd under St. *Mark* that famous Church, which conſiſted more of *Jews*, than *Egyptians*, who were too much wedded to their Superſtitions to give ſo early an admittance to the Light of the Goſpel.

5. As for me, I am amaz'd at the Jealouſy of Chriſtians, who being *ſurrounded with a great cloud of Witneſſes*, and ſo well ſtor'd with vaſt numbers of Martyrs and true Saints, rob other Religions of ſome Chimæra's which have dazl'd them, and endeavour to deck themſelves with them. But doth the Chriſtian Church want our paltry Artifices to prop it up? And

* Euſeb. H. *l.* 2. *c.* 17. *p.* 54. † Epiph. Hær. 29. *p.* 120. ‖ Sozomenus, *l.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 419. ‖‖ Caſſianus de Inſtit. Cœnob. *l.* 2. *c.* 5. *p.* 909. * Dion. Areopag. Epiſtola Χαίῳ Θεραπευτῇ, *t.* 1. *p.* 761. † Concil. in Trullo, *c.* 43. ἀσκητικὸν. |||| Bruno Diſſ. de Therap. ‖‖ Differt. Sur Denys L'Areopagite à Paris, 1702. * Bevereg. Codex Illuſtr. *p.* 152. † Baron. An. 64. *n.* 6. *t.* 1. *p.* 629.

can't

can't we see some rays of Light in a Reprobate Church, without seizing upon, and crowning our selves with them? Did we reflect upon it, we shou'd be asham'd to transplant into the Christian Church some Jewish Sectaries, who were its Persecutors, and mortal Enemies.

St. *Chrysostom* * observes, that these very Men, who were look'd upon as Saints, and assum'd that Title, were call'd *Sicarii*, because they wore short Daggers, and were among the Zealots, who upon a pretence of Religion, and love for the Law, committed so many Barbarities. I know, that this passage of St. *Chrysostom* hath appear'd very obscure to some, and falsify'd to others, who have † corrected the Text, that they might change the infamous Name of *Sicarii*, for that of *Caraites*, or who have wrongfully put there the *Pharisees*. But it is still the same Prejudice in favour of the *Essenes*, which makes things that are plain, appear obscure. For the Words of St. *Chrysostom* are clear; and this Father in this respect confounds the *Essenes* with the Followers of *Theudas*, who were a Gang of seditious and profligate Fellows. We must not think it strange, that Men who seem'd devout, and addicted to Speculation, shou'd have prov'd wicked. For the mischief they did was under a colour of Zeal for Religion; which is a thing too common.

6. After all we know nothing of the *Essenes*, but what we have from *Josephus* and *Philo*. No other Writer is produc'd, that speaks of them, or of their having embrac'd Christianity. So that we must stand to what these two Authors say. And can it be imagin'd, that two Enemies of the Christian Religion, who always profess'd *Judaism*, notwithstanding the Gospel was preach'd, wou'd have taken the pains to give so edifying a Description of the Enemies of their Religion, and Ceremonies? If the *Essenes* were still Jews, when *Philo*, and *Josephus* writ, how is it known, that they were converted to Christianity? Are some Austerities enough to warrant this Conjecture; because they are like those of the Monks? St. *Mark* had not as yet converted them, when *Josephus* writ his Antiquities after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; (for he reckons them the third Sect of his Religion) how were they converted since that time? But they will not perhaps insist on the *Essenes* mention'd by *Josephus*; but the same Presumption remains still against those describ'd by *Philo*. Besides, Why shou'd some of them be Christians, and the other have persever'd in the Jewish Religion, since both practis'd some monastical Austerities?

7. One Remark alone is enough to destroy all these favourable Opinions of the *Essenes*. *Philo*, from whom these Proofs are taken, was born in the 723*d* Year of *Rome*. He says, that he was very young, when he writ his Book, and that his Studies were afterwards interrupted, by being employ'd in Affairs of consequence. So that according to this Reckoning, *Philo* must have necessarily writ before the Birth of Christ, and therefore, much before Christianity had spread as far as *Alexandria*. If you make *Philo* Thirty Five, or Forty Years of Age, when he compos'd his Works, he was not then Young. And yet Christ was then but Eight or Ten Years old, and had not taught. The Gospel was not as yet known. So that the *Essenes* cou'd not be Christians; whence it may easily be inferr'd, that *Philo* gave us the Description of a Sect of Reform'd Jews.

It may doubtless be said, that this Author liv'd a long while, since he went to *Rome* in the Reign of *Caligula*. That is true. But this Remark doth not invalidate the Objection which is rais'd from his asserting, that he had compos'd his Books in his Youth. Add, that St. *Mark* had not as yet founded the Church of *Alexandria*, nor that vast number of Monasteries of the *Essenes*, when *Caligula* dy'd in the 793*d* Year of *Rome*, and the 41*th* of Christ. So that the *Essenes* mention'd by *Philo*, were neither Christians, nor Monks, but Jews.

8. *Philo* || hath distinguish'd two Orders of *Essenes*. Some apply'd themselves to *Practice*, and others to *Contemplation*. These last were also of the Sect of the *Essenes*. For *Philo* gives them that Title. He distinguishes them from the first Branch, but upon the score of some degrees of Perfection. How cou'd those whom *Philo* calls *Contemplative* Essenes be made Christians; and the others be still look'd upon as Jews, since they all were of the same Sect? He observes ||| that they were *Disciples of* Moses; and that is such a Character of *Judaism*, that it cannot be controverted, especially by Christians. Their Business * was to peruse the Sacred Volumes, to study the Philosophy, which they had receiv'd from their Ancestors, to find out some Allegories, believing that the Secrets of Nature were conceal'd in the cleerest Terms; and to help them in this Inquiry, they had the Commentaries of the *Ancients*. For the first Founders of this Sect had lost several Books of the Allegories; and their Disciples follow'd their Method. Doth this discover them to have been Christians? Who are *these Ancestors*, who had left so many Books behind them, at a time when there was hardly one Gospel publish'd. Can it be said that the Holy Writers have left us *some Volumes full of Allegories*? What sort of Religion wou'd ours be, if nothing else was found in Holy Writ? Can it be imagin'd, that the business of the first Saints of Christianity was to inquire into the *Secrets of Nature*, conceal'd in the cleerest terms of the Word of God? That became Mystical Divines, and Speculative Votaries, who profess'd Physick; and becomes now the Jews, whose Doctors were furiously infatuated with Allegories. But neither *these Ancestors*, nor *Philosophy*, nor Volumes full of Allegories, nor the Study of Scholars, which ran upon the same thing, do suit with the Founders of the Christian Religion, or with Christians.

9. They shut themselves up all the Week long without going out of their Cells, or even daring to look out of their Windows; and came out from thence, but on the Sabbath Day, holding their Hands under their Cloaks; one between the Breast and the Beard †, and the other upon one side. Doth this Posture denote them Christians? Doth not the Day of their publick Meeting, which was *Saturday*, || shew that they were Jews, rigid Observers of the Day of Rest, which *Moses* had enjoyn'd them? Us'd, as the Grass-hopper, to feed upon the Dew, they fasted all the Week; but they eat and rested on the Sabbath Day. They had a Table in their Feasts, whereon they put some Bread to imitate the Table of the Shew Bread, which *Moses* had plac'd in the Temple. They sung some new Hymns in this Feast, which were compos'd by the oldest Man of the Company. But when he did not compose any, they then took those of some *ancient Poet*. It cannot be said, that there was at that time any ancient Poets among the Christians, and this Term doth not much become the Prophet *David*. They also danc'd in this Feast. Both Men and Women |||| did it in remembrance of the Red-Sea; because they fansy'd, that *Moses* had set that Example to the Men, and that his Sister put her self at the head of the Women to make them dance and sing. This Feast lasted till Sun rising; and as soon as the Dawn appear'd, every one turn'd towards the *East*, and wish'd one another a good Morning, and retir'd into his Cell to me-

* Chrys. in Act. Hom. 44. *p.* 404. † Σικάριοι legit ὁι Κάριοι. Fuller Misc. *l.* 2. *c.* 3. *f.* 2275. Suidas in voce Σικάριοι legit φαρισαῖοι: non Ἐσσηνοὶ. || Philo de Vita. contr. *p.* 688. ||| Ibid. *p.* 695. * Ibid. *p.* 691. † Philo de Vita. contr. *p.* 691. || Ibid. *p.* 692. |||| Philo de Vita. contr. *p.* 697, 698.

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ditate, and contemplate God. We ſee here the ſame Superſtition for the Sun, which we have already obſerv'd in the *Eſſenes* of the firſt Order.

10. If you examine *Philo*'s Age, you may eaſily obſerve, that having writ before the Goſpel was preach'd, he cou'd not deſcribe the Chriſtians but by a Spirit of Divination; ſince they were not as yet in Being; and if you weigh, what he ſays of the *Eſſenes*, you ſee eaſily, that they were Jews. For you find the Jewiſh Religion among them, and not one Footſtep of Chriſtianity. Some Auſterities, which were common to them, and to Infidels, and Idolaters, ought not to prevail over their ridiculous Speculations, and ſo plain Characters of *Judaiſm*.

11. *Euſebius* is the firſt, who hath introduc'd the *Eſſenes* into the Chriſtian Church, and led the way for the reſt. If we take away this Leader, we invalidate the greateſt Authority on which his Followers ground their Opinion. And yet *Euſebius* committed ſo many Miſtakes in this Matter, that it is ſtrange, that he is ſo blindly followed.

He * proves by the Teſtimony of *Philo*, that the *Eſſenes* had embrac'd Chriſtianity; and yet he makes uſe of theſe *Eſſenes*, and of this *Philo*, to ſhew, that there hath been always among the Jews ſome who led a retir'd Life, and were of an exemplary Piety. He quotes elſewhere a Paſſage of *Porphyry*, which ſays the ſame thing. So that he makes at the ſame time theſe Sectaries both Chriſtians and Jews; which is a plain Contradiction.

12. *Euſebius* ſays, † that *Philo* went to *Rome* in the Reign of *Claudius*, where he was particularly acquainted with St. *Peter*; which is manifeſtly falſe. For St. *Peter* did not go to *Rome* till the Reign of *Nero*; and he cou'd not be there in *Claudius*'s time, ſince he did not go out of *Judæa* but after the Death of *Herod*, who had put him in Priſon; and then inſtead of going directly from *Judæa* to *Rome*, he went || to *Antioch*, where he ſtaid a long time. Beſides *Philo* was ſent ſome Years before to *Rome* in the Reign of *Caligula*, of whom he writ a horrible Character, which nevertheleſs was ſo well lik'd by the Senate of *Rome*, that they order'd that his Work ſhou'd be put into the publick Library. So that *Euſebius* overthrows the *Eſſenes*, and contradicts the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles. To imagine that *Philo* made a ſecond Voyage to *Rome*, in order to make him find St. *Peter* there in the Reign of *Nero*, is to run after Whims and Chimæra's.

13. He affirms too, that *Philo* became a Chriſtian, being converted by his being acquainted with St. *Peter*, which oblig'd him to deſcribe the Manners of the Chriſtians. *Photius* |||| hath follow'd *Euſebius*. But he adds, upon I know not what Tradition, that *Philo* being incens'd againſt the Chriſtians, abjur'd their Religion and became an Apoſtate. This Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, which *Philo* is ſuppos'd to have made, is a new Invention of *Euſebius*; which makes his Narration to be ſuſpected. *Joſephus* ſpoke of him after his Death as of an eminent Man in his Nation, and very zealous for the Synagogue. We find no Footſteps of Chriſtianity in any of his Writings, who are only compos'd either to raiſe the Jewiſh Religion above that of the *Greeks*, and *Egyptians*; or to find out the Allegorical Senſe of the Law. *Moſes* is his Hero, and he never ſpeaks of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or of the Morality of the Goſpel, which the *Eſſenes* wou'd have follow'd had they been Chriſtians. How can it be imagin'd, that a Man who was converted by St. *Peter*, and made it his Buſineſs to praiſe the Chriſtians, and to write a long Panegyrick of their Piety, never ſpoke of their Chriſtianity? For it is ſuppos'd that *Philo* writ after the riſe of Chriſtianity, ſince he draws the Picture of the Chriſtians in that of the *Eſſenes*. It is too ſuppos'd, that he was already a Chriſtian, and return'd from *Rome*, where he had convers'd with St. *Peter*, when he writ his Treatiſe of the *Eſſenes*. How comes it then to paſs, that we find in it no ſigns of Chriſtianity? Why doth he never ſpeak there of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or of St. *Peter* who had converted him, or even of the Goſpel?

14. *Euſebius* * ſays, that the *Eſſenes* of *Philo* were converted by St. *Mark*, who carry'd his Goſpel to *Alexandria* whilſt St. *Peter* was alive. And yet he ſays elſewhere, that St. *Mark* did not write till St. *Peter* was dead; which is an evident Contradiction. He ſhou'd have ſtuck to one of theſe Relations. It ſeems, that he was ſenſible of his Fault, and therefore he dates the Work of *Philo* about the *Eſſenes*, a long time after the Reign of *Claudius*, wherein he had convers'd with St. *Peter*. But that is not enough to remove the Contradiction. For that Work muſt be dated after the Death of St. *Peter*, and *Philo* had been too old to have writ at that time in the behalf of the Chriſtians; ſince he had been then above Ninety Five Years of Age; whereas he did not live ſo long.

15. *Euſebius* adds, that *Philo* calls the *Eſſenes Therapeutes*, becauſe the Name of Chriſtians was not as yet us'd in *Alexandria*. But a Man muſt be very bold to make ſuch Conjectures. For the Chriſtians having receiv'd that Name at *Antioch* before the Goſpel was preach'd in other Places, and St. *Mark* had carry'd it into *Alexandria*; it ought to have been known in *Egypt* as ſoon as St. *Mark* made any Proſelites there; and *Philo* cou'd not be ignorant of it, was it true, that he had known St *Peter* at *Rome*, and became there a Chriſtian.

16. *Euſebius* foreſaw the Objection, which ſprung from the Books, which the *Eſſenes* had in their Poſſeſſion, and which they receiv'd from their *Anceſtors*. The Chriſtians cou'd not ſpeak of their *Anceſtors*; becauſe the Chriſtian Religion was then of too freſh a Date to have paſs'd from Father to Son, and Grand-Son; and therefore he ſays, that the Books which the *Eſſenes* read were the Goſpels, and the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, eſpecially that to the *Hebrews*, which is full of Allegories, and Interpretations of the *ancient* Prophets. So that the Goſpels, and the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews*, muſt have been publiſh'd a great deal ſooner than it is thought; if the *Eſſenes* ſtudy'd it, when *Philo* writ in their behalf. And indeed if we date the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* in the Year 54. we muſt allow ſome time before it was transfer'd to *Alexandria*, and the *Eſſenes* read it, and *Philo* knew it; and then he did not write till he was 85, or 90 Years of Age. But he was dead at that time. Beſides, can any body find the Goſpels, and the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* in theſe Words of *Philo*. *As they read the Sacred Volumes, they argue after the manner of their Fathers; they explain allegorically the Precepts, which they have receiv'd from their Anceſtors. They have the Commentaries of the Leading Men of their Sect, who have explain'd allegorically their Doctrine; They follow this Cuſtom and Model.* Suppoſing, that *Philo* was a Chriſtian, and had read the Goſpels of St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, he had not ſpoke ſo obſcurely of them; nor ſaid, that they were the Books of a *Sect*; ſince he had profeſs'd the ſame Religion; nor deſcrib'd theſe Books as meer allegorical Interpretations of the Law and the Prophets. We plainly know here the Jews, who made Allegories and myſtical Meanings their Study. *Philo* is a Witneſs of it, ſince he hath expounded allegorically moſt parts of Scripture. *Ariſtobulus*, who liv'd before him, and is prais'd in the ſecond Book of the *Maccabees*, turn'd the Text of *Moſes* into Allegories. *Euſebius* † was not ignorant of it; ſince he himſelf quotes a frag-

* Euſeb. Præp. Ev. *l.* 8. *c.* 11. *p.* 379. † Ibid. *l.* 2. *c.* 17. || Acts 13. |||| Photius Cod. 105. *p.* 178. * Hiſt. *l.* 2. *c.* 16. & *l.* 5. *c.* 8. † Euſeb. Præp. Ev. *l.* 8. *c.* 10. Hiſt. *l.* 2. *c.* 17.

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ment of his Book. And therefore the Sham *Ariſtæus*, who had a mind to deſcribe the Genius of his Nation, and ſuit himſelf with it, hath repreſented the High-Prieſt *Eleazar*, who follows this Method. It was the Study of the Wits, and of thoſe, who deſign'd to diſtinguiſh themſelves among the Divines of that time. But this cannot be laid to the charge of the Chriſtians. Altho St. *Paul* gave ſome myſtical Explications to the Hiſtory of *Hagar* and *Sarah*, yet it cannot be ſaid, that this is the diſtinguiſhing Character of his Epiſtles; much leſs of the Goſpels. *Barnaby*'s Epiſtle, which is full of ſuch Allegories, is not genuine; but granting it was, *Philo*, who had not ſeen it, cou'd not make uſe of it to give this Notion of the Chriſtians. If any hath a mind to find the Writings of the New Teſtament in *Philo*, he muſt confound them with the Allegorical Books of the Jews, which are mightily deſpis'd.

17. *Euſebius* indeed tells us, that the *Eſſenes* had ſome Hymns, and Spiritual Songs among them; but he doth not inform us, what were thoſe Spiritual Songs, which the Primitive Church uſed. Some are aſcrib'd to *Hyppolitus* the Martyr. Others go under the Name of *Athenogenes*, that was contemporary with *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who alſo ſeal'd the Truth with his own Blood; and the Chriſtians of the ſecond Century undoubtedly apply'd themſelves to compoſe theſe Hymns. But *Philo*, who was dead a long time before, cou'd not ſee them. Some * pretend, that the Chriſtians borrow'd their love for Muſick from the *Egyptians*, who ſung in Verſe the Praiſes of their Gods, and had a Man, who had the chief Management of Tunes; or ſome *Therapeutes*, who compos'd a great many Hymns. But why will they derive the Origin of our Spiritual Songs from the Heathens, or ſome Jewiſh Sectaries? Cou'd not the Chriſtians have invented that Cuſtom, without borrowing it from Strangers? And if they will not allow theſe the Glory of inventing it, why will they not rather run back to *David*, whoſe Imitators they were? But from whatſoever Spring the Chriſtian Pſalms flow'd, they had as yet none among them when *Philo* writ. That is the reaſon, that *Euſebius*, who ought to have produc'd them, quotes not one of them; but only ſuppoſes, without alledging any Proof for it, that the Chriſtians had already ſome Hymns, and that *Philo* ſpeaks of them in his Book.

18. *Euſebius* doth alſo find in *Philo*'s Narrative, *the Deacons and Biſhops*: And yet this Author ſays nothing of them. The *Eſſenes* had their Chiefs, as all Societies have ſome, that govern them. But to find the Biſhops in his Relation, is to ſee what is not there. Some † alſo diſcover in *Philo* a Monaſtery, or a great Church built in *Egypt* in the middle of a Field. But how can they, unleſs they blind themſelves, imagine, that there were any publick Churches, and Monaſteries in *Philo*'s time, who writ before Chriſt's Death; or if they will, immediately after it; ſince the Chriſtians had then but ſome Burying-Places, or Houſes to meet privately in? To conclude, *Euſebius* finds in the *Eſſenes*, the Chriſtian Hermits and Monks. But how cou'd he be ignorant, that it was the Perſecution of *Dioclesian* which drove ſome Men into Deſert Places, where they inſenſibly accuſtom'd themſelves to live upon Roots, and retir'd; or that the Monaſtick way of Living was not ſo ancient, ſince the firſt Anchorets, who produc'd the Monks, ſtill ſubſiſted in his time? And yet one wou'd think, that *it is not lawful* to doubt of what he ſays. Neither ſhou'd we do it; had not we *Philo*'s Treatiſe in our Hands. For we wou'd not otherwiſe preſume to contradict an ancient Author of ſo much credit as *Euſebius*. But ſince we can make uſe of our Eyes to inquire into the truth of theſe Facts, we may be allow'd to reject the Conjectures of a Hiſtorian, who hath ſo often ſtumbl'd in one Article.

19. *Baronius* ſhall not detain us very long; becauſe we'll only inſiſt on what he ſays that is particular. He committed the ſame Fault as *Euſebius*. For he imagin'd, that the *Egyptian* Anchorets took the Name of *Eſſenes*, notwithſtanding they had embrac'd Chriſtianity. Whereas all thoſe, that follow'd *Jeſus Chriſt*, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by the Name of Chriſtians, which they deriv'd from their Maſter, and glory'd in.

The Heathens were ſometimes miſtaken in it. For they call'd them *Good* inſtead of Chriſtians. But their Errour was ſo much the more to be forgiven, that it was occaſion'd by the alteration of ſome Letters. But we do not ſee, that the Chriſtians themſelves were miſtaken in this; or that they affected any other Name; and thoſe of *Alexandria* did not prefer to this glorious Title, that of a Sect among the Jews, whereof part was always zealous for their Religion, and inveterate againſt ours. Every Sect ought to enjoy quietly its own Names; The Faithful, that of Chriſtians; and the Jewiſh Sectaries, that of *Eſſenes*, and *Therapeutes*, which was peculiar to them. The Cardinal argu'd more coherently than *Euſebius*, when he owns, that *Philo* remain'd a Jew. But he ſhou'd at the ſame time have anſwer'd an Objection, which ariſes from the Religion of that Author. For *Philo* muſt have known the *Eſſenes*; ſince they liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria*. If he knew, that they were Chriſtians, how came he to make their Panegyrick, and a long Treatiſe to deſcribe their way of Living? If he believ'd them to be Jews, how can it be ſaid at this time, that theſe Men, who are known but by his Recital alone, became Chriſtians?

It was only, ſay they, out of Jealouſy, that he aſcribes to them ſome Jewiſh Rites, that he might heighten the Glory of his Nation. But this Conjecture is grounded upon no Proofs. For ſince *Philo* is the only Author, who hath ſpoken of theſe Sectaries, and makes them intirely Jews; we muſt believe him upon his Word. Did he aſcribe them any Tenets peculiar to Chriſtianity, there wou'd be ſome reaſon to hope that they were Chriſtians; but we find among theſe Sectaries no Footſteps either of Chriſtianity, or of the Evangelical Religion. What charms and pleaſes *Baronius*, is their auſtere Manners, mix'd with Speculations, and Chimera's. But why will he not allow ſome Auſterities among the Jews; ſince there are ſome among the Chriſtians? Is it becauſe the Law of *Moſes*, who requir'd a perfect Holineſs, cou'd not inſpire that kind of Devotion? *Joſephus* ſpeaks of ſome *Eſſenes*, who were undoubtedly Jews. However, they liv'd in common. They gave what they had to the Poor. Their Morality was rigid, and their Life auſtere. Since then according to the Teſtimony of *Joſephus*, there were ſome kind of Monks among the Jews, why will not *Baronius* allow of a ſecond Order, that went one Degree farther, and became addicted to Speculations and Chimera's?

Baronius confeſſes, that Anchorets were originally Jews; but he contends, that they came over to the Chriſtian Church. This Confeſſion is enough. For if the Jewiſh Religion inſpir'd them with the Thoughts of Solitude, and Retirement, they may have kept theſe Thoughts, and continu'd in that Condition; and if the Jews have had ſome Anchorets, they were thoſe repreſented by *Philo*, and not Chriſtians. Why will *Baronius* accuſe *Philo* of having dealt like a Knave, by aſcribing to the *Eſſenes* ſome Jewiſh Rites, which they had not, and to have deſcrib'd them as if they had been Jews, notwithſtanding that they were Chriſtians? But how can he infer from the Teſtimony of *Philo*, that the *Eſſenes* were Chriſtians, eſpecially ſince he only gave, and ought only to have given the Deſcription of a Jewiſh Sect?

* Le Moine Var. Sac. *p.* 1097. † Schelſtrate de Concil. de Antioch. *l.* 2. *c.* 4. *p.* 182.

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20. The Silence of prophane Authors doth not prove, that it only appear'd after Chriſt. For the Heathens were but little acquainted with the Jews, and leſs with the particular Sects of their Church. Beſides Writers do not always ſay what ever they know; as it appears by the Example of *Joſephus*, who did not ſpeak of the *Eſſenes*, when he writ againſt *Apion*; notwithſtanding that the Devotion of theſe Anchorets was a dazling Argument againſt that Heathen.

The Evangeliſts have alſo paſs'd them over in Silence, becauſe that Sect was not numerous, liv'd retir'd, and did not come to diſturb *Jeſus Chriſt* or his Diſciples with their Diſputes. This is the true reaſon of their Silence. For the Sacred Hiſtorians only ſpeak of what concerns the Chriſtian Religion, and are ſilent about thoſe things which Men's Curioſity might expect from them. In a Word, it is not ſtrange, that *Philo*, and *Joſephus* have ſpoken variouſly of the *Eſſenes*; ſince the firſt hath diſtinguiſh'd two Branches of that Sect, whereof one reſided in *Judæa*, and the other was diſpers'd in the Deſarts, and ſpread as far as *Egypt*, and eſpecially in the Province of *Mareotis*. *Philo* himſelf hath ſpoken differently of the ſame *Eſſenes* in his Apology quoted by *Euſebius*. But this diverſity of Relations is not enough to prove them Chriſtians.

21. I will only make one Remark more againſt the Chriſtianity of the *Eſſenes*. (*viz.*) They are only adopted for *their Auſterities, and Affinity with a Monaſtick Life*. But don't we ſee ſome Examples like theſe of Temperance, and Chaſtity among the Heathens, and eſpecially in the Sect of *Pythagoras*, to which *Joſephus* * compar'd this in his time? Their having things in common dazl'd *Euſebius*, and induc'd him to compare the *Eſſenes* to the Faithful, mention'd in the Acts of the Apoſtles, *who had all things in common*. And yet *Pythagoras*'s Diſciples did the ſame thing. For it was one of their Maxims, *to claim no Property to any thing*. Every one brought into the Community, what he had; and the Poor were ſupply'd with it, even when they were abſent or a far off. Hence it is that they call'd themſelves *Cœnobites*, as well as the Chriſtian Monks, and they ſtretch'd their Charity ſo far, that one of them being condemn'd to death by *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, found a Bail, who took his place in Gaol. It is the higheſt pith of Friendſhip to die for one another. *Pythagoras*'s Diſciples were as rigid in abſtaining from Fleſh as the *Eſſenes* were. For they only eat ſome raw, or boil'd Herbs. They were ſtinted † to a certain quantity of Bread, which cou'd neither load, nor fill their Stomachs. It was ſometimes rub'd with a little Honey. They were forbid Wine, and allow'd no other Drink than Water. It is alſo reported ‖ that *Pythagoras* order'd his Diſciples to ſit at a plentiful Table, and after he had excited their Appetite by the ſight, and number of nice Diſhes, he made them go away without eating, that they might learn a more perfect Abſtinence. This Philoſopher was of Opinion, that the Pleaſures and Enjoyments of this Life ought to be ſlighted, as unworthy to ſtop Man upon Earth. He agreed with the *Eſſenes* in forbidding his Diſciples to anoint themſelves with Oyl. They wore white Garments, and thought Linen Cloaths too magnificent for them; and therefore they wou'd have none but of Wooll. They were not allow'd to jeſt, or laugh, or to ſwear by the Name of God; becauſe every one was oblig'd to demonſtrate his Honeſty, and that he had no need to ratify his Promiſe with an Oath. They had a great Veneration for old Men, before whom they were a long time ſilent. They wou'd not make Water at the Preſence of the Sun, a Superſtition, which the *Eſſenes* had too taken from them. To conclude, the *Pythagoreans* were very fond both of Speculation, and the Quiet which attends it; and therefore they made it one of their moſt important Precepts.

O Juvenes! tacita colite hæc pia Sacra quiete.

Said ‖‖ *Pythagoras* to his Diſciples at the Frontiſpiece of one of his Books. So that when we compare the Sect of the *Eſſenes*, with that of the *Pythagoreans*, we find them ſo alike, in thoſe very things, that have dazl'd the Chriſtians, that one ſeems to have ſprung from the other. Since then we ſee ſome Heathens ſo abſtemious, and auſtere, we ought not to think it ſtrange, that ſome Jews, who had the advantage of being inlighten'd with the Law of *Moſes* ſhou'd be ſo too; and therefore they are not to be depriv'd of that Glory, to aſcribe it to Chriſtianity.

22. This Compariſon leads us to clear a new Difficulty. For ſome pretend that *Pythagoras* went into *Judæa*, and embrac'd the Sect of the *Eſſenes*; whoſe Principles he adopted, and eſpecially the three *Eſſential* Vows, *tria vota Subſtantialia*, which were thoſe *of Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience*. He went with this Treaſure to *Samos*, where he inſtituted an Order of Monks, who made theſe three Vows. Read Abbot * *Faydit*'s Letter concerning *the ſuppos'd Monachiſm, and Carmelitiſm of* Pythagoras, and you'll find in it, that this Philoſopher hath been transform'd into *a Carmelite*. Several Writers of that Order do warmly aſſert it. So that *Pythagoras* is a Chriſtian of the Religious Order of the *Carmelites*; and ſo the Conformity of the *Eſſenes* with this Philoſopher, is ſo far from proving that they were not Chriſtians, that it is a Demonſtration, that they had embrac'd the Goſpel.

This is not ſaid in jeſt, or to paſs away the time. For they are ſo fond of this ſuppos'd Antiquity, and of theſe Spoils of *Paganiſm*; that Mr. *Faydit* having repreſented, that the *Carmelites* wrong'd themſelves to rob the Heathens of one *Baſilides*, who foretold *Veſpaſian* that he ſhou'd be Emperour, and to whom they have given the Garb *of a Prophet, and of a Prieſt of Mount* Carmel; whereas he was rather a Magician †. The Authors of the Journal of *Trevoux* have reprimanded him with an Air, which People aſſume, when they maintain an evident Truth. "He affirms, ſay they, "that *Baſilides* was a Magician, *who doubts of that?* "*Suetonius* calls him *Haruſpex*; and Mr. *Faydit* puffed "up with this Demonſtration, crows over the Wri- "ters of the Order of the Reverend Fathers the *Car-* "*melites*, who have ſaid that *Baſilides* was a Prophet. "However it might be ſaid, that *Suetonius* expreſs'd "things according to his Pagan Notions.

It is to no purpoſe to ſay any thing to People who are infatuated with their Antiquity. Nevertheleſs they muſt confeſs their Indigence, when they beg ſome Rags of Strangers to cover their Nakedneſs. I wou'd rather be of an Order by five or ſix Hundred Years younger, than have either *Pythagoras*, or *Baſilides* for my Anceſtors. Beſides, we muſt wholly overſet Chronology to make the firſt an *Eſſene*, and afterwards a *Carmelite*; becauſe this Philoſopher liv'd a long time before the *Eſſenes* appear'd. He did not rifle them; but ſome Jewiſh Fryars have borrow'd of him ſome of his Heatheniſh Rites. As for *Baſilides*, Mr. *Faydit* ‖ hath ſo handſomly reply'd to thoſe that attack'd him, that I ought not to meddle with that Controverſy: He is in the right to wiſh, that *Jupiter*'s Example was imitated, who kick'd out of Heaven, I can't tell how many Paltry Gods, who had intruded themſelves there. Every Religious Order hath more need to be muſter'd, than a Company of Soldiers, that all the Fagots who put on the Religious Habit, and have

* Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 15. *p.* 541. Diog. Laert. *l.* 8. *p.* 495, & 506. Gellius, *l.* 1. *c.* 9. Zenob. Cent. 4. 79. Diodor. Sicul. Excerpta. Valeſ. *p.* 243. Diog. ibid. 503, 504. † Athen. *l.* 2. ‖ Diodor. Sicul. Excerpta. Valeſ. *p.* 244. Diog. ibid. ‖‖ Diogen. ibid. *p.* 492. * Faydit lettre, Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres Octobre, 1703. *p.* 472. † Memories pour L'Hiſtoire des Sciences Mail, 1704. *p.* 84. ‖ Faydit Supplement des Eſſais de Litterature, 1704. *p.* 110.

Divine

Divine Honours paid them, without having done one thing to deſerve it, might be caſheer'd. At ſuch a Muſter *Baſilides* wou'd be one of the firſt diſcarded.

23. And in truth, ſince this new Prophet is only known through *Suetonius*'s means, we muſt undoubtedly acquieſce to what he ſays of him. He places him among thoſe who

Pectora pullorum rimantur & exta catelli.

So that we muſt take him for an *Augur*. It is ridiculous to pretend that *Suetonius* might have ſpoken according to his Heatheniſh Ideas. For that is not known; beſides had he had that Notion, he had call'd him *Vates*. He wou'd not have made him an Augur, ſince none of the old Prophets ever conſulted the Inwards of Victims. He doth not give the Title of *Haruſpex* to *Joſephus*, who had alſo foretold *Veſpaſian* * that he ſhou'd aſcend the Imperial Throne. For this Hiſtorian diſtinguiſhes the nature of the Preſages and Predictions, that were made to this Prince. Laſtly, The Matter is not here, what *Suetonius* thought, but what he ſaid; and ſince *Baſilides* was but an *Haruſpex*, an *Augur*, he cannot without a Sacrilegious Raſhneſs be reckon'd among the Prophets, or *Pythagoras* at the Head of the *Carmelites*, and *Eſſenes*.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Herodians.

I. THeir *firſt Aſſociation*. II. *The Leaven of the* Herodians. III. Herod's *Feſtival mention'd by* Perſius *explain'd*. IV. Herod *the Great, the Founder of the Sect of his Name*. V. *The Grounds of that Conjecture refuted*. VI. *Some Reaſons againſt that Conjecture*. VII. *The Feſtival upon* Herod's *Death explain'd*. VIII. Herod *the Tetrarch Head of a Sect*. IX. *The Errour of thoſe, who make* Herod Aprippa *the Meſſiah*. X. *A Miſtake of* Juſtin Martyr *concerning this Sect*. XI. *Father* Harduin's *Conjectures about the* Herodians. XII. *Whether* Herod *the Great ought to have been a* Platoniſt. XIII. *The* Herodians *diſtinguiſh'd from the* Saducees *in the Goſpel, and by* Philaſtrius. XIV. *They look'd upon* Herod *as upon a Stranger and the Meſſiah*. XV. Baronius, *and the Fathers who have ſaid it, confuted*. XVI. *How* Herod *the Tetrarch might have been look'd upon as the Meſſiah*. XVII. *The ſhort Duration of that Sect*. XVIII. *Whether the Jewiſh Patriarchs were* Herodians. *A Fault of* Theodoret *upon this Matter*.

1. THE *Herodians* are known but by two Paſſages of the Evangelical Hiſtory. They appear'd in one combin'd with the *Phariſees* to tempt *Jeſus Chriſt*, about a nice Point, which was the Payment of the Tribute: † *Is it lawful*, ſaid they, *to pay Tribute unto Cæſar or not?* And in the other, Chriſt forewarns his Diſciples *againſt the Leaven of the* Herodians, *and that of the* Phariſees. Some have thought, that the firſt Combination was only done to lay a more intricate Snare for our Saviour. For the *Phariſees*, who believ'd, that they ought to be exempted from Taxes, eſpecially in the Reign of the Meſſiah, hugg'd themſelves before-hand with this fancy, that they ſhou'd have an irrefragable reaſon to reject our Lord, if he confeſs'd that the Tribute was due; and if he deny'd it, then he fell into the hands of the *Herodians*, who wou'd have caus'd him to be impriſon'd to make their court to the Emperor. For to pretend, as *Beza* hath done, that the *Herodians* did refuſe to pay Tribute to the Emperor, is to ſhew ones ſelf not well acquainted with the Dependance, wherein the Commonwealth and the *Herods* were under the *Cæſars*.

2. *Jeſus Chriſt* forewarns alſo his Diſciples againſt *the Leaven of* Herod, and againſt *that of the* Phariſees. This Leaven ſignifies a pernicious Doctrine, which the Son of God || attributes *to* Herod, or to *the* Herodians, as ſome Manuſcripts have it. It wou'd be in vain to look into *Joſephus* for an Explanation of theſe two places of the Goſpel. For the Jewiſh Hiſtorian reckons but three Sects of his Nation, and never ſpeaks of the *Herodians*.

3. We only learn from a Heathen Poet, that the Jews did celebrate at *Rome* a ſolemn Feaſt in honour of *Herod*; wherein they made ſome Illuminations at their Windows, and drank heartily.

|||| —— *At cum*
Herodis venere dies, unctaque feneſtra,
Diſpoſitæ pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ
Portantes violas, rubrumque amplexa catinum,
Cauda natat Thynni, tumet alba fidelia vino.

Some * Criticks believe, that *Perſius* ſpoke Poetically; and that he put there *Herod Agrippa*, who was known very well at *Rome*, where he had liv'd a long time, and was King of the Jews, for the whole Nation. So that according to this Conjecture, *Herod* and the Jews wou'd be the ſame thing, and the Poet wou'd only ſpeak but of the Celebration of the Sabbath, during which the Jews were very careful to illuminate their Houſes. But this Conjecture is too ſubtle. However, *Perſius* doth not ſpeak there of the Sect of the *Herodians*, which was not numerous enough to be known in *Rome*. Beſides, it is not very likely, that they had preſum'd to have publickly and with Pomp ſolemniz'd in *Rome*, and under *Nero*'s Noſe, the Feſtival of a Man, which the Jews look'd upon as the Deliverer of their Nation, and the Perſon who was to break the *Roman* Yoak, and to conquer the Univerſe. The Feſtival mention'd by this Poet might have been that of the Birth of *Herod Agrippa* I, or of his promotion to the Throne by the Favour and Bounty of the Emperor *Claudius*, and confirm'd by *Nero*. Interpreters have added Religion to this, by joining, without any reaſon to the other Verſes, that which ſpeaks of the Obſervation of the Sabbath.

Labra moves tacitus, recutitaque Sabbata palles.

And indeed they confound two different things; a Feaſt, which was celebrated with Alacrity and Joy; and the Sabbath wherein the Jews appear'd pale, penſive, and ſilent; and this Feſtival, which the Jews did celebrate at *Rome*, concern'd *Herod Agrippa*, who had no Relation with the Sect of the *Herodians*, ſince it was older.

4. Three *Herods* have been look'd upon as the Fathers of the *Herodians*. The firſt is *Herod* the Great, who dy'd a little after Chriſt's Birth. St. *Epiphanius* hath follow'd this Hypotheſis, and fanſies, that the Jews were the more inclin'd to look upon him as the Meſſiah, becauſe they knew him to be a Foreigner, and believ'd that they ſaw in him the accompliſhment of the Oracle of *Jacob*, which promis'd the coming of the Meſſiah, *when the Scepter ſhou'd depart from* Judah. *Nicetas* † *Choniates* hath only copy'd St. *Epiphanius*; and *Baronius* || hath follow'd their Steps. *Voſſius* |||| adds, that this *Herod* endeavour'd to perſwade the People, that he was the true Meſſiah; and that it was for that reaſon, that he had all the Children of *Bethlehem* to be unmercifully murder'd, that he might more ſecurely involve in that general Maſſacre him who was already call'd King of the Jews. It is pretended, that he order'd all the Genealogies to be burn'd, that the Pedigree of the Meſſiah, who was to be of the Poſterity of *David*, might not be known.

* Suet. *l.* 8. *p.* 172. † Matth. 22. 16. || Mark 8. 15. |||| Perſ. Sat. 5. * Petiti Variæ lect. *c.* 18. Crit. *t.* 9. *p.* 2567. Vitringa de Synag. *l.* 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 195. † Nicetas Chon. Theſ. Orth. *l.* 1. *c.* 34. *p.* 64. || Baron. Apparat. *n.* 5. |||| Iſ. Voſſ. de Orac. Sibyll. *c.* 3.

5. And indeed it is probable enough, that *Herod* the Great, occaſion'd the Sect that went under his Name. For this Man had an inſatiable Ambition; and his Court-Flatterers might have ſpread a Report, which was like to pleaſe him. Beſides, he was a great Prince, whoſe Magnificence appear'd on all occaſions. To ſum up all, he was King of all *Judæa*, and tho a Vaſſal, and tributary to the *Romans*, yet he acted with more Authority than any of his Poſterity ever had. However, every thing well conſider'd, one can't tell which ſide to take. *Joſephus*, who extols this Prince, and deſcribes him as a great King, doth never repreſent him as the Meſſiah, or inſinuates that any body thought him ſo; and he, who flatters *Veſpaſian* with that Honour, by applying to him an Oracle of the old Prophets, had not fail'd to have extoll'd a Potent King, for whom he had ſo much Veneration, or to ſet down what Encomiums the People gave him. Had this Sect appear'd only during *Herod*'s Life, and dy'd with him; I ſhou'd not be ſurpriz'd, that a Man, who made others fear and admire him, had been miſtaken for the Meſſiah. But this Sect appears only thirty Years after his Death; ſince it is only known by the Goſpel; and how many reaſons had then the moſt Credulous to open their Eyes, and the moſt cringing Courtiers to find their Errour?

6. For *Herod* dy'd a very violent Death. His Sufferings were ſharp and long. He ſignaliz'd his old Age, and Sickneſs by the death of his Children, and by Maſſacres. His Death was look'd upon as an exemplary Judgment of God upon him. He was no ſooner dead, but the Peoples Hatred furiouſly broke out againſt him. They diſſembl'd no longer, as they had done out of fear, whilſt he liv'd. They cou'd not forgive him the Golden Eagle, which he plac'd in the Temple, nor the *Pagan* Games which he had inſtituted in *Judæa*; and they call'd him a Tyrant. Fifty Deputies * of *Judæa*, back'd with eight Thouſand Jews, who were at *Rome*, carry'd their Complaints to *Auguſtus* to ſtain his Memory; and fearing leſt his Children had inherited the temper of their Father, they preferr'd being under the Dominion of *Pagans*, Governours of *Syria*, to the diſſatisfaction of ſeeing a Son of *Herod* aſcending the Throne. It is not very likely, that a Man, who was ſo much hated during his Life, and after his Death, ſhou'd be look'd upon as the Meſſiah, and that his Sect continu'd whilſt the whole Nation exclaim'd againſt his Memory.

7. His Memory was ſo odious, that a Feaſt was inſtituted, which was obſerv'd the 25*th* of *September*, in remembrance that this Prince dy'd that Day. *The* 7th *of* Chiſten *is a Feſtival for the Death of* Herod; *For he hated the Sages; and there is joy before the Lord, when the Wicked go out of the World. For it is written, The hand of the Lord is againſt them to drive them out of the Camp.*

Father *Papebroch* † maintains, that the Text of *Eliezar* hath not been well underſtood; and that inſtead of a Feaſt, a *Faſt* was obſerv'd that Day in memory of the Death of the Sages, whom *Herod* had put to Death. But the good Man did not mind what he ſaid. For the Death of Saints is not here deplor'd, but they rejoyce at that of the *Wicked*; and *Herod* the Great was that wicked Man. He is perhaps better grounded to ſay, that this Book of *Faſts* aſcrib'd to *Eliezar*, who liv'd whilſt the ſecond Temple was ſtanding, and a little while after the Death of *Herod*, is not ſo old. At leaſt we have no Proofs of it. I do not even believe, if you except the *Chaldee Paraphraſes*, that we have any *Hebrew* Book ſo old as that. *Schelſtratus* ‖ who affirms it, hath only done it to confirm his Conjecture about the Day of the Death of *Herod*; but not to carry things too far, it is enough to ſay, that it is an ancient Tradition that *Herod* dy'd the 25*th* of *November*, and that his Memory was ſo heinous, that the Jews celebrated a Feſtival at that time to rejoyce for his Death, inſtead of deploring his Loſs, as if he had been the Meſſiah.

8. The ſecond *Herod*, that might have been the occaſion of the Riſe and Name of this Sect, was the Tetrarch of *Galilee*. His Dominions were very ſmall to make him a Meſſiah; beſides that his taking away *Herodias* was a great Obſtacle to it. However he was an ambitious Man; ſince he was the Victim of his towring Deſires. He fram'd ſome vaſt Projects, when he combin'd with *Sejanus*, and made an Arſenal with Arms for Sixty Thouſand Men. He was very cunning; and therefore *Jeſus Chriſt* calls him *a Fox*. Upon the whole, the Head of the *Herodians* ſeems to have been alive during the Miniſtry of the Son of God; ſince he commanded his Diſciples to beware *of the Leaven of* Herod. For altho it be in ſome Manuſcripts, *of the* Herodians, yet the Reading that we follow is the moſt conſtant and ſure. This Man affected to appear very zealous for the Service of the Emperours; and even to be call'd *Claudius*'s *Friend*, or rather his Admirer, in one of his Medals; but he had for all that ſome ſecret Deſigns to incroach upon the Empire to aggrandize himſelf. So that he might have the Tributes exactly gather'd, as the Evangeliſts intimate; and at the ſame time get ſome, who maintain'd that he was the Meſſiah that was then expected.

9. *Philaſtrius* ‖‖ a Biſhop of the fourth Century ſays, that the Jews believ'd that *Herod Agrippa, who was ſmitten by an Angel*, becauſe he took kindly the Acclamations of the People, who cry'd before his Throne, *the Voice of a God*, was the Meſſiah. *Prateolus* * alſo fanſies, that it is enough to quote the Paſſage of the Acts of the Apoſtles, wherein St. *Luke* relates the Death of *Herod* ſmitten by an Angel, to know the Origin of the *Herodians*. But this is a groſs Miſtake. For God inflicted this Puniſhment upon *Herod Agrippa*, who put St. *Peter* in Priſon, and St. *James* to Death. This *Agrippa*, who was but the Grand-Son of *Herod* the Great, and Nephew to the Tetrarch, cou'd not occaſion the Cenſure, which Chriſt pronounc'd againſt the *Herodians*. For he was not ſettl'd in his Kingdom till after *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Death, and even after that of *Tiberius*. So that to make him the Meſſiah, it muſt be aſſerted, that *Herod Antipas*, in whoſe Reign Chriſt dy'd, and *Herod Agrippa*, are one and the ſame Perſon, as it hath been already done †. But we have confuted this Opinion.

10. *Juſtin Martyr* ‖ believ'd, that the Errour of the old Jews, conſiſted in looking upon *Herod* as High-Prieſt. But I can't imagine whence *Juſtin* had this. For the Jews of his Age cou'd not be ſo ignorant of the Law of *Moſes*, as to aſcribe the High-Prieſthood to a *Proſelyte*, that they hated; and the Goſpel teaches us, that there was another High-Prieſt, when Chriſt came into the World, and was Crucify'd. So that this was not the Opinion either of the Jews, or of the *Herodians*, who never gave their Maſter this Title.

11. It is thought at this time, that the *Herodians* muſt be confounded with the *Saducees*, becauſe Chriſt enjoyns his Diſciples in one place, *to beware of the Leaven of the* Phariſees *and* Saducees, and in another he will have them to *beware of the Leaven of the* Phariſees *and* Herodians. We muſt not *mind, what Men ſay, after God hath ſpoken*, cries Father *Harduin* ‖‖‖‖. We ought rather to follow our Maſter, and our God, than ſome uncertain Conjectures. Since therefore *Jeſus Chriſt* hath put the *Herodians* in the room of the *Saducees*, they muſt have been of the ſame Opinion. They are known by one another, whence it muſt be concluded, that the *Herodians* deny'd the Reſurrection of the Dead; and that as *Herod*, who was originally *an* Athenian, *ſince he is plac'd among the Benefactors of* Athens, follow'd *Plato*'s Philoſophy concerning the Exiſtence of the Soul, it muſt be inferr'd that theſe *He-*

* Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 11. *c.* 12. *p.* 610. † Papebroch. Epiſt. Conſultatoria ad Schelſt. ‖ Schelſtrat. Antiq. illuſtrata Diſſert. 1. *c.* 2. *a.* 1. *pag.* 21, *&c.* ‖‖ Philaſt. de Hær. *p.* 724. * Prateol. Elenchus Hæret. H. *n.* 14. *p.* 210. † Harduin. de Num. Herodiad. ‖ Juſtin. Dial. cum Tryph. *p.* 272. ‖‖‖ Harduin. de Num. Herodiad. *p.* 97, *&c.*

rodians

rodians admitted only ſome ſubtile, and minute Bodies, which are call'd Spirits, in oppoſition to other more ſenſible and groſs Objects. Let us examine theſe Conjectures, which have at leaſt the Charms of Novelty to recommend them.

12. We ſhall not ſpeak any more of the Birth of *Herod*, or of his Countrey; becauſe we have ſufficiently enlarg'd upon theſe Heads in the firſt Book. But we are oblig'd to obſerve, that altho *Herod*'s Family had originally come from *Athens*, yet *Herod* himſelf can't be ſaid to have come out of *Greece*, but in the Perſon of his Grand-Father. He made the third Generation. His Grand-Father *Antipas* was not perhaps a very great Philoſopher; for all the *Athenians* were not Philoſophers, and all Philoſophers were not Platoniſts. But ſuppoſe it was known, that *Antipas* was a Learned Man, yet it cou'd not be gueſs'd which of theſe, either the *Pythagorean*, or *Platonick*, or *Ariſtotelean* Philoſophy, he had preferr'd. Neither doth it appear more clearly that his Son *Antipater*, who minded more the Art of War than Study, follow'd his Father's Philoſophy. And it is yet leſs ſafe to ſay, that of *Herod* the Great, who having early imbib'd the Jewiſh Religion, ought to have been better acquainted with its Principles, than with thoſe of *Plato*. And yet we are led by theſe Steps to this Hypotheſis, (*viz.*) That the *Herodians* believ'd, that the Souls compos'd of a ſubtile Matter, were corporeal, and cou'd not ſubſiſt without the Body.

13. Father *Harduin* ſuppoſes too, that the Holy Pen-Men deſign'd to ſubſtitute the *Herodians* to the *Saducees*, and that one ſhou'd be known by the other. Did we certainly know the Intention of *Jeſus Chriſt*, we ſhou'd be in the right *not to hearken to Men after God hath ſpoken*. But we muſt not make God ſpeak, when he doth not ſpeak; or ground with ſo much Aſſurance a Conjecture upon ſome unknown Intentions. Chriſt may have oblig'd his Diſciples to beware of the *Leaven of the* Phariſees *and* Saducees, who had juſt worry'd him, and at the ſame time of that of *Herod*, who endeavour'd to make the World believe that he was the Meſſiah. The *Herodians* can't be confounded with the *Saducees*, ſince they are plainly diſtinguiſh'd in the Goſpel. Our Saviour diſtinguiſhes them clearly, when in one Chapter St. *Matthew* introduces the *Phariſees* and *Herodians*, who came together to tempt him; and afterwards ſpeaks of the *Saducees*, who the ſame Day tempted him upon another account. One wou'd think that he diſtinguiſhes them from their different Tenets. For the Evangeliſt obſerves, that the *Saducees* did not believe the Reſurrection; but he doth not ſay any thing like it of the *Phariſees*, or *Herodians*; which is a plain Argument that they differ'd very much. This Fact can't be deny'd with relation to the *Phariſees*; and alſo with reference to the *Herodians*, eſpecially ſince *Herod* believ'd, that *John Baptiſt* was riſen from the Dead. Laſtly, *Philaſtrius* affirms that the *Herodians* believ'd the Reſurrection of the Dead, and own'd the Prophets. So that he oppos'd them to the *Saducees*. But no great Streſs will perhaps be laid on the Teſtimony of this Biſhop of the fourth Century.

14. The *Herodians* paid the Tribute, and caus'd this Tribute to be paid, whilſt the Jews look'd upon the Payment of it as a Mark of their Slavery; and their way of Tempting *Jeſus Chriſt* proves this. But that was not their only peculiar Tenet. For they thought *Herod* the Meſſiah, who was ſo impatitently expected. St. *Jerome* denies it, and poſitively ſays, that he never read, nor heard any body that ſaid it; but he believ'd and ſaid it himſelf; and there cannot be a plainer Contradiction than that of this * Father, who writ againſt the *Luciferians*, *that before* Jeſus Chriſt *the* Herodians *own'd* Herod *their King for the Meſſiah*, and who forgetting himſelf, maintains afterwards, that this was never writ.

This Father looks upon the *Herodians* as ſo many Soldiers, who were not very Zealous for the Law, and exacted the Tribute; and thereby drew upon themſelves the Railleries and Hatred of the *Phariſees*. But moſt of the Fathers were of another Opinion. St. *Epiphanius* and *Philaſtrius*, the Author who hath tack'd ſome Chapters to *Tertullian*'s Preſcriptions, and *Nicetas* have affirm'd, that the *Herodians* believ'd, that *Herod* was the Meſſiah, and apply'd to him the Oracle of *Jacob*, *the Scepter ſhall not depart from* Judah, *till the Shiloh come*; and that this was aſcrib'd to him, becauſe he was look'd upon as a Stranger.

Theſe Fathers in the main were in the right. But they were plainly miſtaken in their Explication of this Oracle. For it is not true, that the Jews believ'd, that a Stranger was to be their Deliverer and King. They remember'd the Law of *Moſes*; *One from among thy Brethren ſhalt thou ſet King over thee*; and this Tradition obtain'd ſo much among them, that they introduc'd *Agrippa* weeping at the reading of theſe Words, becauſe being a Stranger, he cou'd not aſcend the Throne of *Judah*; and the Sages at the ſame time comforting him, ſaying, *Thou art our Brother*. The Application, which *Joſephus* made to *Veſpaſian* of an ancient Oracle, was rather the Flattery of a private Man, than the Opinion of the whole Nation. In a Word, If the Fathers believ'd themſelves, that the Meſſiah ſpecify'd by *Jacob*, ought to have been a Stranger, their Errour was ſtill more groſs and inexcuſable.

15. *Baronius*, who follow'd the Steps of the Fathers, ought not to have been impos'd upon; becauſe the Jews ſeem in the Goſpel to know very well at what Place the Meſſiah was to be born; and far from yielding this Glory to a Foreigner, one of their Prejudices againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*, was that he came frome *Nazareth*, and *Galilee*; and in that famous Council, which *Herod* ſummon'd together upon the ſcore of the Wiſe Men, that came to worſhip the King of the Jews, it is unanimouſly acknowledg'd that *Bethlehem* was pointed as the Place of the Birth of the Deliverer, that was expected. The Synagogue wou'd have very ſoon alter'd their Divinity, had they believ'd, that the Meſſiah, inſtead of being born in *Judæa*, was to be a Stranger. This Alteration is the more incredible, becauſe the Jews were always very jealous of the Glory of their Nation, and it is not likely, that they wou'd owe their Deliverance and Proſperity to an *Idumæan*.

16. This in all probability happen'd, (*viz.*) in the time of *Herod*, the Jews look'd every where for the Meſſiah, becauſe they were perſwaded that the time of his coming was at hand, when our Lord appear'd. Flatterers, who ſaw *Herod* in favour, choſe rather to acknowledge him, who was a Tetrarch, and a Prince, who had a great deal of Intereſt with *Tiberius*, for the Meſſiah, than a Man as *Jeſus Chriſt*, who had not where to lay his Head. *Herod* was not ſorry, that the People had an Opinion of him, which was ſo much to his Advantage. His Courtiers and Flatterers, who are always very numerous, encourag'd that Report; and did two Things to ſtrengthen it. 1. They took no notice of *Herod*'s Birth. We have already ſeen it in the Jews of *Cæſarea*, who maintain'd that his Father was a Jew; and they the rather believ'd it of the Son, who was of a more remote Generation, born at *Jeruſalem*, or in ſome other part of *Judæa*. 2. They apply'd to him ſeveral Oracles of the Old Teſtament concerning the Meſſiah, as *Joſephus* afterwards apply'd to *Veſpaſian* theſe Words of *Micah* ||, *Out of thee ſhall he come forth unto me, that is to be Ruler in Iſrael. Joſephus* did not perhaps believe, that *Veſpaſian* was the Meſſiah, ſince he did deſtroy the Nation, inſtead of delivering it: However, he apply'd a Prophecy to him, which was only pronounc'd for the Deliverer of the People; and he aſſociated him with that Deliverer, and put him upon the Level |||| with the Perſon mention'd in the Oracle of *Micha*. *Herod*'s Courtiers did not ſpare theſe and ſtronger Applications to flatter their Maſter. 3. He,

* Hier. in Matth. 22. *t.* 4. *p.* 692. † Nicet. *l.* 1. *c.* 34. *p.* 64. || Mich. 5. |||| Ἀμά.

who

who had an exceſſive Ambition, ſince his Pride ruin'd him, did not oppoſe this Opinion, which he did not perhaps believe himſelf. Haughty Princes give often way to ſome Reports which are favourable to them, and agree with their ſecret Deſigns. They detach ſome forlorn Hopes, which raiſe them above others; and they look upon thoſe high flown Encomiums as ſo many tokens of love, which may make ſo good an Impreſſion upon the People, as to produce ſome conſiderable Advantages; and the worſe come to the worſe they can't but diſown them; and if they miſcarry, put the Fault on their Courtiers. *Herod*, whom *Jeſus Chriſt* call'd a *Fox*, was cunning enough to let the high Opinion, that ſome had of him, ſpread; and if the *Roman* Court had taken umbrage at it, he had alledg'd againſt theſe Elogies of the People, his exactneſs to make them pay Tribute to the Emperour. 4. Notwithſtanding that this Prince was confin'd within *Galilee*, he had ſome vaſt Projects in view. For he had Arms in ſtore for Sixty Thouſand Men; and a Prince doth not make ſuch a Proviſion of Arms, when he deſigns to live quiet in a ſmall Countrey. He made a League with *Sejanus* againſt *Tiberius*, and had a mind to be at any rate *King of the Jews*. He was oblig'd to take that Title to perſwade that Nation, that he was the Deliverer, whom they expected. For we muſt not think that *Herod*, and the *Herodians*, had the ſame Notions that we have of our Meſſiah. They only look'd upon him as a Victorious King, who was to ſhake off the Yoke of the *Romans*, and reſtore his Nation to their Liberty. 5. This Sect was not numerous; and it is no wonder, that ſome among the Jews had ſo fond a Veneration for *Herod*, whoſe Father appear'd with ſo much luſtre. 6. I own, that the Guards of this Prince might be call'd *Herodians*, as thoſe of *Pompey* were call'd *Pompeians*; but that doth not remove the chief Difficulty, which ariſes from *Jeſus Chriſt*'s forewarning to beware of *the Leaven* of *Herod*; and the Leaven in the Scripture denotes a Doctrine that ferments and ſpreads. So that thoſe of *Herod*'s Party had a peculiar Tenet of their own, and were not meer Guards employ'd to raiſe Taxes, or to protect that Prince's Perſon.

17. This Sect was ſtifl'd almoſt at its Birth, and ſubſiſted no longer than *Herod*'s Proſperity, which did not laſt long. For a little after Chriſt's Death, that Prince loſt his Credit at the Court of *Rome*, and was baniſh'd out of *Judæa*. His Sect cou'd not maintain it ſelf after his Diſgrace, and Misfortune. This is the reaſon, that *Joſephus* paſs'd this Sect over in ſilence. For an Errour, which was only held by ſome Courtiers during the Reign of this Prince, did not deſerve a place in Hiſtory; and the Holy Writers only ſpoke of it, becauſe the *Herodians* came to puzzle their Maſter with ſome Sophiſms, or becauſe they impugn'd the moſt fundamental Points of the Chriſtian Religion, by denying that *Jeſus Chriſt* was the *Meſſiah*, and by putting *Herod* in his room. So that the *Herodians*, who aroſe with the good Fortune of that Prince, dwindl'd away with it, whilſt the Chriſtians going upon much better grounds, have demonſtrated to all the World, that there is no other Meſſiah, but he, whom they adore.

18. *Theodoret* * pretended, that all the Patriarchs of the Jews, who govern'd this Nation ſince the taking of *Jeruſalem*, deſcended from *Herod*. *Theodoret*'s Errour proceeded from his Preſumption, that the Scepter cou'd not depart from *Judah*, if the Jewiſh Patriarchs came from the Family of *David*, as it was reported. This Preſumption was not peculiar to him. *Cyrill* of *Jeruſalem* † had plainly ſaid it before him. "Since the Character of the Meſſiah, "ſaid he, is the Mark of the Manifeſtation of the Meſſiah, "it follows that he is not yet come, if it be true, that the "Patriarchs of the Jews are of the Poſterity of *David*; "but on the contrary, their Extraction is ſo mean, that I "will not ſet it down.

I know not what intereſt of Religion hath blinded theſe two Fathers, as if it was lawful to maintain Truth with Arguments evidently falſe. Three things might have been anſwer'd to the Jews, who pretended that the Royal Authority ſtill ſubſiſted among them, whilſt the Patriarchs, who were of the Stock of *David*, reign'd in *Judæa*.

One, That they did not prove, that the Patriarchs of *Judæa* ſprung from the Houſe of *David*, which ought to have been almoſt extinguiſh'd by the Converſion of ſome to Chriſtianity, and by the Death of others, who were bury'd under the Ruins of *Jeruſalem*. And therefore the ſucceeding *Rabbins* bid us look out for the Remains of that Family in *Babylon*; and acknowledge that the Patriarchs of *Judæa* were only deſcended from it by the Females.

The Second, We have prov'd that the Scepter was departed from the Republick, becauſe *Auguſtus* made it Tributary, and thoſe who had in *Judæa* the Title of King, were only Vaſſals to the Empire. St. *Jerome* affirm'd, that this happen'd but in the Reign of *Tiberius*; but this Father plainly contradicts himſelf, ſince he ſends *Joſeph* and *Mary* to *Bethlehem*, *to pay there the Tribute*. *Judæa* was made a Province, and God took away even the Shaddow of the Temporal and Spiritual Authority by the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and of its Temple.

The laſt, That theſe Patriarchs were neither Kings, nor Sovereign Princes. They were only Pedants and Doctors of the Nation, who aſſum'd ſome Authority over the People in Religious Matters, to preſerve ſome ſort of Union between its ſcatter'd Members in the *Weſt*. But it cannot be ſaid that *they wielded the Scepter of* Judah in the *Roman* Empire. They are only famous in the Writings of the *Rabbins*, and the firſt of theſe Patriarchs, who is certainly known, liv'd but in the Reign of *Adrian*, as we ſhall ſee in the following Book. If *Titus*, *Domitian*, and their Succeſſors had left any Rays of Power to the Chiefs of the Jews, this Power had belong'd to *Agrippa*, who was ſtill alive, and had been their King. But they only tolerated the Authority, which ſome Doctors aſſum'd over the poor Remains of that Nation; becauſe it was neither conſiderable, nor known; and eſpecially becauſe it did not incroach upon the civil Government of the *Romans*, who kept this Nation in Slavery. The *Rabbins* out of a vain Conceit have given the Title of *Princes* of the Captivity not only to the Chiefs of the Nation in *Babylon*, but alſo to ſome Doctors, who had appropriated to themſelves ſome Authority over the Synagogues of *Germany*, or of ſome ſmall part of *Italy*. Can it be pretended, that theſe Doctors, who were only ſtil'd Princes, by reaſon of the Vanity of a proud Nation, were ſo many Kings, that held *the Scepter of* Judah? If not, how can this be pretended of the firſt Patriarchs, who groan'd under the *Roman* Yoak, and ſprung from the Tribe of *Levi*?

It is eaſy to ſolve the Objection of the Jews, without transforming their Chiefs into ſo many *Deſcendants* of *Herod*; ſince the Jews have been ſo far from chuſing ſome Maſters out of that Family, or of that Sect, that they have always had a great Abhorrence from it. But granting it was true, that the Patriarchs ſucceeded the *Herodians*, they wou'd not be the Sectaries which we now look for.

So that the *Herodians* made a particular Sect in the Jewiſh Church, ſince *Jeſus Chriſt*, who is the only one that ſpeaks of them, order'd his Diſciples to beware *of the Leaven of* Herod, *and of the Herodians*. They look'd upon one of the *Herods* as on the Meſſiah, or as on the King who ſhou'd reſtore the Kingdom to *Iſrael*. But it can't be determin'd, 1. Whether it was *Herod* the Great, or his Son the Tetrarch, that gave Birth to this Sect. The vaſt Power of the one makes People preſume, that he was the Prince, whom Courtiers look'd upon as the Deliverer of the Jewiſh Nation. But their Hatred, which appear'd after his Death, which was occaſion'd by Divine Vengeance, overthrows this Preſumption. So that it is more likely, that it was *Herod* the Tetrarch, *that ſubtle Fox*, who ſet thoſe favourable Reports ſpread of him. 2. They ſoon diſappear'd after the Death of Chriſt, becauſe this Prince was diſgrac'd and baniſh'd.

This is a general Account of the Jewiſh Nation whilſt our Saviour was upon Earth, and of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, where *Joſephus* ends his Hiſtory. We thought it requiſite to explain ſeveral matters of Fact, which the Silence of this Hiſtorian made obſcure, and the Remarks of Criticks more unintelligible. If we have not excited the Curioſity of the Readers by ſome ſurprizing Novelties, we have at leaſt exactly collected what others have ſaid upon this Subject. We are going to ſpeak of whatever concerns the Jews, by unravelling the Hiſtory of their Patriarchs of *Judæa*, of their Princes of the Captivity of *Babylon*, of the different Orders of the Doctors, who have taught among them, and of the Tenets, which now make the Syſtem of their Religion. Theſe things ſhall be the Contents of the following Volume.

* Theodor. Dial. 1. t. 4. *p.* 22. † Cyrill. Catech. 12. *p.* 112.

The End of the Second BOOK.

THE Hiſtory and Religion OF THE JEWS. BEING A CONTINUATION OF JOSEPHUS.

BOOK III.

Containing the Hiſtory of the *Patriarchs* that govern'd in *Judea*: Of the Princes *of the Captivity* in *Babylon*, and of the principal Orders of the Doctors that have lived ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. The Works and Character of the *Talmudiſts*, *Gemariſts*, *Pyrrhoniſts*, or *Doubters*, *Excellents*, or *Gaons*, *Maſorets*, *Cabbaliſts*, with the Particulars of the *Cabbala*, and of the famous *Rabbins*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Patriarchs *of the* Jews, *or Heads of the Captivity in the* Weſt.

I. *The different Retreats of the* Jews *after the Ruin of* Jeruſalem. II. *The Deſtinction of the* Eaſtern *and* Weſtern Jews: *Its Origine.* III. *The Difference that is made betwixt the* Patriarchs *of* Judea, *and the Princes of the* Babyloniſh *Captivity.* IV. *The* Patriarchs *were not of the Houſe of* David, *but of the Tribe of* Levi. V. *The Authority of* Patriarch *diſtinguiſh'd from that of the Heads of the Academy.* VI. *Whether* Hillel *was the firſt* Patriarch. VII. *His Qualities. His Death.* VIII. *Whether* Simeon, *who embrac'd* Jeſus Chriſt *in his Arms, was* Prieſt *and* Patriarch. IX. Jochanan *the Third* Patriarch. *His Virtues, and Predictions to* Veſpaſian. X. *Whether it was he that removed the* Sanhedrim *to* Japhne. XI. *His Death, and Fears of God's Judgment.* XII. Gamaliel *of* Japhne *the Fourth* Patriarch. XIII. *Whether* Samuel the Little *was St.* Paul. XIV. *Whether* Gamaliel *was a* Chriſtian. *That Notion confuted.* XV. Simeon, *his Son, the Fifth* Patriarch. *The falſe* Elogies *that are given him.* XVI. *Arguments that theſe were imaginary* Patriarchs. XVII. Joſephus *did not know them.* XVIII. *They neither appear in War nor Peace.* XIX. *Irreconcilable Contradictions of the* Rabbins *upon this Subject.*

I. THE Ruin of *Jeruſalem* was the Cauſe that the *Jews* were very much diſpers'd; whilſt thoſe who had eſcap'd the Sword of the *Romans*, and the Flames which reduced *Jeruſalem* and its Temple to Aſhes, or who, after the Deſolation of this great City, were not ſold in the Market, as Slaves, and Horſes, ſought out Places of ſanctuary and retreat: One they found in the *Eaſt*, and at *Babylon*, where there was ſtill a great number of thoſe who had been carried away captive in the ancient Wars; it being natural for them to go and implore the Charity of their Brethren, who had raiſed themſelves there to conſiderable Fortunes. Others took refuge in *Ægypt*, where there had been likewiſe for a long time *Jews* potent and rich enough to receive theſe miſerable People: But they carried with them their Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion, which occaſion'd a freſh Maſſacre of them. The *Rabbins* affirm, that the conſiderable Families were, even at this time, tranſported into *Spain*, which they called *Sepharad*; in which Coun-

try are ſtill the Remains of the Tribes of *Benjamin* and *Juda*, and the Deſcendents of the Houſe of *David:* Whereupon the *Spaniſh Jews* have always look'd upon thoſe of other Nations with contempt, as if the Blood-Royal, and the Diſtinction of the Tribes were better preſerv'd among them. We will examine in the Sequel, whether they are well grounded. At preſent let us obſerve that there was a Fourth Claſs of *Jews*, who with juſter Pretenſions might boaſt of their Origine. Theſe remain'd in their Country, either in the Ruins of *Jeruſalem*, or the neighbouring Places, where they diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by gathering up a little Body of their Nation; and by the Employs they exercis'd. The *Rabbins* alſo affirm, that *Titus* removed the *Sanhedrim* to *Japhne*, or *Jamnia*, and that Two Academies were erected, One at *Tiberias*, and the Other at *Lydda*. Laſtly, They maintain that there was alſo at that Time a *Patriarch*, who having firſt labour'd to re-eſtabliſh Religion, and his forelorn Church, extended his Authority over all the Synagogues of the *Weſt*; and 'tis of theſe *Weſtern Patriarchs* of the *Jews* I will firſt treat, before I give the Hiſtory of the *Babiloniſh* Captivity.

II. Every body knows that the *Eaſtern Jews* ſent their Offerings annually to *Jeruſalem*, all the time the Temple ſtood. They came themſelves thither in multitudes to worſhip; and theſe multitudes of Strangers were ſometimes ſo great, that they ſtartled the *Roman* Governor of *Judea*, and made him acquaint the Emperor with it, as fearing ſome potent Succours might come from thence, to relieve their oppreſſed Brethren, and defend their Religion, annex'd to the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. They were theſe Strangers arrived from all the Corners of the *Eaſt*, that heard St. *Peter*'s firſt Sermon at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, whereof part were converted: But when the Temple and Altars were demoliſh'd, and the Cuſtom of ſacrificing aboliſh'd, the *Eaſtern Jews* ceas'd coming to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, and began to deſpiſe that part of their Nation which was in the *Weſt*, or was miſerable in *Judea:* Inſenſibly they became divided into Two different Parties, One of which, that inhabited *Ægypt*, *Judæa*, *Italy*, and the other Parts of the *Roman* Empire, were called *Weſtern Jews*, in oppoſition to thoſe who were ſettled at *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, *Aſſyria* and *Perſia*, which were call'd *Eaſtern Jews*. In proceſs of Time they had different Doctors and Heads. The Heads of the *Weſt*, who lived in *Judea*, ſtiled themſelves *Patriarchs*, and the Heads of the *Eaſt*, *Princes of the Captivity*.

III. The *Jews* make a great difference betwixt the *Patriarchs* of *Judea*, and the Princes of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, calling the latter *Rabbana*, and the others ſimply *Rabban:* They maintain that the *Princes* deſcended from *David* in a direct Male-Line, whereas the Patriarchs proceeded only from the Females: They ſay that the *Houſe of* David *has its whole Vigour*, becauſe there are ſtill illuſtrious Perſons of this Family at *Bagded*, out of which are choſen the Chiefs of the Nation, as has been ever done time out of mind. In examining the Proofs of the Diſtinction they make betwixt the *Princes* and *Patriarchs*, we find them very weak. The Title of *Prince* ought to impoſe upon no body; for we ſhall ſee hereafter, that it has been given in the *Weſt* to thoſe who had the Super-intendance of but Twenty Synagogues in *Germany* or *Italy*. There is ſtill leſs Solidity in what is ſaid of the Family of *David*. For 'tis undiſputed that theſe were Deſcendents of this Prince in *Judea*, after the Ruin of *Jeruſalem*. Since *Veſpaſian* and *Domitian* his Son, had ſearch made after them, which cauſed new Perſecutions againſt the *Jews*. But how know they that *David*'s Deſcendents fled to *Babylon*, and that this Family was preſerved in the *Eaſt*, rather than in *Judea?* And that the *Princes* always deſcended by the Males, and the *Patriarchs*, by the Females, ſince the Genealogies were deſtroyed? The Ten Tribes are hardly diſtinguiſh'd in the *Eaſt*, or rather there is ſuch a prodigious Confuſion among the *Jews*, that it is impoſſible to know them; and yet they imagine not only that the Tribe of *Juda* muſt ſtill have held the Scepter; but that it is *David*'s Family that holds it at preſent in the *Eaſt*. There is nothing to be had hereupon, but incertain and fallacious Prejudices, of which there are Two, One in favour of the *Patriarchs*, who having re-eſtabliſhed their Nation in the *Holy Land*, and preſerved the Law, ſhould be preferr'd before the *Princes*; the other in favour of the Princes of the Captivity, who having ſubſiſted much longer than the *Patriarchs*, it was natural for the *Rabbins*, jealous of the Glory of their Nation, to give them a great Elevation, and prefer them to the *Patriarchs*. This laſt Prejudice taken from the Grandeur of the *Princes*, and the Duration of their Authority has prevail'd in the *Rabbinical* Nation; and is the true reaſon of the Preference they give to the Princes of the Captivity above the *Patriarchs* of *Judea*. Let us ſee their Original.

IV. We muſt not look for any great Myſteries here. *Jeruſalem* being deſtroy'd, and the People diſpers'd in diverſe Places, there remain'd only a ſmall number of the Prieſts and Laity, who endeavour'd to ſettle themſelves in *Judea*: The Remainder of the Prieſts and Levites labour'd to gather up the ſhatter'd Reliques of their Nation; for which *Tiberias* and *Japhne* ſeem'd the propereſt Places. The Authority was then entire in the Hands of the Prieſts, who were beſt inſtructed in the Law they were willing to preſerve, and the fitteſt to teach it to the People. The Houſe of *David* was almoſt extinct: His Deſcendants reduc'd to get their Bread by the Tillage of a few Acres of Land, had for a long time laid aſide the Thoughts of re-eſtabliſhing the Throne of their Anceſtors. The People were ſtill leſs mindful of reſtoring them, or even of giving them any ſhadow of Authority, becauſe this would have ſtirr'd up the Jealouſie of the *Romans*, and re-awaken'd their Cruelty. *Agrippa*, the laſt of the *Herodian* Family, was gone to *Rome*, where he lived as a private Perſon, far from any deſign of aſſuming the Empire of the Nation. So that if there was any ſhadow of Superiority among the *Jews* that remain'd at *Tiberias*, it fell into the Hands of the Prieſts, of the Race of *Levi* and *Aaron*, whom their Science and Underſtanding of the Law rais'd above the Vulgar. 'Tis eaſie to conclude, that this could be no great Authority in ſo aſtoniſhing a Deſolation as was that of the *Jews*. They were only a parcel of poor Fugitives, whoſe Miſery had made them ſlighted and deſpiſed of the *Romans:* But inſenſibly their Authority increas'd proportionably as the People grew numerous and potent; and as the Chief of every Claſs of Prieſts was call'd *Roſch Abbot*, the Chief or Head of the Fathers, they took the Title of *Patriarch*, which ſignifies the ſame thing in *Greek*, a Language better known than *Hebrew* in the *Roman* Empire. And thus the Heads of the Captivity in *Judea* were not of the Houſe of *David*, but of the Tribe of *Levi*.

V. This *Patriarch* was the Head of the Nation in all the *Weſt*, (as the Prince of the Captivity was in the *Eaſt*) *Ægypt*, and the neighbouring Places where there were any *Jews* depending on him. He decided Caſes of Conſcience, and the important Affairs of the Nation: He preſided over the Synagogues: He levied Tributes to defray the Expences of his Viſits; he had Officers under him which circuited

cuited the Provinces to execute his Orders: In a word, he obtain'd by degrees a very great Authority over all the diſpers'd *Jews*, who were proud to acknowledge him for their Chief, and to depend on him, whereby to maintain ſome ſhadow of Union. Beſides the Patriarch, the *Jews* placed Doctors over their Academies, to whom they commonly gave the title of *Heads* and *Princes*; either to raiſe the Dignity of the Office, or to teſtify the Veneration Diſciples have and ought to have for their Maſters. Theſe Heads of the Academies were commonly Rivals of the Patriarchs, and there were ſometimes violent conteſts betwixt them. The ſame Perſon alſo ſometimes exercis'd both theſe Offices, which cauſes a great deal of confuſion: However they muſt be diſtinguiſh'd.

VI. If we credit the *Jews*, the Inſtitution of the Patriarchs preceded the ruine of the Temple an hundred Years: For they tell you, that thirty Years before the Birth of Chriſt, *Hillel*, Surnamed the *Babylonian*, (becauſe he came from that Country) arrived at *Jeruſalem*, and was conſulted about the celebration of the Paſſover, which fell that Year upon a *Saturday*. His Anſwer was ſo Satisfactory, that they made him *Patriarch* of the Nation, and his Poſterity ſucceeded him down to the fifth Century of the Chriſtian Church, in which the *Patriarchs* of *Judea* were aboliſh'd.

VII. They make a ſecond *Moſes* of this firſt *Patriarch*, becauſe he lived an hundred and twenty Years as that Legiſlator: Forty Years of them he ſpent in obſcurity; at fourſcore he was choſen Head of the People, and forty Years after he died.

They alſo compare him to *Eſdras*, becauſe like that ſacred Writer, he came from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem*. Beſides that, he had his gentle Temper, and other good Qualities. They aſcribe a thouſand Diſciples to him, though ſome bring down this number to Fourſcore. In fine, his Death was bitterly lamented with this out-cry, *where is the Saint? where is the Diſciple of Eſdras?*

I queſtion whether *Hillel* be not confounded with the High-Prieſt *Ananelus*, who came from *Babylon* preciſely at the time ſpecified, and was ſet over the Clergy by *Herod*: For theſe ſorts of faults, tho' groſs, are common with the *Jews*. But not to charge them with this here, which is only grounded on a Conjecture, it ſuffices to obſerve, that *Herod the Great*, exceſſively Jealous of his Authority, would not have ſuffer'd a Prince of the Nation to be then Inſtituted, who ſhould preſide over the Synagogues, and divide the Government of them with him: And the Service aſcribed to *Hillel* in deciding a Queſtion about the Paſſover, which had been often determin'd, was not ſo conſiderable as to make a new Prince of the Nation. Notwithſtanding, we are obliged to relate this thought of the *Rabbins*, ſince it is from that Source they derive the Succeſſion of their Patriarchs.

VIII. *Hillel* is commonly made to be Succeeded by *Simeon* his Son in his Patriarchal Dignity and Preſidentſhip of the *Sanhedrim*; and the Chriſtians ſeeing this Man to bear a conſiderable Figure among the *Jews*, have fancied, that he was that Old *Simeon* mention'd in the Goſpel, who waited for the Kingdom of God, and received *Jeſus Chriſt* into his Arms. [a] *Baronius* makes a Prieſt of him, who in the Temple gave a glorious Teſtimony to the Truth. He produces the Images of his Church, in which *Simeon* is painted with his Sacerdotal Habits. He cites *St. Epiphanius*, who ſays, that the other Prieſts, provoked at *Simeon*'s acknowledging *Chriſt* for the Meſſiah, left his Body without *Sepulture*, and refuſed to Bury it. He might add, that the *Jews* ſay ſo little of *Simeon*, that there is reaſon to ſuſpect it proceeded from Jealouſie and Revenge. [b] *Allatius* comes to the Succour of *Baronius* with a ſhoal of Antient Writers, who have all look'd upon *Simeon* as one of the Prieſts of the Law. But notwithſtanding all theſe Authorities, we cannot help rejecting this Notion, as a Conjecture without Foundation. 1. *Simeon* the Son of *Hillel* is a Man ſo little known to the *Jews*, that he ſeems only to be thruſt in to fill up a gap that was found in the Genealogy. *Ganz*, one of their beſt Chronologers, is obliged to own, that he is ignorant of the beginning and continuance of his Patriarchate, neither are his Actions better known. 2. There is only one thing very certain, that *Simeon* could not be Patriarch when *Jeſus Chriſt* was Born; for *Hillel* his Father did not Dye till the Meſſiah was Thirteen Years Old, and had already taught in the Temple. And indeed, ſince *Hillel* came from *Babylon* in the Reign of *Herod the Great*, and held the Patriarchate 40 Years, it was impoſſible for *Simeon* to receive the Infant *Jeſus Chriſt* in his Arms, as Patriarch and Chief of the Nation. 3. It's abſurd alſo to make him a Prieſt: They cite abundance of Authors in vain to prove it. For the names of St. [c] *Athanaſius* and St. [d] *Epiphanius*, aſſum'd by Impoſtors to advance this fact, are not ſufficient to convince us; and the reſt who have lived in later times have not ſufficient Authority to impoſe on us. All they depend on are either Works falſly father'd on the Antients, or modern Writings, or laſtly, Images and Pictures. But can it be concluded from hence, that *Simeon* was Prieſt and Patriarch of the *Jews*, when St. *Luke* is contented to ſay, *he was one that fear'd God and lived at* Jeruſalem? It was St. *Luke*'s great Intereſt to raiſe the Dignity of *Simeon*, and to teach us that he was a Prieſt and Prince of the People, ſince his Office would have given an additional weight to his Teſtimony; and yet he does not do it; would he have ſpoke of his dwelling at *Jeruſalem*, and omitted his illuſtrious Dignity, if it were true that he were poſſeſs'd of it? This would be charging the Sacred Writer with a Criminal Omiſſion, without any proof of it. In fine, *Simeon* is ſo far from being degraded, that the *Jews* affirm he was the firſt that had the Title of *Rabban*: And indeed we find no other than that of *Rabbi* in the Goſpel.

IX. *Jochanan* Succeeded *Simeon*, whoſe Reign was ſhort. He was not of the Family of *Hillel*; but his merit rais'd him to this Dignity, and ſuperceded the Laws of Succeſſion. This Man is one of thoſe whom the modern *Rabbins* immoderately extol. He attain'd the Age of *Moſes:* He ſpent Forty Years in Commerce, and pleading before the *Sanhedrim*, and compoſed ſuch multitudes of Precepts and Leſſons, that if *the Heavens were Paper, and all the Trees of the Forreſts ſo many Pens, and all men ſo many Secretaries, they would not ſuffice to write his Leſſons.* He became Prince of the Nation and reign'd but two Years, tho' ſome allow him five. 'Twas he that ſeeing the Gates of the Temple open of themſelves, cryed out; *O Temple! Temple! why doſt thou trouble thy ſelf? we know that thou muſt be deſtroy'd; for* Zachariah *has propheſied it; ſaying, Mount Libanon open thy Gates, and let the flame conſume thy Cedars.* He left *Jeruſalem* beſieged, and came to *Veſpaſian* in his Camp, whom he call'd *King: Veſpaſian* ſurpris'd with a Title which it was dangerous to receive under the Empire of *Nero*, impoſed him ſilence: But he anſwer'd the General, that though he was not as yet King, he ſhould be ſo, ſince the Temple was to be demo-

[a] Baron. Arc. 1. n. 40. p. 58. [b] Allat. de Simeon. Scriptis. [c] Athanaſ. de communi eſſentia.
[d] Epiphan. de Interpr. prop.

liſh'd by a King, according to *Eſaiah*'s Prediction. The *Jews* ſhould at leaſt know that *Veſpaſian* never beſieged *Jeruſalem*, for he was proclaim'd Emperor the Year before the Siege, and had buſineſs enough to defend himſelf againſt *Vitellius*, who was ſupported with a great many Legions. It was *Titus* that form'd this Siege, and it was then too late to Predict an Empire to *Veſpaſian* which he had already. Some more exact Doctors avoid the fault, by ſaying only, that *Jochanan* waiting on this Prince diſcover'd a profound Knowledge, which render'd him ſo agreeable to the Emperor *Titus*, as to obtain his leave to remove the *Sanhedrim* to *Japhne*. That City, which is alſo called *Jamnia*, was ſituated near the *Mediterranean* Sea in the Tribe of *Dan*. Here 'tis ſaid a famous Academy was erected, which ſubſiſted till *Akiba*'s Death, in which were reckon'd three hundred Claſſes of Scholars: And this Academy was at the ſame time the Manſion of the Patriarch. Thus the *Jews* relate this.

X. But tho' this Hiſtory be built upon the Teſtimony of many *Rabbins*, and ſome Chriſtian Criticks, it's not the certainer for all that: And indeed there is a contradiction between theſe Doctors. Since the Tranſlation of the *Sanhedrim* to *Japhne* is placed forty Years before the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, it could not be *Jochanan* that obtain'd this Liberty of *Titus* during the Siege of the City. *Lightfoot* who [e] has given the Hiſtory of this Academy, has fallen into this palpable Contradiction. *Jochanan* could not be Prince of the Nation in *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, ſince *Hillel* the firſt of the Patriarchs died at the beginning of the Chriſtian *Æra*; if *Jochanan* Succeeded him in this Office, he died in the Year LI. and if *Simeon*, the Son of *Hillel* be plac'd betwixt them, long before the Siege, whoſe Reign was ſo ſhort he could not reach the Year LXIV. of the Chriſtian *Æra:* And therefore, whatever way we reckon the years of the Patriarchs, *Jochanan* muſt be ſhut out, ſince he could not Reign under *Veſpaſian*; which is done by ſome Doctors. Beſides, the Privilege which *Titus* muſt have granted *Jochanan* of Re-eſtabliſhing the *Sanhedrim* at *Japhne*, was contrary to the Rules of Prudence and Politicks; for this would have been reuniting the ſcatter'd parts of a mutinous and rebellious Nation in a maritime Place, where they might eaſily introduce Succours after they were canton'd there. This was reſtoring Authority to the great Counſel, after the making a long War and violent Efforts to aboliſh it. We ſhall be ſo much the leſs inclin'd to conceive that *Titus* was guilty of ſo ſenſible a fault, from the care he took to carry away all the conſiderable Perſons of the Nation, to unpeople the Country, and diſperſe them in foreign Lands.

'Tis ſaid alſo, that in *Jochanan*'s time, another Univerſity was ſet up at *Lydda*, a City known by the Scripture, in which the Chriſtians have buried their St. *George*, which was not very far from *Jamnia*. Here it was the famous *Akiba* Taught, till *Gamaliel* drove him from his School. 'Tis pretended there were at that time other famous Doctors, as *Chanina*, in whoſe favour, the Daughter of Voice cried, *The World is nouriſh'd for the ſake of my Son* Chanina. There was one *Nicodemus*, who ſignaliz'd himſelf by ſtopping the Sun in his c[illegible] as *Joſhua* had done at *Gibeon*: Tis true the [illegible]ſtians lay claim to this miraculous Man; but 'tis eaſy to obſerve, that they do it purely out of Jealouſie, and to prevent the *Jews* liſting among their great Doctors a Man who had heard *Jeſus Chriſt* forty Years before. But to return to the Succeſſion of the Chiefs of the Nation, or the Patriarchs, as we have it from the *Jews*.

XI. *Jochanan* died full of a profound Humility: He is made to weep and lament becauſe his Sins were to follow him before the Throne of God: And whereas the Kings of the Earth inflict only a tranſient Puniſhment which determines with life, God being more ſevere, difficultly pardons, and the Fire into which he plunges the guilty eternally burns.

XII. *Gamaliel* of *Japhne*, or of *Dibanah*, fill'd his place. 'The deſign was to put him to Death with his Father, when *Jeruſalem* was taken; but *Titus* gave him his Life at *Jochanan*'s requeſt. He eſcap'd a ſecond time, when *Turnus Rufus* cauſed the Plough to be drawn over the Temple: He was ſo haughty and ſevere, that they were obliged to ſet bounds to his Authority. Some even maintain, that he was depoſed: But the *Rabbins* affirm at the [g] ſame time, 'That his Authority was ſo great, 'that not only the *Jews* throughout the Univerſe 'obeyed his Laws, but foreign Kings permitted 'the execution of them, and not one of them op-'poſed them. *Samuel the Little*, lived at that time, who was the Compoſer of the Prayer againſt Hereticks, which has ever been ſolemnly repeated; beging of God, *That there may be no hope for Apoſtates: That all Hereticks may periſh by a ſudden death: That the reign of Pride may be broken and annihilated in our days: Bleſſed be thou, O Lord God, who deſtroyeſt the wicked, and humbleſt the proud.*

XIII. In ſpight of theſe two men's hatred againſt the Chriſtians; (for the Apoſtates curſed by *Samuel* are ſuch as paſſed from *Judaiſm* into the Church) the Chriſtians fail not to challenge them for their own. They ſay that *Gamaliel* the Patriarch was St. *Paul*'s Preceptor, and that *Samuel the Little* was *Saul*, who took the name of *Paul* after his Converſion. Both of them Perſecuted the Church; both had a great zeal for the Synagogue; and by retrenching an *m* from the name [h] of *Samuel* it is made *Saul*: Nor does that exploded Letter remain uſeleſs, for it ſerves to notify, that *Saul* became an Heretick when he embraced Chriſtianity. Laſtly, *Paul* may ſignify *Little*: What Pains do ſome Divines take to adorn themſelves with ſome *Jewiſh* names, and what advantage do they find in it?

XIV. *Gamaliel* is known from the Hiſtory of the *Acts*; for we there find him giving a Counſel of Toleration and Moderation towards the Infant Church, which has occaſion'd the Author of the *Recognitions* [i], who goes under St. *Clement*'s Name, to ſay that he was a *Chriſtian*; *he was*, ſays he, *our Brother in the Faith, but ſecret and conceal'd, and it was only by our advice that he remain'd among the* Jews: The impoſture is manifeſt, for the Apoſtles were not ſo ſubtle, and the Politicks St. *Clement* boaſts of, would be Criminal. *Baronius* fails not to follow this Author, and to conclude that *Gamaliel* was a Chriſtian: He adds alſo, that the Saints buried him in St. *Stephen*'s Sepulchre, who was the firſt Martyr. The fondneſs of Relicks had render'd this Cardinal credulous; becauſe a Body was found with that of St. *Stephen*, it was believed to be *Gamaliel*'s; and upon ſo falſe a proof it is maintain'd he was a Chriſtian, tho' a zealous *Phariſee*. *Gamaliel* was not only no Chriſtian, but the Hiſtory of the *Acts* does not prove that he acted as Prince of the Senate; on the contrary, he gave his opinion only as Doctor of the Law. 'Tis worth while to weigh all the Cir-

[e] *Lightfoot* Academ. Japhnenſis Hiſtor. op. poſth. p. 87. & centuria Chrorograph. Math. præmiſ. op. t. 2. p. 181. [f] An. 76.
[g] Ganz. Tſemach. David. [h] שמואל *take away the* מ *and there remains* שואל Saül מ *is the firſt Letter of* Min, *which ſignifies Heretick, and the* קטן Katin *of the* Hebrews *ſignifies* Paulus, Alting. in Scilo. l. 4. 28. [i] Clem. Recog. l. 1. cap. 65.

cumſtances

cumſtances of this buſineſs: If they are inſignificant to convince the *Jews* who believe not the Goſpel, they become neceſſary to confute ſome Learned Chriſtians [k] who have eſpouſed this Opinion of the *Jews*, and fail not in ſpeaking of *Gamaliel* to place him at the Head of the *Sanhedrim*. 1. [1] St. *Luke* diſtinguiſhes the Perſons by the Offices they bore; he notes the *High-Prieſt*: He ſpeaks afterwards of the Captain of the Temple, who had a great Authority under him; but he calls *Gamaliel* a meer *Doctor of the Law*, who had great Reputation with the People. 2. The High-Prieſt was the Head of the Council, and diſcharg'd all the Functions of Preſident: 'Tis he that *Convenes the Council*. St. *Luke* expreſſes even his Motions, and the Diſturbance that appear'd in his Countenance, when the Council heard that the Apoſtles were not to be found in the Priſon where he had confin'd them the Evening before. Laſtly, 'tis he that riſes up and diſſolves the Aſſembly, when he heard the Reſurrection mentioned which he did not believe. But *Gamaliel* has no other Function in the *Acts*, than that of opining in his turn: The Council had been twice Summon'd, and Sat long before we heard him ſpeak; and the ſacred Hiſtorian is obliged to mention him. 3. It was *Gamaliel's* buſineſs to interrogate the Apoſtles when they were found preaching in the Streets, and the Captain of the Temple, who was alſo a Prieſt, (for he muſt not be confounded with the Commander of the *Roman* Band who guarded the outſide of the Temple, and was an Heathen) had brought them. The Interrogatory belong'd to *Gamaliel* on a twofold account, becauſe he is ſuppos'd to be the Prince, and the queſtion being of Perſons impeach'd, and who might have merited Death, that Function was annex'd to his Office, and did not belong to the High-Prieſt. Let it not be ſaid that the matter being a Proceſs of Religion, the High-Prieſt was the prime Judge of it; for *Gamaliel* was alſo *Doctor of the Law:* If he had never been brought in, there had been ſome pretence for ſaying that buſineſs regarded only the High-Prieſt: But all the Council had been call'd; *Gamaliel* was preſent; and yet inſtead of Interrogating the Criminals, and performing the ordinary Functions of the Office aſcribed to him, he lets them all be diſcharged by the High-Prieſt, and the only thing reported of him is, that he gave his Opinion in quality of a Doctor of the Law; an evident Proof that he had no other Rank, and that the Quality of Prince of the Council, or the *Naſi*, which is given him, is imaginary: He is only indebted for it to the *Rabbins*, who have herein impoſed upon the Chriſtians. 4. St. *Luke* ſpeaking of this pretended Prince, calls him a certain * *Doctor of the Law, one named Gamaliel*; which Appellation does not anſwer the Idea we muſt have of a Prince, elevated above the High Prieſt of the *Jews*; nor was ever a Preſident of a Council thus Characteriz'd, and therefore we have reaſon to conclude that he was not one. 5. Laſtly, there is an evident contradiction in it: For if *Gamaliel* Succeeded *Jochanan*, he did not live till after the ruine of the Temple. And yet others ſay, that this Prince died before the ruine of the Temple, in the Year of our Lord 52, and that *with him periſhed the purity of Phariſaiſm, and the glory of the Law*. But the contradiction is manifeſt, ſince he is made to Succeed *Jochanan*, who ſaw the Siege.

XV. *Simeon* II. His Son was Prince and Martyr, for he was kill'd during the Siege of *Jeruſalem*: 'Tis affirm'd that he was ſo far from Extortion, and enriching himſelf in the Temple, that he conſiderably abated the Price of the Birds which the Women were obliged to buy for their Purification; and his Death was ſo regretted, that the *Jews* added three Cups of Wine to thoſe they uſed to drink at the Funerals of their Saints and great Men: They were obliged to drink Ten, and they reſolved to drink Thirteen in Memory of the *firſt Martyr that was made by the Roman Emperors*. They grew drunk ſo often, by this addition of Cups, that the *Sanhedrim* was obliged to retrench them. Judicious People will wonder to find ſuch things produced as glorious to thoſe they were inſtituted for; but the *Rabbins* have no delicacy or good Taſte in their Elogies: They have preſerved *Jochanan's* anſwer to the Queſtion, What he did to live ſo long? I never made Water within four Cubits of an Houſe of Prayer; I have never diſguiſed my Name; I have celebrated the Feaſt Days, for which purpoſe my Mother ſold even the Ornaments of my Head to purchaſe Wine, of which ſhe left me three hundred Caſks when ſhe died. That of *Baba* the Son of *Baba* is more ridiculous: He was accuſed of being one of the moſt famous Cuckolds of his Nation, Piſh, ſays he, what ſignifies it, *Semen non uritur igne, ut albumen ovi coagulatur colore.*

XVI. Theſe are the Patriarchs that muſt have preceded the ruine of *Jeruſalem*, or according to others, immediately follow'd it; but to me they ſeem all imaginary: And indeed the Scripture never mentions theſe Princes of the Nation. The *Aſmoneans* who at once made themſelves Kings and High-Prieſts, would have been far from Suffering an Head of a People of the Race of *David*, whoſe bare Preſence would have reproach'd their Uſurpation: They were themſelves Supream in Church and State; how then would they have ſuffer'd the Patriarchs? and would theſe Princes that are made to Succeed one another from *Eſdras*, have Tolerated Uſurpers that Dethron'd them? On the other Hand, *Herod* would never have placed a Prince of the People near him, who might ſo cloſely ſtraighten his Authority, We ſtill find in the Goſpels the High-Prieſt at the Head of the Council: *Caiphas* preſides when 'tis deliberated about the Death of *Chriſt*, and pronounces, that 'tis expedient that *one Man ſhould die for the People*: *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhould have been carried before the Prince of the Nation rather than before the High-Prieſt; for *Eccleſia neſcit Sanguinem:* And yet he was led ſtill before *Caiphas* and *Annas*. 'Tis the High-Prieſt that impoſes ſilence on the Apoſtles, who had been haled and accuſed before the *Sanhedrim*: From him it was that *Saul*, going to *Damaſcus* to perſecute the *Saints*, received credential Letters to the Heads of the Synagogues. St. *Paul*, when Converted, appear'd before *Ananias*, another High-Prieſt, who as Judge and Head of the *Sanhedrim*, Commanded to give him a blow on the Face. Is it poſſible the Goſpel ſhould ſpeak ſo often of the High-Prieſt in all Proceſſes, and never mention the Prince of the Nation, who was the ordinary Judge.

XVII. Beſides, theſe Princes or Patriarchs are as unknown to *Joſephus*, as to the ſacred Writers. He could not be ignorant of their Names, Succeſſion and Privileges, if they had been Eſtabliſh'd before *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed; and yet he has not ſaid a word of theſe Patriarchs. On the contrary, he places the High-Prieſt at the Head of the Council, and gives *Ananias* the direction of the War, which muſt of right have belong'd to the Prince of the Nation, preferably to a Prieſt; an evident proof that there were then none of theſe Princes.

XVIII. Theſe Princes muſt often have ſuffer'd from the Perſecution of the *Herods*, and the Inconſtancy of the People: How is it poſſible that they

[k] *Lightfoot.* [1] Act. 5. 17. 21. 24. 34. * Act. 5. 34. Ἀναστὰς δέ τις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Γαμαλιὴλ,

alone ſhould be the only undiſturb'd Poſſeſſors of ſo important a Poſt at *Jeruſalem*, whilſt the High-Prieſt was ſo often Depoſed? and yet we ſee no Revolution in the Family of theſe Patriarchs, where the Son conſtantly Succeeded the Father; we find them neither at the head of the People, nor at the head of the Church; neither in the Temple, nor the City; neither among the Rebels, nor thoſe that preferr'd Peace to the troubles of War: Where could they hide themſelves, and of what Uſe were theſe clandeſtine Men, on whom at preſent ſuch mighty Elogies are beſtowed?

XIX. Laſtly the *Rabbins*, whom the Chriſtians take a pride to copy, or follow implicitly, ſhould at leaſt have given us a continued Hiſtory of thoſe Patriarchs that preceded the ruin of *Jeruſalem*.

The Tradition to which they give ſo great Authority, ought to have brought down the Succeſſion of theſe Patriarchs to the *Talmudiſts*. The *Talmudiſts* ſhould have tranſmitted it to the remoteſt Poſterity, without any contradiction or difficulty to be found in it: And yet I obſerve here three Things. 1. That neither the *Talmudiſts*, nor the antient Authors of the Jewiſh Church ſpeak of theſe Patriarchs; but only ſome Doctors who lived a long time after them. 2. They fall into palpable Contradictions. *Maimonides*, *Abravanel*, *Abraham* the Son of *Dior*, *Abraham* the Author of the *Juchaſin*, *Ghedalia* the Son of *David*, and *David Ganz*: Theſe Men ſo Celebrated for their Hiſtories, their Chronology, their Chains of the Cabbala or Tradition; can't agree upon the Liſt and Succeſſion of theſe Patriarchs: They change the Order, Names, and Story of them. In fine, tho' the utmoſt Efforts are us'd to reconcile theſe Writers with themſelves, or other *Rabbins*, it cannot be done, becauſe the diſagreement is too great and viſible.

I am perſuaded therefore, 1. That we muſt leave to the High-Prieſts the Authority of Governing the Church, whilſt the Temple ſtood, and that there was then neither Prince nor head of the Nation, nor Patriarch that preſided over the *Sanhedrim*, in a middle order betwixt the High-Prieſt and the King. 2. After the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, the *Levites* and the Prieſts that remain'd in *Judea*, took on them the Government of the People; but their Authority was proportion'd to the miſery of the Nation, that is very weak and obſcure. 3. But when they began to reaſſume vigour, the Heads of the People appear'd under the title of Patriarch, and their true Origine was under *Adrian*'s Empire, as we ſhall ſee in the following Chapter.

A Liſt of the *Patriarchs* from *Hillel the Old* or his Family.

1 *Hillel* the *Babylonian*.
2 *Simeon* his Son.
3 *Gamaliel* Son of *Simeon*.
4 *Simeon* II. Son of *Gamaliel*.
5 *Gamaliel* II. Son of *Simeon*.
6 *Simeon* III. Son of *Simeon* II.
7 *Juda*, Son of *Simeon* III.
8 *Gamaliel* III. Son of *Juda*.
9 *Juda* II. Son of *Gamaliel* III.
10 *Hillel* II. Son of *Juda*.
11 *Juda* III. Son of *Hillel* II.
12 *Hillel* III. Son of *Juda*.
13 *Gamaliel* IV. Son of *Hillel*.

David Ganz reduces this Genealogy to ten Generations, and reckons them thus, *p.* 118.

1 *Hillel* the *Babylonian*.
2 *Rabban Simeon* his Son.
3 *R. Gamaliel Ribona*.
4 *R. Simeon* Son of *Gamaliel*.
5 *Rabban Gamaliel* his Son.
6 *R. Jehuda* the Prince.
7 *Hillel* the Prince his Son.
8 *Rabban Gamaliel the Old*.
9 *R. Simeon* III.
10 *R. Juda Naſi* the Prince.

CHAP. II.

A Diſcuſſion of the Dignity of the Patriarchs *of* Judea, *or the Princes of the* Weſt: *Their Rights, Privileges, and Office, after the Ruine of* Jeruſalem.

I. *The firſt* Patriarch *under* Adrian. II. *The Reaſons for this Conjecture.* III. *Proofs taken from the Hiſtory of the* Jews: *Their Inſtitution under* Nerva. IV. Simeon III. *was* Patriarch *under* Adrian. V. Tiberias *was the Seat of the* Patriarchs: *Its Deſcription, and Hiſtory.* VI. *The Authority of the* Patriarchs: *Whether it proves* Jacob's *Oracle not to be accompliſh'd.* VII. *Their Officers: The Office of the* Patriarchs *ſubordinate to the firſt.* VIII. Jewiſh *Apoſtles: Their Miſſion and Employ.* IX. *The Original of the Tribute that was paid every Year, taken from the Didrachms of the Temple.* X. *This Tribute payed to the Emperors, was never to the Prince of the Captivity of* Babylon: *A fault of* Bartolocci. XI. *The Exaction of this Tribute in all the Provinces.* XII. *The Abuſe of this Exaction repreſs'd by* Julian *the Apoſtate: His true Letter.* XIII. *The Name of the* Patriarch *that Govern'd under* Julian. XIV. *The nomination of the Heads of the Synagogue: The Right of Life and Death examin'd.* XV. *The Law of* Theodoſius *concerning the Erecting new Synagogues.* XVI. *Concerning the Judgment of Proceſſes.* XVII. *Of the Prohibition to receive Proſelytes.* XVIII. *The Patent of an honorary Prefecture, or Letters of* Command *taken from* Gamaliel *by* Theodoſius. XIX. *Whether the* Patriarchs *were Depoſed: That Office Hereditary.* XX. *Its Abolition: A fault of* Theodoret.

I. THE Emperor *Adrian* being in *Ægypt* was inform'd, *That a* Patriarch *ſometimes came there, and that then ſome importuned him to worſhip* Serapis, *and others would have him worſhip* Jeſus Chriſt. In vain ſhould we ſeek for this *Patriarch* in *Ægypt* among the Heathens, where there never was any; and as vainly ſhould we ſearch for him among the Chriſtians, as if St. *Mark* and St. *Peter* had Eſtabliſh'd them at *Alexandria* in the infancy of the Church; for that Dignity was not founded among the Chriſtians till long after the Empire of *Adrian*, and the ſecond Age of the Church. He that the Emperor ſpeaks of did not Reſide at *Alexandria*; but came there from time to time to viſit

viſit the Synagogues, and his Nation. He was not an *Heathen*, ſince they would have forced him to worſhip *Serapis*; nor was he a *Chriſtian*, ſince he refuſed to adore *Jeſus Chriſt*: And of what Religion could he be, ſince he equally rejected *Heatheniſm* and *Chriſtianity*? He was a *Jew*, and the *Patriarch* of that Nation which we are in ſearch of: And here we diſcover the Origine of that Office, which is abſurdly made more ancient.

II. If we are ask'd the Proofs of a Conjecture that ſeems new, injurious to the Glory of that Nation, and contrary to the Teſtimony of the *Rabbins*, it is eaſie to anſwer, 1. That we admit of no *Patriarch* till we can find one noted by a Contemporary Author, that can't be ſuſpected. If they could produce Teſtimonies more antient than that of *Adrian*, they would have reaſon to inſult us; but whilſt they can only oppoſe that Ancient with Citations of ſome modern Doctors, we ſhall ſtill have a right to prefer an *Heathen Prince* before a *Jewiſh Doctor*. And indeed the latter have no other Means than we to come at the Knowledge of their own Hiſtory; and *David Ganz*, one of their moſt famous Chronologers was ſo ignorant of that of the *Herods*, and of the Time when their *Patriarchs* muſt have commenc'd their Reign, that he makes *Herod Antipas* the *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, ſucceed his Brother *Archelaus*, and as if it had been permitted Subjects, baniſh'd by the Emperor's Order, to conquer the Lands of the Empire, he aſcribes to this *Herod Antipas* ſome prodigious Conqueſts in *Spain*, in the Time of his Exile. *Laſtly*, He makes *Agrippa* ſucceed this *Antipas*, that he might find a King ſtill reigning in *Jeruſalem*, which is evidently falſe.

III. Beſides, it muſt be owned that we follow probability. *Titus* who diſperſed the Nation, and ſold the Inhabitants in the Market, like Horſes, was far from granting them a Council with a Supreme Head. *Domitian*, his Brother, who ſucceeded him, treated the *Jews* with great Cruelty. It was only then under the Empire of *Nerva*, which was much more gentle, that they began to take breath again; and the Prieſts who remain'd in *Judea* took advantage of ſo favourable a Circumſtance to reſtore ſome Form of Government. The Firſt of theſe Prieſts, who was the *Roſch Abbot*, the *Patriarch* began to diſtinguiſh himſelf from the reſt. There was ſcarce any mention of him under the Reign of *Trajan*, becauſe this Prince puniſh'd them ſeverely; but he made himſelf known under *Adrian*, by the Viſits he made from time to time into *Ægypt*, to take Cognizance of the State of the Synagogues of that Country, and to collect ſome Money for the relief of his own and the People's Neceſſities.

IV. Conſequent to this Origine, it muſt be owned that *Simeon* III. Son of *Gamaliel* is the Firſt *Patriarch* that is known to us, for he lived under the Empire of *Adrian*. He deſcended in a right Line from *Hillel the Old*, and this Dignity remain'd in his Family till the Year 429 of the *Chriſtian Æra*, when it was aboliſh'd.

V. This *Patriarch*'s Reſidence was neither at *Lydda* nor *Jamnia*, as is commonly ſuppos'd, but at *Tiberias*, a City ſituate upon the Banks of the Lake that bears its Name, and is frequently mention'd in the Goſpels. *Herod* the *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, who built it, named it *Tiberias*, and its advantageous Situation quickly rendred it a conſiderable City, and it became the Metropolis of *Galilee*. *Agrippa* being obliged to leave *Rome*, retired thither with his Uncle. *Claudius* gave it him afterwards, which is the reaſon of its bearing the Name of *Claudia Tiberias* in Medals. *Joſephus* ſeiſed on it during the War, and ſuſtained a Siege; but *Veſpatian* at laſt made himſelf Maſter of it. It abounded with Fiſhermen; and that multitude of Seamen which batter'd down *Herod*'s Temple, becauſe the figures of ſome Birds and Beaſts were painted in it came from *Tiberias*. For the ſame reaſon we ſee a Bark in many Medals ſtruck by this City. In another that was ſtruck under *Trajan*, we find *Health* ſurrounded with a Serpent, and ſeated upon a Mountain, from whence iſſued a great deal of Waters, becauſe *Tiberias* was famous for its Waters and hot Baths, which were very ſalutary to the Sick. In a Town ſo convenient as this, and leſs ſuſpected than *Jeruſalem* to the *Romans*, ſome *Jews* gather'd together, and ſome of their Prieſts. Here they laid the Foundations of an Academy, which became famous by the compoſition of the *Miſnah*, and the Reputation of the Doctors that taught in it: And here alſo was the Reſidence of the *Patriarch* of the whole Nation.

VI. The Authority this Dignity conferr'd on the Poſſeſſor, occaſion'd a Controverſie. The *Chriſtians* were at this Time accuſtom'd to preſs the Oracle of *Jacob* againſt the *Jews*, and to prove to them, that having no longer any ſhadow of Civil Authority, they ought to own the *Meſſiah* was come. *Origen* who enforc'd this Argument againſt them, obſerves that they oppos'd the Authority of their *Patriarch*, and maintain'd that there had ever been among them, in the *Holy Land*, a Prince deſcended of the Tribe of *Juda*, and the Houſe of *David*, who ſhould hold the Empire of the Nation, till the Manifeſtation of the *Meſſiah*. But not to obſerve that this Authority was taken from them at the beginning of the Fifth Century of the *Chriſtian* Church, which they could not foreſee when they diſputed with *Origen*; they built upon an uncertain and falſe Principle; for *Hillel*'s Genealogy was not known, from whoſe Family they produce their *Patriarch*; and if it be true that this Man came from *Babylon*, as is affirmed, to *Jeruſalem*, how could he be of the Tribe of *Juda*, and the Houſe of *David*. The *Rabbins* maintain that he came from it only by the Womens ſide. Beſides, was the Authority of the *Patriarchs* a Sovereign and Royal Authority, when they were ſubject to the *Romans*, and abſolutely depending on the Empire? He muſt be perfectly ignorant of the Government of the *Romans*, and their Conduct towards the *Jews*, who would venture to aſſert it. The *Jews* did not believe that their *Patriarch* was a Sovereign; but they made uſe of this Shadow and Phantome of Authority, to confront a very forcible Objection, becauſe they had nothing better to ſay. However, that there may remain no difficulty upon this matter, let us repreſent, in a few Words, the extent of this Juriſdiction, and the different Changes that happen'd in it, before we give the Hiſtory of thoſe that poſſeſs'd it.

VII. *Firſt*, The *Patriarch* had under him conſiderable Officers, ſome of which had the common Title, with others, of *Roſch Abbot*, *Patriarchs*, or Heads of the Fathers, and the others were *Apoſtles*.

The *Patriarchs* often mention'd in the Imperial Laws, were ſubaltern Officers to the *Grand Patriarch*. Their Juriſdiction was confin'd to certain Places. They depended on his Orders, and were obliged to ſee them executed: They were even inferior to the Heads of the Synagogues; for they are conſtantly placed after them in the Emperor's Edicts: There the *Grand Patriarch* is ſtiled *Illuſtrious*, *Illuſtris & Clariſſimus*, and the Chriſtians who were often tranſported with a fierce Zeal, were forbidden to affront them; whereas much leſs regard was had to the *Patriarchs* of the Second Order, to whom the Emperors never granted ſo honourable Titles.

VIII. There were alſo ſome Apoſtles. We muſt not look for any great Myſteries in this Title, as if he that applied it to the Miniſters of the *Jewiſh Patriarch*,

Patriarch, had a deſign to imitate or inſult the Chriſtians, to whom that Office was venerable; or as if *Jeſus Chriſt*, the true Head of all the Church, and of the Fathers, had borrowed this Expreſſion from the *Jews*, as being in uſe among them; for the *Jews* firſt acquaintance with theſe Officers, and uſing this Term, was not till after the ruin of *Jeruſalem*; when being totally ſubject to the *Romans*, they borrowed ſeveral Expreſſions from the *Greeks*; beſides, the obſerving its Signification is ſufficient to inform us, that there is nothing myſterious in it. For the Apoſtles of the *Jewiſh Patriarch* were *Envoys*, or *Legats*, who circuited the Provinces by their Maſters Order, to regulate, in his Name the Differences that aroſe betwixt private Perſons, or in the Synagogues. They had alſo a Commiſſion to levy the Impoſt that was paid annually to the *Patriarch*, and at their return they inform'd him in what Condition they found the Churches. They ſerved him as Councellors, and bore a diſtinguiſhing Character in the Nation.

IX. The *Patriarch*'s greateſt Revenue was the Tribute, or Impoſt which he levied upon all the Synagogues under his Juriſdiction. It was an ancient Cuſtom in the Nation, to bring or ſend every Year a *Didrachm* to the Treaſure of the Temple. *Moſes* commanded it, and they that limit this Tribute to the Time of the Legiſlature, have not read *Joſephus*, who aſſerts that it was paid ſtill in his Time. Moſt Interpreters alſo believe that it was this Tribute which was demanded of our Lord in *Galilee*, * becauſe the Capitation impoſed by the *Romans*, was much greater, and proportion'd to the Subſtance of the Perſons that paid it. Beſides, the Collectors of the Empire would not have been ſo civil to *Jeſus Chriſt*, as to ask his Diſciple whether he would pay it, but would have exacted it with more rigour. The *Didrachm* was the half of a *Sicle*, which was worth about our Fifteen-pence. 'Tis ſaid there was upon this Coin, an Harp on one ſide, and a Vine on the other. But ſince, it is certain, that the Rod of *Aaron*, and the Urn of Manna were engraven upon the *Sicles:* I ſee no reaſon why they ſhould change this Signature, to put another upon the *Semi-Sicles*. 'Tis true, the remote Synagogues changed their Silver into Gold, for the convenience of carriage, but thoſe of *Judea* made uſe of the common Money.

The *Talmudiſts* affirm, that Proclamation was made every Year in the Synagogues, with the ſound of Trumpets, to mind them of the payment of their Tax, and that the laſt Day of *May* was the utmoſt Term for the payment: 'Tis much more certain, that the Synagogues had need of the Emperor's Warrant, and a particular Order to levy this Money, after *Judea*, and a part of *Syria* were conquer'd. At leaſt *Joſephus* † has related *Agrippa*'s Letters, and *Auguſtus*'s Order, permitting the Synagogues of *Aſia* and *Ægypt* to ſend their Money to *Jeruſalem*; and if it be true, that it was the Eccleſiaſtical Tribute which our Lord payed at *Capernaum*, we muſt not ſeek for the Civility of the Exactors in the Corruptions of thoſe Times, as the learned *Grotius* ‡ does. It proceeded rather from this, that the Farmers who had not perhaps as yet received the Emperor's permiſſion, or who durſt not ask it of *Tiberius*, for fear of being refuſed, could not conſtrain any body, and obliged none to pay but who did it voluntarily, and out of Devotion. For this Reaſon the Receiver at *Capernaum* asked St. *Peter* whether his Maſter would pay the *Didrachm?*

X. The Emperors ſeiſed this Tribute, after the ruin of *Jeruſalem*. *Domitian* exacted it with a Severity anſwerable to his inſatiable Avarice, *Nerva* relax'd a part of it, which the *Patriarch* of the *Jews*, who then began firſt to appear, appropriated to himſelf.

I know not how *Bartolocci*, who had rummaged ſo long the Works of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, could be able to ſay, it was not the *Patriarch* of *Judea*, but the *Prince of the Captivity* at *Babylon*, who appropriated this Tribute to himſelf, and cauſed it to be raiſed by his Apoſtles. For it is indiſputable from the Origine of this Tribute, the Writings of the *Rabbins*, and the Imperial Laws, that this Impoſt was brought into the *Holy Land* to *Tiberias*, where the *Weſtern Patriarch* reſided. Nay they have retain'd this ancient Cuſtom; for the Tribute this Nation raiſes in *Holland*, and in other Places, where it enjoys any Proſperity, is ſent to *Venice*, and from thence to *Theſſalonica*; they buy with it Things neceſſary to cloath the Doctors of the *Holy Land*, and afterwards remit them to the Hands of the Maſters of the Academy of *Tiberias*, who diſtribute them according to their Diſcretion, at the beginning of the Year. But the Veſſel does not always eſcape the Vigilance of the Pirates.

XI. The *Patriarch* exacted this Tribute of all the Synagogues of the *Weſt*. He eſpecially drew great Sums out of *Ægypt*, where the *Jews* had been long eſtabliſh'd, and were rich; and to do it the eaſier, he went thither in Perſon. There it was that the Emperor *Adrian* heard of this Head of the Nation. There *Origen* knew another of theſe *Patriarchs*, unleſs we had rather ſay he had ſeen him in *Judea*, when he retired there to avoid the Inſults and Perſecutions of the Biſhop of *Alexandria*. St. *Epiphanius* ſays, that the *Apoſtles* went to make their Levies as far as the Provinces of *Cilicia*; and we ſee by the Imperial Laws, that they came into all the Provinces of the Empire, where there were any *Jews*.

XII. This Power was often abuſed; for covetous or neceſſitous *Patriarchs* rendred themſelves odious to the Nation by their vexatious Ways of gathering of Money. They exacted the Tribute with ſuch Severity, that the People complained of it, and publiſh'd their Complaints, preſenting a Petition to *Julian* the Apoſtate, to be freed from it. The Emperor not only received them favourably, but aboliſh'd the †‖ Impoſt, and forbad the payment, *that the People*, ſaid he |||| *being diſcharged from all Taxes, and enjoying an happy liberty, may pray more ardently for the proſperity of the Empire.* This artful Prince was in the right, for the People never pray ſo earneſtly to God for the Sovereign, as when he leſſens the Taxes, though they appear neceſſary for the preſervation of the Church, and the ſubſiſtence of its prime Miniſters.

'Tis true, this Letter of the Emperor *Julian* is conteſted, as if it was falſe and ſuppoſititious; but I ſee no reaſon for it, unleſs it be out of Zeal for the Emperor *Conſtantius*, whom this Prince reproaches with the exceſſive Impoſts the *Jews* were oppreſſed with under his Reign. But this reproach, on the contrary, makes one of the Characters of *Julian*'s Style, who loved to cenſure his Predeceſſors, and leſſen their Reputation, in order to raiſe his own. We ſee alſo that he endeavours to ſoften what he ſays of *Conſtantius*, by caſting the blame upon his Miniſters, who ſigned Edicts for the raiſing of Money without his Order, and had prepared new Ones when this Prince died. *Laſtly*, Ought we to be jealous of the Memory of an *Arrian* Prince, upon the point of Impoſts? 'Tis but too true, that *Julian*'s Cenſure was well grounded.

* Mat. 17. 24. Grot. Not. † Joſ. Antiq. *l.* 16. *c.* 10. ‡ Grot. in Mat. 17. 24. †‖ Ann. 363. |||| Juliani Epiſt. Κοινῶ Ἰουδαίων. *p.* 223.

XIII. The

XIII. The *Patriarch* that *Julian* deprived of his Right, is called *Julius* by ſome, and *Hillel* by others. But the difference proceeds from this, that the *Greeks* have accommodated the *Hebrew* Name to their Language, and have changed *Hillel* into *Hiulus*; for *Hillel* then govern'd his Nation, and 'tis no wonder to ſee his Name a little metamorphoſed. The difference of Languages commonly produces more conſiderable changes.

XIV. Beſides the Tribute which the Synagogues paid the *Patriarch*, he had alſo a great Authority over them: Firſt, He nominated their Heads, who often bought this Dignity of him. *Palladius*, * a zealous Defender of St. *Chryſoſtom*, actually charged the *Patriarch* of his Time with his ſelling Eccleſiaſtical Dignities; and that the eaſier to inrich himſelf, he depoſed thoſe he had ſet over the Synagogues, that he might draw a new Sum of Money from other Candidates. Thus the *Greek Patriarchs* at *Conſtantinople* often depoſe the Metropolitans and Biſhops of their own creation, that they may more frequently ſell the Prieſthood, and the *Grand Viſier* in imitation of them, makes the *Patriarch* experience the ſame Fate. 2. He had moreover the power of erecting new Synagogues, but this privilege was often limited, and cancell'd by the Imperial Laws, which prohibited the *Jews* from making any new Structures, and commanded them to be content with thoſe they were in poſſeſſion of. 3. They judged the Differences that aroſe betwixt the Synagogues; they decided the Controverſies and Difficulties relating to the Law. *Laſtly*, *Origen* ſays, that the *Patriarch ſentenc'd the guilty to death*. And yet he wrote to one of his Friends, that this Nation had loſt the Right of condemning Adulterers and Murderers, and puniſhing them as the Law commanded. If he ſpoke only of Adulterers, we might eaſily reconcile the Contradiction, becauſe he might have been able to ſhow the ceſſation of the Miracle, which the *Waters of jealouſie* wrought upon the Women that violated their conjugal Faith. But ſince he adds *Murderers*, how can it be ſaid that the *Patriarch* ſentenced them to death, and that he had loſt the Right of puniſhing 'em; whoever reads the Imperial Laws, will eaſily diſcover that the *Patriarchs* were far from having a power of Life and Death over the *Jews*, nor can we find in all their Hiſtory one Example of ſuch an Execution, made publickly in due Form. *Origen* therefore is miſtaken in giving the *Patriarch* this Authority; or rather he meant to ſay, that they had the Privilege of puniſhing Criminals with great Severity in the Synagogues, where they whipt them till Blood was drawn, and even to Death, particularly when they were Perſons that deſign'd to embrace Chriſtianity, or had already done it. The Chriſtian Emperors permitted the *Jews* the exerciſe of their Diſcipline and Cenſures. Sometimes this permiſſion was abuſed by the Extravagance of the Puniſhment; and the Judges either tolerated, or being corrupted by the Head of the Synagogue, connived at this Encroachment upon the Sovereign Authority. But this was not a Privilege annexed to the *Patriarchal Dignity*, and it is ſtill true that the *Jews* had loſt the power of inflicting capital Puniſhments.

XV. The Emperor *Theodoſius*, under whom the *Jewiſh Patriarchs* flouriſhed, was † obliged to ſet Bounds to their Power. This Prince's Edict is obſcure in ſeveral places; but by unravelling its true meaning, we may come to a perfect knowledge of the extent of the *Patriarchal* Juriſdiction.

Firſt, He forbids *Gamaliel*, who was then *Patriarch*, to build *new Synagogues, and commands* Aurelian *to demoliſh thoſe that were little frequented, if it could be done without occaſioning Commotions in the Cities*. *Gamaliel* had abuſed his Power at Court; and fancying himſelf at liberty to build new Temples, becauſe he was protected, he built ſome. In the mean time there was a general Law in the Empire, *That no body could erect new Churches, without the Emperor's Conceſſion:* And St. *Epiphanius* |||| obſerves, that *Joſeph*, who had been one of the *Patriarch Hillel*'s Apoſtles, and became a Chriſtian, ask'd the Emperor's leave to build new Chriſtian Churches at *Capernaum*, and other Places, where the *Jews* were potent. The Emperor *Juſtinian* ‡ commanded the Biſhops to take heed that no body took or gave any publick Place without Letters from his Majeſty: And when in *Leo*'s Reign, ſome Monks, under pretence of Religion, ſeized on publick Places, appointed for Shows and Recreations, and conſecrated them to the Martyrs, whoſe Relicks they carried into them. The Emperor condemn'd this Uſurpation, and forbad the Monks attempting the like for the future. If the *Chriſtians* were ſubject to theſe Laws, the *Jews* who were tolerated in the Empire, had ſtill leſs liberty to erect new Synagogues. But whether *Gamaliel* had obtain'd the Prince's Letters to build any; or whether he uſurp'd a power he had not, he did it with exceſs, and *Theodoſius* deprived him of that Privilege.

XVI. *Theodoſius* alſo forbad *Gamaliel* to judge of Differences that aroſe betwixt *Chriſtians* and *Jews*; and when the Parties were of two Religions, he referr'd the Cauſe to the ordinary Magiſtrate. This ſhews that the *Patriarch* had right only to determine the differences of his Nation, which were commonly concerning the Obſervation of the Law. *Gamaliel* imagin'd it was ſufficient for one of the Parties to be of his Religion, to bring the other to his Tribunal, and give him power to judge of the Caſe; but *Theodoſius* put a ſtop to that ſecond Uſurpation, with which he only charges *Gamaliel*, who then govern'd.

XVII. The ſame Law forbids the *Patriarch* to diſhonour *any Man*, Slave or Free, *with the Mark of Judaiſm*. This Mark was Circumciſion, which the *Patriarch* thought he had right of conferring on all thoſe that quitted *Heatheniſm*, or the *Chriſtian* Religion, to become *Jews*. This happen'd particularly to the Slaves, which the *Jews* bought, and more eaſily inſtructed in the Principles of their Religion; but this part of liberty of Conſcience was taken from them. *Antoninus* had given a like Law before, which made it capital for a *Jew* to circumciſe a Man who was not of his Nation; but in order to cure this Miſchief ſtill more effectually, *Theodoſius* forbad the *Jews* to keep *Chriſtian* Slaves; becauſe, as we have obſerved, they were the Slaves that were kept in *Jewiſh* Houſes that moſt commonly embraced their Maſters Religion. This Nation therefore had liberty of Conſcience left to themſelves, but they were not allowed to make Conqueſts and Proſelytes.

XVIII. Here follows what is moſt obſcure, and moſt important in the Law of *Theodoſius*. This Prince orders *Aurelian* to withdraw out of the Hands of the *Patriarch Gamaliel*; *the Letters of command he had received, and to leave him only the honour he had before, ſince he thought he might tranſgreſs with impunity, whilſt he ſaw himſelf raiſed to a greater Dignity*. 'Tis a Puniſhment the Emperor impoſes

* Pallad. Vita Chryſoſt. † Ann. 415. Cod. Theod. Lex 22. de Judæis *pag.* 232. |||| Epiph. Hær. 30. *p.* 128. ‡ L. xxvi. *c.* de Epiſcopis & Clericis & L. xxvi. *c.* de Epiſcopali authoritate.

on this *Patriarch*, becauſe puff'd up with his new Exaltation he had ſinn'd againſt the Laws. But what was that Dignity that had render'd *Gamaliel* ſo haughty; and what muſt we underſtand by *the Letters of command*, which the Emperor order'd to be taken from him? 'Tis certain *Gamaliel* had great credit at Court, ſince *Theodoſius* caus'd *Dudus* * *Heſychius* to be condemn'd to Death, at his Prayer and Entreaty, becauſe he had carried away his Papers. And the Decree was executed, tho' *Heſychius* was of conſular Dignity, and a conſiderable Perſon in the Empire. And yet it can't be imagin'd that this *Jewiſh Patriarch* had any *Command*. Interpreters think hereby is meant Patents of Doctor of Phyſick, becauſe *Gamaliel*, tho' a *Patriarch*, was notwithſtanding a *Phyſitian*, and exercis'd his Profeſſion, and gave Medicines, which have been commended by *Sextus Empiricus:* But the quality of *Phyſician* neither diſtinguiſh'd *Gamaliel* in the Empire, nor among the *Jews*, who have always exerciſed that Profeſſion to get a Livelihood. Nor can it be ſaid that theſe Letters of Command were thoſe he obtain'd of the Emperor to become *Patriarch:* For beſides that this Office was Hereditary, *Theodoſius* inſinuates, that it was ſome particular Favour he had granted *Gamaliel*, which he deprived him of, becauſe he had abuſed it. Theſe Letters of Command were rather the Patent of an Honorary Prefecture, which was ſometimes granted to Perſons in the Empire, diſtinguiſh'd by their Birth, Merit, or Services; or whom the Emperor pleas'd to honour. Theſe Patents gave no real Juriſdiction, but a Man bore in publick the Enſigns of his Prefectorial Dignity. He might even aſcend the Tribunal, and take his Seat among the Judges, tho' he had no deciſive Voice, nor ſat there otherwiſe than as a Poſt of Honour. The Emperor alone had the power of granting theſe Patents. *Gamaliel* had procured of him this Mark of Diſtinction, but loſt it by his Pride, and *Aurelian* was charg'd to take out of his Hands that Patent of Command, or honorary Prefecture.

This is the Senſe of the Law of *Theodoſius* the Younger, by which we ſee before the *Patriarchs* could have power to erect new Synagogues, they were firſt to obtain the Prince's Permiſſion: That the Authority of judging reſpected only the Differences that aroſe betwixt the *Jews*, and that if a *Chriſtian* was one of the contending Parties, he brought the Cauſe before the ordinary Tribunal. If they had liberty of Conſcience, it did not extend to the making Proſelytes. However, that was the happieſt Time for that Nation, ſince *Gamaliel* was, perhaps, the only Perſon of it that ever enjoy'd an honourary Patent.

XIX. There remains but one Thing to be examin'd concerning the Authority of the *Patriarchs*, which reſpects their Depoſition. As they were the Heads of the Religion and Church, it ſeems that no Tribunal in the Nation could pretend to judge, try and depoſe them when they had violated the Law. Theſe judicial Aſſemblies had been form'd with great difficulty in the Empire, where the Nation was moſt commonly oppreſs'd: And yet the *Rabbins* maintain that a Society can't be depriv'd of a Right of depoſing an Head, that is not vigilant to preſerve the Body, or that endeavours its Deſtruction. They alledge the Example of *Meir*, who had a deſign to expel *Simeon* III. and form'd a Conſpiracy to deprive him of his Office. *Meir* was Vice-Preſident of the Council. *Simeon* perceiving the ſame Honours paid to him, as to himſelf, when they entred into the Aſſembly, reſolved to make ſome diſtinction in them. *Meir* provokd, reſolv'd to lay a Snare for the *Patriarch*; to interrogate him upon an important Queſtion, 'twas that of Lice; and as they thought, he could not be ready upon the Subject, they were reſolved to depoſe him. But having notice of their deſign, he prepared himſelf, and anſwer'd their Difficulties. However *Meir*'s Deſign proves a right of depoſing the *Patriarch* when he was found ignorant. 'Tis ſaid that *Gamaliel* was actually depoſed for ſome time. *Laſtly*, They maintain that this Dignity was ſo little hereditary, that *Juda the Saint*, preferr'd *Chanina* before one of his Children, becauſe he thought him abler and fitter to fill the Patriarchal-Chair. The laſt of theſe Facts is evidently falſe: For *Juda the Saint* conferr'd the Office of *Prince*, or *Patriarch*, on his Son *Gamaliel*, and *Chanina* was only made Head of the Academy. Saint *Epiphanius* likewiſe informs us, that the Patriarchat was ſo much Hereditary, that tho' *Hillel* left but one Son who was a Minor, yet he was created *Patriarch*, and he had learnt this from *Joſeph* a *Jew*, and Tutor to this Child, who ought to have underſtood the Laws of his Nation.

XX. The Fathers of the *Chriſtian* Church ſeem to have had no great Notion of all theſe *Patriarchs*. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* inſulted their Extraction, and maintain'd that it would be a ſhame to ſearch into the Baſeneſs of their Race. St. *Chryſoſtom* would not allow them to be deſcended from the Race of *Aaron:* And *Cyril* denied their Deſcent from that of *David*. And ſome accuſed them of a great Corruption of Manners, and an inſatiable Avarice: But we ought not to inſiſt upon all theſe Reproaches, which will be retorted upon the Hatred of the *Chriſtian* for the Nation. *Theodoret* † ſays this Office was aboliſh'd long before he wrote his Dialogues; but he is miſtaken, for it was but in the Year 429, a very little while before he publiſh'd his Work, that the *Patriarchs* were caſhier'd, and *Princes* were no longer ſeen of the *Weſtern* Captivity. Let us now give their Hiſtory.

* Hieron. de Pamach. de optimo genere interpr.

† Theodor. Dial. 1. p. 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The History of the Western Patriarchs, *from their Establishment, to their Abolition, in* 429.

I. SImeon *kill'd at* Jerusalem *with Nine Martyrs.* II. Gamaliel *the Second Patriarch of* Judea. III. Simeon *the Third.* IV. Juda the Saint. V. *The Time in which he lived.* VI. *The Place of his Birth.* VII. *His Interest with the imaginary* Antoninus. VIII. *The Faults of the* Jewish *Historians.* IX. Juda's *Sanctity.* X. *His Work of the* Misnah. XI. *The Time when he wrote it.* XII. *The Authority of this Patriarch. His miraculous Burial.* XIII. Gamaliel *the Third, and* Juda. XIV. Hillel *fixes the Years of the Creation. Whether he has shortned them out of Malice. The* Jewish Epocha *derived from thence.* XV. *His* Cycle. Kepler *and* Bucher's *Sentiment of the* Jewish Calendar. XVI. *Its History and Authors:* Samuel the Lunatick: Adda *and* Hillel. XVII. *The Reformation of the* Tekupha, *or the* Equinox *by* Hillel. XVIII. *His Conversion to Christianity.* XIX. *The Time when he lived.* XX. Joseph's *Conversion.* XXI. Hillel *the Third under* Julian. XXII. Gamaliel *the Fourth, Patriarch and Physician.* XXIII. *The Abolition of the Patriarchal Office.* XXIV. *Of the Primates.*

I. WE have fix'd the Origine of the *Patriarchs* to *Gamaliel* II. who is made to descend in a direct Line from *Hillel the Old.* 'Tis said he was the Son of *Simeon*, whom *Josephus* [a] represents as a Man of extraordinary Merit, and a *Pharisee*, and who would have been able to restore the Affairs of the Nation had his Counsels been followed.

He was One of the Deputies which the High-Priest *Ananus* sent to *Galilee*, to take away *Josephus*'s command, and he suffer'd himself to be taken by him, whom he design'd to send Prisoner to *Jerusalem.* They make him a Martyr, because he was kill'd by *Titus*'s Order. 'Tis pretended that Nine famous Doctors died with him in the sacking of the City; and that their Tombs were still to be seen in the Twelfth Century, upon the Banks of *Tiber*, and many *Jews* imagine, at this Day, that their Sins are expiated by the Merits of these Ten Martyrs.

But that we may not be misled, we must observe what is said by a famous *Jewish* Chronologer, [b] that most of these Martyrs which are join'd with *Simeon*, the Father to *Gamaliel*, lived above fifty Years after the ruin of the Temple. Indeed *Ismael*, whose Skin was torn from his Scull before he was knock'd o' th' Head, survived the Desolation of his Country. The Chronologer confesses, that the error is manifest, but would have us pardon *this defect of Memory in the Germans*, and remember that they confound Things that ought to be distinguish'd.

We should also take notice of *Benjamin* of *Tudela*'s gross Blunder, who [c] pretended to have seen the Tombs of these Ten Martyrs in one of the *Catacombs*, which are *under a Mountain on the Banks of the Tiber.* For how could they have built at *Rome* Monuments for those that had perish'd in *Judea*, in the ruin of *Jerusalem?* This Traveller did not remember what he had seen, since he affirms afterwards, that *Simeon*'s Tomb was seen on the Banks of *Jordan*, at *Kadesch*, in the Tribe of *Nepthali.*

II. *Simeon* being dead at the taking of *Jerusalem*, left a Son named *Gamaliel.* They say that he became *Patriarch* the fifth Year after the ruin of the Temple; but this does not seem probable, by reason of the lamentable Condition the remainder of the *Jews* were then in. The Empire of *Domitian*, who treated the *Jews* cruelly, does not seem proper for such an Institution; and therefore we have fix'd it under that of *Nerva*, which was more favourable to them; and this agrees better with the Age of *Gamaliel* II. who must be still young when his Father died; and the more favourable Empire of *Nerva* was the propereſt for them to receive an Head. There was no Person more considerable than *Gamaliel* to fill the Place; he was Son of an illustrious Man, whose Memory was very much respected; which makes it very probable that it was he that was pitch'd upon to govern the remains of this wretched People.

'Tis said that *Titus* meant to put him to Death with his Father, but that being moved with the Intreaties of *Jochanan*, he gave him his Life. He ran another Risk, when *Turnus Rufus* caused the Plough to be drawn over the ruin'd Temple; for they sought to kill him, but an Officer substituted himself in his place, upon condition that he would give him an entrance into Heaven. The Officer was kill'd, and the *Daughter of the Voice* declared that he was in possession of Eternal Life.

They give him the Title of *Prince*; [d] and look on him as the Head of the Academy; but notwithstanding all this Authority, he had great Controversies with *Joshua* upon Three Heads: 1. *Joshua* maintain'd that he had seen at *Lydda*, the Moon in the *East* at Night, and in the *West* in the Morning, and *Gamaliel* affirm'd, that this was not only false, but impossible. 2. *Joshua* would have the Evening Prayers to depend upon the Devotion and Will of the People; and *Gamaliel* affirm'd that they were necessary. *Lastly*, They could not agree upon this Question, Whether the First-born, who came into the World with an Hair-lip, was perfect in the Sense of the antient Sacrifices, which were to have all their Parts. This Dispute proceeded so far, that the People, or at least the LXX Elders, being scandaliz'd with this Division, deposed *Gamaliel. Eliezer*, or according to others, *Joshua*, who was preferr'd to his Place, open'd the Gates of the School; and the number of the Disciples increas'd that Day 400; whereas *Gamaliel*, who made choice of his Disciples, lessen'd the number of them. 'Tis said he was restored to his See; but all these Facts are uncertain, because the Author [e] that relates them produces no antient Monuments which may be depended on.

III. The Second *Patriarch* appears evidently in *Adrian*'s Reign, since this Emperor affirms that he came down into *Ægypt* from Time to Time, which shews that his Jurisdiction extended from thence to *Tiberias*, which was the Seat of his Government, according to the Genealogy of old *Hillel*, *Simeon* III. Son of *Gamaliel* was this Second *Patriarch.* 'Tis indisputable that he lived at that Time. The modern *Jews* make him Head of the Academy; Successor of *Akiba*, and Collegue with *Meir*, with whom he had great Controversies, and the Subject of the Difference could not be less important. We have already observed, that *Simeon* the President of the Assembly was saluted by every one; but the same Honour was paid to *Meir*, Vice-President, who followed him. He

[a] Joseph de Vita sua, 1013. 1024. [b] Ganz Tsemach David, *p.* 94. ad An. 828. [c] Benj. Itiner. *p.* 10. *compared with p.* 54. [d] Ganz Chronologia *p.* 97. [e] Abraham Ben Dior in Sepher. Hakkabbala: *He lived in the Twelfth Century.*

required that a difference might be made betwixt them, and determin'd the manner of ſaluting them reſpectively according to their Rank. *Meir*, who thought himſelf inſulted, reſolved to be revenged, in depoſing *Simeon*. Some contradict themſelves, in ſaying that *Simeon* was depoſed, and *Meir* took his Place. On the contrary, the Conſpiracy was diſcover'd: They had reſolved to catechiſe *Simeon*, and as they were perſuaded he could not anſwer the Queſtions propoſed to him, they were to take that occaſion to diſplace him for his Ignorance. But he had notice of their Deſign, and prevented it. Theſe are the Stories the *Rabbies* make of their Governours.

IV. *Juda the Saint* was *Simeon*'s Son, and became Prince of the Nation, after the Death of his Father. He lived under Three Emperors, [f] *who perſecuted the Chriſtians, and were very favourable to the* Jews; *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Commodus*. The Firſt took poſſeſſion of the Empire in the Year 138, and the Laſt died in 194, ſo that *Juda*'s Reign was long, and laſted 45 Years. Some ridiculouſly make him live in *Dioclefian*'s Time. They have committed another Fault, in aſſociating him with a great number of Doctors, who lived not [g] till a great while after him: But this is a very common Fault with the *Jews*, who generally confound the Times.

V. *Juda* was born the ſame Day that *Akibas* died; and they imagine that this Event was foretold by *Solomon*, ſaying, *the Sun ariſeth, and the Sun goeth down.* [h] *Akibas* dying was the Sun that ſet, and *Juda the Saint* the riſing Sun. *Akibas* died under *Adrian*, who made him pay dear for his [i] Impoſture. *Ghedalia* places the ruin of *Bither*, and the violent Death of this Impoſtor in the 73d Year after the ruin of the Temple, and 3091, which would be the 143 Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*, but then it would be evidently falſe that this Event happen'd under the Empire of *Adrian*, who was already dead. We know that *Bither* was taken and ruin'd by this Prince, in the Year 135, and if *Juda the Saint* was then born, we muſt neceſſarily fix his Birth to the Year of our Lord 136.

VI. The Place of his Birth was *Tſippuri*. This Word ſignifies a little Bird, and the Town was ſituated upon one of the Mountains of *Galilee*. Its Name ſhews that it were a little City; and yet the *Rabbins* affirm that there were in it an hundred and fourſcore thouſand Confectioners. *Phocas*, who calls it [k] *Semphori*, inſinuates, that it had been great, ſince in his Remark that it was deſart and inhabitable, he adds, that in his Time there remain'd no Footſteps of its antient *Proſperity*. The Chriſtians praiſe it, as imagining upon *Hegeſippus*'s Authority, that it was the native Place of *Anna*, Mother to the Virgin, and of *Hermanna*, Mother to *Elizabeth*. Thus every One is jealous for the Cities that have given Birth to their Heroes, or their Saints, and in this particular run into an exceſs, which denotes a weakneſs of Underſtanding. The Chriſtians are the more culpable, as they knew not the Name of the Virgin's Mother.

They knew it only from the Mouth of Hereticks, or by an uncertain and novel Tradition, that ſhe was called *Ann*. *Hermanna* her Siſter is ſtill leſs known; and ſince the Virgin was originally of *Bethlehem*, why muſt her Mother be born at *Tſippuri*, upon no other Authority than that of an Impoſtor?

VII. *Juda*, from the Time of his Birth, found himſelf in great danger, becauſe his Father had circumcis'd him, according to the Law of God, and contrary to the Prohibition of the Emperor, who had condemned that Cuſtom. The Accuſation was brought before *Adrian*. *Juda*'s Father appear'd at the firſt Citation; but went firſt to *Antoninus*'s Mother, took her Son, and proved to *Adrian*, that the Accuſation was falſe, ſince he produc'd his Infant, having his *Preputium* ſtill; returning, he exchanged the Boys again.

VIII. Let us obſerve Four Faults which *Ghedalia* has committed upon this Article. Firſt he makes *Juda the Saint* to be changed for *Antoninus*, who was too old to ſuck, for he was then 43 Years of age. Secondly, He aſſerts that of the Three Emperors, that loved *Juda the Saint*, there was One call'd *Antipas*; whereas this Name is unknown, and he muſt have been ignorant of the Liſt of the *Roman* Emperors, to make ſo ſenſible a Blunder. Thirdly, He makes the Son to reign before the Father, and *Commodus* before *Marcus Aurelius*. Laſtly, He places *Conſtantine* in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, and makes Two Rival Princes of them, One of which encouraged the Chriſtians, whilſt the Other favour'd the Patriarch of the *Jews*.

IX. 'Tis ſaid that *Juda* bore the Title of *Saint*, by reaſon of the ſecret Circumciſion he received againſt the Emperor's Order: But they that are more jealous of his Glory, give him that Title, and even that of *Saint of Saints*, for the Purity of his Life: Nevertheleſs, I dare not ſay in what that Purity conſiſted; it would look like Banter and Ridicule. He became Head of the Nation, and had ſo great an Authority, that ſome of his Diſciples venturing to leave him, to ſpend ſome Time at *Lydda*, they had all an *evil Aſpect*, that is, they all died with an exemplary Puniſhment. But this Miracle is very uncertain.

X. *Juda* grew more venerable by the *Repetition of the Law* which he publiſh'd. This Book is a *Code* of the *Jewiſh* Civil and Canon Law, call'd *Miſnah*. He thought it abſolutely neceſſary to undertake it, becauſe his Nation, diſpers'd in ſo many Places, had forgot the Rites, and would have ſwerved from the Religion and Civil-Law of their Anceſtors, if they truſted them only to their Memory.

Whereas before, Tradition was explain'd according to the Will of the Profeſſors, or with reſpect to the Capacity of the Students, or, laſtly, ſutably to the Exigence of Circumſtances, *Juda* made a kind of Syſtem, and a *Curſus*, which was afterwards exactly followed in the Univerſities. He divided his *Curſus* into Six Parts: The Firſt runs [l] upon the Diſtinction of Seeds in the Field, Trees, Fruits, Tythes, *&c.* The Second regulates the Obſervation of Feaſts. In the Third, which treats of Women, are determin'd all matrimonial Cauſes. The Fourth, which reſpects *Loſſes*, turns upon the Suits that proceed from Commerce, and the Procedures that ought to be uſed. To this is added a Tract of Idolatry, becauſe 'tis One of the important Articles upon which Judgments depend. The Fifth Part reſpects Oblations, and in the laſt is examin'd all that's neceſſary to Purification.

He has inſerted in this Syſtem Five Sorts of Things, which ſerve as a Foundation and Support of it. He firſt diſtinguiſhes the Explications *that proceeded from the Mouth of Moſes*, and which admit no difficulty, becauſe they are expreſs'd in the Law, or may be drawn from it by an eaſie and natural Inference. 2. Here we find the *Ordinances of* Moſes *upon Mount* Sinai, which are received with the ſame reſpect as the foregoing, tho' there be no proof of *Moſes*'s being the Author of them. He gives the

[f] Ganz. Chronol. *p.* 107. [g] Vi. Ganz. Chronol. *p.* 107. [h] Eccl. 1. 9. [i] Liber. Hakkabbala. [k] Phocas in Allatii Συμμικτ. p. 10. [l] *This Work has been tranſlated into* Latin *by* Syrenhuſius, *with* Maimonides *and* Barcenor's *Notes*, *at* Amſterdam, *in* 6 *Vol. Fol.* 1702.

different

different Opinions, upon which a Man is allowed to take which ſide he pleaſes. He is at liberty, for inſtance, to follow the deciſions of *Hillel*, or *Schammay*, who have divided the School. 4. He forgets not the Maxims and Sentences which the Prophets and wiſe Men have pronounc'd from time to time, and which are called *the hedges of the Law*. Theſe *Conſtitutions* are much reſpected, yet the *Rabbins* often deviate from them. Laſtly, he relates the antient Uſuages and Cuſtoms, impoſing on his Poſterity the neceſſity of following them. And this is the ſubſtance of the Tradition, which they cry'd up ſo much.

XI. 'Tis difficult to fix the time when *Juda* the Saint began and finiſh'd this Work, which had given him ſo great a Reputation. We muſt only obſerve, 1. That it muſt not be confounded with the *Talmud*, whereof we ſhall ſpeak by and by, and which was not written till a long time after. 2. This Work has been miſ-placed in the Chronological Tables of the Synagogues, ſince they reckon [a] at preſent 1563. Years ſince its publication; for that Year would fall upon the 140th Year of our Lord, when *Juda* the Saint could be but four Years Old. 3. On the contrary, they give it too late a Date, who affirm it was publiſh'd an hundred and fifty Years after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; for that Year would fall upon the 220, or 218th Year of *Jeſus Chriſt*; whereas *Juda* was dead long before. 4. According to the common Calculation, *Juda* muſt be Born in the Year 136 of *Jeſus Chriſt*. He might have gone upon this Collection after he was Prince of the Captivity, and had often determined the Differences that roſe in the Nation: Therefore we may ſay, that he perform'd it about the Year 180, when he was forty four Years Old, in the Flower of his Age, having by a long experience learnt to decide the queſtions of the Law.

XII. *Juda* acquired ſo great an Authority by his Work, that he put himſelf above the Laws; if we believe at leaſt the Hiſtorians of his Nation. For whereas, whilſt *Jeruſalem* ſtood, the Heads of the *Sanhedrim* were ſubject to this Council, and obnoxious to Puniſhment, *Juda* rais'd himſelf above the antient Laws; and *Simeon*, the Son of *Lachis*, having dared to aſſert that the *Prince ought to be whip'd when he offended*, *Juda* ſent his Officers to Arreſt him, and would have ſeverely puniſh'd him, if he had not fled ſpeedily. *Juda* continued his [b] Pride to his Death; for he ordered his Body to be carried with Pomp, and Lamentations to be made in all *the great Cities* through which the Funeral paſs'd, forbidding to do it in little ones. All the Cities ran to this Funeral; the day was prolong'd, and the night retarded, till every one was return'd to his Houſe, and had time to light a Candle for the Sabbath. The *Daughter of the Voice* was heard to pronounce, that all who followed the Funeral Pomp ſhould be ſaved, excepting only one, who fell into Deſpair and broke his Neck.

XIII. *Juda* diſpoſed of all Offices before his Death. He appointed that one of his Sons, named *Simeon*, ſhould be call'd the *Wiſe Man*; that *Chanina*, the Son of *Chanina*, ſhould be Head of the Council, and *Gamaliel* III. ſhould be Prince. Thus he diſpos'd of the three principal Dignities of the Nation. The Prince was the ſame we call *Patriarch*, according to the Chriſtian Style. He that preſided, was the *Chief* of the *Senate*, held his Place in his Abſence; and the *Wiſe Man* had the third Rank: He was to be learn'd; for he was conſulted upon Controverſies and Doubts ariſing from the Law: He was ſeated on the Left Hand of the Prince, as the *Chief* was on the Right. *Gamaliel* therefore was choſen by his Father to Succeed to the Title of Prince. 'T is ſaid *Gamaliel* confirm'd the *Miſnah*, which his Father had publiſh'd, and died in the Year 229.

His Son *Juda* Succeeded him. We muſt make him live towards the end of the third Century, to make him cotemporary with the two *Rabbins*, *Amaus*, and *Aſæus*, who lived in the Year 4060. *i.e.* in the 300th Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*: But we have already obſerved, that we muſt not inſiſt on the Calculations of the *Jews*, who are not exact Chronologers.

XIV. *Hillel* II. Son of *Juda*, was famous both with the *Jews* and Chriſtians: He did three things which have been thought very Advantageous to his Nation.

Firſt, it was he that fix'd the *Epocha* from the Creation of the World, and reckon'd the Years from thence. Different *Epocha*'s were made uſe of before: The Departure from *Ægypt* was the *Æra* of ſome: The Law given at *Sinai*, was that of others: One reckon'd the Years from the Dedication of the Temple: Another from the return out of Captivity: Some dated from *Alexander the Great*'s entering into *Jeruſalem*, which they look'd upon as a conſiderable event to the Republick: But ſince the *Gemara* was finiſhed, they began to reckon the years from the Creation of the World; and we are told that it was *Hillel* who Eſtabliſh'd this *Epocha*, and tranſmitted it to Poſterity: For it is ſtill obſerv'd, and according to his Calculation, *Jeſus Chriſt* was Born in the Year 3760.

As this Calculation does [c] not agree with that of Chriſtians, it has been thought that the *Gemariſts* curtail'd the Years of the World out of Malice and Hatred to our Religion; and that *Jeſus Chriſt* being Born, at the time ſpecified by the Prophets, the *Rabbins* did all they could to ſettle the Faith of their People, who were ſtagger'd by this Circumſtance. They were themſelves ſo much the more ſhaken by this, that beſides the Oracles of the Old Teſtament, they had the Prediction of one *Elias*, who affirm'd that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be Born, and the Law ſhould be aboliſh'd at the end of the fourth *Millennium*: For he reckon'd two thouſand Years under Nature, two thouſand Years under the Law, two thouſand Years under the *Meſſiah*, at which term the World was to be at an end. It was ſo much the more neceſſary to enervate this Prediction, that the *Jews* who were converted, having brought it to the Chriſtians, thereby put into their Hands a very manifeſt Proof of the Truth of their Religion; but they found two ways of evading this Proof: The one was dating the Birth of our Lord from the time of *Alexander Jannæus*, long before he came into the World. The falſity of this anſwer was too evident, ſince *Jeſus Chriſt* had ſuffered under *Tiberius*, and the Memory of that Event was too freſh to be conteſted. The *Gemariſts* more ſubtly choſe rather to Abridge the Years of the World, that *Jeſus Chriſt* being Born two hundred Years before the end of the fourth *Millennium*; and the People of *Iſrael* being to live under the Law till that time, it might be concluded, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was not the *Meſſiah*. Upon the finiſhing therefore of the *Gemara*, or the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, they began to reckon the Years of the World; and *Hillel*, as Prince of the *Weſtern* Captivity, gave this *Epocha* to his Nation, but at the ſame time they abridged the Years elapſed ſince the Creation, in order to overthrow *Elias*'s Prediction, and anſwer the Objection drawn from it by the Chriſtians. The modern *Jews* fail not to follow the ſame *Epocha* and Computation; becauſe that if on one hand we gravel them, by proving that the fourth *Millennium* is long ſince

[a] *I writ this in* 1703. V. Bartol. B. R. t. III. p. 78. [b] Otho Hiſt. Doctor. Miſnic. p. 161. [c] Jeſus Chriſt *ought to be Born in the Year* 3910.

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paſt, and that the *Meſſiah* muſt be come; they reply, that it is ſtill equally true, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is not the *Meſſiah*, ſince he came above two hundred Years before the end of the fourth *Millennium*.

This is a probable Conjecture: Nevertheleſs, I queſtion whether the firſt Chriſtians made any great account of the Prediction of *Elias*; a Perſon too obſcure to occaſion all theſe impoſtors: And the ignorance of the *Jews* in point of Chronology is ſo frequent, that it is a wonder to ſee *Hillel* miſtaken about the Age of the World. However, thoſe that read the Hiſtories written by the *Jews*, muſt remember that all their Authors reckon but 3760 Years from the Creation to *Jeſus Chriſt*, as *Hillel* had appointed, otherwiſe their Chronology can't be adjuſted with ours.

XV. This Prince of the Nation compoſed a Cycle of Nineteen Years, by which he reconciled the courſe of the Sun with that of the Moon by the help of [d] ſeven Intercalations; but the Matter deſerves ſome illuſtration, in order to ſee how the Calendar and Chronology of the *Hebrews* have been reform'd.

Kepler [e] thought that the *Jews* went by the *Solary* Year, like the *Ægyptians* whom they had left, or the *Aſiaticks*, to whoſe Empire they had been ſubject; but that [f] *Jaſon* willing to pleaſe *Antiochus* the Illuſtrious, introduc'd the *Lunary* Months of the *Syrians* into *Judea*, and the Cycle of eighty four Years compoſed of many Sevenths after the *Hebrews* Faſhion, to whom the number Seven was neceſſary, by reaſon of the *Sabbatick* Years and Jubilees. The *Jews* taken up with War, conſider'd little the motions of the Stars; but *Alcimus* [g] or rather *Simon Maccabeus* reſtored the Cycle of eighty four Years, and commenc'd his High-Prieſthood by it.

Others [h] have obſerved, that *Calippus* examining the courſe of the Sun, gave three hundred and ſixty five Days, and ſix entire Hours to the Year; and form'd a Period of ſeventy ſix Years, which he commenc'd from the Year following the Victory of *Arbela*, which *Alexander* obtain'd over *Darius* [i]. *Hipparchus* * who came after him, judiciouſly obſerved that the *Solary* Year was ſhorter by thirty four Minutes and forty eight Seconds, than *Calippus* thought it: But advancing this his Opinion timorouſly, the antient Calculation was followed, which was eſpouſed by the *Greeks* and *Syrians*. The *Jews* borrowed from their Maſters the *Calippick* Period: For this reaſon, in the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, the Years are always reckon'd after the way of the *Greeks* and *Syrians*, and it was *Jaſon* doubtleſs that introduced this practice in *Judea*; who giving only ſome alteration to the Months, and forming his Cycle of eighty four Years, added eight Years to *Calippus*'s Period, in order to bring in the number ſeven: And indeed St. *Epiphanius*, who left Judaiſm, and had conſulted the *Rabbins* of his Time, has follow'd this Period; at leaſt it is the Sentiment of the Learned *Bucher*.

XVI. But there is a conſiderable fault in all theſe Conjectures, which is, that they are founded upon no proof. If we believe the *Jews*, it was *Samuel* the Lunatick that wrought the Reformation of the Calendar: and according to the remaining Monuments of their Hiſtory the Matter was thus.

This *Rabbin* Taught at *Babylon* in the Year 240, of our Lord, and was called *Lunatick*, or *Jarkinæus*, becauſe he was believed to be admirably ſkill'd in the Courſes of the Sun and Moon. He ſuppoſed that the Equinox of the Spring, in which the World was Created, preceded the New Moon ſeven days, and that the Moon began to appear the *Thurſday* of the Week following: From hence he commenc'd his Calculation, and he form'd a Cycle of nineteen Year, at the end whereof, the Moon exceeded the courſe of the Sun but an hour and ſome Seconds.

However, this *Rabbin*'s Calculation proved not exact enough; for not to mention the abſurdity he advanc'd, in making the Equinox precede the Creation of the World, he gave three hundred ſixty five Days, and ſix entire Hours to the Sun, as *Calippus* had done among the *Greeks*. But a little after * *R. Ada* appear'd in the ſame School of *Babylon*, who following *Hipparchus*'s Calculation, gave the *Solary* Year but three hundred ſixty five Days, nine hundred ninety ſeven Particles, and forty eight Moments; for he divided the Hour into a thouſand Particles, and the Particles into as many Moments. His Calendar being found more exact was eſpouſed, and has been followed for a great many Centuries: But this is a Rabbinical imagination.

Whether *Ada* had not publiſh'd his Calendar, or had need of a greater Authority to eſtabliſh it in the *Weſt*, where the *Jews* of *Tiberias* were jealous of thoſe of *Babylon*, or whether in fine *Hillel* added ſome new light to that of his Predeceſſors, it is ſtill true that he had the glory of compoſing the Calendar and Cycle of 19 Years, in which he made ſeven intercalations. The *Jews* have received it with the greater facility, becauſe he was the Prince of the Weſtern Captivity, and it has been all along followed till *Sid* reform'd the Calendar in *Spain* by King *Alphonſus*'s Order.

Was I allowed to oppoſe ſo many Conjectures approved by the *Jews* or Chriſtians, I ſhould think it more reaſonable, that this Nation, which always received the Law of its Conquerors and Maſters, eſpouſed the Calendar reform'd by *Julius Cæſar*; which is the more certain, becauſe the *Jews* diſperſed through the *Roman* Empire, could not reject this Reformation which was generally receiv'd in it; it is nevertheleſs true, that many changes were afterwards made in it, in which *Hillel* had a good ſhare.

XVII. *Hillel* alſo reform'd the *Tekupha*. This word ſignifies the *Revolution* of the Year. But *Maimonides* comprehended the Solſtices as well as the Equinoxes; wherefore he reckons four Revolutions. *Hillel* perceived that the Autumnal Equinox was misplaced on the ſeventh of *October*, and he fix'd it to the twenty fourth of *September*. By this there remain'd thirteen Days which he rejected, according to *Scaliger*, [l] in an hundred twenty ſix Cycles, which made 4104 Years.

XVIII. 'Tis pretended that *Hillel* had written a Bible with his own Hand, which was preſerved to the ſixteenth Century. *Kimki* ſays that the *Pentateuch* of it was kept at *Toledo*; and one of thoſe that quitted *Spain* in the general Exile affirms, [m] that he had ſeen a part of it ſold in *Africa*; but he manifeſtly contradicts himſelf, ſince he notes, that this Bible was written but 900 Years before: For by this computation, *Hillel* muſt have lived in the ſixth Century, which is evidently falſe.

This was a very able Man, ſince *Origen*, who knew him, conſulted him often, but this *Patriarch*'s Converſion has made him to be loved by the Chriſtians. This Matter may appear doubtful, ſince the *Rabbins* have obſerved a profound ſilence, as to this laſt

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[d] *He intercalated a Month to the* 3d 6th 8th 11th 14th 17th *and* 19th *Year. See* Bartol. Diverſe Tables. B. R. t. 2. p. 416. 548.
[e] Kepler. Eclogæ Chronol. p. 93, 94. [f] 172 *Years before Chriſt.* [g] 162 *Years before Chriſt, or* 140. [h] Bucher de Paſch. cyclo. Jud. p. 336. [i] 330 *Years before Chriſt.* * 140 *Years before Chriſt.* [k] Ann. 250. r. Bartol. B. R. t. 11. p. 445.
[l] Scaliger. Canon. Iſagog. l. 3. p. 279. [m] Zacuthus in Juchaſin. S. proſæpiarum.

act

act of their *Patriarch*'s Life. But without enquiring whether this silence be not an effect of their Jealousie for the glory of their Nation, which a change of Religion in a dying *Patriarch* might have scandaliz'd; as they have no Historical Monument of those Times remaining, 'tis no wonder we find no footstep of *Hillel*'s Christianity. It suffices, that *Epiphanius* has related the fact in a manner not to be contested.

He had it from the Mouth of *Joseph*, who had been *Hillel*'s intimate Friend, Tutor to his Son, and one of his Apostles. *Eusebius* of *Verceil*, and St. *Epiphanius*, coming to see *Scythopolis*, he told them that the *Patriarch Hillel*, *descended from* Gamaliel, *who had held the Patriarchate, and from the Great* Gamaliel, *St.* Paul's *Preceptor*, perceiving his approaching end, sent for the Bishop of *Tiberias*, under pretence of consulting him, about his Distemper, as an experienc'd Physitian, and immediately demanded to be Baptiz'd. The Domesticks brought Water, as if he meant to use it for some Remedy, and being dismiss'd, the Bishop of *Tiberias* baptized the *Patriarch* of the *Jews*. This Conversion was made in secret, for fear the dying *Patriarch*, being in the Hands of his Servants, should suffer some violence from them. However, it had been more edifying to have made it publick, since *Constantine* being upupon the Throne, the Christians had then sufficient power to protect him from the insults of his Nation.

XIX. 'Tis difficult to fix the time of this event, though we know that it happen'd under *Constantine*. The *Rabbins*, who make *Hillel* live in the Year 360, are mistaken, or confound him with another *Patriarch* of the same name, who lived under *Julian* the Apostate. *Bartolocci* [n] makes a more probable Conjecture, placing the Conversion and Death of *Hillel* in the Year of our Lord 320; but we must antedate his Death eight or ten Years, and place it in the Year 310, or 312. 1. Not to give him too long a Life or Reign. 2. Because this event must have preceded the Law which *Constantine* publish'd in the Year 315, concerning Proselytes, which we shall speak of in another Place. *Scaliger*, who makes him to reform the Calendar in the Year 344, and thence to commence his Cycle of nineteen Years, says it without any proof.

XX. He left one Son, a *Minor*, under the tutorage of two Friends, who Educated him in the Principles of his Religion. He became also *Patriarch* or *Prince* as his Father had been: He recompenced one of his Tutors, named *Joseph*, with an Apostleship: But the *Jews* perceiving that he dissembled like *Hillel*, treated him with that violence as obliged him to go to Court to complain to *Constantius*. He was well receiv'd of the Emperor, and obtain'd the privilege of building many Churches for the Christians. He enrich'd himself by this undertaking, and built fine Houses at *Scythopolis*, where it was that *Eusebius* of *Verceil*, banish'd by the Emperor *Constantius*, and St. *Epiphanius*, went to see him: He was then seventy Years of Age, and *Juda* his Pupil, who had persevered in Judaism, was then still *Patriarch* of the Nation in the Year 356.

XXI. He died a little after: For *Julian* the Apostate writing to the *commonalty* of the *Jews*, speaks of another *Patriarch*, named *Julius* or *Hillel*, and his Letter is of the Year 363. This *Hillel* was Son of *Juda*, and kept the Government of his Nation to the Year 385, or thereabouts.

XXII. Then the last of the *Western Patriarchs* appear'd, named *Gamaliel*. St. *Jerome* speaks of him in the Year 392, as a Man that had then had long Controversies with *Hesychius*. He had applied himself to the Study of Physick, and made so good progress in it, that *Sextus Empiricus* has cited him as a Man, who distinguish'd himself by his Experiments. The *Patriarch*, *Gamaliel*, said he [o] *has shewn by many Experiments, that the Remedy he has found against the Spleen, is excellent.* In truth we ought not be dazzled with the fastuous titles of *Patriarch*, or Prince, so often given to the Heads of the *Jewish* Nation. They were not rich enough to live upon their Revenues: They often practised Physick with success; and 'tis not to depretiate their Dignity, that we associate it with this Profession: For the Christian Bishops did the same at first; even the Bishop of *Tiberias*, whom the *Patriarch Hillel* sent for in his Sickness, must pass for a Physitian, since he was sent for in that quality. St. *Jerome*, and St. *Chrysostome* [p] affirm, that the *Patriarchs* fell into excesses, accomplishing the Curse of *Esaiah*, who had foretold that this People should be govern'd by *Effeminates*, since they fell into Luxury. And we have heard *Palladius* reproach them with selling the Dignities depending on them, to enlarge their Revenues, and thus they hastened their Destruction.

XXIII. *Gamaliel* still held his Dignity in 415, since it was in that Year *Theodosius*'s Law was made, which lopt off part of his Authority. And whether *Gamaliel* continuing to abuse his Authority, offended the Emperor, or that the Patriarchal Race fail'd; it is certain this Dignity was abolish'd in the Year 429, after having lasted three hundred and fifty Years. Most of the *Rabbins* finish it too soon: For it proceeded to the thirteenth Generation of *Hillel*, and ended not till *Gamaliel* III. Moreover, they very rarely give them the title of *Patriarch*, preferring that of *Prince* to it.

XXIV. The *Primates* succeeded the *Patriarchs*, but their Authority was different. It has been pretended that these *Jewish Primates* resembled those of the Christians; Heads of a Province, and Presidents of the Council assembled in it. But I question the Truth of it; at least I observe that there were many *Jewish Primates* in that one City of *Alexandria*, when *Cyril* the Bishop of it terrified them. 'Twas the People that Elected their *Primates* by the plurality of Voices. Whereas the *Patriarchship* was Hereditary in the Family of *Hillel*. *Cunæus* has allotted them the same Authority as the *Patriarchs*, but he bottoms upon a Law of *Theodosius*, which that ingenious and bold Critick had not well read. He makes this Prince say in his Law [q] *That the Primates Rule in the Council or* Sanhedrim; but he should have read, that *they are nominated or elected by the Council of the two Provinces. Palestine* was then divided into three Provinces; and yet the Law speaks but of two; but there is no necessity of changing the Text, because perhaps there was neither *Sanhedrim*, nor *Jewish Primate*, in the third part of that Province, which was called the *Salutary*. Each Province maintain'd its *Primates*, and to that end, the antient Tribute was continued for some Years, which the *Patriarchs* exacted. But *Theodosius* the younger had it brought into his Treasury, and levied by his Officers.

[n] Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 11. [o] Sext. Emp. l. 33. [p] Hieron. *in* Es. 3. 4.
[q] Cod. Theod. LXVI. l. 29. p. 245. Dominantur, *read* Nominantur Cunæus de Rep. Heb. l. 2. c. 23. p. 231.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Princes of the Captivity at Babylon.

I. *THE Subject of this Chapter.* II. *The different Originals of the* Princes *of the Captivity.* III. *A Conjecture about their Inſtitution.* IV. *An Anſwer to the Difficulties.* V. *Whether the* Princes *extended their Juriſdiction over all the* Jews. VI. *This Notion confuted.* VII. *The Ceremonies of Inſtalling the Princes.* VIII. *Their place of Reſidence.* IX. *Whether they were all of the Race of* David. X. *The extinction of this Office.* XI. *The Erection of Academies in the Territories of* Babylon. XII. *The Academy of* Sora. XIII. *That of* Pumdebita. XIV. *Thoſe of* Nareſh, *and* Mahuſia. XV. *The Authority of the Heads of the Academy.*

I. HAving given the Catalogue of the *Patriarchs*, or *Princes* of *Judea*, it would be methodical to treat of the Heads of the Academies of *Japhne* and *Tiberias*, who Taught the *Jews* in the Holy Land, and preſerved the Oral Law. But that we may not break off the Hiſtory of the Heads that have govern'd the People in their Exile and Diſperſions; I muſt firſt give a general Idea of the *Princes* of the Captivity that govern'd the other part of the Nation which took Sanctuary in *Babylon*, and other Provinces of the *Eaſt*. I ſhall be ſhort upon this Article, becauſe I muſt ſpeak of it again, when I give the Hiſtory of the Diſperſions. Beſides, materials are often wanting, we have but little knowledge of tranſactions in the heart of the *East*: The *Jews* themſelves are ignorant of the Events of their Nation in theſe remote Countries. Few Monuments and Books have arrived from thence to inſtruct us; it being rarely the Character of Refugees to write their own Hiſtory: People don't love to deſcribe their miſeries to no purpoſe; the deſcription is not only diſagreeable, but dry and barren, and the *Jews* have neglected it more than any Nation in the World. Laſtly, the *Jewiſh* Chronologers have taken the pains to preſerve the names of the Doctors who have taught in their Schools; or have been the Heads of their Academies both in the *East* and *Weſt*. But they ſeldom ſpeak of the *Princes* of the Captivity; they ſcarce mention three from *Huna*, who was the firſt, to the perfecting of the *Talmud*; that is in the ſpace of three hundred Years. This ſilence ſhews, that notwithſtanding the title of *Prince*, given to the Heads of the *Eaſtern* Captivity, they had no very great Power in that Country; for Hiſtorians never forget what may raiſe the glory of their Nation.

The Origine of the Heads of the Captivity is not known; it only appears that there was nothing of them before the end of the ſecond Century. Indeed whilſt the Temple of *Jeruſalem* ſtood, the *Eaſtern* Refugees ſent their preſents to *Jeruſalem*, and came thither from time to time to pay their Devotions. The Spirit of Schiſm expired in theſe ſtrange Countries, and they acknowledged the High-Prieſt for Supream in the Nation: If any continued addicted to the Schiſm of *Samaria*, and *Gerizim*, they ſent alſo their Oblations thither: There was no thoughts therefore of ſetting up an Head of the Captivity, whilſt there was any form of Government in *Judea*.

We muſt not look for a *Prince* of the Nation either in the *Weſt* or *Eaſt*, before the ruine of *Jeruſalem*. There was none in the *Eaſt*, for no Hiſtorian has mention'd any; and the firſt of theſe Chiefs that appears upon the Stage was *Huna*, who lived not till the end of the ſecond Century of the Church. Nor were there any other *Princes* at *Jeruſalem*, beſides thoſe that were appointed by the *Romans*. It will be ask'd no doubt, whether no change was made in the *Eaſt* after the downfal of *Jeruſalem*. Some Criticks maintain [r] that the Nation was divided into three different portions, which made to themſelves as many Heads. They that remain'd in the Holy Land, continued to have for their Head the *Preſident of the Sanhedrim*. The *Ægyptians* Elected a *Patriarch*, of whom the Emperor *Adrian* ſpeaks, and the Orientals ſet up in *Babylon* a Prince of the Captivity. Sometimes 'tis pretended that the *Patriarch* of *Judea* ruled over the whole Nation; and the Argument is, that the Emperor *Adrian* ſpeaks only of one *Patriarch* who extended his Authority into *Ægypt*, and from thence into the *East*. *Origen*, and St. *Jerome* have ſpoken after the ſame manner, and 'tis in vain to turn over the Imperial Laws, among which there are ſo many which regulate the Government of the *Jews*; we there only find the ſole Dignity of *Patriarch* elevated above the reſt.

III. If a Man may have leave to produce his Conjectures, on a ſubject barren and deſtitute of Proofs, it appears to me much more probable; 1. That the *Eaſtern Jews* imitated thoſe of the Holy Land, who had made themſelves an Head. Having no longer that bond of Unity which was form'd by the Temple of *Jeruſalem* and the High-Prieſt; theſe two parts of the Nation, vaſtly remote from one another, made themſelves Chiefs. 2. According to all appearances, the Orientals durſt not take this liberty, till the *Parthians* who tyrannized in the *East*, were beaten under the Empire of *Alexander Severus*, and the laſt of their Kings ended his life in a tragical manner. As they then enjoy'd ſome reſt by the overthrow of their Tyrants, they might take that Advantage to give ſome form to their Government. 3. This Conjecture agrees with the time in which *Huna* lived, the firſt that is known of all the *Princes* of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity: For *Huna* was contemporary with *Juda* the Saint, and was Elected Prince of the Nation in the Year 220, or 222. 'Tis true, a *Jewiſh* Chronologer [s] ſends *Huna* to the end of the third Century, the Year 4060, or 300 of our Saviour. But all the other Writers of the Nation acknowledge, that he was Cotemporary with *Juda* the Saint; and was elected *Prince* during his life, or a little after his Death. 4. Laſtly, 'tis eaſy to remove all the difficulties urged by the Criticks, about the Unity of the *Patriarch*, or the plurality of Heads aſſign'd to the *Jewiſh* Nation, which is what I ſhall attempt in the following Article.

IV. Firſt, it is true that the *Patriarch* of *Tiberias* was alone for ſome time, becauſe the *Jews* of *Babylon* had not the liberty after the ruine of *Jeruſalem* to make to themſelves a particular Head; yet it can't be ſaid that this *Patriarch* extended his Authority over the *Jews* of *Babylon*; for we find no track or proof of it. 2. It muſt not be wonder'd at, if in proceſs of time only one *Patriarch* was mention'd: *Adrian* had reaſon for this, ſince the *Princes* of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity were not yet known; and this Emperor took notice only of what paſſed in *Ægypt*. Chriſtian Authors, and the Imperial Laws

[r] V. Gothofred. Cod. Theod. c. 16. t. 8. p. 219.

[s] Ganz. Tſemaſt. David p. 115.

only respected the *Roman* Empire, on which *Judea* depended; and it was not known what was done in the *East* under the *Persian* Empire. 3. This Remark ruines the sub-division that is made of the Nation into three portions; for the *Ægyptian Jews* depending on the *Roman* Empire, were subject to the *Patriarch* of *Judea*; and therefore *Adrian* affirms, that he came into this Country from time to time. His Seat was not there, nor did he reside in *Ægypt*, but he came from *Tiberias* to visit his Nation, and raise the Tribute in *Ægypt*. *Origen*, St. *Jerome*, and *Theodosius*, could not have been ignorant that there were two Heads of the *Jews*, one in *Ægypt*, and the other in *Judea*; and since they own but one, 'tis absurd to multiply them. 4. But in tract of time the *Patriarchs* of *Tiberias* being abolish'd, the Refugees of *Ægypt*, who were not accustomed to depend upon that of *Babylon*, thought they had right to set up a particular Chief of their own; and therefore *Benjamin de Tudela* [a] does not put *Ægypt* in the Diocese of the *Babylonish* Chief, whereof he has given a large Description: But moreover, sets over the *Jews* in *Ægypt*, *a Prince of Princes*, who was of the Nation, and presided over the Synagogues of this Country. 5. Lastly, after the Institution of two Heads of the Nation, one for the *Roman* Empire, and the other for the *Persian*, they have ever been independent of one another. The *Babylonish Jews* would not submit to the *Patriarch* of *Tiberias* after the ruine of *Jerusalem*; and it was, doubtless, to be quit of the obeisance and homages that the *Jewish Patriarch* required of them, that they set up an Head of their own.

V. 'Tis pretended that the Head of the Captivity was superior to the *Patriarch*, because all that were of *David*'s Race, left *Judea* and retired into *Babylon*. They maintain, that there it was that the *Scepter* was found, mention'd by *Jacob*, because the Heads of the Captivity enjoy'd a great Authority, while the *Lawgiver* was in *Judea*, where the Descendants of *Hillel*, and some other very able *Rabbins* had taught the Law. Lastly, they cite a confession of *Juda* the Saint, who owns, that if *Huna*, who was Head of the Captivity of *Babylon*, came into *Judea*, he should be obliged to give him place, and to rise before him, because *Huna* was of the Tribe of *Juda*, and of the Race of *David* by King *Jehoiakim*, and he was only of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and of the Race Royal by the Women.

VI. It signifies little who has the superiority, the Head of the Captivity, or the *Patriarch* of the *Jews*: But only let us observe the contradiction of the *Jews*, who make Old *Hillel* descend from the Tribe of *Juda*, and the Race of *David*. [b] They change their tone, and afterwards degrade this Family to raise the Chiefs of the *Babylonish* Captivity, because they have subsisted longer, and made a greater Figure. 'Tis said, without any certainty and foundation, that the *Jews* of the Race of *David* quitted *Judea*; for on the contrary, there were in the Emperor *Adrian*'s time, Relations of our Lord in Being, and we don't find they changed their Habitation to retire into the *East*: Besides *Hillel* the Old, the Head of this Family was dead long before. Nor is there any probability of finding *David*'s Posterity rather in *Babylon* than *Judea*. The Tribe of *Juda* had left this Country in *Esdras*'s Time: The number of the ten Tribes infinitely prevail'd in the *East*; and these ten Schismatical Tribes, who had little respect to *David*'s Posterity, would sooner chuse one of their Brethren, than a Stranger, for their Head: At least this Conjecture is more probable. The Discourse ascribed to *Juda* is ill placed in the *Talmud* of *Jerusalem*; for it is not likely that the *Jews* of the Holy Land, should insert a Clause to their own Dishonour: These words were not slip'd in, till the Doctors of *Babylon* had gotten the ascendant, and after the extinction of the *Patriarchs*: *Huna* was not Head of the Captivity till after *Juda* the Saint was dead; how then would he have given the Right Hand to a private Person? Lastly, the Heads of the Captivity depended on the Kings of *Persia*, and consequently had no Scepter among them.

VII. These *Princes* of the Captivity were Install'd with a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony. The truth is, the Heads of the neighbouring Academies, the Senators and the People came in throngs into the City of *Babylon*: The Assembly being form'd, and the Prince, suppos'd to be of the Race of *David*, seated upon a kind of Throne, the Head of the Academy of *Syria* exhorted him not to abuse his Power; representing, that he was call'd rather to a slavery than an Empire, by reason of the sad condition of the People. *Thursday* following the Governors of the Academies laid their hands on him in the Synagogue, with the noise of Trumpets and Acclamations. The People having conducted him home in Pomp, sent him great Presents. *Saturday* Morning all the considerable Persons came to his House; he put himself at the Head of them, and left his House, having his Face cover'd with a Piece of Silk: In this Equipage he went, the multitude following him, to the Synagogue, where the Heads of the Academies, and the Chantors, Sung Canticles of Benediction about his Chair. There they brought him the Book of the Law, which he read the first Line of; afterwards he spoke to the People, *with his Eyes shut*, out of respect; and if he fail'd, the Head of the Academy of *Syria* made the Sermon: He enlarg'd particularly upon the Charity that ought to be had to the Students, and gave himself an Example, by large Alms, and that Example was followed. The Ceremony ended with Acclamations to the Prince, and Prayers to God that he would deliver the Nation, under his Reign. He blessed the People, and prayed in particular for each Province, that God would defend it from Plague, or War. He ended with a Petition in a low Voice, for fear any one should hear him, and go and acquaint other Princes that he wish'd their ruine; because indeed the Empire of the *Jews* could not be Erected, but upon the Wreck of other Monarchies. Upon leaving the Synagogue, the Prince was conducted pompously to his Palace, where he made a sumptuous Entertainment for the principal Persons of the Nation. This was his last Exit; for after that, he was not permitted to leave his House, except to go to the Academy, and then every body rose and stood, till he desired them to take their Seats. He went to pay a Visit to the King of *Babylon*, which was done with a great deal of Pomp after his Installation. The King having notice of his design, sent his Chariot for him: The Head of the Captivity durst not accept this offer, but order'd it to go before him, to testify his Respect and Dependance. He was then Vested with a magnificent Cloth of Gold; fifty Guards march'd before him; all that met him upon the Road, made it a piece of Devotion to follow him to the King's Palace. The Eunuchs met him and conducted him to a Throne, while one of his Officers marched before him distributing Gold and Silver. Upon approaching the King, he prostrated himself to the Earth, to signify that he was his Vassal and his Subject: The *Eunuchs* raised him, and placed him on a Seat on the left Hand: After the first Compliments, the Prince open'd the Complaints and Affairs of his Nation, which the King decided.

VIII. These Heads of the Captivity have [c] sometimes had their Residence at *Mahazia*, but it was

[a] Itin. p. 115. [b] *He descended from the Son of* Sephatia, *Son of* Abital, *Son of* David. [c] Solomon fil. virgæ Histor. Judaica. p. 302, *&c.*

tranſlated to *Babylon*, or *Bagded*: There he had ten Courts of Juſtice, over which he preſided. There was alſo twenty eight Synagogues, amongſt which was that of the Prince, ſupported with Pillars of Marble of all Colours. Before the Cheſt, which contain'd the Law, was a Tribunal rais'd with ten Steps, on which was placed the Seat of the Prince of the Captivity and his Family. His Sovereignty extended over all the diſperſed *Jews* in *Aſſyria* and *Chaldea*, and all the Kingdom of the *Parthians*: *Eſdras* commonly calls them Orientals, in oppoſition to thoſe who lived in *Judea* and *Ægypt*, which are often called Occidentals. He conferr'd Ordination on all the Heads of the Synagogues of the *Eaſt*; thence alſo he received the neceſſary Contributions to ſupport his Dignity, and pay the Tributes exacted by the Kings of *Perſia*.

IX. This *Prince* was to be of the Houſe of *David*, but it would have been extreamly difficult to have obſerved this order in a place where there were but few *Jews* of the Tribes of *Juda*, and the *Little Benjamin*, and where on the contrary the Poſtérity of the other Tribes were infinitely the uppermoſt This was perhaps only imagined, that they might not in any thing be inferior to thoſe who continued in *Judea*, whoſe *Patriarchs* deſcending from *Hillel*, traced their Pedigree up to *David*; or to raiſe the glory of the Nation.

X. This Principality ſtill ſubſiſted in the Eleventh Century, when it received a deadly blow. The famous Academies were ſhut up; the People and Diſciples fled to the *Weſt*, and particularly to *France*, where they taught for ſome Years with great Reputation. The Heads of the Captivity loſt their Power by the Deſertions of the People, and the Oppreſſion of the Infidels: Their Name remain'd till the 12th Century, ſince *Benjamin de Tudela*, who travell'd into theſe parts, found one ſtill there; but we find no footſteps of them from that time.

XI. 'Tis pretended that the Academies were Erected in the Year 220, or 230; which agrees well enough with the Conjecture we have made about the Inſtitution of the *Prince* of the Captivity. For as this *Prince* was really a Doctor, and was chiefly imployed in the Study and Obſervation of the Law, there is no doubt but that the firſt uſe he made of his Authority was the Eſtabliſhment of an Academy. The moſt antient was that of *Nahardea*, a Town ſituated upon the Banks of *Euphrates*: 'Tis ſaid there was a famous School there in the Year 185, that one *Samuel* a *Rabbin*, who went from thence young, and taught the *Miſnah* under *Juda* the Saint at *Tiberias*, return'd into his Country, took the conduct of this School, or ſet it up. This *Samuel* is a Man famous in his Nation, which diſtinguiſhes him by the titles of the Vigilant of *Arioch*, *of Sapor the King*, *and the Lunatick*, becauſe 'tis pretended he govern'd the People as abſolutely as Kings do their Subjects; and that the way to Heaven was as well known to him, as that of his own Academy. He died in the Year 250, of our Lord; and the Town of *Nahardea* being taken in the Year 278, the Academy was ruined.

XII. 'Tis ſaid an Academy was forthwith erected at *Sora*, which borrowed its name from *Syria*; for the *Jews* give it to all the Lands ſtretching from *Damas* and *Euphrates*, quite to *Babylon*. *Sora* ſtood upon the *Euphrates*, ſixty Miles from *Nahardea*. The *Jews* were afflicted there with a violent Peſtilence, which occaſion'd the change of its Name: For a *Rabbin* teaching the Inhabitants to recite a Section of *Exodus*, they were by this means cured, and in gratitude they call'd this City *Matha Mechaſia*, that is, *a City of Propitiation*, *Grace*, *and Mercy*; it had two Tribunals of Juſtice for the *Jews* that lived there. In the Year 3955, or 195, an Academy was ſet up there, which became the more famous, becauſe *R. Huna* was one of its firſt Heads; others place this erection in the Year 220, and with more reaſon.

XIII. *Pumbedita* was a City ſituate in *Meſopotamia*, agreeable for the beauty of its Buildings. It was much diſcredited by the Manners of its Inhabitants, which were almoſt ſo many Robbers; no Body would have any Commerce with them, and the *Jews* have ſtill this Proverb, that *a Man muſt change his Habitation who has a* Pumdebitan [d] for his Neighbour. *R. Chaſda* [e] made choice of it in the Year 290, to teach in it. As he was *Huna*'s Collegue who taught at *Sora*, [f] there is reaſon to ſuſpect that ſome jealouſie or perſonal pique, put him upon this new erection: He could not however give his new Academy the Luſtre and Reputation of that of *Sora*, which always kept the Superiority of *Pumdebita*: For if we believe the *Jews*, the firſt had the title of *Excellent*, or *Gaon*, which was denied the other: He had the pre-eminence; he held the Right Hand of the *Prince* of the Captivity; he made the Prayer; he explain'd the Law in the vulgar Tongue, whilſt the *Prince* of the Captivity heard. Laſtly, he had one third more Salary than the other.

XIV. There were two other Academies erected the ſame Year, 353, one at *Nareſh* near *Sora*, and the other at *Machuſia*. A fifth was alſo ſet up at the end of the tenth Century, in a place called *Peruts Sciabbur*, where 'tis ſaid there were ten thouſand [g] *Jews*.

XV. The Heads of the Academies have given great Luſtre to the *Jewiſh* Nation by their Writings. They muſt not be confounded with the *Princes* of the Captivity, who reſided at *Babylon*, and regulated all the affairs of the Nation in that Country, with the ſame Authority, as the *Patriarchs* of *Tiberias* did in the *Weſt*.

However the Heads of the Academy partaked with them in their Command. For as the Government of the *Jews* depends on abundance of caſes of Conſcience; and *Moſes* has given political Laws, which are as ſacred as the Ceremonial; the Doctors which were often conſulted, were alſo Maſters of the People: Some even believe, that after the ruin of the Temple, the *Councils* being extinct, or confounded with the Academies, the power belonged intirely to the Heads of them. This is but a general Idea of the *Princes* of the Captivity, and the Governors of the Nation in the *Eaſt*: But we ſhall ſpeak more largely of them hereafter, becauſe we can't well inſert their Hiſtory here, without maiming that of the diſperſions: We reſerve it for the ſixth Book, where we ſhall inſert the Names and principal actions that have diſtinguiſh'd theſe Heads of the *Eaſtern* Captivity. Let us here examine the Succeſſion of the Doctors of *Iſrael*, and the different orders of Maſters that have taught the *Jews*, that we may the better know from what Fountain their preſent Religion is derived, and moſt of the Ceremonies they obſerve.

[d] Pumdebitanus te aſſociat, muta hoſpitium. [e] Cholin. p. 127. [f] *In* 260. [g] Bartol. B. R. t. 111. p. 667. An. 967.

CHAP. V.

The First Order of the *Jewiſh* Doctors.

The Tanaites, *who have preſerved the Tradition from* Eſdras *to* Juda the Saint, *or the* 200 *Year of the* Chriſtian Æra.

I. *Of the* Tanaites. II. *Several Errors about* Eſdras. III. Simeon the Juſt *a* Tanaite. IV *The Method we are obliged to follow concerning the* Tanaites. V. *The Preſidents and Vice-Preſidents of the Senate.* VI. *Proſelytes and Hereticks* Tanaites. VII. Tanaites *that were never Preſidents of the Senate.* R. Eliezer. VIII. *Whether they had the* Daughter of the Voice, *or* Bathcol. IX. *Arguments to the contrary.* X. *A Paſſage of* Joſephus *explain'd.* XI. *Miracles of the* Tanaites. XII. *Their Maxims.* XIII. *Their Elogy.* XIV. *Their Succeſſion.* XV. *The Birth of* Juda the Saint. XVI. *His Work of the* Miſnah.

I. THE *Jews* are perſuaded that God gave Two Sorts of Laws on Mount *Sinai*, One that *Moſes* wrote down, and another which he truſted to his Memory, which was tranſmitted to Poſterity, by the miniſtry of Doctors and Prophets. By the help of this Diſtinction they make God ſay what they pleaſe, and give a Divine Authority to their Imaginations. It was in their Doctor's Power to multiply the Commandments, and vary them according to their Caprice, and the People could not diſobey them guiltleſs, from the moment they were perſuaded that their Heads were the ſecret Depoſitaries of the Will of the Almighty.

It is not difficult to derive down theſe Traditions and Oral Law from Mouth to Mouth, whilſt there were Prieſts and Prophets, and Sacred Writers. They can chuſe in the Sacred Hiſtory the Saints that beſt pleaſe them, and produce them to the People as ſo many Conduits through which the Oral-Law hath ran. But the Confuſion is greater from *Eſdras* to *Juda the Saint*, and therefore the Succeſſion varies with the moſt judicious Writers, and is found frequently interrupted. However, they have not fail'd to find a Succeſſion of Fathers who have tranſmitted the Traditions to Poſterity, and they give them the Name of *Tanaites*, or *Tanaans*, that is to ſay Doctors; [a] this Word is borrow'd from another, which ſignifies *to teach.* They are alſo call'd *Miſnaicks*, becauſe the Work of the *Miſnah* is aſcribed to them. Laſtly, They give ſome of them the Title of *Abba*, which ſignifies Father; there is cited, for Inſtance, in the *Miſnah*, one *Abba Saul*, who was of the Stature of the Giants, and who burying the Dead, found *Abſalom*'s Eye, in which he hid himſelf up to the Noſe.

II. They ſet *Eſdras* at the Head of the *Tanaites*, the Preſervers of Tradition; but the Rabbinical Genius will appear by the different Things they relate of him: 1. Some confound him with *Zerobabel*, others with *Malachy*, and alledge for a Reaſon, that there never was any Man named *Malachy*, ſince this ſignifies an Angel, or Meſſenger, and that of all the Meſſengers of God to *Jeruſalem*, there was none that more eminently deſerved this Title than *Eſdras*; they are charged in the *Alcoran* with making *Eſdras* not only an Angel, but a *Son of God*; but this is a Calumny founded upon the exceſſive Praiſes which they give him. 2. They make him contemporary with *Baruch*, who confided to him the Tradition at *Babylon*; with *Plato*, *Demoſthenes*, and at the ſame time make him live till *Alexander the Great* made his Entrance into *Jeruſalem*, in the Time of *Haggai*, *Zachary*, and *Malachy*, and when all Prophecy was extinct. 3. They attribute to him I know not how many new Regulations, as that of appointing Perfumers to run about the Streets of *Jeruſalem*, that the Women might buy of them more conveniently, in order to dreſs themſelves on the Sabbath. 4. Laſtly, They aſcribe to him the Inſtitution of a Council of an hundred and twenty Perſons, call'd *The Great Synagogue*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he reſtored the Scripture to its primitive Perfection.

III. The *Jewiſh* Hiſtorians are ſtill leſs exact about *Simeon the Juſt*, whom they make *Eſdras*'s Succeſſor. They conſider him as the laſt of the *Great Synagogue*, who ſurvived all the reſt, and preſerved the Tradition: They confound him with *Jaddus*, who received *Alexander the Great* in their City, and the better to diſguiſe him, they make him to ſucceed *Jehoſhua* in the High-Prieſthood; they make him diſpute, before this Prince, againſt the *Africans*, who came to re-demand the *Holy Land*, which belonged to them as Deſcendents of *Canaan*; but he confounded them by citing the Place where *Canaan*, who was curſed of his Father, *was to ſerve his Brethren.* They attribute to him a Miracle, to hinder an unknown Perſon call'd, *Niſcalenus*, from ſetting up in the Temple the Images he had brought: For this unknown Perſecutor died whilſt *Simeon the Juſt* celebrated the Feaſt with the People in the Temple. Laſtly, They affirm, that whilſt he lived, the Goat which was ſent into the Wilderneſs, was ſcarce thrown down the Rock, but he was ſeen to fall in pieces, whereas ſince his Death, he always ran into the Wilderneſs, and the *Arabians* often eat him. Some make him live 350 Years; they even ſometimes confound him with *Simeon*, who took *Jeſus Chriſt* in his Arms.

IV. We ſhould be no better inſtructed in the true Hiſtory of the *Jews*, though we ſhould proceed to relate all the Actions they tell of the Preſervers of Tradition, down to *Juda the Saint*, who put it in writing. The *Jews*, who neglect other Parts of their Hiſtory, are fondly devoted to thoſe Perſons who have preſerved their Tradition; as if the Honour of their Church and Nation ſolely depended on it. They load them with extraordinary Actions; their Lives abound with Miracles, and the Writers think it a particular Duty incumbent on them to preſerve at leaſt their Names. We find them in the antienteſt Chronicles, as in the famous *Seder Olam*, which has been lately reprinted in *Holland*, with new Annotations: *Abraham*, [b] Son of *David*, or *Dior*, who lived at *Peſcaira*, the beginning of the Twelfth Century, was obliged to go to the bottom of this Subject, by reaſon of a Diſpute he had with ſome *Sadducees*, or *Caraites*, which then flouriſh'd in *Spain*. He ſhews, *in this Book of Tradition*, a Succeſſion of Doctors from *Adam* to his own Age. *Abraham Zacuth* [c] expell'd *Spain*, with the other *Jews*, has drawn a Succeſſion of *Genealogies* from the beginning of the World to the Year 1500. The

[a] Vide Otho. Hiſtor. Doct. Mimic. Bartol. B. R. t. 111. [b] Abraham Ben David Hallevi Sepher. Hakkabbal. Vide Bartol. B. R. 4. t. *p.* 18. [c] Abraham Zachut. Juchaſim eſt Liber proſapiarum. Ibid. *p.* 54.

famous *Gedalia* [d] has also made a *Chain of the Cabbala*, or Tradition, to the Year 1586, in which he wrote. *R. Ganz* [e] has carried his Chronology to the taking of *Bologne*, where the *Jews* were plunder'd, and lost considerably. We ought therefore to find more light upon this Article, than others. And yet there is a great Disagreement [f] in the Calculations of these Historians; they differ even in the Names of their Doctors; they confound the Times, and make Persons live in the same Age, who were vastly remote from one another; they give these Doctors such Encomiums, as demonstrate their want of Taste for true Merit. That we may not engage too tediously in Particulars, and a Confutation which would never have an end, we will here content our selves with making some Reflections, which give a general Idea of them.

V. *First*, It is pretended, that the great Council or *Sanhedrim* was govern'd by Two Persons, without reckoning the High-Priest; One was the Prince of the Senate, and the other his Vicar, these Two Chiefs were the Depositaries of Tradition, and these Offices were establish'd long after the ruin of *Jerusalem*. *Josua* the Son of *Perachia*, exercis'd it under *Aristobulus*, with *Nathan* of *Arbela*; this was the Name of the Place where this Great-Vicar was born, and a little City of *Galilee*, which we must not confound, as is sometimes done, with that famous Plain, in which *Alexander* the Great beat the *Persians*.

'Tis said that *Josua*, the Son of *Perachia*, the Head of the *Sanhedrim*, was also the Præceptor of *Jesus Christ*; that he took him with him into *Ægypt*, but perceiving in his Travels a great Inclination in him to debauch, he dismiss'd him with Ignominy. To make *Jesus Christ* Contemporary with *Josua*, the Son of *Perachia*, is confounding Times, and making the *Messiah* to be born under *Alexander Jannæus*, and to die at 36 Years of Age, under *Aristobulus*. They must maintain that the Emperor *Constantine* reign'd 420 Years after *Jesus Christ*, though we have evident Proofs to the contrary: But *Abraham* the Son of *Dior*, who has imagin'd this Story, does not trouble his Head about all these Distortions of Chronology; and he is in the right, since the Doctors of his Nation, for whom he writ, follow him without Examination.

This Author, who lived in the 12th Century, would not doubtless have forged this false Chronology, but to get rid of an Objection that was offer'd him, about the Temple's being ruin'd, a little after the coming of our *Messiah*; but the Artifice is too coursly spun. Another [g] distinguishes Two *Josua*'s, One the Son of *Perachia*, Chief of the Senate, Preserver of Tradition; and the other that lived in the Time of *Hillel* and *Schammay*, and was Præceptor to *Jesus Christ*. But he falls into an *Anachronism*, as well as the other in the History of the 2d Temple, in making of *Jesus Christ* to be taken by *Pompey*, who went to *Damas* after that Performance.

VI. Historians also reckon among the Chiefs of the Nation, and Depositaries of the Oral Law, not only Proselytes, as *Abtalion*, whose Name they fancy they find in the *Roman* Law, as if he was a Lawyer among the Heathens, before he was President of the *Sanhedrim*, but also Hereticks, as *Hillel* and *Schammay*: For though these Doctors were of a very different Opinion, a Voice from Heaven pronounc'd that both their Sentiments were to be received; but the Daughter of Voice preferr'd *Hillel*, to whom Obedience was due upon pain of Death. However, great respect was had to the Disciples of *Schammay*. *Baba*, Son of *Butah*, who lived in the Time of *Herod*, and became President of the Senate, was one of the Disciples of *Schammay*, Chief of the *Caraites*; *Tarphon*, or *Tryphon*, was another Disciple of *Schammay*: Hence the Insult of the Robbers who pillaged him one Evening, telling him, *Thou wouldst have foreseen this Misfortune, if thou hadst been an* Hillelian; because these latter pray'd standing, and could see what was done; whereas *Tarphon* having his Head and Eyes downward at the Evening-Prayer, as *Schammay* had instituted, perceived not the Robbers till they were upon him.

They [h] count even Women in the List of the *Tanaites*, for *Beruria Meir*'s Wife has a place there; and they pretend they are indebted to her for Three hundred Precepts or Maxims, which she had collected from 30 Doctors. Mean time this is no honourable Succession. Lastly, They reckon among the Depositaries of Tradition, the famous *Akiba*, Standard-bearer to *Barchochebas*, the Son of the *Star*, who boasted of being the *Messiah*, an Impostor that brought infinite Miseries upon his Nation.

VII. They place also in the Succession of the Depositaries of the Oral-Law, several Persons who were never Presidents of the *Sanhedrim*: But in recompence for their want of so eminent a Dignity, they attribute to them a prodigious Science, and heaps of Miracles: They say, for Instance, of *Eliezer*, *That tho' the Firmament were Parchment, and the Waters of the Sea were changed into Ink; it would not suffice to write all that he knew; for he had made Three hundred Constitutions, purely upon the Subject of sowing of Cucumbers.* Furnish'd with this profound Erudition, he thought he might contest the Post of President of the Senate which was vacant: He proposed *Theses*, as was the Custom of the Competitors for that Dignity, and not content thereby to demonstrate his perfect Acquaintance with Tradition, he proved it by a Train of Miracles: The Rivers ran up their Channel; the Walls of the School lean'd at his Word; the Daughter of Voice was heard, and pronounc'd *Eliezer*'s Tradition to be follow'd: And yet for all this he was refused; whether because he was already old, or was hated for bringing from *Lydda* certain opposite Opinions to those of other Doctors. This is the *Eliezer* [i] the Traditioner of the Oral-Law, to whom they attribute certain *Chapters* of high esteem among the *Jews*, as if they had a venerable Antiquity, whereas they are very modern Writers who have forged this Piece, in which we find the History of the Old Testament, even to *Mardochai*, which *Vorstius* has translated. His Father, call'd *Hircanus*, ought not to be confounded with him in the *Maccabees* of the same Name; for he lived not many Years after [k] *Jesus Christ*.

When we tax the *Jewish* Doctors with ranking amongst the Guardians of Tradition, such as their Ancestors rejected for their particular Opinions, they retort the same Accusation upon the Christians, who respectfully follow the Tradition of some Doctors, whose Sentiments were not entirely pure. They add, that since the Christians boast the personal Succession of their Bishops, as if that was their Preservative from Error; and swell their Books with a long Catalogue of Popes, whom they look upon as the Depositaries of Religion; the *Jews* have right to take the same method, which Comparison is so far from offending the Doctors of the *Romish* Church, that it extremely pleases them: They fill up the

[d] Gedalia Schialchelet. Hakkabbala; id est Catena Cabbalæ. [e] R. Ganz Tsemach David, sive Germen Davidis, in Chronolog. sacra & prophan. ad Ann. 1588. [f] *See Examples of this difference in the Calculations of these Historians*, apud Vorstium Observat. ad Chronol. R. Ganz. p. 213. ex Othon. Hist. Doct. Misnic. p. 94. [g] Gedalia Schialtscheler. Hakkab. [h] R. Ganz, Chron. p. 105. [i] Capitula Eliezer apud Vorstium. [k] An. 73.

Vacuities

Vacuities of this Sketch, and with new Proofs aſſert the conformity of the Popiſh Religion with the *Jewiſh:* For ſay they, the Pope is above the Church, whereof he is Head, as the High-Prieſt was ſuperior to all the Synagogue. One can't be depos'd, and another Pope ſubſtituted in his Place, as the other could not be diſpoſſeſs'd whilſt the *Jewiſh* Common-Wealth ſubſiſted. The High-Prieſt was always rich and powerful: He might even become a King, as appears by the Example of the *Aſmoneans*. The Pope is rich, eſpecially ſince the Donation of *Conſtantine*, and the other Princes. He is the Temporal Lord of *Rome:* He wears a Crown, and has a Royal Dignity, as Succeſſor to *Jeſus Chriſt*, who proceeded from the Houſe of *David:* The Cardinals are the Princes of the Church, as the Aſſiſtant of the High-Prieſt was called *a Prince of God*. They preſerve Traditions, and add new ones, as the High-Prieſt added to thoſe of *Moſes*. Laſtly, The Succeſſion of the Popes is continued as well as that of the Fathers of Traditions.

Surely there can't be worſe Reaſoning than this. Well, let Controvertiſts maintain that under the Goſpel, God annexing a new Grace to the Succeſſion of Biſhops, they derive the Doctrine from one hand to another; yet they give but a wretched Idea of this Succeſſion, by comparing it with that of the *Jews:* For if their Chain of Doctors has never been broken, and yet in ſpight of this Succeſſion, whereby the Religion was handed from Mouth to Mouth, from *Moſes* to *Eſdras*, and from *Eſdras* to *Jeſus Chriſt*, theſe Traditions are withſtood; becauſe *Jeſus Chriſt* has cenſured them; it muſt be confeſs'd that Religion changes, notwithſtanding the Succeſſion of Perſons, and that the Compariſon made between the Chain of High-Prieſts and Fathers of Tradition, and the Popes and Biſhops, ſhews the Falſhood of the Argument drawn from it, unleſs they have recourſe to Miracle.

Beſides the High-Prieſthood is abſurdly united with Royalty among the *Jews*; for theſe Dignities were always ſeparate. The *Aſmonæans* uſurp'd the Royalty, as the Popes have aſſumed Dignities and Titles inconſiſtent with Religion. If they are the Succeſſors of *the Son of David*, they ought, like him, to live in mean Eſtate, and have no place *where to lay their Head.* Simplicity better agrees with the Church, than the glittering Pomp of Riches: *Conſtantine*'s Donation is a Chimera ſufficiently refuted. The Example of *Solomon*, who depoſed *Abiathar*, aſſerted by ſo many others, undermines the Pretenſion of the Popes, who may be expell'd their Sees, as well as other Biſhops. Theſe *Princes of God*, whoſe Title they have transferr'd to the Cardinals, are imaginary. There only remain then Three indiſputable Congruities, One whereof turns upon that heap of Traditions added to the Goſpel; the other upon the number of uſeleſs Laws and Commandments of the Church, annex'd to Traditions, under the multitude whereof Religion is overwhelm'd. Laſtly, The Succeſſion of Popes, perplex'd in their Beginnings, is as uncertain as that of the High-Prieſts, and the Succeſſion of Biſhops often as fabulous as that of the Fathers of Tradition. Let us return to theſe Doctors.

VIII, They pretend that the *Daughter of Voice* often aſſiſted theſe Depoſitaries of Tradition; thus it was that ſhe caus'd her ſelf to be heard, in order to make it known that *Akiba*, kill'd by *Adrian*'s Command, was bleſſed: But her Declaration was particularly advantageous to *Hillel the Old*, and another Rabbin named *Samuel*, ſince ſhe pronounc'd, in Preſence of all their Diſciples, *That they were worthy to receive the Holy Spirit.* God alſo ſpoke to teach, *That all the Univerſe was nouriſh'd for the ſake of his Son* Chanina. They ſometimes make theſe Guardians of Tradition Prophets, who foretold Futurities.

IX. The Chriſtians have ſo often been told by the *Jews* of this *Daughter of Voice* which aſſiſted their Doctors, that they could not ſo much as imagine ſuch a boaſted Miracle to be fabulous; and they are ſo far from impleading their Relations of it of Falſhood, as to ſeek farther Arguments to confirm them in this Opinion. They believe *Joſephus* has mention'd it, ſince he affirms that *Hircanus* knew *Antiochus*'s Defeat, the very Day that the Battle was fought. They find this *Daughter of Voice* even in the New Teſtament, in the Miracle that loſt *Zachary* his Speech; in the Baptiſm and Transfiguration of *Jeſus Chriſt*, when a Voice was heard diſtinctly.

But we ought not to believe a Thing becauſe we are often told it, and multitudes of Facts are amaſs'd to render it plauſible. We muſt ſtill examine the Nature of the Miracle, and the Teſtimonies whereupon it is founded. They are the modern *Jews* who do this honour to their Anceſtors, and mingle this Miracle with a great number of others, that are evidently fabulous. They don't ſo much as produce one Contemporary Author who has mention'd this *Daughter of Voice*, which is enough to render it very ſuſpicious: Beſides, they don't always ſay that it was a Voice from Heaven that was heard, but they give this Name to all the Preſages they had of an Event. Thus *Simeon* and *Jochanan* deſirous to ſee King *Samuel*, who taught at *Babylon*, reſolved to conſult the *Daughter of Voice*, about their Journey; to this purpoſe they liſt'ned, as they paſs'd by a School, and heard a Child reading theſe Words of Scripture, [l] *Samuel is dead*, from whence they concluded this Doctor was dead, and they were not miſtaken. Two other Rabbins [m] going to viſit one of their Friends, heard a Woman ſay, *The Lamp is out*, and her Neighbour anſwer'd her, *Ah, let not the Lamp of* Iſrael *be put out*; and they took this for the *Daughter of Voice* they deſign'd to conſult. From hence we may judge what they meant by this *Daughter of Voice*, whoſe Anſwers were often ſo diverſified. Thus it was that *R. Acher* having committed many Crimes, was led into Thirteen Synagogues, and in each Synagogue a Diſciple was interrogated, and the Verſe he read was examin'd: In the Firſt School they heard theſe Words of *Iſaiah*, *There is no peace to the wicked:* Another School read, *God ſaid to the wicked, why doſt thou take my words into thy mouth*, and in all the Synagogues ſomething of this nature [n] was heard againſt *Acher*, from whence it was concluded he was hated of God, ſince it was his Providence that determin'd the reading of theſe Scripture Verſes; and that was doubtleſs what they called the *Daughter of Voice.*

Some of theſe Doctors often imagin'd they heard a ſecret Voice ſpeaking to their Heart, from the Anſwers whereof they form'd their Reſolutions. And thus ſome myſtical and ſuperſtitious Chriſtians tell us of a Divine Voice, which they fancy they hear, and relate a good long Diſcourſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who ſpeaks and ſays to a Servant-Maid, *Thou art no longer; thou art in me as the Fiſh in the Sea* [o]. All this ſerves only to corrupt the Underſtanding, and give falſe Ideas to Man, too ſubject to flatter himſelf, and to imagine that God honours him with a ſtricter and more ſenſible Communication than others. The *Rabbins* might imagine they heard Voices from Heaven, God ſpeaking to them, to their Heart, and boaſt this Miracle, as if it were real, and it was taken by others upon truſt, with-

[l] 1 Sam. 15. 1. [m] Otho Hiſt. Doct. Miſn. *p.* 87. [n] Excerpta Gemaræ apud Hottinger, *p.* 108. [o] *Life of the good* Armelle.

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out Examination; or perhaps their Poſterity has given them this Privilege, which they have neither ſought for, nor even thought of aſſuming. But beſides, the Effects of a pre-poſſeſs'd Imagination, the *Jewiſh* Doctors might do, what has ſince been done by a great number of Chriſtians. Theſe latter dipt into a Book, as the Goſpel of St. *John*, and the firſt Text they found, went for a Divine Oracle, which determin'd the good or ill ſucceſs of their Deſigns. The *Jews* had doubtleſs the ſame Weakneſs, and when they had form'd a Project, they conſider'd the firſt Word that could be applied to it, as an Anſwer from Heaven: For the Example of the *Tanaites* before cited, evidently proves it, and this was call'd the *Daughter of Voice*, becauſe it was a Voice heard in an unforeſeen manner, and ſuppoſed to be directed by a Divine Providence. This kind of Revelation was thought much inferior to prophetical Revelation.

X. The Paſſage of *Joſephus* [p] alledged, proves that the *Daughter of Voice*, which muſt have been ſo well known in his Time, was not, for thus he ſpeaks: *There goes an incredible Story of* Hircanus, *that God vouchſafed to ſpeak to him, for he ſaid that the ſame Day his Children gave battel to* Antiochus Cyzicenus, *the High-Prieſt burning Incenſe alone in the Temple, heard a Voice which inform'd him of his Sons Victory over the Enemy, which he immediately publiſh'd, and the Prediction prov'd true.* Here you have the *Daughter of Voice* you ſeek for. But 1. *Joſephus* does not give it that Name. 2. He lays in his Precautions, that he may not be charged with the Falſity of Hiſtory, for he only relates it as a *Story*, a common Report, which is the Sanctuary the Hiſtorians commonly take, when they are not willing to paſs in ſilence a thing that they think uncertain. 3. He determines, that it was an incredible thing, whereas he could not ſpeak thus if the Miracle of the *Voice* had ſucceeded the Gift of Prophecy, and had been very common, as is ſuppoſed. Laſtly, They impertinently confound the Miracles of the Goſpel with uncertain Stories, which have no Authority.

XI. They aſcribe alſo to the *Tanaites*, the Preſervers of Tradition, the privilege of ſpeaking to Angels. *Chanina* did it. Beſides, he diſcover'd by the readineſs of his Prayers in his Mouth, whether the Sick were to live or die. The *Tanaites* had alſo the power of commanding Devils, and reſtraining Sorcerers. Thus *Simeon*, the Son of *Sceta*, One of theſe *Tanaites* who lived before *Jeſus Chriſt*, and even before *Hillel*, underſtanding that 80 Women were working magical Charms in one of the *Grotto*'s of *Aſcalon*, conveyed himſelf thither with 80 Youths; he diſputed with theſe Women, and would prove that he was a greater Sorcerer than they, for with one Halloo he made the 80 Youths appear that were hid, who lifting up theſe Women in the Air, deſtroyed all the magical Power they were endued with, which cover'd them with ſhame. I don't wonder at the *Talmudiſts* publiſhing ſuch Stories as theſe to the Honour of their antient Maſters; but at the Chriſtian's ſeriouſly examining whether *Simeon* did not ſin, in cauſing theſe Women to be hanged all in a Day, ſince Women were not to be hanged, and Tradition did not allow many Criminals to die in one Day: This Story is alſo made uſe of to confirm what *Hillel* and the *Gemara* ſay, that he that multiplies Women, multiplies the Magical Art; becauſe moſt Women are addicted to it; as if there had not been as many Men as Women accuſed of Magick, or rather, as if we ought to reaſon upon ſuch doubtful Narratives.

XII. To each of theſe *Tanaites* are aſcribed ſome particular Precepts, as to each of the Apoſtles the Chriſtians have allotted an Article of the Creed. The Doctors [q] of the Great Synagogue eſtabliſh'd by *Eſdras*, commanded *not to precipitate Judgments, to make many Diſciples and Ordinances.* This is that they call *an Hedge of the Law. Simeon the juſt*, One of the *Tanaites*, ſaid, *The World was built upon the Law, upon Religious Worſhip, and the Retribution of Benefits.* He meant by that, that Men ought to ſtudy the Law; offer abundance of Sacrifices, and be charitable. 'Twas in the ſame Senſe that *Joſe* the Son of *Jochanan* ſaid, *That the Door of the Houſe was to be open'd that was towards the High-way*, that the Poor might enter; but he adds, *That a Man ought to have but little Commerce with his own Wife, and none at all with another Man's*; and the wiſe Men have confirm'd this Maxim, by ſaying, *That he that ſpeaks often to Women, brings many Evils on himſelf, is diverted from the ſtudy of the Law, and throws himſelf into Hell.* We may ſee elſe-where all the Maxims of theſe *Tanaites*; a Specimen is ſufficient here, to let us know what they are. They contain, in a few Words, Precepts of Morality, and Maxims that may be uſeful to Society.

XIII. There are no ſorts of Elogies but are given theſe *Tanaites*, that have preſerved Tradition. The ſucceeding Doctors don't even refuſe them Riches, for they boldy ſay, that *R. Eliezer*, the Son of *Harſum*, had a thouſand Cities upon the Land, and a thouſand Ships upon the Sea. Theſe are Hyperboles to let us know that *Eliezar* was very rich; but it need not be wondered that ſuch extravagant Figures are not reliſh'd by every body; they contain a childiſh Affectation and a Spirit of Falſhood, that is only fit to introduce Error.

'Tis in vain to ſay that theſe Figures are common, and that in the ſame Senſe it has been ſaid, there were 60000 Cities in the Mountains of *Judea*, each of which had 60000 Inhabitants. The multiplication of theſe kind of Examples, ſerves only to ſhew their violent Propenſion to Hyperbole, and the little Streſs that is to be laid upon what the *Rabbins* ſay to the advantage of their Nation, ſince they make no ſcruple of ſhocking Probability in the ſimpleſt Things. They maintain that the King of *Perſia* was not ſo rich as *Juda the Saint*'s Maſter of the Horſe. They aſcribe to *Akibas* ſuch a profound Knowledge, that it was own'd to be a departure from Life, to deviate from his Deciſions. *Moſes* foreſaw, by God's diſcourſe, that this [r] *Akibas* was to be more holy than he, for which reaſon he ask'd him, *why he did not prefer him to carry his Law to the People:* But God anſwer'd, *That the Birth of* Akibas *was remote, and that he could not wait ſo long, to make his Will known to the People.* Nevertheleſs this *Akibas* was flay'd by *Adrian.*

XIV. 'Tis thus they expreſs their Reſpect and Veneration for the *Tanaites*, whoſe Succeſſion has laſted preciſely from *Eſdras* to *Juda the Saint*, who lived in the 215 Year of the *Chriſtian Æra*, for it was he that ſeeing the Diſperſion of the People, fear'd the Tradition would be loſt; wherefore he made that Collection of them which is call'd the *Miſnah* [s].

XV. This *Juda the Saint* deſcended from *Hillel the Old*, and counted amongſt his Anceſtors many Preſidents of the Council, whom we have called *Patriarchs*. He had *R. Meir* for his Præceptor, a mortal Enemy to his Father, and who had made violent Efforts to degrade him from his Dignity: But this *Rabbin* was of ſo much Learning and E-

[p] Joſeph Ant. *l.* 13. *c.* 18. *p.* 452. [q] Vide Tract. Thalmud. Pirke Abbot. ſive capitula patrum cum not. Leuſden. Fol. 1. [r] Alfonſi Dialog. Art. 2. B. Max. Pat. T. xxi. *p.* 185. [s] *See* Cap. ii. N. v. &c.

ſteem,

ſteem, that *Simeon* ſacrified his Hatred to the Education of his Son. *Meir* was one of the *Tanaites*, who was permitted to mingle *Oyl and Wine on the Sabbath day*, to make Medicines for the Sick, againſt the common Tradition, which allowed nothing to be done for them that Day. He was ſo humble and wiſe at once, that underſtanding an Huſband had commanded his Wife to go and ſpit in his Face, becauſe ſhe had ſtayed too long at Sermon, he feign'd himſelf to have a ſore Eye, and deſired this Woman to ſpit ſeven times upon that ſore part. Thus the *Rabbin* preſerved his Honour, and prevented the diviſion betwixt the Husband and the Wife. There are Chriſtians that compare this action to that of *Jeſus*, who cured the blind Man with Spittle and Clay. But muſt not a Man be exceſſively opinionated with *Judaiſm* to reaſon thus? 'Twas this able Maſter that taught *Juda* the Saint the Traditions.

XVI. This *Patriarch* was a perfect Maſter of the *Hebrew*, and from *Moſes* to him, Science and Magnificence had not been ſeen reunited in the ſame Perſon: He made a Collection [h] *of all the Decrees, Statutes, Sayings of wiſe Men; all the Ordinances of the Council that had been made under the Miniſtry of the Prophets, or by Men of the great Synagogue*, or laſtly, *by the* Tanaites *we have been treating of*. This Work was compleated towards the end of the ſecond Century of the Chriſtian *Æra*. It was received with the general applauſe, and all the Nation approved it by the order of *Gamaliel*, the Son of *Juda* his Succeſſor, in the Preſidentſhip of the *Sanhedrim*, and Headſhip of the Captivity. We will not repeat what we have already ſaid of him, it ſuffices to obſerve, that the Succeſſion of the *Tanaites*, to whom 'tis thought we are indebted for the principal deciſions of the *Miſnah*, ends here, to give place to another Order of Doctors, called *Gemariſts*, or *Perfects*; becauſe they perfected the *Miſnah* with their Commentaries.

[h] Ganz. Chronol. p. 108.

CHAP. VI.

The ſecond Order of *Jewiſh* Doctors.

The Gemariſts *and* Talmudiſts; *the* Archiperecites. *The Antiquity of the* Talmud *Examin'd.*

I. *THE Extravagants of the* Jews. II. *The faults of the* Miſnah. III. *The* Talmud *of* Jeruſalem. IV. *The* Talmud *of* Babylon. V. *The Antiquity of the* Talmud. VI. *Father* Morin's *Arguments againſt it.* VII. Juſtinian's *Novel.* VIII. *Father* Morin's *Conjectures concerning it.* IX. *His Confutation.* X. Voſſius's *Explication rejected.* XI. *Of the* Archiperecites. XII. *The* Jewiſh *Notion of the* Talmud. XIII. *The Sentiments of ſome Chriſtians that commend it.* XIV. *The Apology that is made for the* Talmud. XV. *It is condemn'd to be burnt.* XVI. *The decrees of the Popes.* XVII. *Diviſions amongſt the Doctors.* XVIII. *An equitable judgment of the* Talmud.

I. JUDA the Saint had no ſooner compleated the *Miſnah*, but a *Rabbin*, jealous of his glory, publiſh'd, before his Eyes, and in his Life time, quite contrary Traditions. A Collection [a] was made of them under the Title of *Extravagants*, and they were inſerted with the *Miſnah*, to compoſe one and the ſame Body of Law. Thus the Canon Law of the *Romiſh* and *Jewiſh* Church, was formed almoſt in the ſame mannner: Both of them are made up of Tradition, or what they call the Oral Law; both are full of Canons and Decrees of Fathers that have preceded them; both abound with inſignificant and ridiculous deciſions; both tend to raiſe the glory of their Church, and the Heads of it; both contain contrary deciſions, which leave the Mind in ſuſpence; both were hatch'd in the corruption of Ages, and the decay of the Church and Religion. In fine, the *Romans* have their *Extravagants* like the *Jews*, and the *Jews* have their *Extravagants* like the *Romans*.

II. Though *Juda* the Saint's Collection of Traditions, under the title of *Miſnah*, ſeem'd to be a compleat Work, yet two conſiderable faults were obſerved in it; one that it was very confuſed, the Author having reported the Opinions of different Doctors without naming them, and determining which of theſe Opinions deſerved the preference; much like St. *Jerome*'s method in compoſing his Commentaries; which confirms the Conjecture, that *Juda* the Saint was only the Compiler of Writings before publiſh'd; and that inſtead of writing the Oral Law, he only heap'd together what was found in the more antient *Chaldee* Paraphraſes.

There was a ſecond fault which render'd this Body of Canon Law almoſt uſeleſs; *viz.* that it was too ſhort, and reſolved but a ſmall part of the doubtful caſes, and queſtions that began to be agitated among the *Jews*.

III. To remedy theſe diſorders, *Jochanan*, with the aſſiſtance of *Rab*, and *Samuel*, two Diſciples of *Juda* the Saint, wrote a Commentary upon their Maſter's Work, which is call'd the [b] *Talmud of Jeruſalem*: Whether it was compoſed in *Judea* for the *Jews* that remain'd in that Country, or was written in the common Language that was ſpoken there: The *Jews* are not agreed about the time that this part of the Gemara, which ſignifies *Perfection*, was made: Some believe, it was 200 Years after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; others reckon but an 150, and maintain that *Rab* and *Samuel* quitting *Judea*, went up to *Babylon* in the 219th of the Chriſtian *Æra*. However, theſe are the Heads of the ſecond order of Doctors, called *Gemariſts*, or rather *Amorajim*, becauſe they compoſed the *Gemara*; which work can't be dated till after the Reign of *Dioclefian*, ſince this Prince is mention'd in it. Father *Morin* even maintains, that there are barbarous words in it, as for inſtance *Borgheni*, to ſignify a Town, for which we are indebted to the *Vandalls*, or *Goths*, from whence he concludes, that that Work could not appear till the fifth Century.

IV. There was alſo a defect in the *Gemara*, or *Jeruſalem Talmud*; for it only contain'd the opinion of a ſmall number of Doctors: Beſides, it was written in a very barbarous Language, which was ſpoken in *Judea*, and was corrupted by the mixture of ſtrange Nations. For which reaſon the *Amorajim*, or *Amoreans*, that is, Commentators, [c] began a new Explication of Traditions. *R. Aſa* undertook this task: He kept a School at *Sora* near *Babylon*, where after he had taught forty Years, he produc'd his Commentary upon *Juda*'s *Miſnah*: He did not finiſh it;

[a] *R.* Chuà *was the Author of this Collection, which are call'd* Baraiiethoth, *from the* Chaldee *Word* Bara, *which ſignifies* Extra. *Some will have the word* Barbarous *to come from thence. Thus the* Athenians *call'd Strangers* Bar, Bar, *that is to ſay*, Stranger. Bart. *B. R.* t. 3. [b] Talmud *ſignifies Doctrine.* [c] Ganz. Chron. p. 110.

but

but his Sons and Scholars put the laſt Hand to it. This is call'd the *Gemara*, or the *Talmud* of *Babylon*, which is preferr'd before that of *Jeruſalem*. 'Tis a large and vaſt Body, containing the Traditions, the Canon Law of the *Jews*, and all the queſtions relating to the Law. We ſhall ſee hereafter that the *Jews* have an infinite eſteem for it, and the Chriſtians very little.

V. 'Tis agreed by the generality of *Jewiſh* [d] and Chriſtian Doctors, that the *Talmud* was compleated in the 500, or 505th Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*; but Father *Morin*, ſtarting from the common Road, maintains that we ſhould be to blame to believe all that the *Jews* ſay of the Antiquity of their Books, of whoſe Origine they are ignorant themſelves. He aſſerts, that the *Miſnah* could not be compoſed till the Year 500, nor the *Talmud* of *Babylon* till 700, or thereabouts. We have no intereſt to contend for the Antiquity of Books ſtuffed with Traditions. And it muſt be alſo owned, that the time of concluding the *Talmud* can't be fix'd, but with a great deal of trouble, and uncertainty; becauſe it is a compilation made up of the deciſions of a multitude of Doctors, that have ſtudied caſes of Conſcience, whereunto new determinations might be added from time to time. There's no truſting in this matter, either to the Teſtimony of *Jewiſh* Authors, or the ſilence of the Chriſtians; becauſe the former have an intereſt to boaſt of the Antiquity of their Books, and are unexact in point of Chronology. 'Tis true, they aſſign a very plauſible Reaſon for *Juda*'s deſign of Compiling the Traditions; which was, that ſeeing his Nation diſperſed in ſo many places, he was Apprehenſive that the Remembrance of the Oral Law might be loſt; and therefore they put in his Mouth theſe words of the Pſalm; *Lord they have deſtroy'd thy Law.* Moſt of the antient Traditions were ſo neglected, and particularly thoſe that had ceas'd in Practice, that he look'd upon the Law of God as deſtroyed, unleſs he reſtored it: But this is only a probability. Beſides, it does not prove that the *Talmud* was finiſh'd at that time; nay, we know the contrary; ſince the *Gemariſts* and *Babyloniſh Jews* have made ſome additions to it, that have ſwallowed up the firſt Work. The Chriſtians have ſeldom examin'd what occurr'd among the *Jews*, becauſe theſe made but a little Figure in the Empire: Their Converſion was rare and difficult, in order to it, their Language that was deem'd barbarous, was to be learn'd. 'Tis an amazing thing to conſider, that in ſuch multitudes of Prieſts and Biſhops, the Clergy conſiſted of for ſo many Ages together, there were ſo few that underſtood *Hebrew*, or were able to read the *Old Teſtament*, or the Commentaries of the *Jews* in the Original. Their time was ſpent in wrangling upon facts, or ſubtle queſtions, whilſt an uſeful or neceſſary Study was neglected. Teſtimonies are wanting on all Hands; how then can we be certain of Tradition, when we are deprived of their aſſiſtance? However, let us here offer what may be found out that is of greater certainty.

Juſtin Martyr, [e] who had lived at *Samaria*, upbraided *Trypho* the *Jew*, *that his Maſters amuſed themſelves with teaching trifles, whilſt they neglected the eſſential parts of the Law.* 'Tis ſuppoſed that the Trifles cenſured by this antient Father, were Traditions, and the Gloſſes added to them, which Application ſeems the juſter, as the ſame Character is at preſent diſcovered in moſt of the Explications of the *Talmud*; wherein commonly that which is eſſential to Piety and the Law, is neglected for the deciſion of infinite uſeleſs caſes of Conſcience: But as *Juſtin Martyr* does not ſay that theſe Trifles were *written*, it can't without raſhneſs be affirm'd, and eſpecially theſe words can't be applied to the *Miſnah*, ſince *Juda* the Saint had not as yet compoſed it, when *Juſtin Martyr* writ his Dialogue. Nay, it ſeems that the Traditions were not compiled into a Body in St. *Auguſtin*'s time, ſince this Father mentions the Obſervances of the *Jews*, which paſſed from Mouth to Mouth and were unwritten. 'Tis ſaid that St. *Auguſtin* is the Commentator of *Juſtin Martyr*, who preceded him, and that he clearly explains what the other had left doubtful, ſince ſpeaking of the ſame Traditions, he affirms they were not written. But it ſuffices to obſerve, that St. *Auguſtin* writ in *Africa*, in his little Biſhoprick of *Hippo*, where the *Jews* were not known. He could not ſo much as read *Hebrew*, how then could he be acquainted with the Books of theſe Foreign Doctors? He ſpoke of unwritten Traditions, becauſe indeed this title is given to the Oral Law, which *Moſes* had intruſted to the Memory of his Succeſſors, which ſtill continued its name, after *Juda* the Saint and the *Talmudiſts* had publiſh'd their Compilation: And therefore, neither *Juſtin Martyr*, nor St. *Auguſtin* decide the preſent queſtion, and the one can't be conſider'd as the other's Commentator.

But St. *Jerome* is much more explicit, for he affirms, that there was in his Time a huge Volume of Traditions among the *Jews*; therefore they were then written: And though he does not determine it to be the *Miſnah*, or the Collection of *Juda* the Saint, with the Additions others had put to it, yet this is moſt probable; ſince there is no other Collection of Traditions aſſerted by the *Jews*.

VI. Nevertheleſs, this Opinion is oppoſed. Father *Morin* impugns it chiefly by the ſilence of *Origen*, and of St. *Epiphanius*, who have not mention'd this *Jewiſh Code*. St. *Epiphanius*, who was a *Jew* by Birth, ſhould have known it better than any Body, and yet he never cites it. *R. Jochanan*, Author of the *Talmud* of *Jeruſalem*, lived in St. *Jerome*'s time, and kept his School in *Judea*. How is it, that this Father of the Church, who ſo carefully ſifted the *Rabbinical* Writings, never ſpeaks of the *Talmud*, that was juſt publiſh'd before his Eyes? How comes it that this Author, who ſought for Maſters in all places to remove his doubts, did not addreſs himſelf to him who taught in his Neighbourhood, and could have ſufficiently inform'd him, by producing either the *Miſnah*, or the addition he had made to it?

There is no ſhifting this off upon pretence of St. *Jerome*'s negligence, who declares that he could not *rummage over the Pharaſaical Traditions, ſince the bulk of the Volume did not permit it, and contain'd ſo many Fables and Obſcenities, that it was aſhame to mention them.* It ſeems indeed that St. *Jerome* ſpeaks of a Volume of *Jewiſh* Traditions, the bulk whereof diſcouraged him; *Dii craſſum & horribilem libellum!* But it is a miſtake, the *Volume* he ſpeaks of was the Letter he was writing, which would have grown too prolix and tedious if he had copied the Fables and Obſcenities of the *Jews*; and though he ſhould point at a Volume of *Jewiſh* Traditions, it would be a Collection different from that of the *Miſnah*, ſince *Origen*, and St. *Epiphanius* knew not that Work which is attributed to *Juda* the Saint. This is the Explication Father *Morin* gives of St. *Jerome*'s Words.

But his Argument is defective in all reſpects:

[d] Serarius de Rabbinis l. 1. c. 9. p. 251. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbin t. 1. p. 488. t. 3. p. 359. Trigland. Diſſ. de Caraitis. p. 17, and 35. Hoornbeeck contra. Jud. l. 1. Morin. exerc. Bibl. l. 2. Ex. 6. c. 2, and 3. p. 294, &c. Hieron. Ep. 151. ad Algaſ. Q. 10. p. 1264.

[e] Juſtin. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 339.

For

for is the ſilence of Two Chriſtian Authors ſufficient to conclude that the *Miſnah* was not written? Don't we know how ignorant the Fathers were of the *Jewiſh* Books? Don't we know that it was a very hard thing to come at them, when the Manuſcripts were dear and ſcarce, and the Commerce of the Republick of Learning was ill eſtabliſh'd. St. *Epiphanius*, who is brought as an impenetrable Buckler, was ſo little acquainted with the Rites of his Nation, that he has ſaid many things of them which have been ſince cenſured as Faults, and Marks of his Ignorance: whether he was ill-inſtructed in his Religion, or had forgotten what he had learnt in his Childhood. Laſtly, His miſinterpreting St. *Jerome*, to maintain that he ſpoke of the Letter he was writing, in ſaying *he would not rummage the Volume of Phariſaical Traditions*. This ſhews that there was, at that Time, a Volume of written Traditions, and why ſhould we ſeek for any other than the *Miſnah*, ſince no body ever knew any other? At leaſt it were modeſt to determine nothing, and to leave us in the ſame uncertainty St. *Jerome* has done.

VII. A Novel of *Juſtinian* [aa] is cited, which deſerves to be explain'd. It was given by this Prince, upon occaſion of a Schiſm that aroſe in the Synagogues, about the Language, in which they were to read the Holy Scripture; ſome would have the Law only read in *Hebrew*, and others maintain'd that the Service was to be perform'd in a Tongue underſtood by the People. The Emperor underſtanding this Tumult, interpoſed his Authority, and did Three Things by his Novel: 1. He order'd the Scripture to be read in *Hebrew*, or *Greek*, or even *Latin*, if it was the Language of the Country; but in the uſe of Verſions, he would have that of the *Septuagint* preferr'd before all others: He alſo authoriſes that of *Aquila*. 2. He blames the *Jews*, for that giving themſelves up to fooliſh Interpretations, they had forſaken the right Way; and he complains of the Traditions or Additions they had made to the Law, which had been ſhewn him, and he forbids them to uſe *that Second Edition, becauſe it did not belong to the Body of Scripture, nor had been given by the Prophets; but was only invented by Men having nothing divine in them, who ſpoke only of the Earth*, that is, in a terreſtrial and humane manner. 3. For fear the *Archiperecites* ſhould fruſtrate the Effect of this Declaration, he forbids, under corporal Penalties, *the Prieſts, who are elevated above others, and who are perhaps call'd Maſters*, to uſe *Anathema's*, or other Cenſures, againſt thoſe that obeyed his Orders.

VIII. This Conſtitution made in the Year 548, has furniſh'd Father *Morin* with Two Arguments againſt the Antiquity of the *Talmud* and the *Miſnah*. The *Jews*, ſays he, occaſion'd this Ordinance of the Emperor, upon their Complaint, *That new Traditions were introduc'd into their Church*; mean while, theſe Traditions would have been very antient, if *Juda the Saint* had written them at the end of the Second Century: They could not have complain'd of them as a Novelty under *Juſtinian*, nor deſired a Remedy for ſo inveterate a Diſtemper: Moreover, the *Archiperecites*, whom the Emperor ſo ſeverely forbids to hinder the Execution of his Orders, were thoſe that read the *Miſnah*, divided into Sections, and who began the Section; for from thence the Name of the Office was derived, which Office being unknown before *Juſtinian*'s Time, the *Miſnah* which gave the Name and Occaſion to that Function, muſt have been very novel.

IX. Father *Morin* has endeavour'd to draw too great an Advantage to his Opinion from this Novel: For the Diſpute the *Jews* had in hand was not new ſince the Emperor complains of *its long continuance*. Moreover, it did not turn upon the Traditions which ſome would introduce into the Synagogue, but upon the uſe of Verſions, which ſome would baniſh out of it. The *Jews* were far from complaining to the Emperor of the Introduction of Traditions, ſince they had them in the Days of our Saviour, and they could never be wean'd from their violent Fondneſs for them. 'Tis the Emperor that complains of theſe fooliſh Interpretations, and condemns the Second Edition, of Humane Traditions, becauſe they withdrew them from the knowledge of the Truth. 'Tis building therefore upon a Foundation evidently falſe, to draw an Argument againſt the Antiquity of the *Miſnah*, from the *Jews* Complaint againſt Traditions; for this was not the Queſtion among them, and it was doubtleſs the Chriſtians, who upon occaſion of the Diſpute that aroſe in the Synagogue, produced the fooliſh Interpretations, and Humane Traditions to the Emperor, to oblige him to condemn them, as he did: On the contrary, it appears by this Conſtitution of *Juſtinian*, that there was already a Body of Traditions added to the Law; but they did not complain that this was a new Cuſtom.

X. *Voſſius* [a] fondly conceited with the *Septuagint* Verſion, maintains that *Juſtinian* does not condemn here the Traditions of the *Jews*, but the *Second Edition* of *Aquila*, as contrary to the Chriſtians. And indeed the Fathers have ſo often exclaim'd againſt the Verſion of this *Jew*, a Chriſtian Proſelyte, and after an Apoſtate, that it would be ſtrange for *Juſtinian* to approve it. St. *Ireneus* complains, that he had robb'd us of the famous Paſſage of *Iſaiah*, where the Prophet foretels *that a Virgin ſhall bring forth*, by putting a [b] *young Woman* for the Virgin. St. *Jerom* abſolutely rejected this Verſion, as compoſed by a Man that loved Cavilling, and hunted after Etymologies; and the modern Criticks, [c] who judge of it by ſome Fragments that have been collected, maintain that this Interpreter has been partial to his Nation, and undertook this Taſk only to gratifie them, when he *return'd* to their Church. All this does not agree with the Approbation *Juſtinian* gave it in his Novel.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Reflexions, and the Conjecture of the learned *Voſſius*, we may perſevere in the common Sentiment; for 1. *Aquila* is ſpoken of, without knowing his Country or Religion. The Antients knew him not much better than we. St. *Epiphanius*, who has made him the Emperor *Adrian*'s Father-in-Law, and Governour of a Town which he cauſed to be built in *Judea*, is evidently miſtaken. Neither is there any more proof of his Converſion made by the Miracles of the Chriſtians, which were then grown very rare, than of his return to Judaiſm, cauſed by his love for Aſtrology, and the Cenſures the Church had inflicted on him for his application to that Study. 2. St. *Jerom* condemned [d] this Verſion with the raſhneſs he was ſo accuſtomed to in his Judgments; but retracting afterwards, he confeſſes that he eſteem'd it, as finding a great many things in it which *ſtrengthned* the Chriſtian Religion; and being perfectly cured of his Prejudice, he praiſed *Aquila* as *the exacteſt of all the Interpreters*. 3. *Juſtinian* had the ſame Notion of it, and *Voſſius*, who imputes another to him, is forced to change the ſignification of Words; for

[aa] Juſtin Authenticor. collat. 9 Tit. 28. *n.* 146. *p.* 613. [a] Iſaac Voſſ. Liber Obſ. Reſp. ad Simon. *p.* 351. interprete Διασκευάσιν, Secundam Editionem. [b] Νεανίς. [c] Vide Simon. Hiſt. Critique. Cave Hiſt. Lit. [d] Hieron ap. ad Pammach. Id. Q. 2. ad Damaſc. Id. Ep. ad Marcell.

that of *Novel* ſignifies Tradition. [e] But farther, he openly contradicts this Prince, who cenſures the Traditions of the *Jews*, as not coming from the Prophets, but *from certain Doctors, who had no Aſſiſtances from God:* To go about to apply theſe Words to *Aquila*'s Verſion, rather than to Traditions, is to take great Pains to be deceived, and to darken the cleareſt Day.

XI. The Name of *Archiperecites*, which is found in *Juſtinian*'s Novel, has given occaſion to many Conjectures: One will have it to be the Maſter of a Synagogue, where a part of the Nation was gather'd together, *which eſcaped from the Perſecution and Miſeries it ſuffer'd almoſt every where.* Another more [f] judicious, and much profounder in theſe Matters, makes them the Heads of the Academies, or the Synagogue. He cites for a proof the Action of the Prince of the Captivity, who removed to a City where *Chanina* taught, in order to ſet up a *new School.* The Word uſed in the Chronicle of the *Jews*, where this Fact is related, is the ſame *Hebrew* Word that is found in *Juſtinian*'s Novel, whence 'tis eaſy to conclude, that it ſignifies a School, and that the *Archiperecites Juſtinian* ſpeaks of, were Doctors of the Law: There is no need then of going to the Sections of the *Miſnah* to find the Origine of this Word and Office, as if there was a particular Function eſtabliſh'd to explain theſe Sections. But without ſeeking for new Conjectures, may we not here obſerve Three Things. 1. That the Law being divided into many Sections, call'd *Paraches*, the Heads of the Synagogues that preach'd, and preſided over its Explication, might be call'd *Archiperecites*, without alluſion to the *Talmud*, or the *Miſnah* divided into Sections. This Explication agrees with *Juſtinian*'s Paraphraſe, who explains this Word by that of *Maſter*. This was the Title given to *Jeſus Chriſt*, when he was addreſs'd to, to explain any obſcure place of the Law, from whence I conclude that this was no new Office, tho' the Name of it be not known. Nor does it follow that it was new, becauſe *Juſtinian* is the firſt that uſed the Word, ſince there has been no great uſe made of it ever ſince this Emperor inſerted it into his Laws. 'Tis no wonder that the Writers that preceded *Juſtinian*, have alſo neglected this Term, of which the *Greeks* furniſh'd one half, and the *Jews* contributed the other. *Laſtly*, Tho' it were granted Father *Morin*, that this Office was erected to honour ſome Perſons, in chuſing them to explain the *Sections*, this would agree with the *Talmud*, as well as the *Miſnah*, ſince that is divided into 524 *Sections*. We can therefore thence draw no proof againſt the Antiquity of theſe Two Works, about whoſe Original it is hard to make any ſolid Conjectures.

XII. Four different Judgments have been made concerning the *Talmud*, that is, concerning the Body of the Canon Law and Tradition. The *Jews* equal it with the Law of God. Some Chriſtians value it exceſſively; a Third Sort condemn it to the Flames as a deteſtable Book, and the laſt obſerve a juſt *Medium* betwixt all theſe Sentiments. Let us give a general Idea of them all.

The *Jews* are convinc'd, that the *Talmudiſts* were never inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt, attributing that Inſpiration only to the Prophets. Notwithſtanding which, they prefer the *Talmud* before the Holy Scripture: For they compare the Scripture to Water, and Tradition to excellent Wine; the Law is the Salt; the *Miſnah* is the Pepper, and the *Talmud* are precious Spices. They boldly maintain, *That he that ſins againſt* Moſes *may be forgiven, but that he who contradicts the Doctors deſerves death.* And therefore they inflict a naſty and ſtinking Puniſhment on [g] thoſe who don't obſerve them. They decide Queſtions and Caſes of Conſcience, as by a Sovereign Law; in the mean time they own that this Law is not ſufficient, and therefore often add new Comments to it, in which they enter into more preciſe Particularities, and often make new Deciſions: Nay, 'tis next to an impoſſibility that they ſhould do otherwiſe, ſince the *Talmudick* Definitions, which are ſhort, are often obſcure, and extend not to all Caſes. But when the *Talmud* is clear, they follow it exactly.

Nevertheleſs it ſwarms with a world of Things that might leſſen the profound Veneration it has obtain'd for ſo many Ages, if it were read with Attention, and without prejudice. 'Tis the *Jews* Misfortune to approach this Book with a blind ſubmiſſion to whatever it contains: They form their Judgment upon this Work, and are uſed to think nothing fine but what is conformable to the *Talmud*; whereas if they examin'd it as a Compilation of different Authors, who might be miſtaken, who have ſometimes had a lamentable Judgment in the choice of the Subjects they have handled, and who might be ignorant, they would obſerve One hundred Things that vilifie their Religion, inſtead of raiſing its Glory.

We are told there, That God, to paſs the Time, before the creation of the Univerſe, when he was alone, buſied himſelf with building diverſe Worlds, which he immediately deſtroyed, till by different Eſſays, he had learnt to make One ſo perfect as ours. They relate the Trick which a *Rabbin* put upon God and the Devil; for he entreated the Devil to carry him to Heaven-Gate, that having ſeen the Happineſs of the Saints, he might die with more Tranquillity. The Devil granted the *Rabbin*'s Requeſt, who ſeeing the Gate of Heaven open, threw himſelf headlong in, ſwearing by the Great God, that he would never come out again: God, who would not ſuffer him to be guilty of a Perjury, was obliged to leave him there, whilſt the Devil being trick'd, ſlunk away in great Confuſion: *Adam* here is not only made an *Hermaphrodite*, but it is maintain'd, that having try'd to ſatisfie his Paſſion with all the Animals of the Earth, he found none but *Eve* that could content him. They introduce Two Women going to diſpute in the Synagogues, about the uſe an Husband might make of them: And the *Rabbins* clearly determine, that an Husband may innocently do what he has a mind to, becauſe a Man who buys a Fiſh, may eat the Head or the Tail, as he likes beſt. There are ſenſible Contradictions found in it, and inſtead of being at the Pains to remove them, they introduce a miraculous Voice from Heaven, crying, that *One* and *the Other*, tho' directly oppoſite, proceed *from Heaven.* The Method of Treatment they allow the Chriſtians, is harſh; for they think it lawful to rob them of their Goods; conſidering them as brute Beaſts; to puſh them down a Precipice, when they are ſeen upon the Brink, and to make ſome terrible Impreſcations againſt them every Morning. Tho' the hatred and deſire of Revenge, theſe Maſters are blinded with, had dictated theſe Leſſons, yet 'tis ſtrange there ſhould be inſerted in a Summary of Religion, ſuch Laws and Precepts as are evidently oppoſite to Charity.

The Doctors that have made theſe Collections of Traditions, taking advantage of the Ignorance of their Nation, have thrown upon the Paper whatever came into their Heads, without troubling them-

[e] Δευτερώσεις. [f] Petit Var. Lect. *l.* 2. *c.* 10. in Critic. Vitringa de Synag. *l.* 3. *c.* 7. *p.* 701. Perakahſchola. [g] Damnantur in Stercore Bullienti.

ſelves

ſelves with reconciling their Conjectures with foreign Hiſtory, to which they were utterly Strangers.

The little Story of *Cæſar* complaining to *Gamaliel*, that God was a Robber, is ridiculous enough; but it ought to have a place in this Collection. *Cæſar* ask'd *Gamaliel* why God had ſtollen a Rib from *Adam*? The Daughter anſwer'd, inſtead of her Father, that Robbers came the Night before to her Houſe, and had left a Golden Veſſel inſtead of an earthen One, which they took away, and that ſhe did not complain of them. The Application of the Story was eaſie: God gave an Handmaid to *Adam* inſtead of a Rib; the Change was advantageous, and *Cæſar* approved of it; but yet he cenſured God for doing it clandeſtinely, whilſt *Adam* ſlept. The Daughter ſtill ingenious, order'd a Piece of Fleſh to be brought her, that was baked in the Aſhes, and then preſents it to the Emperor, who refuſes to eat it. This goes againſt my Stomach, ſays [h] *Cæſar*. Very well, replied the Damſel, *Eve* would have gone againſt the Stomach of the Firſt Man, if God had given her to him groſly, without Art, after having made her before his Eyes. What Trifles are here!

XIII. And yet there are ſome Chriſtans, who in imitation of the *Jews*, regard the *Talmud* as an abundant Mine from which we may be furniſh'd with infinite Treaſures. They imagine that 'tis only labour that diſcourages Men from ſeeking theſe Treaſures, and inriching themſelves. They make ſad Complaints of the Contempt the *Rabbins* are in: They [i] make all ſorts of Efforts, not only to juſtifie them, but to improve what they ſay: They admire their Sentences; they find in their Rites a thouſand things which relate to the Chriſtan Religion, and unfold its Myſteries. It would ſeem that *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Apoſtles could have no Senſe, but by copying the *Rabbins* that came after them. At leaſt 'tis in imitation of the *Jews* that this Bleſſed Redeemer has made ſo great an uſe of the metaphorical Style; 'tis from them alſo he has borrow'd the Parables of *Lazarus*, the *fooliſh Virgins*, and *the Labourers ſent into the Vineyard*, which contain ſuch excellent Inſtructions, for theſe are ſtill found in the *Talmud*. They affirm that moſt of the Truths of the Chriſtian Religion are to be found here included in Parables, that are eaſily explain'd. An *Italian* Author aſſerts, that the *Talmud* is an Abridgment of the Old and New Law; and that the Title of *Talmud* was given it, becauſe it includes all manner of Science. *Talmud altro non vuole dir che dottrina perche contiene la dottrina tutta; ſi puo dire della vecchia Legge & della nuova.* This Reaſoning may proceed from Two Motives. Self-Love commonly makes the Doctors ſpeak; they love to recommend themſelves by ſomething or other, and when once they have dipt into this Study, without conſidering the uſe that may be made of it; they cry up the Uſefulneſs of it out of Intereſt; a little Gold is the more eſteem'd for the adheſions of a great deal of Droſs, becauſe it coſts much Time to find it out. They cry out upon Negligence, and accuſe the Lazineſs of thoſe who will not be at the ſame Pains, nor follow the Road that they have taken. Beſides, People are eaſily opinionated of the Books they read. How many have been made Properties to the School-Divinity, which taught nothing but barbarous Terms, inſtead of the ſolid Truths we ought to ſeek. They imagine that the Study which coſts them ſo much Labour and Pains, can't be good for nothing; and thus out of Intereſt or Prejudice, they immoderately extol that which deſerves no praiſe at all.

Is it not ridiculous to make *Jeſus Chriſt* borrow his Parables and Lectures from the *Talmudiſts*, who did not live till 300 or 400 Years after him? What then, could neither our Lord nor his Apoſtles imagine any thing, but what was dictated to them by the *Jews*? Why muſt not the *Talmudiſts* that came after the Son of God, have been his Copiers, leaving the Glory of the Invention to him, as belonged to him by the order of Time? Moſt of the Parables found in the *Talmud*, were different from thoſe of the Goſpel, and have almoſt ever a different Drift. Is not that of the *Labourers coming late into the Vineyard*, cloath'd with ridiculous Circumſtances, and applied to *R. Bon*, who had labour'd more upon the Law in 28 Years, than another had done in an hundred? Abundance of Expreſſions and Thoughts have been gather'd from the *Greeks*, that correſpond with thoſe of the Goſpel: Will it be ſaid therefore that *Jeſus Chriſt* has copied their Writings? This might be ſaid with more probability, ſince theſe Authors had liv'd and publiſh'd their Writings before him: But yet it would be a manifeſt Falſhood. It is ſaid that theſe Parables were already invented, and were current among the *Jews*, before our Saviour taught: But whence do they know this? They muſt divine it, in order to make the *Phariſees* ſo many Original Doctors, and *Jeſus Chriſt* their Tranſcriber, who borrowed from them whatever they had more fine and delicate. *Jeſus Chriſt* followed his own Ideas, and utter'd his own Conceptions; but it muſt be own'd, that he had ſuch as were common to all Nations, and that many Men ſay the ſame thing without knowing one another, or reading each others Works. The moſt advantageous thing that can be ſaid for the *Talmudiſts*, is, that they have made Compariſons like thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*; But the Application which the Son of God made of them, and the Leſſons he drew from them, are always good and ſanctifying, whereas the Application of the other is generally childiſh and ridiculous.

XIV. Thoſe that are leſs opinionated endeavour to juſtifie the *Talmud*. They ſay [k] eſpecially Two Things: One, That the *Rabbins* fearing the Enemies of their Religion, who had the upper-hand, ſhould take from them the Traditions of their Fathers, thought it neceſſary to conceal themſelves in a myſtical Language, and veil the Truth under a Mask of Error, that the moſt exact Enquirers finding ſo many Extravagancies in theſe Works, might have nothing but Contempt for their Books, and ſo leave them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their Father's Labours. But this Subterfuge is invented *ex poſt facto*, for the Traditions began long before the Chriſtians were in a Capacity of taking away their Books. The *Miſnah*, which abounds with Errors and Fables, was made in the 2d Century; and the Authors of theſe Collections, trace the Origine of their Stories up to *Eſdras* and *Moſes*, from whom this Oral Tradition ought to deſcend; and the Fables, the *Talmud* is full of, were ſo far from guarding this Book from the Violence of the Chriſtians, that they occaſion'd *Juſtinian*'s Conſtitution, that permitted the *Jews* to read the Bible in *Greek*, and forbad them the reading of Traditions, becauſe this Book *abounded* with Fictions purely of Man's Invention.

'Tis added, that the Myſteries are not ſufficiently attended to, which the *Talmudiſts* have lock'd up

[h] Sixtus Senens. Bibl. *l.* 2. *p.* 122. Galatin. de Arcanis Cath. Ver. *l.* 1. *c.* 7. Morin. Exerc. Bibli. *l.* 2. Ex. 5. *c.* 2. Sed præcipue Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbinica, *t.* 3. *p.* 359, ad 662. [i] Lightfoot, in Mat. 20. *p.* 405. Reland. Analecta Rabbinica Ultraject. 1702. Præf. Robert Seringhamius Præf. in Cod. Joma Thalm. [k] Adriani Relandi Analecta Rabbinica Ultraject. 1702. Præf. Galatin de Arcanis Cath. Ver. *l.* 1. *c.* 7.

under metaphorical Expreſſions and Emblems, which are of frequent and eaſy Uſe to the Eaſtern People; when, for example they aſſert, that there is a Candle lighted upon the Bellies of all Women with Child, to enlighten the Child in the Womb, which Candle goes out when it comes into the World. There is a Philoſophical Truth conceal'd under this Emblem. It opens to us a Principle of the new Philoſophy; that the Eſſence of the Soul conſiſts in Thought; that it thinks even in its Mother's Belly, where it is united to the Body; but as it is born, all the luminous Ideas the Soul had are Eclipſed, and their remembrance with difficulty recalled.

When they aſſert that God in forming the Univerſe, left an Hole on the North-ſide, which he could never ſhut, and that he comforted himſelf with ſaying, *that if ever any one offered to maintain that he himſelf was God, he would oblige him to cloſe that aperture*, ſetting him that piece of work to do, as a teſt of his Power and Deity: We muſt not imagine that they accuſe God of Weakneſs and Impotence; *They rather mean*, ſays a Chriſtian Author, *to furniſh us with a proof of the Meſſiah's Divinity:* For the Hole in the North ſignifies Idolatry. Evil comes from the North, and it requires a God to aboliſh it. This is what *Jeſus Chriſt* has done, and he has proved his Divinity by it. Nor muſt we any more believe that they make God material, when they ſay he weeps over the ruine of *Jeruſalem:* That he roars like a Lion, that he bows down his Head when he is pray'd to, and that he loads his Hands with the *Thephilim*; for on the contrary 'tis one of their thirteen [a] Articles of Faith related by *Maimonides* and *Manaſſah*, *that God is not a Body, nor is he united to Matter.* They only follow the Scripture Style, which aſcribes Hands and Feet to God.

Laſtly, 'tis owned, that there are great Hyperboles in the *Jewiſh* Writings; but that their bombaſt Style ought not to be taken litterally, ſince that is not their intention. They mean only to deſcribe a Man exceſſively Rich, when they ſay *Eleaſar* poſſeſs'd a thouſand Cities, and that in one of them there were an hundred and fourſcore thouſand Markets, purely for the ſale of a certain Sweet meat. *Peter*, King of *Arragon*, asking a *Jewiſh* Doctor concerning what is read in the *Talmud*, that there was formerly a Frog as large as ſix Houſes, which was ſwallowed up by a Serpent; and the Serpent was ſwallowed by a Raven, who growing neither bigger nor fuller than before he had eaten, flew upon a Tree. The Doctor anſwered, that the Ancients were uſed to teach the People with the ſound of Inſtruments, which made their Leſſons go down the pleaſanter; but that cuſtom being ceas'd, they had taken the method of mixing Stories with their inſtructions, and concealing ſublime Truths under Fables [b] which diverted and inſtructed at the ſame time. In which myſtical Senſe the Frog, who by his obſtreperous croakings, preaches loudly the glory of God, is the Image of our Knowledge of Nature, which is compoſed of ſixty Parts, or different Houſes: Above that knowledge of the Earth, is that of Aſtronomy more noble and excellent, repreſented by the Serpent: And laſtly, the Raven is the Symbol of Divinity, and of the Knowledge of God, which flies to the very top of the Tree. It will be ſtill ask'd, whether ſo much pains was to be taken, and ſo many ſtrange Ideas borrowed, and ſo little agreeing to the ſubject, to ſay a thing that might have been compriz'd in three Words. *Maimonides* had reaſon to diſtinguiſh three Orders of Perſons that ſtudied theſe Parables: Some taking them literally, make their Doctors guilty of the greateſt Abſurdities, and produce the moſt fabulous Prodigies, for ſo many Truths. Others ingratefully and haughtily charge theſe Parables to the *Rabbins* account, and laugh at them. The third ſort ſeek a miſtical ſenſe in them. But ſhould he not have added a fourth order, wiſer than all the foregoing, that take not the pains either to read or unravel all theſe myſtical ſenſes.

XV. A third ſort compoſed of Chriſtians as the preceding, are ſo far from approving the *Talmud*, as to ſentence it to the Fire, and fancy that God approves ſo ſacred a Perſecution, with extraordinary Miracles. 'Tis ſaid that in St. *Lewis*'s time [c] theſe Books were all commanded to be burnt in the Wood of *Vincennes*; and that an Archbiſhop oppoſing the Execution with an inſignificant Decree, it was publiſhed that he had been bribed, and that the very moment the *Jews* celebrated a Feaſt in gratitude for their ſaving of their Books, the Archbiſhop died, tormented with the pains of a violent Cholick. But St. *Lewis* was perſuaded that this was a Miracle; which was no hard matter to do, for he was a Votary, and with this prejudice he cauſed all the *Hebrew* Volumes that could be found to be caſt into the Fire, and they were burnt to Aſhes.

XVI. The Popes have often condemned theſe Books. 'Tis true, *Clement* V. Authorized by the Council of *Vienna* [d] order'd two Profeſſors to be eſtabliſh'd in all the Univerſities, as that of *Paris*, and all places where the Court of *Rome* makes its Reſidence, to teach *Hebrew, and tranſlate the Books of theſe Languages into Latin:* And the Council of *Baſil* [e] having forbidden the *Jews* the retaining by way of Pawn or loan the Calices and conſecrated Veſſels of the Chriſtians, confirm'd *Clement*'s Bull, and appointed the eſtabliſhment of ſome Profeſſors to read and confute the Books of the *Jews*, and by that means to endeavour their Converſion. But they withſtood the Ordinances of a Pope and Council. They cavilled about the terms of *Clement* V. as if he had only permitted the Tranſlation of *Grammars*, which were what he call'd, the *Books of theſe Languages* [f]. *John* XXII. took a contrary method to that of his Predeceſſor: For he ſent a Brief [g] to the Biſhop of *Bourges*, and his Suffragans, wherein he exhorted them to oppoſe the *Jewiſh* Superſtitions, and to burn all [h] the Copies of the *Talmud*, they could find. Benedict XIII. the Antipope, confirm'd the Bulls [i] of *Gregory* IX. and *Innocent* IV. who had before ſentenced all thoſe Books to be Burnt. Laſtly, *Julius* III. cauſed a moſt exact ſearch to be made after all theſe Books, and a prodigious number of them were burnt.

XVII. There was a diviſion about this matter in the beginning of the ſixteenth Century. *Reuchlin* diſtinguiſh'd betwixt the Books of the *Jews*, ſome of which were uſeful, and others pernicious, becauſe they were full of Blaſphemies againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*. Theſe laſt he would have burnt, and the firſt ſaved, but he was very near being cruſh'd with the number and violence of his Enemies. Some People procured reſpect from the populace, under the pretence of a flaming Zeal againſt the Synagogue and its Writings; who at the ſame time enrich'd themſelves by ſelling again thoſe very Books they had cauſed to be condemn'd to the Flames; and cruelly

[a] Galatin. Arcan. l. 1. c. 7. p. 25. Artic. Fid. 111. apud Hornbeeck contra Jud. l. 1. c. 3. p. 11. [b] *Solomon* filii Virgæ Hiſtor. Judaica à Gentio. p. 209. [c] Ann. 1239. Serrarius Rabbin l. 1. c. 33. p. 291. [d] Concil. Vien. Ann. 1313. apud Bzov. n. 1. p. 201. [e] Conſil. Baſil. Seſs. 19. a. 5. p. 547. [f] Odoric. Rainal. An. 1320. n. 20. [g] Ann. 1230. [h] Ann. 1244. [i] Benedicta Bulla. M. S. apud Barcol. B. R. t. 111. p. 731.

perſecuted

perſecuted *Reuchlin* who defended them. *Sixtus* of *Sienna* afterwards call'd [k] the *Talmud* an *Hydra*, becauſe he ſaw it ſpring up again from all parts, when he thought he had deſtroy'd it. He oppoſed the Conſtitution of *Clement* V. as if it were impoſſible for him to have Authorized the Tranſlation of *Hebrew* Books. In fine, Arm'd with the Authority of *Julius* III. and *Paul* IV. he declared War with theſe Books; and underſtanding that they were ſheltered at *Cremona*, he went thither to ſearch for them, which he did ſo exactly, that he boaſted he had burnt an hundred and forty four thouſand Volumes in that one City. It were much better if he had ſet about the expoſing the Errors of this Book, than burning it; which is what *Alphonſus* choſe to do, a *Jew* of the twelfth Century who embraced Chriſtianity. *Jerome de St. Foi*, Phyſitian to *Benedict* the XIII[th], has alſo made a Catalogue of the Errors included in the *Talmud*; but the exacteſt of all is that which *Bartolocci* (who had made the *Talmud* and *Rabbinical* Works his chiefeſt Study) has inſerted in his *Rabbinical Bibliotheque*, extremely uſeful to thoſe who will treat of theſe matters.

XVIII. And indeed People are to blame to make ſuch a Bug-bear of the *Talmud*, as if it were dangerous. I confeſs it grates a Man and makes his Blood riſe, to read the ſeveral blaſphemies againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*, that are diſperſed in the *Jewiſh* Books; but in reality, if theſe impieties ſcandalize, they ſtagger no Body's Faith; and the reading of the *Talmud*, inſtead of reconciling the Chriſtians to favourable thoughts of *Judaiſm*, would make them abhor it. We may compare the Readers of the *Talmud* with the Travellers to *Rome*. They ſee there ſuch groſs Superſtitions, and ſuch a multitude of ſilly Ceremonies, and comical Sights, tho' Religious ones, wherewith they amuſe the People, that they are diſguſted with a Religion they went to ſeek in its Fountain, as if it was purer and finer there. They that read the *Talmud*, and the other ſo much applauded Books, are likewiſe as ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, to find in them ſuch multitudes of childiſh and uſeleſs things; and inſtead of preſerving that mighty admiration they had received for them, they find it inſenſibly languiſh and die away. The firſt Volume of the *Miſnah* is more proper for Gardiners and Tillagers than Divines, ſince it lays down all the Rules relating to Seeds, and the different mixtures that may be made of them in a Field. There are in the others many caſes of Conſcience, the deciſion whereof is uſeleſs. On the other hand we don't deny but there are a great many things, the knowledge whereof is abſolutely neceſſary to the *Jews*, and the Doctors that teach it. The Knowledge of it likewiſe is Advantageous to the Chriſtians, as they may draw from it great helps to the underſtanding the Holy Scripture and the Rites of *Moſes*, which were obſerved under the Old Teſtament. But that we may have a clearer Idea of it, we deſign the following Chapter to the Diſcuſſion of theſe two things: And without entering into too tedious particularities, we will obſerve the true Character of the *Talmudiſts*, and the uſe that may be made of their Works.

[k] Sixt. Sen. Bib. l. 11. p. 120.

CHAP. VII.

A Judgment concerning the Talmud, *and the Doctors that have explain'd it.*

The Ignorance of the Talmudiſts *in matters of Religion, and in prophane Hiſtory. A Compariſon of their Faults, with thoſe of many Chriſtian Authors.*

I. *THE Study of Hebrew neceſſary.* II. *Explications of Scripture taken from the* Jews. III. *The abuſe that is made of them.* IV. *The* lxviii[th] Pſalm *ill explain'd.* V. *The* Talmud *juſtified by the Fathers.* VI. *By the modern Interpreters.* VII. *The* Talmudiſts *implicitly Copied.* VIII. *A little Worm that built the Temple.* IX. *The Knowledge of the Rites uſeful.* X. *The exceſs that is run into in this reſpect, proved by Examples.* XI. *The exceſs of the Chriſtians.* XII. *The faults of the* Jewiſh *Hiſtorians.* XIII. *The exceſſive age of* Phineas. XIV. *Whether* Ariſtotle *was a* Jew. XV. *A fabulous deſcription of* Rome. XVI. *Of* Italy *peopled by* Eſau, XVII. *Whether the Emperor* Nero *was a* Jew. XVIII. *The Death of* Titus. XIX. *Whether Metaphors and Hyperboles can be juſtified.* XX. *Miracles.* XXI. *Scruples.* XXII. *Blaſphemies.*

I. MY firſt Reflection is upon the uſeleſs pains the Inquiſition takes to deſtroy the Books of the *Jews*. I know not why this Tribunal makes a monſter of the *Talmud*; for can the Fire annihilate Books that are reprinted the next Moment? were all the Copies of the *Weſt* conſumed, there are others in the *Eaſt* ſufficient to repair their loſs. Beſides, the uſe of the *Hebrew* Tongue ought not to be baniſh'd, as being neceſſary to the underſtanding of the Scriptures. Thoſe that would have us quit the Originals to follow blindly a barbarous verſion faulty all over, would take pleaſure to ſee the ignorance of the corrupt and groſs Ages revive: But we ought not to countenance either the negligence of Divines, or the contempt they have of Languages, which they don't underſtand. As there are but few Writers that were inſpired, we can get but a ſlight tincture of the Holy Tongue by reading them. By turning over other *Jewiſh* Writings, and comparing them with the ſacred Books, we more eaſily and certainly diſcover the *Genius* of the Language, and the Idiotiſms of Speech which are permanent in a Nation. We grow accuſtomed to the Genius of the Nation and its Style, which is always Figurative. If ſome controvertiſts had read the Writings of the *Jews*, they could not have waſted ſo much time in giving Rules to Metaphors, and making ſuch Efforts to confine the Uſe of them in ſo very ſtrait bounds. One *Jewiſh* Book alone would have taught them that it is the Style and Genius of the Orientals, who run into exceſs in that reſpect, by uſing commonly very harſh Metaphors, and imploying this Figure continually.

We muſt only remember one thing, which the Criticks forget; which is, that the firſt Book of the *Tanaites* having not been compoſed till two hundred Years after *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the *Talmud* not compleated till five or ſix hundred Years after him; we muſt not imagine that certain Expreſſions of our Lord and his Apoſtles are borrowed from the *Talmud*, or that ſome *Greek* words ought to have ſuch a ſignification, becauſe the like is found among the *Talmudiſts*. Let them conſult and ſtudy them, if they pleaſe, to diſcover the Genius of the Language: But

But let them not draw Conſequences from Words they have implyed ſo long after *Jeſus Chriſt*, and in a corrupt Age, to give Scripture-Paſſages, novel, uncommon, and forced Explications. One would think, in reading ſome Commentators, that *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Diſciples, had no other deſign than to make ſome perpetual Alluſions to the Sentences or Expreſſions of the *Talmud*; which is ridiculous.

In order to give an Idea of the *Talmud*, and the uſe that may be made of it, we muſt diſtinguiſh Seven Things: The Explications of Scripture: The Rites that have ſome Analogy to thoſe of the Chriſtians: The Hiſtorical Facts they relate: The Miracles they attribute to their Doctors: The Diſcuſſion of Caſes of Conſcience: The Errors they teach: And the Opinion they have of the Chriſtians.

II. We commonly find in it ſome uſeful Explications; and if they don't diſcover the true Senſe of a Paſſage, at leaſt they may ſerve to illuſtrate it. But it muſt be own'd, that they are often abuſed to a wrong purpoſe. The *Miſnah* [a] forbids, for inſtance, to go up to the Temple with a Staff, Shoes, and Purſe, for fear a Man ſhould ſeem armed, or Maſter of the Place, and deſigning to traffick there. 'Tis aſſerted that *Jeſus Chriſt* had the ſame view, when he forbad his Diſciples [b] to carry either *Scrip, or Shoes, or Staves*, in order to teach them to avoid all Pride, and Avarice, and Violence in their Miniſtry. But why muſt *Jeſus Chriſt* be made a Plagiary of the *Miſnah?* This Precept might be known in the Time of our Lord; but his Intention was rather to oblige his Diſciples to depend upon his Providence, and wait for the Fruit of their Labours from it: *For the Labourer is worthy of his hire.*

A learned Man, [c] conceited with the Works of *Maimonides*, of which he had the Manuſcript, pretends to have diſcovered in them the Explication of theſe Words of our Saviour, who declares, that *him the Father hath ſeal'd*; becauſe this famous Commentator of the *Miſnah*, relates, that the Angels weigh the Sins of Men on the Day of their Death, or every firſt Day of the Year; and if they be found good, they ſeal them for Life; and if they be found impenitent Sinners, they ſeal them for Death; and if the Judgment be dubious, they refer them to the Day of Propitiations, whereon their Repentance is examin'd. But I queſtion whether an Author of the Twelfth Century ought to be heard with ſo much Veneration, concerning what was done in our Saviour's Time. We ſee no body but himſelf who has ſpoken of this Cuſtom of ſealing Men; at leaſt the Rite does not appear in all the *Jewiſh* Antiquity: How then could *Jeſus Chriſt* allude to it? Is it not more natural and ſimple, to make him refer to Kings, and Men that put their Seals and Arms on the precious Veſſels that belong to them? 'Tis with better Succeſs maintain'd, that theſe Words of St. *Paul* to the *Epheſians*, *Awake thou that ſleepeſt, and Chriſt ſhall give thee light*, are not borrow'd from the Prophet *Eſaiah*, or the *Apoclypſe*, as has been thought, but from the Proclamation that was made every firſt Day of the Year at *Jeruſalem*, with the Sound of the Trumpet. *Awake thou that ſleepeſt, which ſignified the Obligation to renounce their Sins, and return to God by a ſincere Repentance.* At leaſt, this may ſerve to illuſtrate the Apoſtle's Words.

III. But how many violent and forc'd Explications are there in the *Talmud*, and its Commentators: They aſſert that there was not one ſingle Man that had praiſed God from the beginning of the World to the Time of *Leah*, becauſe upon her delivery of her Son *Juda*, ſhe ſaid, [d] *now will I praiſe the Lord.* The Word *Jadah*, which ſignifies to *praiſe*, not being found before in the Scripture, all the Saints in the old World are abuſed, by ſaying that they never thought of praiſing God. *Juda* condemning his Daughter-in-Law to Death, becauſe ſhe was found with Child: They explain this by the Law which order'd the Prieſt's Daughter to be burnt, when ſhe was guilty of Fornications, and thence conclude, that *Thamar* was the Daughter of a Prieſt. The Prieſt is ſought for, as if he could be her Father, and they boldly father her upon *Melchiſedec*, as if the difference of Times was not a manifeſt Obſtacle to this Conjecture, tho' it ſhould not be true, that *Thamar* was a Stranger to the Covenant. If *David* [e] prays God *to preſerve his Soul, for he is holy*, or of the number of the *merciful*, they find here an oppoſition betwixt this Prince and other Kings, who muſter'd up a great Court, and thought of nothing but of diſplaying their own Glory, whilſt he was taken up in examining the *Monthly-Courſes* and *Flowers* of Women, to try whether they were pure, and might be reſtored to their Husbands, according to the Law. If *Solomon* adviſes, *Prepare thy work without, and make it fit for thy ſelf in the field, and afterwards build thine houſe.* [f] They find here the Scripture, the *Miſnah*, and the *Talmud*. To prepare the Work *without*, is the Scripture; the fitting it in the *Fields*, was the making the *Miſnah*, and the building the *Houſe*, was the accompliſhing the *Talmud*.

IV. I will produce no more of theſe Explications, which might be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Nor ſhall I mention the violence they offer to certain Paſſages of the Prophets, where they think they ſee ſomething relating to *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Peter the Venerable*, [g] long ſince upbraided them with their way of perverting that Oracle of *David*, which ſo expreſly repreſents the Aſcenſion of the Son of God: *Thou haſt aſcended on high, thou haſt led captivity captive: thou haſt received gifts for men; yea for the rebellious alſo, that the Lord God might dwell among them.* They ſuppoſe that *David* ſpeaks of *Moſes*, who aſcended to Heaven by the order of God; but the Angels, who were jealous of the Honour done him, deſign'd to kill him; God, who was aware of it, complain'd of this Inſurrection, and upon the Angels Remonſtrance, that this defiled Man ought not to mix amongſt them, God taught them, that he was ſanctified; being diſappointed in that complaint, they form'd another, upon the Laws being given to Men in preference to them; but God made them ſenſible of *their Folly*, by acquainting them, that the Law was given for the unrighteous, and not for ſinleſs Creatures; that Encomium ſweetned them; they treated with *Moſes*, and imparted to him half of their Wiſdom. *David* inſinuates all this in the LXVIII *Pſalm*, for he teaches, that God has robb'd Heaven and the Angels of their Gifts, in ſaying, *Thou haſt led captivity captive.* He denotes the Preſent he made *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites*, in theſe Words, *thou haſt received gifts for men.* Laſtly, He points to the Rebels, (that is the Gentiles and Chriſtians) who don't believe that God dwells in *Moſes* and the *Jewiſh* People. If there were but few of theſe Explications, they might be charged to the account of the *Jewiſh* Hatred to the Chriſtians; but they make the like, when not animated with Paſſion, and that in innumerable Inſtances. We muſt not therefore overſtrain the uſe which their Writings may afford towards the underſtanding the Scripture; for if they afford any Aſſiſtance, how many Rubs do they throw in the Way, when we muſt commonly read Authors, that deſert the

[a] Bartol. B. R. t. III. p. 106. [b] Mat. 10. 9. [c] Skinner. *Letters of* Uſher, Let. 102. [d] Gen. 29. 35. [e] Pſ. 86. 2.
[f] Prov. 24. 27. [g] P. Venerab. cont. Judæos B. Max. Pat. t. 22. p. 1028.

literal

literal Senſe, to hunt after groundleſs Conjectures.

V. The *Jews* may juſtifie themſelves by the Example of ſome Chriſtians, who give them countenance by their Praiſes, and eſpouſe their Diſcoveries, and invent as boldly as they. And indeed the Antient Fathers have commonly ſplit upon this Rock, and given diverſe Paſſages of Scripture a different Senſe from the natural: I will only quote one Example, which will ſuffice to acquaint us with *Origen*'s Method. [h] *Abraham* apprehenſive leſt *Abimelech* ſhould take away his Wife, and murder him, to be rid of a troubleſome Spy, conſented to be cuckolded, and contributed to it, by obliging *Sarah* to ſay that ſhe was his Siſter. *Abimelech* exemplarily puniſh'd for a Paſſion, which ſeems leſs criminal than *Sarah*'s Lie, tho' authoriz'd by her Husband, declared to God that he was led into it in the purity of his Heart: *Abraham* prayed for him, and ſo his Wife and Maids were heal'd. This is an hiſtorical matter of Fact, which one would think we had no more to do but to receive as the Scripture relates it: But *Origen* maintains, that to take this Event literally, would require a *Jewiſh rather than a Chriſtian Auditory*; which ſeems to inſinuate, that the *Jews* in his Time were leſs curious of Allegories than the Chriſtians. He falls into them over Head and Ears; and gives out, that *Sarah* is *Vertue: Abraham* might call her his Wife, till he had attain'd to Perfection, becauſe indeed ſhe ought to reſt in our Boſom, and we ought never to abandon her, till we have enjoy'd her to ſatiety: But when *Abraham* was perfect, he ought to call her his Siſter, and leave her to *Abimelech*, becauſe it is the Duty of the Saints to lend and communicate Vertue to thoſe that want it. *Abimelech*, who could not poſſeſs *Sarah*, ſignifies the *Philoſophers that are fond of Vertue:* They ſeek it in the purity of their Heart, becauſe their Morals are pretty pure. In the mean time they can't obtain the Knowledge of the Truth, and the great Myſteries of Religion, becauſe it was a Privilege reſerved for *Jeſus Chriſt* to reveal it. The cure of *Abimelech* and his Servants puzzles *Origen*, but he paſſes by the difficulty, and maintains, that he may be allow'd to ſay, upon ſo obſcure a Paſſage, that *Abimelech* was Philoſophy, and his Maids the different Sects it has branch'd into: God heal'd them, and *Abraham* begg'd they might enter into the Church; but the Time of the calling of the Gentiles was not yet come.

Let a Man but read *Gregorius Nyſſenus*, and he will find ſome ſorry Interpretations: And tho' *Gregory the Great* lived in a colder Climate, yet his Imagination was very warm, by the help whereof he has trifled with abundance of Scripture Paſſages. Let a Man examine St. *Auſtin*, and many other Fathers, and he'll find in them materials of an ample and juſt Apology for the *Jews*, ſince they have been as bold and inaccurate as they.

VI. Some Moderns have follow'd the Ancients; and in ſpight of the Rules the Criticks have laid down for an exact Interpretation of Scripture, yet they abandon the literal Senſe, to purſue crude Imaginations; and the number of theſe Interpreters increaſes proportionably; they find it a ready and eaſie Road to get a Name, and they vent whatever their Fancy dictates.

Can it be imagin'd that *David* had the Martyrs in view, which ſuffer'd under *Decius* and *Diocleſian*, when he ſaid he walked with Aſſurance in *the vale of the ſhadow of death?* And that *Jeſus Chriſt* predicted the Converſion of the Infidels to be wrought by the Conſtancy of theſe Martyrs, when he exhorted all his Diſciples to *let the light of their good works to ſhine before Men, that they ſeeing it, might glorifie their father which is in heaven?*

Can it be imagin'd that *Iſaiah* telling the *Jews* that they came to *Controverſies and Diſputes*, thereby indicated the Diſputes of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* upon the *Euchariſt*, or thoſe of *Marbach* and *Zanchius*, about *Predeſtination*, with the Artifices of the Court of *Rome*, that fomented theſe Diviſions, as appears by the Confeſſion of Cardinal *de Lorrain*, who has left a *Memoir of the Expences the Pope was at, to keep up the Diſputes of the Proteſtants*. I confine my ſelf to one Author, and the firſt which came to hand, which ſuffices to ſhew that the Chriſtians commonly fall into the ſame fault as the *Jews*; for it would be but too eaſie to quote a great many others.

VII. They are not ſatisfied with imitating the *Talmudiſts*, but they alſo tranſcribe them, and borrow their Conjectures from them. They tell how a piece of Scarlet-Wooll grew white on the Day of Propitiations, to teach them, that the Expiation of their Sins was made. If they acknowledge that this Miracle ceaſed forty Years before the Ruin of the Temple, the Chriſtians make an advantage of this Story, without examining it. The Miracle is falſe; and no Track is found of it in the Sacred Hiſtory: And yet they conclude, that the Prophet *Iſaiah* alluded to it, when God promiſed by his Mouth, that tho' the Peoples Sins were as red as Scarlet, yet they ſhould be as white as Snow. They triumph alſo at this Miracle's ceaſing preciſely at our Saviour's Death, and make uſe of it as a Conviction for the *Jews*; whereas the Miracle is imaginary; the Prophet meant only to ſignifie, that there was no Sin ſo enormous, but that God perfectly pardon'd it, and he takes his Compariſon from the Nature of Wooll, which difficultly changes its colour, and never grows white again, when it is once died Scarlet. If the *Talmudiſts* preſcribe Fathers ſome Leſſons about the method of educating their Children till they are Twelve Years old, the Chriſtians give theſe Precepts an Antiquity that does not belong to them, to ſhew that *Jeſus Chriſt*, who went to the Temple with his Mother, whom ſhe gently chid for leaving her, was a religious Obſerver of them.

VIII. They take a pride to adopt the moſt extravagant Stories of the *Jews*. The Scripture ſays, that in building the Temple, there was not heard *one blow of the hammer*. This Place of the Sacred Story has no obſcurity in it; for it is obſerved in the ſame Verſe, that the Stones were all brought ready hewn: However let us hear the *Jews*, and then the Chriſtians.

The Firſt ſay that God created on the *Sabbath-Eve* a Worm called *Samir*, which cleft and poliſh'd the Stones by touching them. This unknown Worm was brought to *Solomon* by *Aſmodeus*; and they that will not have the Prince of Devils contribute to the Structure of the Temple, aſſert that *Solomon* taking the young ones from a *Whoop*'s Neſt, incloſed them in a Glaſs; the diſconſolate old One found a Worm which broke the Glaſs, and delivered her Brood, and therefore we ſomewhere read that it was the *Whoop* that brought the Worm *Samir* to the Sanctuary. A Third Sort ſtill more ridiculouſly maintain that *Solomon*, who underſtood the Language of Birds, ask'd them where this Worm was, an Eagle immediately took wing, and found it in the Terreſtrial Paradiſe. It was employed to poliſh all the Stones of the Temple, and for this reaſon there there was not heard *one ſtroke of the hammer* all the Time it was building. This is

[h] Origen. in Geneſ. h. 6. Integr.

grounded upon a Paſſage of *Ezechiel*, [i] wherein God tells the Prophet, that he hath made his Forehead like a Diamond, and harder than the *Samir:* Here you ſee the Worm that is harder than the Flint or the Diamond: Two Things are obſerved; One, that the Prophet does not compare the *Samir*, but the Forehead of the Prophet, to a Rock: The Other, that he ſpeaks of a Stone which Jewellers uſe, to poliſh the Diamond. Here is nothing ſaid then of a Worm, which would be Nonſenſe, but of a Stone that is harder than Diamond, to which he compares the Prophet's Forehead. Be that how it will, 'tis added, that the Worm *Samir*, after having ſerved to build the Temple, was ſhut up in Lead, and fed with a great deal of care; but it periſh'd with the firſt Temple. Part of this Story is found in the *Miſnah*, but there are great Additions to it in the *Gemara* and the *Talmud*.

It doth not deſerve any notice, had not one of our Hiſtorians of the [k] Thirteenth Century aſſerted, that *Solomon* underſtanding that the Stones of the Altar were not to be hewn, ſupply'd the Workman's Art, by the help of a Worm; for having incloſ'd in a Glaſs a young Oſtrich, the Mother of it found a Worm in the Deſart, whoſe Blood broke the Glaſs; and *Solomon*, who knew by this Experiment the Vertue of this Blood, employ'd it in poliſhing the hardeſt Marbles, inſtead of Iron, wherewith it was prohibited to cut them.

It will be ſaid, no doubt, that the Chriſtians Error does not authoriſe that of the *Jews*; 'tis true, but it will ſtill be concluded from hence, that theſe Explications, which create trouble to exact and judicious Interpreters, don't afford a ſolid reaſon for inhibiting the reading of the *Talmudiſts*. It will ſtill be ſaid, [l] *That the Truths are to be taken, and the Falſhoods left; we muſt gather the Roſes, and avoid the Prickles; collect the Pearls, and reject the Shells.* So much for the Interpretation of Scripture.

IX. It can't be denied, but that the *Jews* have preſerved many Rites of their Anceſtors, and that manifeſt Foot-ſteps of them are found in the *Talmud*. It is from theſe antient Rites that the beſt uſe may be made, becauſe they diſcover the Original of many Cuſtoms, which the Chriſtians have borrow'd from the Synagogue. Moreover, the Prophets, *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Apoſtles, have often alluded to the Cuſtoms received by this People, the knowledge whereof muſt be very uſeful.

Did we, for example, compare the Government of the Primitive Church with that of the Synagogue, we wou'd put an end to a great many Queſtions and Controverſies; we wou'd not attribute to St. *Peter* the Diviſion of the World into Three Patriarchates, ſince the Patriarchs of the Chriſtian Church being later than thoſe of the *Jews*, proceeded from them; we would not diſpute about Epiſcopacy, and Eccleſiaſtical Offices, ſince the Biſhops ſucceeded the Heads of the Synagogue. And therefore there were many Biſhops in great Cities, as there were many Heads in the flouriſhing Synagogues. We find among the *Jews*, ſome Primates, Prieſts, Deacons, and a Government, like that of the Church, as a very learned Man has prov'd. [m]

Father *Simon*, who has treated of this Conformity of Rites, maintains that St. *Peter* is the *Naſci*, or the Prince of the Church; the Senators were the Biſhops that make up the *Sanhedrim* or Councils, to whom he gives his Infallibility. His Compariſon had been juſter if he had turned the Senators into Cardinals: Their College is at *Rome*, as the *Sanhedrim* was at *Jeruſalem*. The *Sanhedrim* was not infallible, no more is the College of Cardinals. It had the power of depoſing its Head, when he departed from the Law, and this Circumſtance would alſo have ſuited with Father *Simon*, who likewiſe makes the Pope a Prince depending on the Church.

By ſtudying the *Jewiſh* Rituals concerning the Temple, the Sacrifices, the Feaſts of Paſſover, Expiation, and the Sabbath; concerning Divorces, and the method of Judicature, we can't avoid drawing great Helps toward the Underſtanding of thoſe Paſſages of Scripture, where theſe Matters are too lightly touch'd to be void of all obſcurity.

X. Let us only obſerve, that we ought to be cautious of exceſs, ſince theſe Rites have not always the Antiquity that is pretended. The Doctors have intermix'd their private Imaginations with Divine Laws; and by attempting to be too particular they put off Circumſtances of their own Inventions, which afterwards divide the Doctors. I'll only quote One Inſtance.

The Scriptures acquaint us, [n] how the red Heifer was burnt, whoſe Aſhes ſerved for the Purification of the People. How many Queſtions have been form'd upon this Subject? Some ask whether this Heifer [o] might be with Calf, and deny it, whilſt others affirm it. *Eliezer*, one of the *Tanaites*, will not allow her to come from the Gentiles, but that Sentiment is conteſted. 'Tis affirm'd, that ſhe was ſeparated ſeven Days before the Sacrifice, and was only fed twice in all that time. They give the Plan of the Stall wherein ſhe ſtood, and the Catalogue of thoſe that have ſacrificed her from *Moſes*'s Time to *Iſhmael*, the Son of *Phebius*; they diſtinguiſh the Wood wherewith ſhe was to be burnt, and the different ways of receiving her Blood. He that offered the Sacrifice fruſtrated the Effects of it, if he had not white Cloaths, and did not do every thing to the purpoſe of the ſacrificed Heifer. The *Jews* who compoſed the *Talmud* Two or Three hundred Years after this Sacrifice was aboliſh'd, could be no better inſtructed in all theſe Particulars than the Chriſtians; and they have ſupply'd by their Imagination, the want of ancient Books and Monuments.

XI. In the mean time there are ſome Chriſtians, that implicitely believe them. If they find in the *Talmud* a Plan of the Temple of *Jeruſalem* and its Chambers, they preſently ſeek for the Apartment of the Virgin, where ſhe might be incloſed as a Nun when ſhe was conſecrated by her Parents, in her tender Years. If the Altars are placed Eaſtward, they [p] fancy 'tis in imitation of the Altar at *Jeruſalem*. And yet they are miſtaken. Ingenious Criticks agree, that there were no Cells for female Novices and Nuns about the Temple; and the Hiſtory of the Virgin is fabulous. 'Tis known alſo, that the Altar of *Jeruſalem* was placed at the Weſt-end of the Temple. *Spencer* [q] even thinks that God appointed it ſo, in order to keep off the People from the Idolatry of the *Perſians*, who worſhipp'd the Sun. The Truth of the Matter is this, that *Conſtantine*, who erected ſome ſtately Temples to the Living God, divided them into Three Parts, like the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, where was the Outward-Court or Pavement, the Holy-Place, and the Moſt-Holy, and the Chriſtians have continued to conform themſelves to that Cuſtom. They ſeek among the *Jews* for the Origine of Proceſſions, and 'tis true that *Maimonides* relates, that the *Sanhedrim*, after the offering of the Euchariſtick Sacrifice, took Two Loaves, which were carried in Pomp

[i] Ezech. 3. 9. Boch. Hieroz. *l.* 6. *c.* 11. *p.* 842. [k] Vincentius Bellovacenſ. Doctrin. *l.* 16. *c.* 123. [l] Gafferel. *unheard of Curioſities*, *c.* 2. *p.* 30. [m] Vitringa de Synag. [n] Numb. xix. [o] Miſnah ſextus ordo Codex 2. qui eſt *Para.* vacca, *c.* 9. [p] Iſidor. Orig. *l.* 15. *c.* 4. Valafr. Strabo Rit. Eccl. *c.* 4. [q] Spencer de Rit. Heb.

before

before it, and all the Councellors walked after these Loaves at the Ringing of Bells: They stop'd at the corners of the Streets; and sang some verses of the xxx^th *Psalm*, by the greatest Stone that was in *Jerusalem*. But this Rite, which appears not, except in an Author of the twelfth Century, and whereof we see no antient Proofs, is very suspicious: The Example of *David* Dancing before the Ark, would at once be more antient, and more solid. If they find that in the publick Fasts the Chiefs of the Synagogue and the People cast Ashes upon their Heads, and upon the Press which contain'd the Law, they conclude that the Custom of taking Ashes at the beginning of *Lent*, is almost as antient as the Law of God. If they hear a Story of some Soul, deliver'd from the Punishments it had deserved in this Life, they give a venerable Antiquity to the Opinion of Purgatory. There is commonly a caprice to be observed herein: For when we prove upon the Church of *Rome*, that she has revived the Ceremonies of the Law which *Jesus Christ* aboliss'd, she is angry, and disturb'd at it: She sometimes will have the *Talmudists* to be the Fathers of these Rites, and yet she refuses *Moses* and God himself for the Authors of them: How fantastical is this?

XII. We have already observed, that perhaps there never were worse History-writers than the *Talmudists*, and the *Rabbins* that succeeded them. What's the reason of it? Is it their want of Genius? Has Nature denied them the necessary Talents for the composition of this Work? It would be ridiculous to pretend it, since *Josephus* is one of the best Historians that Antiquity has produced; but they have two Infirmities: Great fondness for the Glory of their Nation, and as great contempt for the History of other People: In God's name let them praise their Ancestors, and extol them above the rest of Mankind; but however, they ought to consult Foreigners concerning their own History; examine their Calculations, and endeavour to reconcile their Chronology with that of Strangers, who have made a sufficient Figure in the World to deserve to be taken notice of. Lastly, they should not be so venturous in making Conjectures, and changing facts and events as they generally do.

XIII. They seem sometimes to be strangers to their own History. One would think they ought to know *Phineas*, a Man so famous in their antient Commonwealth; notwithstanding, they make him live above 300 Years. It doth not justify them to say that they have spoke thus without consideration: For by placing this Zealot in *Moses*'s time, and ascribing a great action to him after *Samson*'s, they must have believed that God prolonged his Life beyond the ordinary limits of those times. They say that *Naama* was *Noah*'s Wife, and *Dinah*, *Job*'s; because this holy Man being tormented by his Wife, told her *she spoke like a foolish Woman*, they have concluded that he tacitly upbraids her with a fault she had committed in her Father's House, which agreed to no body else so well as *Dinah*.

XIV. I shall not speak of the Monarchy of the *Persians*, whose Kings and Years they confound; but they have made *Aristotle* a Proselyte of their Law; to which purpose they metamorphose *Jaddus* the High Priest, who received *Alexander* the great into *Jerusalem*, into *Simeon the Just*, whom they make the Son of *Joshua*, who engaged in a Conference with this Philosopher, and convinced him of the truth of *Judaism*, which obliged him to insert several pieces of this Religion into his Philosophy. *Rabbin Joseph* [b] the Son of *Job* had read in a very antient Book in *Ægypt*, that *Aristotle* changed his Religion at the latter end of his days. [c] *Abravanel* had read it in *Aristotle*'s Writings. *Diogenes Laertius* confirms the fact; and lastly, [d] *Eusebius* is cited, who is made to say, that *Aristotle* was a *Jew* by Birth, born at *Jerusalem*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and the Family of *Kalia*. But 'tis to be perfectly ignorant of their own History, and that of the *Greeks*, to pretend that *Alexander the Great* was received at *Jerusalem* by *Simeon the Just*, the Son of *Jehoscua*; for, 1. There are four Generations betwixt *Jehoscua*, who return'd from the Captivity; and *Jaddus* who received *Alexander the Great*. 2. *Simeon the Just*, instead of being High Priest in *Alexander the Great*'s time, was only the Grandson of *Jaddus*, who received this Prince. 3. His Conference with *Aristotle* is so much the falser, because this Philosopher had Principles quite opposite to the *Jewish* Religion. It does not appear that he so much as knew it, so far was he from professing it publickly, or being born in the Bosom of that Church: He no where speaks of his Conversion: *Diogenes Laertius* has observed the same silence. 'Tis true *Diogenes* quotes one *Clearchus*, who introduces *Aristotle* speaking, and deriving the *Jews* from the *Greeks*. He also praises a *Jewish* Philosopher by Birth, and *Greek* by Inclination; who had taught them many things. But a Man must divine to find *Aristotle* in this *Jew* by Birth, and Philosopher, and have a good assurance to make *Eusebius* say that *Aristotle* was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

XV. The *Roman* History ought to be better known, not only because it deserves to be so, and may be, without much pains and time, but the *Jews* have a particular interest in it, as having been a long time under their Dominion; one would think that a Man must be obliged to shut his Eyes, if he will not know what *Rome* has been; and yet 'tis certain they have committed the grossest faults upon this Article.

One boldly says [e] that the City of *Rome* was three hundred *Parses* long, and as many broad; judge of this Circumference, since each *Parse* contains 4000 *Italian* Paces, or five fourths of a League. There are as many Publick Places in it as days in the Year, and the Poultry Market which is the least of all, contains 16000 Paces, The King who commands in this City daily feeds all the People that are found in one of these three hundred sixty five publick Places, which he does by turns all the Year round. It is situate upon the Banks of the Sea, which defends it on one side, on another it is arm'd with high Mountains, on the third side there is a Wall of Iron; and a barren and unfruitful Soil helps to render it impregnable.

XVI. *Italy*, says another, was Peopled, and is still by the Posterity of *Esau*. The Bishop of *Burgos*, who had been a *Jew*, opposed this notion, and shewed the difference of these two Nations; their Habitation and Religion. But the *Rabbin* [f], accustom'd to call the Christians *Edomites*, and to whom this title was necessary to answer the Ideas they have of the Messiah to come, heap'd Reason upon Reason to confute his Adversary. He maintains, 1. That the Tradition, which makes the *Italians* descendants of *Esau* and *Edomites*, being as certain as that which makes them come from *Troy*, since there are no Chronicles nor Proofs, it may as well be received as that which the Christians have received from the Heathens. 2. He quotes *Josephus* the *Hebrew*, who affirms, that *Joseph* going to bury his Father, and having beat *Esau*'s Army who opposed his Passage, carried his Unkle's Grandson Prisoner into *Ægypt*. This Grandson's Name was *Zephon*, who being wea-

[b] Schalschelet. Hakkabbala. p. 102. [c] Abravanel in Pirke Aboth. [d] Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 4. p. 409. [e] R. Ula.
[f] V. Abravanel in Obbadium.

ry of ſlavery went to *Carthage*, and from thence to *Italy*, where he perform'd ſuch noble Actions, that the *Italians* made him King, and changed his Name into that of *Janus* or *Saturn*. Thus you ſee *Eſau*'s Grandſon Anceſtor to the *Romans*, who afterwards extended his Empire by building *Genoa* and *Palermo*. The Chriſtian Chronology agrees with this event, for *Janus* muſt have come into *Italy* fifteen hundred Years before *Jeſus Chriſt*, that is ſix Years after *Jacob*'s Funeral. Beſides, the *Latins* borrowed their Name of *Lotam*, one of *Edom*'s Generals noted in *Geneſis*. [g] There are ſome *Rabbins* that affirm, that the Apoſtles driven from *Jeruſalem*, came to the *Idumeans*, who embraced their Religion and went to *Rome*. Others ſay that *Jacob* granted his Brother *Eſau* all the Country which extended from *Seir* to *Magdiel*, which is *Rome*. Laſtly, they find ſix Reſemblances betwixt *Eſau* and his Poſterity, and the Chriſtians. All this makes it an evident Proof with the *Rabbins*, that the Inhabitants of *Rome* were *Idumeans*.

Abravanel might be referr'd to the Tradition of his Fathers, who having made *Eſau*'s Family attempt to hinder *Jacob*'s Burial, change their Fury into Reverence, and aſſure us that ſeeing the Crown of *Jacob* upon their Grandfather's Coffin, they came all and laid down their own there, inſtead of fighting, being conquered and led Priſoners to *Ægypt* as this *Rabbin* ſuppoſes; but this is another Fable; and the one has no more reaſon than the other. However, 'tis fit the younger Lye ſhould give place to the elder. 'Tis more worth while to obſerve the Error of Chronology; for the Chriſtians who are ſo confidently cited, bring not *Janus* into *Italy* till above three hundred and fifty Years after *Jacob*'s Death. Though this *Janus* were the Grandſon of *Eſau*, which is impoſſible, could it be concluded that *Italy* was Peopled by one ſingle Fugitive? what became of thoſe that Crown'd him King, to recompence his Valour? To ſay that the *Idumeans* came and ſettled there after him, is another fact that ought to be proved, of which we find not the leaſt hint in *Joſephus* the *Hebrew*, which is cried up as if it were not the work of an ignorant Impoſtor. They commit a double fault in dating the Birth of Chriſtianity under the Authority of *Nachman*; for do they imagine we ſhall admit a modern *Rabbin* an Evidence of ſo remote a fact, and believe him upon his word? At leaſt the Evangeliſts we cite were Cotemporaries. *Italy* was already Peopled when *Jeſus Chriſt* appear'd. They were not the *Idumeans* that firſt embraced Chriſtianity, and carried it to *Rome*; though ſome private Perſons might go, it can't thence be concluded that they were the prevailing Nation; by which it is plain they are ignorant of Chriſtian, as well as Heathen *Rome*.

XVII. It's an hard thing to be ignorant of *Nero* and his Hiſtory; and yet if we conſult the *Talmud*, we ſhall find a great many things concerning this Prince's Life. For they tell [i] that having undertaken the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, that he might know the ſucceſs of it, he ſhot four Arrows, one to the *Eaſt*, and another to the *Weſt*, but they all fell in the City; from whence he concluded he ſhould take it. But he heard at the ſame time a little Boy read a paſſage of *Ezekiel*, in which God threatens his Houſe with approaching ruine, and afterwards to revenge it upon *Edom*. The Emperor from hence concluded that God would puniſh him, if he took the City. Therefore he became a Proſelyte, and had the famous *Meir* for his Son, one of the *Tanaites* of whom we have ſpoken.

They have been aſhamed of ſo ill contrived a Fable: However Honour will not ſuffer them to abandon the *Talmud*; and therefore they have imagin'd two *Nero*'s, whereof one was the others General, and own that the Emperor continued an Heathen; but that he ſent his Name-ſake General againſt *Jeruſalem*. This does not remove the difficulty, ſince the *Talmud* ſpeaks of a *Nero* that was *Cæſar*. This is eluded by ſaying that the *Gemara* only means the Commander of the Army, or that there were at that time two *Nero*'s Emperors, the one an Idolater and the other a *Jewiſh* Convert, the Father of *Meir*.

Laſtly, they excuſe themſelves by quoting I know not what Lives of Emperors, and particularly St. *Auguſtin*, who relates, that *Nero lived*, that is, *that he changed their Law*. The *Jew* could not more pertinently cite St. *Auguſtin*, for he relates in that place the Extravagances of ſome Chriſtians, which he had reaſon to admire, as not being inferior to thoſe of the *Talmudiſts*. Theſe Chriſtians imagin'd, that *Nero* was Antichriſt, and for that reaſon maintain'd, either that he muſt riſe again, or that he was not dead, but that he was conceal'd in ſome ſecret place, to appear once again in the Flower of his Age. But theſe deluſions of ſome Chriſtians don't deſtroy the Truth of the Hiſtory, nor juſtify others in ſo plain a fact. 'Tis even certain, that *Sciullam*, the *Rabbin* that cites St. *Auguſtin* for his Voucher, impoſes on him what he never ſaid; for he pretends that theſe words, *Nero* lived, meant, according to the Chriſtians notion, that this Prince had embraced their Religion, and had afterwards abjured it and turn'd *Jew*; and therefore *he lived, and ſhall live*; that is to ſay, ſhall be eternally happy. For there is nothing farther from St. *Auguſtin*'s Thought, than this little Syſtem aſcribed to him, and he ſhould not be cited if they will not take his Notion.

XVIII. I will add but one word more concerning *Titus*, who ought ſtill to be better known than *Nero*. Notwithſtanding, they tell of him [k] that he grew Mad, on occaſion of a Fly entring into his Noſe. And when they are urged with the ſilence of all the Hiſtorians, they maintain, this ſilence to be concerted, for fear it ſhould be publiſh'd that this Puniſhment was inflicted on him for the Evils he had done to the People of God; or elſe they recur to myſtical Interpretations by help whereof they endeavour to excuſe them. In the mean time an ignorance ſupported with ſuch confidence, ſhews that they are unacquainted with the Events that happen'd in our Saviour's time, or at the Birth of the Chriſtian Church, and that there is no depending upon the matters of fact related by them.

XIX. They pretend to juſtify their extravagant Metaphors and Hyperboles; and 'tis certain they are not always to be charged upon them as faults: We ought not to father on them the belief of a corporeal God, becauſe they make him weep for ſo many hours a day: As we ought not to imagine the Heathens believed Beaſts and Birds could ſpeak, becauſe they ſometimes lend them humane Language. Theſe are Fables, wherein we change the Nature and Qualities of the Objects we introduce. Thoſe of the Heathens were leſs dangerous, though they mingled the Gods in them, becauſe the Moral was eaſier to be diſcovered; whereas we commonly can but conjecture at the meaning of the *Rabbins*: We want Commentaries to underſtand them, and the Commentators are divided; becauſe they can't ſpy out the true meaning of a thing, in which perhaps there is none at all. *Peter the Venerable* [l] upbraided them with their loading three hundred Camels, only with the Keys of the Treaſure which

[g] Gen. 36. 20. [h] In cod. Ghittin. 76. c. 5. p. 56. V. Ganz. Chron. l. 2. p. 197. Bartol. Bibl. R. t. III. p. 298.
[i] R. Ganz. Chron. l. 2. p. 180. [k] Pet. Venerab. contra jud. B. M. Nat. p. 22. p. 1028.

Corah had hid in the Dens and Caves of the Deſart, and in order to make theſe Keys the lighter, they had made them of Nerves, and dryed Hides: Would they ſignifie by this that *Corah* was the Richeſt Man in the World? I allow it; but the fact is falſe: For *Corah* in the Deſart was not Potent enough to give occaſion to this Hyperbole. But had he never ſo great Wealth, can't this be repreſented without ſhocking all probability, by giving more Camels to *Corah* alone, than *Moſes* had for all the People of *Iſrael*; by making all the Caves of the Wilderneſs to be lock'd up; by imagining the Keys to be made of Leather, which multiplies their number infinitely, to make them a ſufficient burden for three hundred Camels? What is meant by repreſenting *Og*, King of *Baſhan*, meaſuring the Camp of the *Iſraelites*, and then going tocut a Mountain of three Leagues to cover this Camp, and ſquaſh all the *Jews?* He cut up the Mountain, and laid it upon his Shoulders; but by the way the Piſmires had ſo hollowed it, that it fell upon *Og*'s Neck; he endeavoured to throw it down and get rid of his Burthen, but his Teeth was grown ſo long as to ſtop its way and not let it paſs. This is no piece of Mirth or Drollery, but a fact that is read in the *Talmud* [m] and is founded upon a paſſage of Scripture: For whereas we read in the third *Pſalm*, *Thou haſt broken their Teeth*; the Text muſt be corrected, and put, *Thou haſt lengthened their Teeth.*

XX. The Miracles they attribute to their *Rabbins* are bunglingly contrived, but the greater part of Chriſtians have nothing to reproach them with upon that Article. The Legends are full of Stories, that ſhew how far the Extravagance of an human Underſtanding may be carried. They have not even ſpared *Jeſus Chriſt*; for they have attributed to him Miracles which he never did, and which, far from raiſing his Glory, ſully it. In the *Goſpel of the Infancy*, he is made to form Earthen Sparrows by way of ſport, which he animates, and which fly away, when he is chid for working upon that Day. The ſame Goſpel makes *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhut up by his Mother, becauſe he kill'd all thoſe that oppoſed his deſigns, though in the Sacred Writings this Son of God did no Miracle but what tended to the preſervation of Men. The *Rabbins* often kill their Enemies and thoſe that deſpiſe their Inſtructions. *R. Eliſha* changed his *Tephilim* into Pigeon's Wings, in order to avoid I know not what Perſecution of the *Romans* who forbad the wearing 'em, and the voilence of the Guard that had ſurpriz'd him in that flagrant Crime.

R. Eliſha grew an Heretick after he had pierced into the Terreſtrial Paradice; for he taught there were two Principles: He was ſent to Purgatory after his Death; but *R. Meir* praying for him, there was ſeen to proceed from his Tomb a great ſmoak, to ſhew that he was delivered from thoſe violent Flames by his Friends Prayers. How can thoſe laugh at theſe miraculous *Deliriums*, who admit a Purgatory, from whence Souls daily eſcape by the Prayers of their Relations, and often return to give them thanks for their deliverance? The praiſes that are given theſe miraculous Men are not more judicious than the Miracles; they commonly are grounded upon one's giving precedence to the other; upon a Maſter's viſiting his Diſciple; or upon Childiſh Devotions; and evidently ſhew they underſtood not true Devotion, nor had any juſt Ideas of Virtue. We need only read the Hiſtory of *Jeremiah* in *Peter the Venerable* [n] to give us an abhorrence of the Actions they have abſcribed to this Prophet, even when they meant to honour him. They give him a Grandſon, who at once was his own Son, conceived in a manner equally impure and impoſſible, though he was born of his Daughter, and afterwards they make this Child the Author of unheard of Prodigies.

XXI. They enter alſo into infinite particularities. They gravely determine, that a Knot may be untied on the Sabbath, if it be lax, but it is criminal if it be hard tied. They examine what days Maids and Widows ought to be Married: The fourth day of the Week is deſign'd for the one, and the fifth for the other; and the reaſons of this diſtinction are very important. Towns ought to be reſponſible for the Murders committed in their Territories: But how ſhall they meaſure the diſtance when the Body is divided from its Head; muſt it be rejoin'd to it? 'Tis diſputed whether the firſt Born of an Aſs ought to be redeem'd with a Lamb. *Joſhua* and *Tſadoc* determined, that if the young Colt dies, it ought not to be ranſom'd: But *R. Eliezer* is of a contrary Opinion, and gives the profit of it to the Prieſt. 'Tis eaſily perceived that they mix Errors with their deciſions. They even ſometimes introduce the Devils, or the Angel of Death inſtructing them. But we'll give the Hiſtory of their Opinions hereafter.

XXII. The Chriſtians are chiefly incens'd againſt the *Talmud*, becauſe they find imprecations in it againſt them; and their Name ſubſtituted for that of the Gentils, as if they were guilty of the ſame Idolatry. Laſtly, they have inſerted blaſphemies againſt *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Saints, which has often occaſion'd the burning of theſe Books.

Without any deſign of juſtifying theſe exceſſes, we may obſerve that they are not the moſt dangerous Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion. We ſee Treatiſes daily publiſh'd, infinitely more ſubtle, and capable of poſſeſſing the Soul with doubts and ſcruples. The *Talmudiſts* are not the *Jews* that have beſt underſtood and moſt carefully ſtudied the Chriſtian Religion. The Author of the *Rampart of Faith*, who lived ſince *Luther*, which *Vagenſeil* publiſhed, has made a more exact Apology for his Religion, and offered Objections better grounded againſt ours. *Menaſſes*, and *Orobio* have gone beyond their Predeceſſors. 'Tis not Blaſphemies that give any wound to Truth: At moſt they wound delicate Ears, and make the Blood riſe; they prevent the Underſtanding, and fortify its Prejudices. Sophiſms are more formidable than Blaſphemies; and we find but little of that nature in the *Talmud*.

People make impertinent complaints, that after the *Miſnah* has laid in Precautions againſt the reigning Idolatry of the Gentiles, application is made of it to the Chriſtians. *Bartolocci* [o] is miſtaken to imagine that the ſilence of the *Miſnah*, as to the Chriſtians, proceeded from their being confounded with the *Jews*; it is eaſy to diſcover the cauſe of it, and at once to juſtify the change of the *Talmudiſts* and *Rabbins*. The Heathens might confound the Chriſtians with the *Jews*, in *Claudius*'s Reign, becauſe the Church iſſued out of the Synagogue, and Chriſtians were a ſeparate Branch from the ſame Stem. It was in *Judea* that the Goſpel had been preach'd; the Church conſiſted of converted *Jews*, and even retain'd a part of its antient Laws. No wonder then that ſtrangers, as the *Romans*, confounded the two Religions which had ſo many Relations; but the ſame thing can't be ſaid of the *Jews*, the mortal Enemies of this Religion, who had Crucified *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſaw the Chriſtians leave their Worſhip to adore him, and pleaded againſt the novelty of their Doctrine: Eſpecially they could not be con-

[m] *Talmud* Ordo. 1. Zeraum. cod. 9. p. 54. [n] Peter Venerab. contra Jud. B. M. Pat. t. 22. p. 1028. [o] Bartoloc. Bib. Rab. t. III. p. 177.

founded at the Time that *Juda the Saint* publiſh'd the *Miſnah*, at the end of the Second Century, for then the Diſtinction of *Jew* and *Chriſtian*, whoſe numbers multiplied by the *Gentiles* entrance into the Church, could not eſcape him. How comes it then that *Juda* laid down no Rules to ward the People from the *Chriſtian* Idolatry, and the modern *Rabbins* have taken ſo great Precautions againſt it, by ſubſtituting the *Chriſtians* for the *Gentiles* in their Writings? The reaſon of this change can be a Secret to no body, but ſuch as will not ſee. There were then in primitive Chriſtianity no Images in the Temples, and upon the Altars, nor Statues and Croſſes in publick Places. That infinite Crowd of Saints was unknown, which has been worſhipp'd ſince. In a Word, The *Chriſtians* could not be confounded with the *Heathens*, till a Worſhip like that of the *Gentiles* was introduc'd among the *Chriſtians*.

CHAP. VIII.

The different Orders of Doctors.

The *Sebureans*, that is to ſay, *Pyrrhoniſts*, and *Doubters*, the *Gaons*, or *Excellents*.

I. THE Sebureans *odious: Whether this Sect was renew'd by the Reformation.* II. *The Duration of theſe Doctors very ſhort.* III. *The Authority of the* Gaons. IV. *Their Head.* V. Juda, full of Light, *was blind.* VI. *The end of the* Excellents *in the Eleventh Century.*

I. THO' the *Talmud* was received with a general Applauſe, if we believe the *Jews*, yet there ſtarted up a new Order of Doctors that ſhook its Authority by their Doubts. They were call'd *Sebureans*, or *Opiners* [a] They were look'd upon by the *Jews* as ſo many Scepticks, becauſe they diſputed without determining, and finding only Probability upon all the Sides that can be taken of different Queſtions, they argued *pro & contra*. *Bartolocci* [b] maintains that this Sect is revived by the Reformation; but the reformed Divines are poſitive enough. Is it not a pretty Fancy, that a Man becomes a *Pyrrhoniſt*, from the Moment he does not blindly ſubmit to the Definitions of the Church, as the *Sebureans* did not implicitly ſubſcribe to the Deciſions of the antient Doctors? But let that paſs: Theſe latter rendred themſelves odious by the Doubts they form'd, and tho' the *Talmud* was not yet finiſh'd, they would not inſert their Sentences. There are even ſome that intirely ſtrike out this Order from the number of their Doctors, whether they fear ſome Diſhonour would accrue to their Religion from them, or that they never were in being.

II. And indeed we find ſo much Darkneſs and Confuſion in their Hiſtory, that the beſt Chronologers can't diſpel [c] it, all they can do being to produce ſome meagre Names, ſtript of all Events and Works. And yet *R. Joſi*, who was the Principal of theſe *Opiners* appear'd in the Year 4236, or 476 of *Jeſus Chriſt*. He taught 38 Years, according to this Calculation. *Joſi* began to appear 24 Years before the *Talmud* was finiſh'd. He had ſome Succeſſors who became the Heads of the famous Academies of *Sora* and *Pumdebita*; but theſe Academies having been ſhut up by the King of *Perſia*'s Order, the Order of the *Opining* Doctors was extinct Seventy four Years after its firſt Eſtabliſhment.

III. The *Opiners* were ſucceeded by other Maſters, call'd *Gaons*, *Sublime*, or *Excellents*; which Title was not acquir'd by them till they had given ſome illuſtrious Proofs of their merit. The Chief of them were made Heads of the Academies, and the others were diſperſed in the Provinces where there were Refugees of their Nation. There they were conſulted upon all the Queſtions that aroſe, and were conſider'd as the Interpreters of the Law. Their Deciſions were received like Oracles. In the mean time, as each Province, independent of one another, had its *Excellents*, the Laws of each Doctor were received only in the Place where he had Credit and Authority.

IV. *Chanan Meiſchka* was the Head, and Firſt of theſe *Excellents*. He re-eſtabliſh'd the Academy of *Pumdebita*, that had been ſhut up for fifty Years, and appear'd with ſome Luſtre at the beginning of the Sixth Century. Some have [d] rank'd him with the *Pyrrhoniſts*; but *Sherira*, who muſt have known them better, makes him the Chief of the *Excellents*.

V. In the Liſt of the *Excellents* was numbred one *Jehuda*, ſurnamed *Full of Light*, becauſe he was blind. The *Jews* dare not reproach the Blind with want of Sight; and therefore for a Diſguiſe, they take a Courſe that ſeems to abound with Inſult and Raillery, calling them *Full of Light*. *Juda the Blind* taught with great Reputation in 763, and the Nation is indebted to him for certain *Leſſons* [e] in great requeſt.

VI. *Scherira*, one of the *Excellents*, appear'd likewiſe [f] with great Luſtre at the end of the Tenth Century. He reſign'd his Employ to confer it on his Son *Haai*, who was the laſt of the *Gaons*. He lived in the beginning of the Eleventh Century, and was eſteem'd as the moſt *Excellent of the Excellents*. He taught to his Death, which happen'd in the Year 1037, and with him ended the Order of theſe *Excellent Doctors*, having ſubſiſted 280, or 350, or, laſtly, 448 Years. The Difference of this Chronology comes from hence, that ſome commence the Eſtabliſhment of the *Gaons* ſooner, and others poſtpone it above a Century. The Academies of *Babylon* being ruin'd ſhortly after, the Remnant of them were convey'd into *Spain* and *France*, where the *Jews* made new Eſtabliſhments, and their Doctors flouriſh'd under the Title of *Rabbins*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, for we muſt firſt inſert here what reſpects the *Maſorethes*.

[a] Sevara *ſignifies Opinion.* Seburæi *are the* Pyrrhoniſts. [b] Bartol. B. R. t. III. *p.* 367. [c] Ganz Chron. *p.* 121. [d] Ganz Chron. *p.* 122. [e] Halacoth Peſſucoth, Lectiones Deciſæ. [f] Ann. 997.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the *Maſoreths:*

Their Authority and Criticiſm.

I. *THE different Corrections they have made.* II. *The different Judgments concerning them.* III. *That of the* Proteſtants. IV. *Conjectures concerning the Antiquity of the* Maſoreths: *Whether* Eſdras *was the Head of them.* V. *Whether they were Cotemporaries with the* Talmudiſts. VI. *The Opinions of* Uſher, Capel, *and Father* Morin. VII. *They read without Points in the time of* Eſdras. VIII. *A Proof taken from St.* Jerom, *that the* Maſorethes *were not known in his Time.* IX. *The* Talmudiſts *have not known them.* X. *They are wrongfully cited in the Conference of the King of* Cozar. XI. *The true Origine of the* Maſſorah *in the Eleventh Century.* XII. *The progreſs of this Method.* XIII. *Whether there be any danger in following this Opinion.* XIV. *Anſwer to the Objections.* XV. *A diſintereſted Judgment upon the* Maſſorah. XVI. *The Sixth Order of Doctors: The* Cabaliſts.

I. THE *Maſorethes* were Grammarians, who principally addicted themſelves to the reviſal of the *Hebrew* Text. They numbred the very Letters, imagining thereby to prevent any future Alterations. It has been queſtion'd whether they carried their Scruples and Diligence ſo far: But Father *Simon*, tranſcendently verſed in this matter, atteſts that he has ſeen a Manuſcript, wherein he found this part of the *Maſſorah*. *Geneſis* was reckon'd to contain Twelve great Sections, XLIII *Sedarim*, or Orders, 1534 Verſes, 20713 Words, and 78100 Letters.

Secondly, They make a Collection of all the different Readings that were known to them. [a] They turn'd eſpecially upon the Name *Jehovah*, and upon certain Words which were thought unſeemly, and others were ſubſtituted in their room. This Collection was commonly put at the end of the Bibles; afterwards they were inſerted in the Margin, and at the bottom of the Pages, for the Reader's convenience, and the reſt that would not come in there, were caſt in at the end.

Laſtly, They have added Vowels to the Conſonants; but as Religion has ſeem'd intereſſed in this laſt Article, every One has reaſon'd upon it according to his Prejudices.

II. *Elias* the *Levite*, after Twenty Years labour in explaining the *Maſſorah*, was amazed to ſee his Nation riſe againſt him for maintaining that the Points were invented by the Grammarians aſſembled at *Tiberias*, in the 504 Year of *Jeſus Chriſt*, whereas they carried their Origine as high as *Eſdras* and *Moſes*. The *Jews* jealous of all his Rites, conſented that every thing was divine in the Law and Writings of *Moſes*, the Points not excepted.

The *Roman Catholicks* prejudic'd for the Vulgar and Verſions, imagin'd, that if theſe Points were new, the Original might be accuſed of Imperfection, ſince we are not certain that the *Maſoreths* have added the neceſſary Points, or that they have not falſified ſome Oracles relating to the *Meſſiah*. They allege alſo an Inſtance pointed to by *Calvin*, the Words are thoſe of *Iſaiah*, where the Prophet affirms, [b] *his name ſhall be called the mighty God*, whereas the *Maſoreths* have ſtruck out the Divinity of the *Meſſiah*, and make the Prophet only promiſe, that the Almighty God *ſhall call him* [c] *the Prince of Peace*. Hence it is concluded, that the Originals are falſified, and that we are to blame for crying ſo often, *Purius ex ipſo fonte bibuntur aquæ*. The *Roman Catholicks* find a Second Advantage in this Opinion, for they pretend that *Moſes* took away the Vowels from his Writings, for fear the People ſhould read them, and entruſted them only with the Elders, who were the Repoſitories of Tradition.

III. Some *Proteſtants* ſtruck with this Prejudice, have maintain'd that the Points were of an Antient and Divine Original; which Opinion prevail'd a long time among them, [d] notwithſtanding the Authority of their Leaders, *Calvin* and *Luther*. But able Criticks [e] have rendred to the *Maſoreths* the Glory due to them, and prov'd that the addition of the Vowels do no prejudice to the Holy Scripture, nor made the Verſions preferable to the Original, ſince the Conſonants were pointed agreeably to the received Uſage, for a great many Ages, which could not vary, except in Things of no importance.

IV. Before we come to give Sentence concerning the Diverſity of Opinions, and to diſcover the Origine of the Points, we muſt examine the Age of the *Maſoreths*, ſince it is that whereon it depends. Some believe that *Eſdras* was the Head of this College; with which prejudice they are ſo bigotted, as to ſay [f] Two Things evidently falſe: One, that the Original reform'd by *Eſdras*, is at *Bolonia*, where it has been preſerved to this Time, but that the modern *Jews* alter'd it in ſome places, whilſt that City was left in their Hands for the Mortgage of the Money they had lent. The Other, that *all Antiquity agrees*, that *Eſdras* was oblig'd, at the return home from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, to add Vowels to the Conſonants, becauſe he perceived, that the Study of the Holy Language, and the Scripture, languiſhing in the Exile, it was neceſſary to let the People have correct Copies, in which there could be no variation. Hitherto they could not fall into Error, and it was impoſſible there ſhould be Hereſies in the *Jewiſh* Church, becauſe the Originals of the Prophets were conſulted, and the Prophets themſelves, upon all the Doubts that aroſe; but the Prophets ceaſing, and the Originals being loſt, or neglected, *Eſdras*, who foreſaw the Miſchiefs that might enſue, invented the Vowels, and pointed the Copies which he left to the People. It ſeems the Vowels are a Remedy to all Diſtempers; but that is not ſo. The Originals of the Prophets were not kept in the Temple, and thoſe holy Men who cried in vain againſt the groſſeſt Idolatry, ſo clearly forbidden by the Law, and that Mixture of Heatheniſh and Divine Religion, which reign'd ſo long at *Jeruſalem*, without ſtopping it, were not more capable of hindring the growth of

[a] *The* Maſoreths *diſtinguiſh the degree of Authority; they give their Corrections by theſe Three Words*, Keri, Ketib, Sbhir. *This is a Conjecture.* [b] Eſ. 9. 5. [c] *The* Jews point יִקְרָא Vocabit, *inſtead of* יִקָּרֵא Vocabitur. *Father* Morin, ex Bibl. *p.* 390. [d] Buxtorf Tiberias. [e] Capell. Arcanam punct. Revel. crit. Sacra. *l.* 6. *c.* 4. *p.* 397. Uſſerius. Walton prolegomenon. 3. *p.* 246, &c. Gouſſet. Comment. Linguæ Hebr. *p.* 755. [f] Finus Adrianus Ferrarienſis Flagel. Judæor. *l.* 9. *c.* 2. Angelus Rocha. Bibl. Vatic. *p.* 394.

Hereſies:

Hereſies: This is One of [g] *Cunæus*'s Viſions, which has no Foundation.

V. Others will have it, that the Grammarians began to play the Criticks at the ſame time that the *Talmudiſts* appear'd, becauſe they promiſe Rewards to thoſe that teach to diſtinguiſh the Accents and Pauſes of the Law; and they forbid the employing the Right-hand to diſhoneſt uſes, becauſe it is deſtin'd to ſhew the Accents of the Law.

VI. *Uſher*, who has plac'd the *Maſoreths* before St. *Jerom*, does not differ from that Opinion. *Capel* has fix'd them to the end of the Fifth Century, when the *Talmud* being finiſh'd, they betook themſelves to the preſervation of the Text; the Senſe of it having been firſt explain'd. It appears by the Conference held in preſence of King *Cozar*, in the Year 740, that the *Caraites* had already received the Points. As they were ſcrupulouſly devoted to the Scripture Text, and abhorr'd Traditions, 'tis very probable they ſubmitted not to this Novelty, without a great deal of reluctance. Father [h] *Morin* aſſerts, that the *Maſoreths* did not appear till the Tenth Century; that being the Firſt Age, in which there were Grammarians among the *Jews*, and that they were the Grammarians that introduc'd the uſe of Vowels.

VII. In vain we ſeek for the Time of the *Maſoreths* appearing [i] ſince they were not a Society, nor even a Succeſſion of Men that applied themſelves to this Study for a certain number of Years, and afterwards diſappear'd. The *Maſſorah* is the Work of a great number of Grammarians, who without aſſociating, and communicating their Notions, compoſed this Collection of different Readings agreeably to Tradition, for ſo *Maſſorah* ſignifies. We may ſay, that they were not in *Moſes* or *Eſdras*'s Time. Theſe holy Men would not only have withſtood the ſubſtituting other Words inſtead of thoſe dictated by the Holy Spirit, under Pretence of their being impure and diſhoneſt; but we know that all the Oriental Tongues, as the *Syriac*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabick*, having no Points at firſt, we have reaſon to believe the *Hebrew* had none neither. The *Samaritans*, who have preſerved the ancient Characters, have always read without Points, and do ſo ſtill, and the *Jews* ſtill have the ſame uſage: They have in their Synagogues ſome Bibles printed with Vowels, but the Copy that is taken out of the Preſs with the Huzzas and Acclamations of the People, is a Manuſcript unpointed, becauſe *Moſes* gave it them in that condition.

VIII. I know not how *Uſher* could ſay that the *Maſoreths* preceded St. *Jerom*; for if we read that Ancient Doctor of the Church, we muſt be convinced of the contrary. And indeed St. *Jerom* [k] being at a loſs concerning the Word דבר *Devar*, which according to its different Pointings may have different Significations, obſerves that this perplexity *is owing to the want of Vowels among the* Jews, *and every One explaining according to his Diſcretion, the Connexion this Word may have with what precedes and follows it*. St. *Jerom* could not have complain'd thus, if the *Maſoreths* had already fix'd the Pointing of this Word. 'Tis true, that *Marianus Victor*, who has printed this Father's Works, has ſubſtituted the *Hebrew* Letters inſtead of the *Latin*, which St. *Jerome* perhaps made uſe of, and moreover has pointed theſe Letters, and added the Vowels to them; but nothing could be more contray to St. *Jerom*'s Notion, who complain'd that he could not find the pointing of this Word, becauſe the Vowels were not known in his Time, and the *Jews* did not then make uſe of them, as they did afterwards.

IX. The *Talmudiſts* [l] never ſpake of the *Keri*, and the *Ketib* of the *Maſoreths*, nor of the Pointing, which was of ſo important uſe. Would theſe Doctors, ſcrupulous to exceſs, and deſcending to the Particulars of the ſlighteſt Punctilio's, have omitted the Regulation of the Points, if they had not been invented after them? We find, I confeſs, in the *Zohar*, that *Moſes* brought theſe Vowels from Mount *Sinai*; and 'tis ſaid, that Words compoſed of Conſonants without Vowels, are Women undreſs'd, who dare not appear in publick deſtitute of their Ornaments: But this *Cabaliſtick* Book, which is not father'd upon *Simeon*, the Son of *Jochai*, who is ſuppoſed to have lived 120 Years after *Jeſus Chriſt*, or ſome time before him, began firſt to be known in the Thirteenth Century, and we have reaſon to attribute it to an Impoſtor of that Time, that conceal'd himſelf under a Name venerable for its Antiquity.

X. The *Jews* have myſtical Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, which they call *Midraſchim*, which were compoſed after the *Talmud*; and yet here is no mention of the Points or Vowels, becauſe they were not then known. It ſignifies nothing to find them among the *Caraites* in King *Cozar*'s Conference in the Seventh Century. That Conference being imaginary, can be no evidence, for the Work did not appear till Four hundred Years after the Seventh Century, and no body conteſts the Points being then in uſe.

XI. There was at the beginning [m] of the Eleventh Century, a Schiſm betwixt *the Children of* Aſer *and* Nephtali *concerning many Words of the Law*. Theſe Two *Rabbins* were *Aaron*, of the Tribe of *Aſer*, and *Moſes* of that of *Nephtali*. *Genebrard*, who makes them live in the 476 Year of *Jeſus Chriſt*, is groſly miſtaken; for they ſtill taught and diſputed in the Academies of *Babylon*, when they were ruin'd in the Year 1039, and *Ezechias*, the Prince of the Captivity, was kill'd. Theſe are, if I miſtake not, the true inventors of the *Maſſorah* and the Points. 1. The *Jewiſh* Hiſtorians take notice of their Diſpute about *many Words of the Law*, becauſe it was impoſſible to add the Points, without meeting with ſome contradiction about the different manner of pointing certain Words. 2. It has always been believed, that *Tiberias* was the Birth-place of the *Maſſorah*, and here we find a reaſon for it; for *Aaron*'s Opinion prevail'd in the Academy of *Tiberias*, which ſtill ſubſiſted, and according to *Eben Ezra*, who came there ſome time after, the Bible was read there with wonderful Exactneſs. This Academy having approved the Pointing, caus'd it to be receiv'd by the Synagogues of the *Weſt*. 3. It was no wonder that *Juda Hallevy*, who compoſed a little after his Dialogues with the King of *Cozar*, introduces this matter in it; for it was then novel enough to excite the Curioſity of his Readers. 4. As that was the firſt time of appearance of the *Jewiſh* Grammarians, we have reaſon to believe, that they began to fix the Scripture-reading, for ſuch as were not perfectly acquainted with the *Hebrew*.

XII. They began with the *Keri*, and the *Ketib*, that is, with the Corrections upon the Conſonants, and the Collection of the different Readings found in different Copies; and afterwards finding the number of theſe Readings to multiply, and the confuſion ſometimes cauſed by the want of Vowels, they added them in the Bibles, which from thence grew more precious and more dear. The Gain encouraged the Labour, which theſe Grammarians continued for many Ages, without perfecting; and

[g] Cunæus de Rep. Heb. *p.* 257. [h] P. Morin Exercit. Bibl. [i] Genebrard Chronol. *p.* 181. [k] Hieron in Jeremium c. 22. [l] Vide Morin Ex. Bib. *l.* 2. Ex. 12. *c.* 3. [m] Ganz Tſemach David. *p.* 131.

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it would have remained buried, if *Bombergue*, the *Venetian* Bookſeller had not undertaken the publiſhing it. To this purpoſe he imployed a *Jew* of *Tunis*, [o] forced to leave his Country, who ſpent a great deal of time in it. *Elias* the *Levite*, work'd upon it afterwards in *Germany*, at the requeſt of ſome Chriſtians; *Buxtorf* reviſed what they had done and inſerted it in his Bible Printed at *Baſil*. This is the Hiſtory of the *Maſſorah*, which in all probability was not begun, till the tenth or rather the eleventh Century, ſince that was the time that Grammarians were found among the *Jews*, and we find no antienter proof of their Original.

XIII. This work has given too great an Alarm, and too ſtrong Conſequences has been drawn from it. We muſt not wonder at the Controvertiſts accuſtom'd to imploy all ſorts of Arms, who maintain that *Moſes* retrench'd the Vowels. The Ignorance is groſs: For beſides, that the Law was in the Hands of the People, the contracts and all the Civil Writings were read without Points, as well as the ſacred Books. There was no greater difficulty in reading the Law, than a civil Contract. Nor muſt it be maintain'd, that the Scripture has been corrupted or altered by the change of the *Maſoreths*, and their addition of Points, for they have followed certain Rules, or rather the uſage received in all the Synagogues, and known by all the People. They could not make any conſiderable variation, without its being perceived; for the People accuſtomed to read prophane and ſacred Books without Points, would eaſily have diſcovered the ſacrilegious Preſumption of the Grammarians, who had no other deſign for their part, than the preſerving the purity of the Text, and had not ſufficient Authority to corrupt it with any ſucceſs. 'Tis a manifeſt proof of our Aſſertion, that the *Samaritan* Copies, which are read without Points, agree with ours.

The *Syrians* at firſt made uſe only of one Point, which they put ſometimes above, and ſometimes below a word, to prevent ambiguity: They have ſince borrowed certain Figures from the *Greeks*, which ſerve for Vowels; in the mean time they have not by theſe changes, alter'd the ſacred Writings which have been tranſlated into their Language.

Laſtly, the *Jews*, accuſtom'd to pronounce, for inſtance, theſe words of *Geneſis*: In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth, *Bereſchit bara Ælohim ſchamajim vaaretz* had nothing to do, but to fix under the Conſonants the Vowels neceſſary to form theſe words intire, and facilitate the reading, and they could not depart from the common Pronunciation, without making their crime manifeſt.

XIV. 'Tis alledged that there are words, whoſe pointing would have depended on the *Maſoreths*, ſince it was ambiguous: 'Tis ſaid they might change certain Oracles relating to the Meſſiah, or the Chriſtian Religion, of which he is the Founder. This difficulty which is made a Monſter to contend with, is not ſo conſiderable as is imagin'd. 1. Whether there were Vowels at firſt or not, it is impoſſible to avoid the ambiguity of ſome words, the Senſe whereof is not penetrated without a great deal of pains and trouble: This is common to all the Books of the World, and the Holy Scripture is not exempt from theſe difficulties. There are different readings as to the Conſonants as well as Vowels, and the *Maſoreths* have been as much perplex'd with the one as the other. 2. Whether *Moſes* or *Eſdras* added the Points, or they be of a later Invention. The faults of Tranſcribers, and the variations of the Pointing are inevitable: Therefore the difficulty is not removed by aſcending as high as *Eſdras*, or even *Moſes*. Beſides, theſe doubts about the pointing of certain words, rarely regard the controverted Myſteries. The *Talmudiſts* relate, that *Joab* deſigned to kill his Maſter, who had taught him to read wrong the word *Zachar*; for he thought he was to kill all the *Males* of *Edom* [p], whereas God only commanded him to aboliſh their *Memory*. Here you ſee a Maſſacre cauſed by the ambiguity of Pronunciation; but this is only a Romance, which proves there were no Points in *David's* time, nor at the compoſing of the *Talmud*. 'Tis alſo very ill contrived, for whether *Joab* had orders to deſtroy the Memory, or the Males of *Edom*, it was ſtill the ſame thing, ſince this People were to be deſtroyed by way of interdict. Father *Morin* has cited the words of *Iſaiah*, who ſpeaking of the *Meſſiah*, foretells that he ſhall *be called the mighty God:* He obſerves at the ſame time, that the *Jews* have made a very conſiderable change, in the xxii[d] *Pſalm*, where they read, *as a Lyon*, inſtead of what *David* predicted, *they have pierced my Hands and my Feet*. This laſt change turns upon a Conſonant. We muſt not therefore find fault with the Vowels, nor look upon the pointing as a ſource of Corruption; we muſt rather accuſe the *Jews*, or perhaps the Tranſcribers, who might be eaſily miſtaken in one or both of theſe Paſſages: If we deſcend to Particulars, we ſhall find that the number of Paſſages ſuſpected to have been alter'd by the *Maſoreths*, is neither conſiderable, nor of any great importance.

XV. Men judge of the work of the *Maſoreths*, and heighten or depreſs its Authority according to their Prejudices: Some conſider it as *a fence of the Law*, and a certain means of preventing the leaſt alterations. Others maintain that it is an uſeleſs undertaking; that the work is full of faults, and that the Verſions of the *Septuagint*, or St. *Jerome*, are preferable to the Copies Corrected by theſe Grammarians. There's an exceſs in all theſe judgments, tho' pronounced by great Men, both *Jews* and Chriſtians. The new Teſtament has been received with applauſe, loaded with all the various readings *Curcellæus* could gather up. Another is impatiently expected from *England*, which has been labouring a great many Years, and wherein the Collection will be much greater. The Grammarians, or Criticks are eſteem'd, who are at the pains of rummaging Manuſcripts, collating different Editions, and producing their Diſcoveries. We muſt paſs the ſame judgment on the *Maſoreths*, who have glean'd up the different readings of the Old Teſtament: But as theſe Grammar Obſervations are ſeldom important, tending only to cenſure the fault of a Printer or Tranſcriber, we ought rather to praiſe the exactneſs and diligence, than the eminent Learning of thoſe that undertook it. This tedious and painful collating of Manuſcripts, requires much more application, than fineneſs of Parts. As we fail not to derive ſome aſſiſtance from the various readings the Criticks obſerve in prophane Authors, tho' their Works are not always perfect; we may gain the like inſtruction from the *Maſſorah*, tho' it be defective, and there be multitudes of words upon which they have made no obſervation. Finally, the faults which are obſerved in the exacteſt Edition of the Grammarians, are no obſtacle to our preferring the Original before the Verſions. We ought to follow the *Hebrew* rather than the *Septuagint* and vulgar Tranſlations.

XVI. There is no end put to the Invention of new Methods for the interpreting Scripture, or ra-

[o] R. Jacob Ben Chajim.

[p] *He read* Zachar Male, *inſtead of* Zechet Memory.

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ther for the giving a vaſt range to the imagination too much ſtraitned by it. 'Tis our duty to hear God ſpeaking to us; to walk exactly in his ſteps; to rejoice that he has chalked out to us the way of Salvation, inſtead of obliging us to do it our ſelves. But we are not willing to pay an implicit Obedience to God, tho' we do it even to men that we eſteem. We pleaſe our ſelves with lending him our Ideas and Imaginations, and under pretence of making him ſpeak more nobly, we make him ſay a thouſand things which the Holy Spirit never dictated. The Fathers of the Church, have been extravagantly fond of Allegories, moſt of them being of the Sect of *Plato*, or eſpouſing his method and Philoſophy, imitated his Symbolical Style; and imagin'd that the ſacred Writers were exceſſively addicted to that kind. The *Cabbaliſts* are much more Extravagant; they call their *Cabbala the Soul of the Soul of the Law*, becauſe they prefer it to Revelation and the *Miſnah*, which they look upon to be the Soul of the Law. They believe that this is the way of arriving to the Knowledge of the Perfections of God and his Works, which he has concealed from the ignorant: They have ten *Sephiroths*, which they include in ten different Circles; and often range them under the Figure of a Man, or a Tree, and aſcribe to them ſome miraculous Effects: Beſides this, they have thirty two roads of Wiſdom, and fifty Gates of Prudence. There's not a Letter, or Number, or Name of God, but they think contains ſome profound myſteries, when we'll be at the pains to unfold them. We can't avoid ſpeaking of this Science ſo little known, ſince we deſign to diſcover all the ſources of the *Jewiſh Theology*. Beſides, that ſome Chriſtians complain, that this Subject is too much neglected, ſince the Converſion of the circumciſed would become much eaſier, if we entered into the ſecrets of the *Cabbala*, and made uſe of it to convince them. Laſtly, the antient Hereticks have hence derived their *Æones*, their barbarous Names, their Principles, and Amulets. Theſe old Hereſies are not eaſily unravell'd, becauſe we have not an exact knowledge of the clue they followed; which makes it neceſſary to diſcover the Principles of this *Cabbaliſtick* Science.

CHAP. X.

The ſixth Order of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, the *Cabbaliſts*.

A general Idea of the Cabbala, * *taken from the* Zohar, *and from the explication of the* Mercava, *or* Chariot *of* Ezechiel.

I. *THE Elogy of the* Cabbala. II. *God and Angels the firſt Teachers of it.* III. *It was not written till* Simeon Jochaides. IV. *The time wherein he lived: The Apparitions of* Elias *to this* Cabbaliſt. V. *The* Zohar *the firſt* Cabbaliſtick *Book: A general Idea of it.* VI. *The Myſteries* of the long and little face. VII. *The Figure of* Jupiter *and the Sun alike, with the* Ægyptians. VIII. *Another Figure of Iſis and the Moon. The Symbols explain'd.* IX. *The eſteem the* Zohar *is in.* X. *General reflexions and judgment upon this Book.* XI. *Diviſion of the* Cabbala. XII. *The* Mercava *or Chariot of* Ezechiel *is rarely explain'd.* XIII. *The different explications that are given in it.* XIV. Morus's *general Principles to explain it.* XV. *The reign of the Meſſiah found in this Chariot.* XVI. *Four Worlds noted by the four Animals.* XVII. Jeſus Chriſt *the mover of all things.*

I. THE *Cabbala* is regarded as a noble ſublime Science, conducting men by an eaſy method to the profoundeſt Truths. It is ſo much the more neceſſary, that without it the Holy Scripture can't be diſtinguiſh'd from prophane Books; wherein we find ſome miraculous Events, and Precepts of as pure Morality as that of the Law[a], if we did not penetrate into the Truths lock'd up under the external Shell of the literal ſenſe; the Angels could not appear upon Earth, and make themſelves ſenſible to men but by aſſuming a ſubtle Body. God who is infinite has been obliged, that he might communicate his Thoughts and Councils to Mankind, to cloath them in terms proportionate to the weakneſs of their Mind. As men were groſly deceived, when dwelling upon the ſenſible Object, they took Angels for Men, they alſo fall into Error or Ignorance, when they inſiſt upon the ſurface of the Letter, or words that change with Cuſtom, and aſcend not up to the Ideas of God himſelf, which are infinitely more noble and ſpiritual. Thus the *Cabbaliſts* exalt the Excellency and Advantage of their Science.

II. God was the firſt Teacher of this Science in Paradiſe, and the Angels learnt it of him immediately after the Fall of the firſt Man. God indeed ſaid, *Behold the Man is become like one of us.* The mortal Man did not by his Sin become like God; for his Crime had ſullied his Glory and his Nature, and inſtead of advancing it to a reſemblance of the ſupream Being: But God then ſhewed the Angels his Son whom he had Begotten, and who was not like created intelligences, but like the Divinity: In the mean time he concealed the Myſtery and the ſecond *Adam* under the name of the firſt, ſaying, *Adam is become like one of us.*

Moreover, God when he created the World, left a great Hole in the *North* ſide. The Angels thought this Hole an imperfection in his Workmanſhip; but he taught them that it ſhould never be ſhut up, till a Being like himſelf appear'd. God meant thereby to ſignifie the lapſe of the Angels who made a breach in Heaven, which could never be cloſed up but by the manifeſtation of the Meſſiah. It being of importance to reveal all theſe Myſteries to Man, God ſent the Angel *Raziel*, who taught him the Truths by means of the *Cabbala*. He aſſign'd Angels for the inſtructors of the ſucceeding Patriarchs: *Jophiel* was *Sem*'s; *Raphael*, *Iſaac*'s; *Metatron*, *Moſes*'s; and *Michael*, King *David*'s. Thus the *Cabbala* is as antient as the World, and deſcends originally from Heaven.

III. The *Jews* had leiſure to ſtudy it in the Deſart, where they had a great deal of time upon their Hands, and they could not better imploy it than in the meditation of the Divine Attributes. *Moſes* who was inſtituted in the Myſteries of the *Cabbala*, ſince he had received Leſſons from an An-

* Cabbala *ſignifies Traditions, or rather what we have received* from the word *Kabal*, which ſignifies *to receive* קבל Kabbal *recepit*.

[a] Abrahami Patriarchæ liber Jetſirah cum not. Rittangel. Cabbala denudata Aparat. in Lib. Zohar, t. 4. p. 195. Reuchlin de Cabbala. l. 1. p. 735. R. Menaſſe Ben Iſrael Conciliator in Exod. 2. 50.

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gel, and penetrated to the forty ninth Gate of Prudence, help'd to resolve the difficulties that arose, in spight of the Pilgrimages, Wars, and frequent miseries of the Nation. He laid down in his four first Books the Principles of this sublime Science, and of its most exalted part, which insists upon the Perfections and Essence of God. And therefore the *Cabbalists* find these four Books more masculine and strong than *Deuteronomy*, which they call the Woman. The fifth Book, which contains the Death of *Moses*, is less valued than the rest, because the *Cabbala* is there wanting. There were some Masters that transmitted it from Hand to Hand: *David* and *Salomon* were most profoundly versed in it, but no Body ventured to write it.

Simeon Jochaides was the first that committed any thing of it to Paper, and composed the famous Book of *Zohar*, to which a great many Additions have since been made. 'Tis of moment to know what is said of this Author and his Book, since herein are contain'd the mysteries of the *Cabbala*, and the Glory given him of having transmitted them to Posterity.

IV. 'Tis believed that *Simeon* lived some Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Titus* condemn'd him to Death; but his Son and he escaped the Persecution, by hiding themselves in a Cave, where they had leisure to compose the Book we speak of. However, as he was still ignorant of several things, the Prophet *Elias* now and then descended from Heaven into the Cave to instruct him, and God miraculously assisted him, by commanding the words to post themselves by one another, in the order that was necessary to the forming great Mysteries.

These Apparitions of *Elias*, and this miraculous assistance of God, perplex some Christian Authors. The *Cabbala* is in too much credit with them, to acknowledge, that he who reveal'd its Mysteries was an Impostor, who impertinently boasted of a divine Inspiration. To maintain that the Devil, who in the Infancy of the Christian Church, animated *Apollonius Thyaneus*, in order to shake the belief of the Apostle's Miracles, spread likewise among the *Jews* the report of these frequent Apparitions of *Elias*, to prevent the belief of that which was made in favour of our Lord, at his Transfiguration upon Mount *Tabor*; is to deceive one's self: For God hears not the Prayer of Devils, when they attempt the Destruction of the Church, nor suffers the Apparition of Prophets to depend upon them. They might turn these Apparitions into Allegories; but they chuse rather to say, that *Simeon Jochaides* dictated these Mysteries by *Divine Assistance*. This is the Testimony given him by a Christian [b] who has publish'd his Book.

V. The first Part of this Work is intituled, *Zeniutha* [c], or *Mystery*, because indeed, abundance of hidden things are revealed in it. They are pretended to be taken from the Holy Scripture; and the truth is, there is hardly any thing advanced without citing some place of the Holy Writers, which the Author explains after his own way. It would be hard to give a methodical Extract of it, especially before we have opened the Principles of this Science; but here in particular we discover the *Microprosopon*; that is the little Face; the *Macroprosopon*, that is the long face; his Wife: the nine, and thirteen Dispositions of his Beard, *&c.*

The following Book, which is call'd the [d] *Great Synod*, enters into a greater train of Particulars. *Simeon* had a great reluctancy to reveal these Mysteries to his Disciples; but as they represented to him, *that the secret of the Lord is for them that fear him*; and all of them assured him that they fear'd God, he engaged more boldly into the Explication of the grand Truths. He explains [e] the *dew of the brain, of the old Man, of the great Face*: He examin'd afterwards his *Scull* [f], his *Hairs* [g]: For he wears upon his Head a thousand millions of thousands, and seven thousand five hundred curls of Hair as white as Wool, to each curl there go four hundred and ten Hairs, according to the number of the word *Kadosch*. From the Hairs he passes to the *Forehead* [h] *Eyes* [i], *Nose* [k], and all these parts of the great Face, contain admirable things; but especially his Beard [l] is a Beard that deserves infinite praises: "It is, "precious in all its parts: This *Beard* transcends all "Encomium, *never Prophet, nor Saint, came near* "*it*. It is white as Snow; it reaches even to the "Navil: It is the Ornament of Ornaments, and "the Truth of Truths; woe unto him that touches it. There are thirteen parts in this Beard, all including great Mysteries; but none but the initiated comprehend them, and understand this obscure Language.

Lastly, the *Little Synod* [m] is the last farewel that *Simeon Jochaides* took of his Disciples. He was disturb'd to see his House crowded with People, by reason of the ceasing of the Miracle of a supernatural Fire, which kept off the multitude of Disciples, during the continuance of the *great Synod*; but some of them being retir'd, he order'd *R. Abba* to write down his last words. He explain'd once more the Old Man: [n] "His "Head is conceal'd in a superior place, where it "is not seen; but it expands its Forehead, which "is beautiful, agreeable; 'tis the complacency of "Delights; and therefore it has there the Figure "of a Forehead, which appears with the brightest "Light; and when it appears, the complacency is "manifest in all the Worlds. The Prayers are "heard; the Face of the little Visage is enlighten-"ed; the Eyes are as admirable as the Forehead: "They always behold, and never sleep; for the "*Psalmist* says, *that he that keepeth Israel never* "*sleeps*, and therefore he has neither Eye-lids nor "Eye-brows. He [o] speaks with the same obscurity of all the parts of the little Visage, not omitting that, which sweetens the Woman. We must believe that there are some great Mysteries conceal'd under this Shell of words, which are not to be taken in their literal Sense.

VI. If it be ask'd what is the meaning of all these mysteries, it must be confess'd it is very difficult to unriddle them, because all the Allegorical Expressions being capable of different senses, and raising very different Ideas, a Man must be at a vast deal of pains and trouble before he can determine; and who would take that pains, that did not promise himself great Advantage from it? However, let us try to penetrate into these profundities. The *Cabbalists* distinguish three sorts of Worlds, and represent them under the Figures of three Men, the terrestrial Man, the Celestial Man, and the Archetype, or the Original and Model of the other. To each of these Men they allot a Wife, and all the parts of the human Body, pretending that these parts are so many significant Symbols, which represent the Operations, and Effects of the Deity. They imagine likewise *a long and a little Face*, to which likewise they assign, 1. Some Wives, be-

[b] Knorrius à Rosenroth Cabbala denudata, t. 3. præf. [c] Siphra de Zeniutha sive Liber Mysterii. [d] Idra Rabba.
[e] Sect. IV. p. 393. [f] Sect. V. [g] Sect. VI. p. 396. [h] Sect. VIII. p. 399. [i] Sect. X. [k] Sect. p. 408.
[l] Sect. XI. p. 412. [m] Idra Suta Synodus parva. [n] Idra Suta Sect. III. 531. [o] Sect. XXII. p. 593.

cauſe the firſt production of all Things is cauſed by Union, as Generation is cauſed by the Union of Man and Wife. 2. They aſcribe to them a Brain *that is conceal'd*, by which they inſinuate, that God comprehends all Things in his ſecret Council. 3. They ſay, *That the Scull is full of a white Dew, as clear as Chryſtal.* By which they mean, that all Colours have a very ſubtle Principle, and every thing is white. 4. The little [a] Face has a Right-Arm and a left, which are his *Bounty* and *Severity*; his Body is Beauty; his right Thigh is Power, and his left is Glory. 5. He has abundance of Hair to ſhade a part of that radiant Light which would dazle the Saints; for it would be impoſſible to behold this Light, were there not ſomething to rebate its Luſtre; and they that receive it directly, have attain'd to the higheſt Pitch of Exaltation. 'Twould be to no purpoſe to carry our Explications farther, our deſign being only to ſhew that theſe Emblems have Truths lurking in the Bowels of them.

VII. Let us rather obſerve, that this method of imaging the Operations of the Deity in humane Figures, is derived from the *Ægyptians*: For they pictur'd a Man with a Face of Fire, and Horns; a Croſs in his Right-hand; ſeven Circles in his Left, and Wings faſtned to his Shoulders. By this they repreſent *Jupiter*, or the Sun, and the Effects he produces in the World. The fiery Face ſignified the Heat that enlivens all Things; the Horns, the Rays of Light. His Beard was myſterious, as well as that of the *Cabbaliſt's long Face*; for it ſignified the Elements: His Croſs was the Emblem of his Power over all ſublunary Bodies; his Thighs were the Earth loaded with Trees and Crops; Waters proceeded from his Navil; his Knees denoted the Mountains, and rugged Parts of the Earth; his Wings, the Winds, and the Celerity of their Motions; laſtly, the Circles were the Symbols of the Planets.

VIII. The *Ægyptians* repreſented the Moon likewiſe, and her Effects under ſuch another Figure; for *Apuleius* gives us a Deſcription of *Iſis*, the Mother of the Gods, who has had her Names multiplied *ad infinitum*.

TE TIBI UNA QUÆ ES OMNIA DEA *ISIS.*

This *Iſis* was the Moon, who was painted like a Woman a little ſtooping, wearing a Globe upon her Head; Two Serpents-Heads, a Garland and Ears of Corn, having a thick Head of Hair, ſignifying the Influence ſhe has in the growth of Plants. Her Robe of various Colours was imboſs'd with Stars, and embroider'd with Rays; ſhe held a Seal in one Hand, and the Genius of the *Nile* in the other, and ſet one Foot upon the Earth, and the other upon the Sea, to intimate her Dominion over both theſe Elements; that ſhe cauſes the Revolutions of the Seaſons, the Tides of the Sea; the Overflowings of the *Nile*, the Fruitfulneſs of the Earth, and the Plenty of Harveſts repreſented by the Ears of Corn. *Laſtly*, Her party-colour'd Robe points to us the different Changes ſhe is ſubject to.

As we ſhall ſee hereafter, that the *Cabbaliſts* have borrow'd this Science from the *Ægyptians*, we muſt not wonder that *Simeon*, or he that forged the *Zohar* imagin'd *a long and a little Face*, that he furniſh'd him with a Beard and Hair, and a Scull, and Brain, and Head, which he knows not himſelf; becauſe as Man is unacquainted with his own Nature, God ſtill leſs underſtands his own Eſſence, which is infinite.

IX. *Simeon* expired with theſe Allegories in his Mouth. Whilſt he talk'd to his Diſciples, a dazling Light diffuſed it ſelf over all the Houſe; inſomuch that no body durſt look upon him. On the Outſide was a Fire, which denied admittance to the Neighbours; but the Fire and Light diſappearing, they perceived that the Lamp of *Iſrael* was extinguiſh'd. One kiſs'd his Hands, and another his Feet. *Zipport*'s Diſciples came in multitudes to honour his Obſequies, and pay him their laſt Reſpects, but they were diſmiſs'd, ſince *Eleazar* his Son, and *R. Abba*, who had been Secretary of *the little Synod*, deſign'd to act alone. As they were burying him, a Voice was heard, crying, *Come to the marriage of* Simeon, *he ſhall enter into peace, and reſt in his Chamber.* A Flame preceded the Coffin, and ſeem'd to ſet it on fire, and when he was depoſited in his Tomb, a Voice was heard again: *This is he that cauſed the Earth to quake, and the Kingdoms to ſhake.* Thus the *Jews* make the Author of the *Zohar* a Man of Miracles, even after his death, becauſe they reſpect him as the Father of all the *Cabbaliſts*; however his Book was conceal'd for near a thouſand Years.

Nor are the *Jews* the only Perſons that mention him with admiration. Some Chriſtians affirm, that his Book is neceſſary, as being capable of ſupplying the deficiency of the Goſpel, wherein the Principles of the contemplative Divinity are abſolutely wanting. Beſides, this Author being contemporary with the Apoſtles, his Expreſſions may give a great light to many obſcure Texts of Scripture. In fine, *Poſtel* will have all the Chriſtian Religion to be plainly deliver'd in this Book.

X. Four Things may be obſerved upon it. 1. That there is no certainty that *Simeon Jochaides*, its Author, lived at the Time of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. If this Book had been as ancient as St. *John*'s Goſpel, 'tis impoſſible it ſhould not have been known and often cited. The current Opinion is, that it was compoſed a little before the *Talmud*, and it muſt be own'd, that we find ſome Hints of the *Sephiroths* in the *Gemara*; wherein it is aſſerted, that the World was created by the Six Perfections of God; and it often runs into myſtical Explications. But yet the *Talmud* is ſo very different from the obſcure Principles of the *Cabbala*, that we have reaſon to believe it was not compoſed till the Twelfth Century, in which it firſt appear'd. And tho' the firſt Author of it were as ancient as is pretended; yet there is ſuch a multitude of Additions to his Work, that there is ſcarce any poſſibility of diſtinguiſhing his part from the reſt, which thing conſiderably depretiates his Authority. 2. There is ſuch Obſcurity in what is ſaid, that it's almoſt impoſſible to dive into its meaning. We perceive indeed that the Author's drift was to explain the Perfections of God, and the production of the Univerſe, in Allegorical Expreſſions; but who can unriddle them? And when we have diſcover'd *this long and little Face*, all that we gain by it, is ſome viſionary Notices, incapable of ſatisfying a Divine who is in ſearch of any ſolid Truth. 3. The Precepts collected by the [b] Prieſt *Jiſaſchar*, [c] which are ſo often compared with thoſe of the Goſpel, and which the Chriſtians compare to a Lamp in the Hand, to diſcover the obſcurity of Holy Writ, are mingled with abundance of Errors. Can we believe, for Inſtance, that all the Souls that are created, divert themſelves in the Terreſtrial Paradice, and before they are embodied, are inveſted there with ſome ſort of Habit and Countenance? "But

[a] Vide Cabbala denudata Zenuitha. [b] Vide Apparatus ad Libr. Zohar in Cabbala denudata. t. 3. p. 1. [c] R. Jiſaſchar. fil. Nepthali Sacerdos Synopſis celeberrimi illius Codices Cabbaliſtici qui dicitur liber Zohar. Tit. XI. Porta retributionis. p. 110.

" the Pleaſures they enjoy are very different from " thoſe of this World. We are told there, that " the Children, which die before they have ſtu- " died the Law, have their Palace apart, where " they remain in cuſtody of a Governour, who con- " ducts them up to Heaven, and preſents them to " God, upon every *Saturday* and *New-Moon*. The " Soul of an Idolater, who dies in the *Holy-Land*, " ſuffers different Revolutions, till it depart out of " it. The Souls of the damn'd emit a certain Or- " dure, which is call'd *Stercus fervens:* They don't " ſuffer on the *Saturday*; however they can't come " out, and their Bodies are carried thither, which " are eaten with Worms: The Bones of the Heathens " will receive ſome Refreſhments in their Tombs by " way of Medicine, but they ſhall never riſe again. It would be endleſs to give an account of all the Errors that are found in this Collection. 4. *Laſtly*, This Piece contains abundance of ridiculous Stories, ſome of which reſpect the Author of the *Zohar*. We are told here an inſipid Tale, how God once explain'd in Heaven the Precepts of the Law, which explication perfectly correſponded with that which *Simeon Jochaides* had made on Earth. The ſame God had order'd ſome Birds to go and ſcreen the Heads of *Simeon* and his Diſciple, who ſtudied in the open Sun; but whereas they interrupted the Diſcourſe by their chattering, God produced a Fountain and Trees, whereupon they perch'd themſelves. *Simeon* one Day ſaw the Sun conceal himſelf three times, and a Serpent eat the Duſt, from whence he concluded, that the Inhabitants of the Country were menaced with ſome great Calamity, which he diverted by his Prayers. His Diſciple *Abba*, once ſaw a Star ſo eclipſe another, that it caſt no light, which made him conclude, that God entred into Paradiſe to diſcourſe with the Saints.

XI. There is no need of inſiſting longer on the *Zohar*, it ſufficing to have given a general Idea of its Author, Antiquity and Contents, which is the moſt ancient and venerable Work among the *Cabbaliſts*. Beſides that, thoſe who would dive into theſe Myſteries, are obliged to read it, becauſe they are hard to be underſtood, and every Reader may have very different Views in their Explication. All the *Cabbaliſts* are not ſo abſtracted, nor follow the ſame Method. The Moderns are the Interpreters of the Ancients, and give at leaſt ſomewhat more light to their Principles. Their Method is to find Myſteries every where in hiſtorical Events, in Words, in Letters, and in their Number and Conjunction. Hereby they pretend to raiſe Men to the Contemplation of the Divine Perfections, and to the Knowledge of the greateſt Secrecies, and *Arcana* of Nature, which the reſt of Mankind are entirely ignorant of.

XII. The *Cabbala* is commonly diſtinguiſh'd into Two Parts, One whereof treats of the Knowledge of the Divine Perfections, and Celeſtial Intelligences; and is call'd the *Chariot*, or *Mercava*, becauſe they imagine, that *Ezechiel* has explain'd the chief Myſteries in the miraculous Chariot he mentions at the beginning of his Viſions; and the other ſtyl'd *Bereſchit*, or the *beginning*, proceeds upon the ſtudy of the Sublunary World. This Name is given it, becauſe it is the firſt Word of *Geneſis*. [a] *Maimonides* was acquainted with this Diſtinction, who on the one hand juſtifies myſtical Expreſſions by the Example of *Plato*, who hath wrap'd up the Principles of his Philoſophy in Expreſſions and Figures, which are often obſcure; and on the other, he acknowledges, that their Obſcurity hath occaſion'd the loſs of a great many Myſteries contain'd in the *Mercava*, and eſpecially, becauſe no Book hath been writ to explain it. He ought to have done it himſelf; ſince he acknowledg'd that it was difficult to perform it, and impoſſible to be help'd by the Books of thoſe that went before him. But he thought that the Myſteries, which he look'd for, might be found in the Scripture.

The Maſters are not allowed to explain the *Mercava* before their Scholars. The *Pumdebitan* Doctors once conſulted a great Man, who travell'd that Way, and conjured him to teach them the ſignification of this Chariot. He promiſed, upon Condition they would acquaint him with what they knew of the Creation, which was agreed: But *Joſeph*, having heard them, refuſed to ſpeak of the Chariot, for which he borrow'd theſe Words of the *Canticles*, [b] *Milk and honey are under thy tongue*; that is, a ſweet and great Truth ought to remain under the Tongue, and not be publiſh'd. A young Student once ventur'd to read *Ezechiel*, and attempt the Explication of his Viſion; but a devouring Fire iſſued from the *Chaſmal*, and conſumed him; wherefore it was debated by the Doctors, whether it was convenient to conceal the Prophet's Book, which occaſion'd ſuch great Diſorders in the Nation. A *Rabbin* driving his Maſter's Aſs, *R. Jochanan*, the Son of *Sacai*, ask'd his leave to ſpeak and explain *the Viſion of the Chariot* to him, *Jochanan* diſmounted immediately, becauſe it is not lawful to hear this Explication walking, or aſtride upon an Aſs. The Diſciple ſpoke, and forthwith the Fire came down from Heaven, and all the neighbouring Trees chanted theſe Words of the *Pſalm*, [c] *Praiſe the Lord from the earth*, &c. By this we ſee, they aſcribe great Myſteries to this Chariot of the Prophet.

XIII. But they are divided about its Explication. Some will have it the Whirlwind which was to ruſh violently from the North, to repreſent *Nebuchadnezzar*, who deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*, and burnt its Temple: The Four Animals to be Four Angels that preſided over the Monarchies: The Wheels denoted the Empires, which received their motion and progreſs, and decay from the Miniſtry of Angels. There was one Wheel in another, becauſe one Monarchy deſtroyed another. The *Baylonians* were overthrown by the *Perſians*, the *Perſians* by the *Grecians*, who in their turn were conquer'd by the *Romans*.

This is the literal Senſe; but then they find here many other Myſteries, both in Nature and Religion: The Four Animals, are Four celeſtial living intelligent Bodies. The Wheel is the firſt Matter, and the Four Wheels are the Four Elements: But this is but the Surface of the Chariot, if you dive farther into it, you'll diſcover the Eſſence of God, his Attributes and Perfections; the Nature of Angels, and the State of the Soul after Death: All theſe Myſteries are contain'd in it. *Laſtly*, Dr. *More*, a great *Cabbaliſt*, has found the Reign of the *Meſſiah* in it; but his way of doing it deſerves a little to be inſiſted on, becauſe we ſhall thereby diſcover his Sentiments, and the *Cabbaliſtick* Genius.

XIV. Before he engages in a particular Explication, he [d] lays down many Principles, the chief whereof are theſe: All the Souls, without excepting the *Meſſiah*'s, were created at the beginning of the World. The World in its original State was *Diaphanous*, and ſeparated into many Vortices, or rather ſo many Suns. There were Two Elements, of

[a] Maimonides. More Nevochim. p. 1. c. 17. p. 20. p. 2. c. 39. p. 273. [b] Excerpta Gemaræ de opere currus apud Hottinger, p. 50, 53, 89. [c] Pſ. 148. 7. [d] Viſionis Ezechieliticæ ſive *Mercavæ* expoſitio ex principiis Philoſophiæ Pythagor. Theoſophiæque Judaicæ Cabbala denudata. t. 2. p. 225.

which this material World was form'd; one call'd the Spirit of Nature, or *Sandalphon* was the ſubject of the Divine Operations, and the other the *Vehicle*. The World, or this great *Vortex*, was divided into four unequal parts; whereof one is call'd *Aziluthical*, another *Briathical*, the third is the *Jeſirathical* World, and the leaſt of all is the *Aſiathical*. All the Souls were at firſt included in the ſuperior *Aziluthick* World, but they were clad with ſome kind of Body. Theſe Souls were ſubject to various Revolutions, and were to paſs into the four *Vortices*, or Worlds before mentioned. The Souls that don't Sin voluntarily; but are driven by Fate and Neceſſity into the *Aſiathick* World, are ſenſible of a Divine Vertue that ſuſtains them, and reſtores them again to the *Aziluthick* World, as being Veſſels of Election. The Souls and Angels therein apply themſelves wholly to the Contemplation of God and his Perfections; and therefore this may juſtly be call'd the Empyreal Heaven, by reaſon of the ardent Love its Inhabitants are inflamed with. The Soul of the Meſſiah, which was there with the reſt, made ſuch great progreſſes in the Love of God, as to become united with the Word Eternal in a *ſuper Aſiluthick*, or *Hypoſtatick* manner; and thus it was, that the Soul of the Meſſiah, and the Word, became one ſingle Perſon. The Soul of the Meſſiah, united to the Word, became the Empreſs of the four Worlds, preciſely at the time that the *Briathick* World was form'd, and before God had promiſed the redemption of Mankind. This was the Empire and Glory the Meſſiah enjoy'd before the Foundation of the World, and which he begs of his Father to reinſtate him in the Poſſeſſion of: [a] *And now, O Father, glorify me with thine own ſelf, with the glory which I had with thee before the World was.*

As ſoon as the Meſſiah's Soul receiv'd the Empire of the four Worlds, and promis'd to die upon the Croſs, it was inveſted with the Power of confirming the Souls and Angels in Heaven, that no evil might happen to them; which is doubtleſs what St. *Paul* intimates, when he ſays *he has reconciled all things in Heaven and in Earth.* The Souls that deſcended into the *Briathick* World, or if you pleaſe, to the Heaven of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, lived there with a great deal of candour and integrity: But thoſe that came down to the third, or *Jeſirathick* World, which is the Heaven of *Mars* and *Venus*, were very ſubject to the Paſſions of Anger and Love; but the greateſt of all their faults was Pride and Ambition; and therefore it is very probable it was here the Battel was fought betwixt the Giants, and the Son of God, who vanquiſhed them, as [b] *Baruch* inſinuates. Here it was that *Lucifer* revolted, and cauſed Mankind to be tempted by *Ophoneus* his Ambaſſador. In fine, this was the cauſe of the fall of Man in Paradiſe, which the Scripture has related in ſo Ænigmatical a manner. And indeed, as by the Devil in the Revelations, we muſt not underſtand one ſingle Spirit, but all the Devils, we muſt alſo have the ſame notion of the Serpent. 'Twas the whole combination of Devils that acted; and *Adam* was not a ſingle Man, but Mankind, which being ſeduc'd, and with the Angels, fell from the third World into the fourth, which is the *Aſiathick*. The Devils remain'd in the Atmoſphere, and Men deſcended into the Body of that *Cold Luminary*.

XV. Having laid down [c] theſe Principles to explain the Creation and Fall of Man, he proceeds to *Ezechiel*'s Viſion, founded upon this Syſtem. The Object of this Viſion was the Meſſiah's Reign, whoſe Soul had been united to the Word, and had received immediately upon it, the Dominion over Angels and Souls: Tis this whole combination of Spirits that makes up his Kingdom. The Spirit which influences the *Vortex* is the Spirit of Nature, which began to give Motion to the Units conceal'd in the Abyſs. For *Ezechiel* obſerves that the Whirlwind came from the *North*, that is, from a hidden place; the Sun ſeldom enlightning the Northern Countries, by reaſon of the two frequent Miſts and condenſed Clouds that gather there; for which reaſon it was moſt proper, to denote that profound Abyſs cover'd with darkneſs, from which the Spirit of Nature had ſent out a vaſt number of Beings. The four Animals, and four Wheels, which *Ezechiel* ſaw, were the four Worlds, *Aſiluthick*, *Briathick*, &c. whereinto the Souls might paſs; for it was an Error in the antient *Cabbaliſts* to allot to each Man four different Souls, under pretence that they might change their condition, it being much more natural to acknowledge but one Soul which travels into the four Worlds. The Prophet repreſents theſe Animals with human Faces, as a certain intimation, that they were the Emblems of Souls and Angels; and it may be obſerved by the way, that there is reaſon to believe that Souls and Angels are of the ſame Nature, Order, and Figure, ſince theſe Animals, tho' they have an human Face, are notwithſtanding call'd Cherubims. The Wings annex'd to theſe Animals prove, that the Souls fell not by their own fault, but by a ſort of fatality, from the upper World to the lower, where they found the aſſiſtance and grace of God, which winged them ſpeedily towards Heaven: Wings are indeed an Emblem of the adventitious ſuccours they have received, and of their expeditious return to God. The Calves Feet that are attributed to theſe Animals have perplex'd the Interpreters. The Seventy who were *Cabbaliſts*, and Apprehenſive leſt it ſhould be thought the Prophet gave too groveling an Idea of Souls, have avoided the Shoal, by aſſigning them winged Feet. But their Scruple was ill grounded; for *Cherub* [d] from whence the word *Cherubim* is derived, ſignifies an Angel, and an Ox; and therefore this term ſerves to confirm the ſtrict Union which is betwixt Souls and Angels.

XVI. Theſe Animals had each four Faces. As this renders them alike, it might be imagin'd they could not repreſent the four Worlds. But this is a miſtake, for their likeneſs was not ſo perfect as to exclude all difference. They all were partakers of the Nature of one another; and yet one was to be conſider'd as an Eagle, another as a Man, &c. This perfectly correſponds with the Hypotheſis of the four Worlds. Some modern *Cabbaliſts* have thought the laſt World of a quite different Nature from the firſt, but erroneouſly. Theſe four Worlds have ſomething in common, but they have alſo ſomething that is peculiar to each. The Eagle that ſoars on high, and ſteadily beholds the Sun, is fit to repreſent the Empyreal Heaven where the Souls elevated above all things, behold *God face to face*, The Man who engages in Society, makes Laws, and deliberates about Actions, is the Symbol of the Briathick World, wherein much Virtue ſtill ſubſiſted. The fierce and roaring Lion ſignifies the third World, where anger often ſwayed, and Pride and Haughtineſs corrupted Souls and Angels. Laſtly, the *Aſiathick* World is repreſented by an Ox, becauſe the Souls that ſinn'd grew more brutified; ſo as at laſt to fall into the very ſink of Corruption, like the Ox that ſcruples not to tread in the Mud and Dirt.

XVII. Laſtly, the Animals walk'd not but as the

[a] Joh. 17. 5. [b] Baruch 3. 26. [c] Cabb. de. nud. p. 240. [d] כרב Cherub. *To labour.*

Spirit

Spirit drove them, which is the true Reign of the Meſſiah, wherein Souls act only by the inſpiration of the Divine Spirit, and according to the Will of God, which alone is *good, agreeable and perfect*: And indeed the Man who is ſeated upon the Throne, is the Soul of the Meſſiah, Hyperaziluthically, or as the Schools ſpeak, Hypoſtatically united to the Word. Saint *Jerome* maintains, that this Man is God the Father; but his Notion ought to be rejected. 'Twas the Word that was pleas'd at this time to give an Idea of his Incarnation and Kingdom, which St. John confirms [b], when he quotes the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who *ſaw the glory of Jeſus*. *Iſaiah*'s and *Ezechiel*'s Viſion is the ſame; and if the Word appear'd in the former, there's no doubt but he was likewiſe in the latter. Theſe are the Myſteries which are diſcovered in the great Events of Scripture by the Art of the *Cabbala*, which is in requeſt with the Chriſtians as well as the *Jews*; but we muſt penetrate farther into the Principles of this Science.

[b] John 12. 41.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Myſteries contain'd in all the Letters of the Hebrew *Alphabet. Their Uſe.*

I. *THE Subject of this Chapter.* II. *The Myſteries of the Letter* A. III. *The Letter* B. *is a Woman, and would embrace her Husband.* IV. *The relation theſe Letters have to the Angels.* V. *Their relation to animate Creatures.* VI. *To inanimate Creatures.* VII. *The Myſteries of the ſeven double Letters.* VIII. *The Myſteries of the twelve ſimple Letters.* IX. *Of the Gematry, or value of the Letters.* X. *Accents full of Myſteries.*

I. HAving given a general Idea of the *Cabbala*, 'tis fit to enter into ſome particular account of this Science. The *Cabbaliſt* Divines find Myſteries in every thing; there's not a Letter of the Law without them. We ſhall not follow them in all their Speculations, it being ſufficient to obſerve four main things upon the Letters.

II. Firſt, each Letter has ſome relation to the *Sephiroths*, or *Splendors*, or to the Works of the Creation. The א or *A* is the Doctrine. This Letter denotes the inacceſſible light of the Deity; that *infinitum*, call'd *Enſoph*, and relates to the firſt of the *Sephiroths*, which is the Crown: But this is not all; for this Letter is compounded of a *Vau* and two *Jod*'s, which has ſtill ſome great Myſteries compriz'd in it; for the *Vau* that makes the middle Branch, ſignifies the *Tipheret*. The two *Jods* are two Arms, which open to embrace the *Malchut* or the Kingdom. The *Jod* on the right indicates Wiſdom, which always carries her views upwards; and ſheds her influences upon the other ſplendors beneath her. The *Vau* is the intelligence, which Wiſdom has conceived, and the *Jod* above beſpeaks the Knowledge which the Intelligence has produced. Another inverts the Letters which compoſe the word [c] *Aleph*, which making *Pala*, and ſignifying to conceal, he here diſcovers another way the firſt of the *Splendors*; that Crown which is actually conceal'd; for Eye has not ſeen it, nor has it enter'd into the Heart of Man.

III. How many Myſteries are contain'd in *Beth*, the ſecond Letter of the Alphabet! One maintains that this Letter is a Woman, and that the two Lines ב are two Arms, betwixt which ſhe receives and embraces her Husband *Tipheret*. This is ſignified by *Solomon*, when he makes the Spouſe ſay, *ſet me as a Seal upon thy Heart*; for *Tipheret* imprints his Figure in the *Malchut* deſign'd by the Letter *B*. others maintain that this ſecond Letter, which ſignifies *Houſe*, muſt relate to the *Wiſdom*, that is the ſecond Splendor: for the Scripture ſays that *Wiſdom has built her Houſe*. Laſtly, this Letter is open to receive the holy Spirit, which flows from the parts of *A*, ſhe being as a Diſciple receiving Leſſons from her Maſter's Mouth: She is alſo like an Houſe and the Foundation of Unity.

The *Guimel*, or the *G* anſwers to the Word גא which ſignifies Fire, and denotes the Holy Spirit. The Name *Guimel* is given it, becauſe it recompences, and does good to all the World; it reconciles the moſt oppoſite things, and reduces Juſtice and Mercy to a juſt equality.

Might, by means of this Letter, obtains the Effects of Mercy; hereby it is waſh'd in its Mother's Milk, and afterwards produces very advantageous Effects; which is ſignified by *Moſes*, relating that *Aaron*'s Rod *yielded Almonds* [d]. The Text has ſome alluſion to the Word *Guimel*, and therefore has the vertue given it of ripening green Fruits, and tempering Juſtice with Mercy.

It would be endleſs to engage in a diſcuſſion of the *I.* and *H.* becauſe theſe two Letters coming into the Name of *Jehovah*, have almoſt infinite influences in the *Cabbaliſtick* Syſtem: And beſides, we ſhall ſpeak of them when we examine the Myſteries of this ineffable Name. For the preſent let us only obſerve two things concerning the Myſteries of theſe Letters; one is, that they are the Symbols of Angels, and of ſome order of Intelligences. The *G*, for inſtance, repreſents the *Aralim*. Theſe are great, ſtrong, vigorous Angels, deſcended in a third Degree from *Goodneſs*, illuminated by Intelligence, and conſequently having great Authority over inferior Orders. Some Chriſtians, jealous of theſe *Aralim*, maintain they are the Thrones mention'd by St. *Paul*, which the *Cabbaliſts* have ſtollen from the Church under another Name.

V. It muſt be farther obſerved [e] that the ten firſt Letters of the *Hebrew* Alphabet, anſwer to the ten *Sephiroths*. The *Caph* denotes the *primum Mobile*, which is the firſt Cauſe, the Omnipotent God immediately moves, and the famous *Metatron* is its particular intelligence. The *Lamed*, or *L*. implies the Heaven of *Saturn*, and the firſt Sphere of the Planets. The *M*. is the Heaven of *Jupiter*.

VI. 'Tis fit the other Creatures ſhould have their particular Letter, otherwiſe they would be diſhonoured; and therefore this is not wanting. The *P*. [f] Capital is the Emblem of the Intellectual Soul: The [g] final denotes all the Animal Spirits. The

[c] אלף *by inverting the order of the Letters is* פלא. Apparatus in lib. Zohar pars 1. Loci communes Cabbaliſtici ſecundum ordinem Alphabeticum concinnati. p. 1. & Kircher Oedipus Ægypt t. 2. Gymnaſ. Hieroglyph. Claſſis IV. c. 3. p. 225. [d] וינסל Numb. 17. 8. [e] Kirker Oedip. Ægypt. t. 2. [f] פ *Pe Capital.* [g] ף *Pe final.*

Tſade

Tsade represents the matter of the Heavens, and the four Elements: The *Koph* signifies Minerals, *Mixta*, *&c.* the *R.* Fruit-Trees, and all Vegetables; the *S.* is the Symbol of Reptiles, and all sensitive creatures. Lastly, the *T.* is the Symbol of Man; because as this Letter is the last of the Alphabet, so Man is the most perfect and accomplish'd of all the Works of God.

VII. 'Tis an Error to imagine that the Letters have no other Use than to make words by their combination; for according to the *Cabbalists*, the World was formed by Analogy to the *Hebrew* Alphabet, and the harmony of Creatures resembles that of the Letters, which God made use of to compose the Book of Life. 'Tis a certain combination of Letters that makes the Beauty and Excellence of the Universe; and since the World was made with relation to the Alphabet, certain things must necessarily be annex'd to a respective Letter, whereof it is the Symbol and Emblem; which is a thing of easy discovery to those that are initiated in the *Cabbala*: But here the Letters are distinguish'd into Simple and Double. There are seven double Letters, whose significations we shall see in this *Cartoon*.

The whole Mystery of this terminates in shewing two things.

First we are taught, that by the help of a Letter we may arrive at the knowledge of many Objects which have a Connexion with it. The single Letter *B.* reminds us of Death, of Life, of the Eye, which is the Gate of the Soul, of the Sun, the noblest of all the Planets; of *Semeliel*, one of the seven Spirits; of *Nagiël*, one of the seven intelligences; of the Angel *Raphael*, and by degrees we ascend up to Prudence, which is one of the *Sephiroths*, one of the Splendors, and principal emanations of the Deity. How many things are learnt by the assistance of one Letter; and the rest being as exuberant, a Man becomes learned at a cheap rate, and not only acquires the knowledge of Nature and its Operations, but rises up to the Contemplation of the Deity and his infinite Perfections.

Secondly, they exalt the Efficacy and Influences of the number Seven, whereby all things are made; for according to these Divines, the seven *Sephiroths* pour their influences upon the seven Intelligences of the seven Planets; which have great power over the œconomy of the Earth, and the Events in it consisting in seven things. There are seven Gates of the Soul, two Eyes, two Ears, one Mouth, and two Orifices in the Nose: There were seven days employed in the Creation of the Universe: There are seven Sabbaths from the *Passover* to the *Pentecost*, and seven times seven Sabbaths for the Year of *Jubilee*. Lastly, the seventh *Millennium* will be the grand Sabbath, and the time of rest for all the Creatures. There was a necessity therefore of seven double Letters, to which these seven things might be referred.

VIII. It must not be imagin'd that the twelve simple Letters are useless, whilst the double ones are so honourably employed. Their use is to represent the twelve Signs of the Zodiac; the twelve Months; the twelve Cardinal Winds; the twelve Tribes of *Israel*: But this being commonly known, that I may not prolong the account in a tedious manner, I will only put down here their Significations and their Angels.

The 12 simple Letters.	*Their Numb.*	*Their Signification.*	*Their Angels.*
He	5	Sight	Melchidale.
Vau	6	Hearing	Asmodel.
Zaïn	7	Smelling	Ambriel.
Cheth	8	Speech	Muziel.
Teth	9	Tast	Varchiel.
Jod	10	Copulation	Hamaliel.
Lamed	30	Operation	Zuriel.
Nun	50	Walk	Zetachiel.
Samech	60	Anger	Advachiel.
Gnajin	70	Laughter	Hamael.
Tsade	90	Suspicion	Garrubiel.
Koph	100	Sleep	Borahiel.

These Letters are not unactive, but God makes an Advantageous Use of them, and the combinations of his Name to influence the Angels: These Angels influence the twelve Signs of the *Zodiac*; these Signs shed their influences upon the Earth, and preside over all the Generations in it. Thus the Letters have Originally a great Power; as not only assisting us to find out the Analogy of the World, and a certain harmony of the Universe, of Terrestrial and Celestial Things, not seen by the ignorant, but as being so many Conduits thro' which God efficaciously acts upon the Intelligences.

IX. A third Use is made of these Letters; for as they serve for Arithmetical Figures, as we see in the two preceding Tables, every Letter that composes a Word is valued. They reckon how many Letters make tens, and hundreds; and when they have found a Word of equal Estimate, they put it instead of another; supposing that two Words which make the same number must have the same Sense: We easily discern the Consequences of this method, which is call'd *Gematria*, or *Geometry*.

X. Lastly the Accents of the Letters are not useless. *Jesus Christ* says that one *Jod*, or rather least point of the Law shall not pass away. Wherefore the Accents, and all the Particles of the Law, must be endued with a great Vertue; but this is not presently discover'd; the *Cabbalists* alone having that Advantage. They observe that all the Words of the Decalogue, are Accented, which is not found in any other part of Scripture; an evident proof that God has annex'd to them some profound Mystery, in quest whereof the *Cabbalists* are in full pursuit. We shall see hereafter that the Christians follow them; but at present we'll lay open the *Cabbala*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Myſteries the Cabbaliſts *find in the Words of Holy Scripture.*

I. *Words muſt have many Significations.* II. *The Myſteries of the word Fire.* III. *Of the word Fleſh.* IV. *The way of changing words invented by* Jeremy. V. *Of the method of the* Cabbaliſts *called* Notaricon. VI. Solomon Meir *converted by the* Cabbala: *A* Jew's *Hatred of him.* VII. *The* Euchariſt *found in the firſt word of* Geneſis: *In the beginning.* VIII. *The Trinity diſcovered in this word.* IX. *The Worſhip of the Trinity proved from the ſame word.* X. *The Chriſtians eſteem for this part of the* Cabbala.

I. IF the Letters are of ſo great Uſe, 'tis no wonder that the words that are compoſed of them, are of great importance in Religion. Shall Man have the Privilege of giving a word many Significations, and in the mean time God, whoſe Knowledge is infinite, be deprived of that Liberty? ſhall it be in our power to determine the Uſe of a word to a ſingle Object, and to circumſcribe the Omnipotent within our bounds? Shall the ſupream Being be ſubject to our Caprice, or to a tranſient Cuſtom, and be obliged to adapt himſelf to our finite and limited notices? No, doubtleſs, it was poſſible for God to annex influences, to certain words, and a Vertue and ſignification not known by all the World; and ſince he could not manifeſt himſelf, he has conceal'd his Eſſence and Perfections under the diſguiſe of Words. We may therefore be allowed to penetrate beyond their common Signification, in order to diſcover what God has been pleas'd to conceal in them, and the relations they bear to the Deity.

II. And in reality, the word Fire אש anſwers to one of the *Sephiroths*, call'd Might, becauſe the Might of God is a conſuming Fire: But now there are ſeveral ſorts of Fire; a *devouring Fire*; a *burning Fire*; a *conſuming Fire*. The *Binah*, [a] or Intelligence, is a *languid Fire*; the *Malchut*, or the Kingdom, is an *aſpiring Fire*; becauſe hereby is meant the exact and ſevere Judgment, which is commonly compared to Fire. There is a *whitening* Fire; which is Judgment temper'd with Lenity, and the Fire *of Water*, Judgment dictated by Mercy.

III. The word Fleſh [b] repreſents the *Malchut*, or Kingdom, which is the laſt of the *Sephiroths*: but by inverting the Letters, the word ſignifies a *Rupture*, and that not without a Myſtery. For the *Schekinah*, which is on the ſide of Judgment, is call'd *Fleſh*, and is red: She ſhines with the Flames of her Love, and deſires to be united to her Huſband; and when through the corruption of the Age, there is neither Bleſſing nor Union, then the word ought to be changed. 'Tis no longer then a ſhining Fleſh, but a *Rupture* of Marriage; which particularly happens in the time of Famine. In proof of it a Text of *Moſes* is quoted [c] ſpeaking of the Famine in *Ægypt*. Moreover here we find a reaſon, why it was not lawful to ſeeth the Fleſh of the Kid in its Mother's Milk, becauſe Milk is the Emblem of Mercy, and the *Fleſh* that of Judgment; whereas Mercy ought not to be confounded with Judgment. Laſtly, there are two Canals, one of Judgment that flows with Blood, and the other of Mercy that runs with Milk; but when the *Iſraelites* ſuck, the Blood is changed into Milk by the ſtrength of Fire; and Milk iſſues from the Canal of Judgment inſtead of Blood. By this we are to learn, that God has a great deal of Goodneſs for the *Iſraelites*, and that his Wrath is turned into Bleſſing.

IV. When the Words don't ſignify what they would have them, they change them, and they have Rules preſcribed for this Alteration; whereof one of the principal is this. The laſt Letter of the Alphabet is to be ſubſtituted in the place of the firſt. The *T.* ת put for the *A* א the *S* ש for the *B* ב. They pretend that *Jeremy* made an happy Experiment of this method to conceal the meaning of his Predictions; when having nothing but miſeries to foretel, he was afraid of exaſperating the King againſt him: Being an able *Cabbaliſt*, he tranſpoſed the Letters of the words he was to ſpeak, and thus prevented their being underſtood. And indeed, by this change of the Words, they ſay and make others ſay what they pleaſe.

V. There is another Rule upon the ſame Subject, which is more frequently obſerved. They ſeparate all the Letters of a Word, and in the place of each Letter ſubſtitute a new Word, beginning with the diſmembred Letter. 'Tis a kind of Acroſticks made in Divinity, like thoſe of the *Sybilline* Oracles; it muſt only be obſerved that the ſubſtituted Word have the ſame number of Letters as the disjoynted. [d] *Bereſchit* is the firſt word of *Geneſis*, and ſignifies *in the beginning*. The ſix Letters this Word is compounded of are taken aſunder, and ſix other Words compoſed of ſix Letters each, are put in its place, the firſt beginning with a *B*, and the ſecond with an *R*, and thus the Senſe and terms of a ſacred Writer may be changed: Mean time this method, which is call'd *Notaricon*, is common enough: I will only quote one inſtance, which includes in it many others.

VI. *Salomon Meir* was Born at *Caſal* in the Year 1606. He was call'd *(Meir) illuminating*, becauſe on the Day he was Born his Father's Houſe was fill'd with a glazing Cœleſtial Light, growing rich in the plundering of his Native City beſieged by the *Spaniards*, he reſolved to retire to *Jeruſalem*. He came to *Venice*, where he applied himſelf ſo hard to the Study of the *Cabbala*, as to become one of the moſt famous *Cabbaliſts* of his time. Not only the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem* where he treated, but thoſe of *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *Europe*, to whom he was ſent to collect ſome Charities, heard him as an Oracle, till he turn'd Chriſtian in the Year 1664, receiving the Name *Proſper* at his Baptiſm. His Converſion drew upon him the hatred of his Nation, and particularly that of one *David Jouaillier*, an *Italian*, a Man in ſuch eſteem with the Princes of that Country, as to be ſtiled, *il Duca delli Ebrei*, *the Duke of the* Hebrews. This violent *Jew* deſign'd to eat the Heart of *Proſper*, having firſt broiled it upon the Coals. *Proſper* knowing it went to him, and condemning ſo bitter a Zeal, indeavour'd to explain to him the Motives of the changing his Religion, in a way he could not reprove. He only took for his Text the firſt Word of *Geneſis*, *Bereſchit* in the beginning, wherein he found all the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion. Thus he went to work in imitation of theſe Gentlemen who have found in

[a] *This is the third* Sephiroth. [b] בשר Baſchar *fleſh inverted*, שבר *it is made* Schabar *Rupture*. [c] Gen. 42. 1. 19.
[d] בראשית Bereſchit.

this

this Word the *Covenant of Fire*, and a thousand things of this nature. [a]

Meir observed, that this Word *in the beginning*, does not make the Sense compleat. There is something wanting, which the Doctors are forced to supply, *in the beginning of all things*, or in the beginning *of the Creation*. God did not want Expressions to avoid this Ellipsis, but he did it designedly, to signifie, that there was a Mystery in it, which he reserved to be discovered by the *Cabbalists*. I. Dividing this Word, we may read it *Bar Aschit*, which signifies he has placed the Son: And thus we find the Son of God in the very first Word of *Genesis*; but farther, God calls him *Bar*, which signifies also *Wheaten-Grain*, because this Son was to be worshipp'd in the Bread of the *Eucharist*. The Argument is conclusive: But farther still, 'tis observed, that God has given Three Sorts of Names to Wheat, with respect to the Three States of Man. In the State of Innocence, Man was to receive his Nourishment from the Tree, which God had planted in the Terrestrial Paradice; and therefore this Bread was call'd *Degan*, as much as to say taken from the Garden. 'Tis also call'd *Chitta*, a Word derived from another, signifying *Sin*, because Man was to eat it after the Fall: But, lastly, Under the Gospel, the Son was to be the *Bread of Believers*: And therefore he was pleas'd that the Names of *Bread* and *Sin* should be confounded, and that both should equally be derived from the first Word of *Genesis*.

VIII. By substituting [b] Six Words for the Six Letters, which make up (*Bereschit*) the first Word of *Genesis*, *Prosper* discovered the Son in the first Letter; the Holy Spirit in the second, the Father in the Third; and these Words in the Three following, *The Trinity is a perfect Unity*. You see here the *Jew* is well advanc'd to discover the Trinity at one single Effort, and to prove it by one only Word: But farther, he observes, that the Son is the first that appears, because it is he *by whom all things were made*. That the Holy Ghost comes next, because it was the Son that sent him. *If I go not away, he will not come unto you*; and this perfectly agrees with the Custom of the Christians, who celebrate the Feasts of Passover and Assention of *Jesus Christ*, before the Pentecost, and the Feast of Trinity comes last of all.

IX. The *Cabbalist* wou'd not stop in so smooth a Road, but following the Principles of his Art, push'd home his Point; and without deserting the first Word of *Genesis*, by transposing its Letters, found other Explications containing so many important Doctrines of Christianity. He expounded the Adoration due to the Trinity by these Words, *You shall equally worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and their Trinity*. This Explication was succeeded by another more expres. *You shall adore my First-born; my First, whose Name is* Jesus, *or Saviour*. And this with a Third, *When the Master, which is* Jesus, *shall be come, ye shall worship him*. The *Jew* multiplied his Transpositions without end. I will relate but Two more of them, whereof One was: *I will chuse a Virgin worthy to bring forth* Jesus, *and ye shall call her blessed*. The other related to the Eucharist. *I will hide my self in a Cake of Coals, because ye shall eat the body of my Son* Jesus, for so it must be translated to answer the Original. *Lastly*, He had recourse to the value of the Letters, and from thence extracted new Mysteries, and attacking his Enemy by the *Cabbalistick* Figures, proved to him the greatest part of the Truths of the Christian Religion. There is nothing surprizing in this Story, since he followed the Method received by his ancient Brethren the *Cabbalists*, and admired by most *Jews*. A Proselyte of the same Nation, whom I question'd concerning the Motives of his Conversion, pretended to find them all in the Word *Bereschit*. Perceiving my Mistrust by my Smile, he pursued, with new Proofs, derived from some Words of Scripture, with equal Subtilty: Arm'd with this Science, he pretended to make great Conquests over his deserted Brethren: This is the best use that can be made of this Art. These Arms may be turn'd upon those that use them with great advantage. The Expedient is easie; in the mean time, the Truths of Christianity ought to be better supported, to make a solid Conversion.

X. But let us not be mistaken: There are Christians as [c] bigotted as the *Jews*, to this way of explaining Scripture. 'Tis nothing to see Divines try to reconcile the Principles of *Plato*, *Parmenides*, and *Descartes*, with those of the *Cabbalists*, to bring Doctors that seem so dissonant to a Confederacy, and to search for Coincidences and Arguments even in the Faults of the Impression of some of *Cicero*'s Treatises: [d] But One's amaz'd to find an entire System of the *Cabbala* produced from the Lord's-Prayer. 'Tis the fault of the vulgar and careless Divines, if these great and noble Lights are lost. Men acquiesce in a common Erudition, instead of leaving and selling all for this *Pearl of great price*. Atheists would be easily converted, if the *Cabbala* was employed against them, to discover to them the Perfections of the Deity, which would convince them of his Existence. They have the Artifice to despise it, and make it despised by others, as fearing the Effects of it. The Christians would be wrapt up with Admiration, could they discover all the Mysteries contain'd in each Word and Letter of the Lord's-Prayer. They would not only see the Seven Periods of the Church, its Fate and Revolutions during these Periods, as they speak, but they would find all the Splendors, or *Sephiroths* in the same Prayer, which they daily repeat, without comprehending the Sense and Wonders of it. And indeed, don't these two first Words, *Our Father*, [e] contain in them the Three First Splendors, that is, the Crown, Wisdom, and Prudence? By this means we should rise to the Contemplation of the Divine Perfections, and the Divinity it self, which ravishes and charms all those that approach it. Thus the Christian *Cabbalists*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, argue.

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[a] בראשית, Bereschit, *in the beginning. Changing the Letters by way of Anagram, they make* Berit Æsh ברית אש, Covenant of Fire, *because the Law was given upon* Sinai, *with Thunder and Lightning*. [b] Bartolocci Bibl. Rab. t. 4. p. 529. [c] Vide Cabbala denudata præf. ad portam cœlorum, & rationem nominum & Sephirarum t. 2. p. 15. [d] Στέφανες apud Ciceronem, *read* στέφανος, Corona, *which is the First* Sephiroth *of the* Cabbalists. Id. Apparat. ad Libr. Zohar, p. 3 & 4. [e] Præf. adumbratio Cabbalæ Christianæ, t. 4. p. 1, &c. Buddæus introduct. ad Histor. Philos. Hebræor Thes. 40. p. 281. vide & Bartolocci Bibl. Rab. t. 4. p. 233, & 524.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Myſteries which the Cabbaliſts *find in the Names of* GOD, *and particularly in that of* JEHOVAH.

I. *THE neceſſity of knowing the Name of God.* II. *Why God did not take the Title of* Jehovah *till after the Creation.* III. *The extent of the Letter* Jod *inſcrutable.* IV. *Other Letters of the Name* Jehovah *full of Myſteries.* V. *The Explication of theſe Words,* Thou ſhalt not take the Name of God in vain, *different from that of Chriſtians.* VI. *The Name of* Jehovah *is a Tree, a General, a King.* VII. *The difference of the* Jews *from other Nations explain'd by the Names of God.* VIII. *The Miſeries of this People explain'd the ſame way.* IX. *The Subordination of the Names and Surnames of God: Four Lieutenant Generals with their Soldiers.* X. *How God takes the Standards of Juſtice and Mercy.* XI. *God's way of manifeſting himſelf, explain'd by the different Habits of a King.* XII. *The advantages of knowing the Names of God in Prayer.* XIII. *The Myſteries contain'd in theſe Names explain'd after the Chriſtian way.* XIV. *The value of Letters, and Combination of the Name* Jehovah.

I. NO body ought to wonder at our giving Names to God, though he be a pure and ſimple Eſſence; for ſince we can't behold this Eſſence, it is neceſſary to know it by its Operations, and to render it in ſome ſort ſenſible to Men by the Effects which it produces. If the Scripture, ſtammering with us, aſcribes to God the Parts of an humane Body; an Heart to denote his Compaſſions; an Arm to remind us of his Strength, and the Aſſiſtances he has afforded us; by a much ſtronger Reaſon, we may call him the Eternal, the Omnipotent, the Self-ſufficient.

The Knowledge of theſe Names is of the higheſt Importance; the Books of *Moſes* being only a Concatenation of the Names and Surnames of the Deity. They all proceed from that of *Jehovah*, as the branches and Leaves of a great Tree iſſue from the ſame Stem; and this ineffable Name, is an inexhauſtible Fountain of Wonders and Myſteries.

II. Firſt, It is obſerved, that God took not the Title of *Jehovah* [a] till he had finiſh'd the Creation of the World, and *Moſes* before that call'd him *Ælohim* [b], for he ſays, *In the beginning the Gods created the heaven and the earth.* What is the reaſon of this? 'Tis that the Name *Ælohim*, which is imperfect, was ſuitable to the Time in which God accompliſh'd his Work by parts: But when the Creatures had been extracted from nothing; when the Univerſe was wrought up to its Perfection, he took the Name *Jehovah*, which is abſolutely perfect; and this is inſinuated by *Moſes*, in theſe Words of *Deuteronomy*, [c] *He is the rock, his work is perfect.* God aſſumed the ſame Title when he created *Adam*; when he drove him out of Paradiſe: He aſſumes it ſtill in abundance of other particular Events, relating to the People of *Iſrael*, becauſe it contains a perfect meaſure *of Juſtice and Mercy.* Juſtice and Mercy are Two Vertues that ſeem oppoſite. God hears them, he weighs their Privileges, and pronounces Judgment. [d] We find this Idea in the Three Patriarchs; for *Abraham* was Mercy, *Iſaac* Juſtice, *Jacob* who kept a Medium, pitching his Tents betwixt thoſe of his Grandfather and Father, is Judgment, being the Father [e] of the Twelve Tribes, and knowing their Weakneſs, and the wretched Fate they were to undergo if Judgment was rigorouſly executed, he ſollicits Mercy for his Children; God intervenes, and pronounces Sentence; and when the Iſſue of it is a Deliverance or a Puniſhment, wherein Juſtice and Mercy preſerve their Rights, *the work of the rock is perfect*, and God is then ſtiled *Jehovah.*

III. Moreover, this Name [f] ſerves for a Bond of union to all the *Splendors* or *Sephiroths*, It is the Pillar and ſupport of them: All the Letters that compoſe it are pregnant with Myſteries. The *Jod*, or the *J*, is One of thoſe Things which Eye hath not ſeen, but has been conceal'd from all Mankind. Its Eſſence and Nature are incomprehenſible; it is not lawful ſo much as to meditate upon it. When they are ask'd what it is, they anſwer *not*, as if it were *nothing*, as being as inconceivable as nothing. Man may lawfully revolve his Thoughts from one end of the Heavens to the other, but he can't approach that inacceſſible Light; that primitive Exiſtence contain'd in the Letter *Jod.* We muſt believe it, without examining and diving into it. Theſe are the wonderful Secrets of Wiſdom, *We muſt not enquire into what is conceal'd, nor penetrate into what is covered*, ſay the wiſe Men. *Job* ſpoke of this Letter, when he ſays, [g] *it is hid from the eyes of all living*, *David* ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe: [h] He declares, *that his thoughts are very deep*; and *Solomon* ſays the ſame thing. [i] *It was far from me. That which is far off and exceeding deep, who can find it out?* And indeed the Maſters call this Letter *Thought*, *Idea*, and preſcribe no bounds to its Efficacy. 'Twas this Letter which flowing from the primitive Light, gave being to Emanations, it wearied it ſelf by the way, but reſumed new vigour, by the aſſiſtance of the Letter H. *He*, which makes the ſecond Letter of the ineffable Name.

IV. The other Letters have alſo their Myſteries, and their particular relations to the *Sephiroths.* The laſt H. ה diſcovers the Unity of a God and Creator; and upon this Letter that Grand Truth is built: But Four great Rivers iſſue from this Unity; the Four Majeſties of God, which the *Jews* call *Schekinah.* This we are taught by [k] *Moſes*, relating, that one River watered the Garden of *Eden*, the Earthly Paradice, and afterwards divided it ſelf into Four Branches.

V. The whole Name *Jehovah* includes all things in it in general; and therefore he that pronounces it, puts the whole World into his Mouth, and all the Creatures that compoſe it. Hence it ought not to be pronounc'd but with great caution. God himſelf hath ſaid it, *Thou ſhalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain.* The Queſtion is not about the violation of Oaths, wherein we abſurdly call God to witneſs to the Promiſes we make; but the Law forbids the pronouncing this great Name, except in his Temple, when the High-Prieſt entred the *Holy of Holies*, on the Day of Propitiations. And indeed how is a vile Creature able to bear upon his Tongue, the World, and that Omnipotent God *who bears the Univerſe?* Men muſt be taught a thing they are ignorant of, namely, That the Man

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[a] יהוה Jehovah. [b] אלהים Ælohim. [c] Deut. 32. 4. [d] *Miſhpat*, Judicium. [e] Vide Cabbala denudata appar. ad Lib. Zohar p. 385. [f] יהוה [g] Job 28. 21. [h] Pſ. 92. 6. [i] Eccleſ. 7. 25. [k] Gen. 2

that pronounces the Name of the Lord, moves the Heavens and Earth, in proportion as he moves his Lips and Tongue. The Angels feel the motion of the Universe, and are astonish'd, and ask one another whence comes this *Concussion* of the World? 'Tis answer'd, that the impious *N.* has moved his Lips in pronouncing the ineffable Name; that this Name has mov'd all the Names and Surnames of God, which have communicated their motion to Heaven and Earth, and all the Creatures: At the same time an Indictment is drawn up against this Wretch; all the Sins he has committed in his Lifetime are numbred, and he rarely escapes Condemnation.

VI. This Name has a supream Authority over all the Creatures, and governs the World by its Power. And lo! how all the other Names and surnames of the Godhead take their Places round it, like Officers and Soldiers about their General. Some of the first Rank are Princes and Standard-Bearers, others are as the Troops and Battalions that compose an Army. Below the Seventy Names, are the Seventy Princes of the Nations which constitute the Universe. When therefore the Name of *Jehovah* influences upon the other Names and Surnames, an Impression is made of these Names, upon the Princes depending on them, and of these Princes upon the Nations living under their Protection; and thus the Name *Jehovah* governs all the World.

This Name is represented by the Figure of a Tree having Seventy Branches, which draw their Juice and Sap from the Trunk; which Tree is that mention'd by *Moses*, that was planted in the midst of the Garden, and forbidden *Adam* to taste of; or else this Name is a King, who has different Habits, according to the different Capacities he appears in. When a Prince is at Peace, he cloaths himself in sumptuous and magnificent Habits, to dazzle the People, but when he is in War, he puts on a Breastplate and an Helmet: He undresses when he retires into his Apartment without his Courtiers, and Ministers, or at least puts off some of his Ornaments which were only for pomp and shew, and then his Officers see him closer and more familiarly. *Lastly*, He discovers his Nakedness when he is alone with his Wife. This Emblem admirably expresses the Properties and Effects of the Name *Jehovah*, which sits like a King upon his Throne, in the midst of the Names and Surnames, that obey him as so many Subjects and Vassals. The Reader does not immediately find out the Exactness of this Comparison, but we must explain it, and trace the matter higher.

VII. The Seventy Nations which People the Earth, have [a] their Princes in Heaven, which surround the Throne of God, as Officers ready to execute the Orders of their King: They encompass the Name *Jehovah*, and every first Day of the Year petition for their New-Year's-Gifts, that is a certain portion of Blessings they are to shed upon the People committed to their charge. For indeed these Princes are poor, and would have but little Knowledge, did they not derive it from the ineffable Name, which enlightens and enriches them. He bestows on them at the beginning of the Year a certain measure allotted to each Nation, whereunto nothing can be added or diminish'd: The Princes may beg and pray all the Days of the Year, and the People petition their Princes, but all to no purpose. And this makes the peculiar difference betwixt the People of *Israel* and other Nations. As the Name of *Jehovah* is peculiar to the *Jews*, they may every Day obtain new Graces. For *Solomon* says, [b] *that the words wherewith he made supplication before the Lord, shall be nigh unto the Lord our God day and night.* But *David* assures us, speakng of other Nations, *that they shall pray unto God,* [c] *and he shall not save them.* The Word in the Original is one of the Names of God, but is often given to Kings and Princes, to honour them. This was the thought of the *Psalmist*, who would signifie that the Nations should invoke their Prince every Day, without obtaining any Assistance from him, besides that portion granted by the ineffable Name the first Day of the Year.

VIII. The design of the *Cabbalists* is to teach us, that God has the immediate Government of the *Jews*, whilst he leaves the infidel Nations to the direction of Angels; but they carry the Mystery farther. There is a vast difference betwixt Nations and Nations, some of which seem less agreeable to God, and are harder treated than others; but this proceeds from these Princes being differently placed about the Name *Jehovah*; for though they all receive their Subsistence from the Letter *Jod*, or *J*, the initial of *Jehovah*, yet their Portion is different, according to the Place they possess. Those on the Right-hand are gentle, liberal Princes, but the Princes on the left are severe and pitiless. Hence the saying of the Prophet, *That it is better to trust in the Lord than in Princes*, as is done by the *Jewish* Nation, upon whom the Name of *Jehovah* acts immediately.

Again, We see here the reason of God's Conduct with the *Jews*. *Jerusalem* is the Navil of the Earth; a City situate in the middle of the World. Kingdoms and Provinces, People and Nations encompass it on all Sides, because it is immediately under the Name *Jehovah*. This is its peculiar Name, and as the Princes which are the Heads of the Nations are rank'd about this Name in Heaven, so the infidel Nations surround the *Jews* on Earth.

They farther hereby explain the Miseries and deplorable Condition of the *Jews*; for God has appointed Four Captains to the Seventy Princes, who are continually watching the Sins of the *Jews*, to take advantage of their Degeneracy, and to enrich themselves at their expence; and indeed when they observe that the People commit great Sins, they interpose betwixt God and the Nation, and divert the Channels, proceeding from the Name of *Jehovah*, and flowing with Blessings upon *Israel*, by inclining them towards the Nations who are inrich'd and fatten'd with them; which Prodigy *Solomon* has so well explain'd, saying, [d] *The Earth is disquieted for a Servant when he reigns, and a Fool when he is filled with meat.* The Servant that reigns are the Princes, and the Fool fill'd with Meat, are the Nations govern'd by them.

IX. There is a Subordination betwixt the Names, as betwixt the Powers of Heaven. There are Four Principals that are near the Name *Jehovah*, and for that reason can suffer no diminution: And these Four great Names have so many Surnames under them: As for Example, the Name *Æl* bears the Standard of *Mercy*, and has some inferior Officers that form his Squadron and his Army, *viz.* the Titles of *Great*, *Gracious*, *Merciful*, &c.

The Name *Ælohim* carries the Standard of Judgment, which is that of War, and his Subalterns are the Titles of *Magnificent*, *Judge*, *Prætor*, *visiting Iniquity*, and *rendring to every one according to his Works.* All which Names and Surnames are as so many Habits of the Name *Jehovah*.

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[a] Appar. ad Lib. Zohar. p. 403. [b] 1 Kings 8. 49. [c] אל. [d] Prov. 30. 22.

X. 'Tis

X. 'Tis eaſy now to apply the Emblem of the King, and of the different Habits worn by him. When God means to ſhew Mercy, he takes his ſumptuous Habits; he cauſes the Standard of Mercy to be carried before him, and takes the name of * *Æl*.

When he deſigns to puniſh Sins, he Styles himſelf *Ælohim*; he arms himſelf with Wrath and Vengeance, and takes the Standard of Judgment, with the Officers that belong to it.

When he calls the Worldlings into Judgment, he takes a Party-coloured Habit, conſtituted of Juſtice and Mercy; but Mercy is the prevailing Colour, becauſe the *Pſalmiſt* ſays that God *is ſlow to wrath*, and *abounding in goodneſs*.

God never appears to the Nations but in pompous and royal Habits, in order to attract their Veneration. However, this diverſity of Habits is an Impediment to the diſcovery of him, and the exact Knowledge of his Perfections; but in treating with the *Jews*, he condeſcends to be that King who diveſts himſelf of all the Ornaments of the Crown, and lays down his Arms; and then the Name *Jehovah* appears in an undreſs. And therefore the wiſe Men ſay that the Name *Jehovah* is pronounc'd and written in the Temple as it ought to be; but in the Provinces it is only expreſs'd by Surnames and Circumlocutions; that is, the *Jews* know God better than the *Gentiles*.

Laſtly, this Name will appear in all its nakedneſs, and already does ſo to the Saints and Fathers, that have attain'd Perfection. This is the Church and the Wife of that ineffable Name, to whom he diſcovers himſelf without any ſcruple.

XII. By this we ſee that it is of the greateſt importance when we pray to God, to know the Signification and Uſe, and Myſteries of his Names, ſince by a miſtake in this point we might imprecate God's Juſtice and Wrath upon us, when we deſign'd to obtain his Mercy; we might damn our ſelves by aiming at Salvation. Moreover, we learn from hence that the true means of arriving to the higheſt pitch of Knowledge and Goodneſs, would be to approach the Name *Jehovah*.

XIII. When all is done, the *Cabbaliſts* carry us a long way about, to teach us, 1. That God is the Fountain of all Good, and the Director of all things. 2. That he judges Men with a Juſtice temper'd with Mercy. 3. That when he is provok'd againſt Sinners, he arms himſelf with Wrath and Vengeance. 4. That when he is prevail'd with by Repentance, he gives way to his Mercies and Compaſſions. 5. That he prefers the People of *Iſrael* to all other Nations, and has given them the Knowledge of Himſelf. Indeed *he has committed to them his Laws and Ordinances, which he has not done to other Nations*. Laſtly, they interſperſe theſe Truths with ſome Errors, as by pretending that God leaves all the Nations of the World to the conduct of Angels.

XIV. There is another method of finding theſe Myſteries in the Name of God. The *Cabbaliſts* caſt up the ſum and value of the Letters: And as they believe all the Letters of the Alphabet depend upon the name *Jehovah*, they make many combinations of them: They frame a Name of 12, another of 42, a third of 72 Letters, which is the moſt important of all; to each of which Letters they aſſociate a particular Angel, and fancy that this has a great power to expel or attract Devils, and to perform magical Operations. But we have been long enough upon this Subject, let us proceed to the *Sephiroths*, which make the Head of the *Cabbala*.

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CHAP. XIV.

The explication of the Sephiroths *, *or* Splendors.

I. *THE great difficulty of explaining the* Splendors. II. *The number of theſe* Splendors: *Their Circle.* III. *The* Splendors *are the Attributes of God.* IV. *An Explication of this Myſtery.* V. *The* Cabbaliſt's *want of method.* VI. *The extravagant Effects they attribute to the* Splendors. VII. *How* Abraham *had* Iſaac *by vertue of the word* ſo: *This paſſage of Scripture explain'd* Cabbaliſtically. VIII. *The Explication of the* Enſoph *or Infinite.* IX. *Whether the three firſt* Splendors *are the firſt Perſons of the Trinity.* X. *A deſcription of the firſt* Splendor, *or* Crown. XI. *Its explication.* XII. *The Union of the* Splendors. XIII. *Their Subordination.* XIV. *Twenty two Canals of the* Splendors. XV. *The deſcription of theſe Canals.* XVI. *The dependance of the* Splendors *on the* Crown, *&c.* XVII. *Of the thirty two ways, and fifty Gates of Wiſdom.* XVIII. *A deſcription of its Gates.* XIX. *The Art of the* Cabbaliſts. XX. *The difficulty of underſtanding them.* XXI. *Chriſtians that find their Religion in the* Cabbala. XXII. *The Trinity diſcovered by* Rittangelius. XXIII. *The Meſſiah and his Miracles.* XXIV. *A Compariſon taken from* Glaſſes, *which deſtroys this Syſtem.* XXV. *Another Compariſon of* Schabté *that overthrows it.*

I. THE *Sephiroths* make the moſt ſecret part of the *Cabbala*; and the Knowledge of theſe Emanations and *Splendors* is not to be purchaſed without a great deal of Pains and Application. Herein conſiſts the Perfection of the Contemplative Divinity, which Charms and Raviſhes thoſe that are initiated in it: We don't pretend to dive to the bottom of theſe Myſteries: The various Interpretations that are given them, ſhew how difficult it is, eſpecially for Chriſtians, to underſtand them; however, we'll unriddle them as far as they are intelligible, and conſiſtent with Reaſon and good Senſe.

II. There are ten *Sephiroths*. They are ſometimes repreſented under the Emblem of a Tree; becauſe ſome reſemble the Root and Stem, others the Branches proceeding from them; they are ſometimes ranged in ten different Circles, as being contain'd one within another; but moſt commonly they are repreſented by the Figures in the Table ▫. The names of them are the *Crown*, *Wiſdom*, *Underſtanding*, *Might*, or *Severity*; *Mercy*, or *Magnificence*; *Beauty*, *Victory*, or *Eternity*; *Glory*; the *Foundation*, and the *Kingdom*.

III. Some will have it that the *Splendors* (which is the Name we ſhall give them for the future) are only Numbers; but they are rather Perfections and Attributes of the Deity. The Eſſence of God being Simple, it would be a groſs Error to imagine it compounded of theſe Perfections, as of ſo many different Parts; but in order to form a clearer Idea

* Sephirah *ſignifies* Splendor *or* Light. ▫ V. Table.

of its manner of acting, we muſt diſtinguiſh its Attributes, conſider its Juſtice, Mercy, and Wiſdom. The *Cabbaliſts* ſeem to have no other View, than the conducting their Diſciples to the Knowledge of the Divine Perfections, and to make them ſenſible that it is on the combination of theſe Perfections that the Creation and the Government of the Univerſe depends; that they have a ſecret and inſeparable Union, and that one moderates and qualifies another: And therefore they imagine Canals or Conduits through which the Influences of one *Splendor* are communicated to another. *The World*, ſaid [n] *Simeon Jochaides*, the firſt of all the *Cabbaliſts*; *could not be govern'd by Mercy alone*, "and by the "Pillar of Grace, and therefore God was obliged "to add the Pillar of *Might* or *Severity*, which "makes the Judgment; it was farther neceſſary "to reconcile theſe two Columns, and to place eve-"ry thing in a natural order and proportion: For "which reaſon the Pillar of Beauty is ſet in the "middle, to reconcile Juſtice with Mercy, and to "ſettle order, without which 'tis impoſſible for the "Univerſe to ſubſiſt. From Mercy which pardons "Sins, proceeds a Canal tending to Victory, or "Eternity, becauſe by vertue of this Attribute we arrive to Triumph and Eternity. Laſtly, the Canals that proceed from Mercy and Might, and terminate in Beauty, are full of numerous Angels. There are thirty five of them in the Canal of Mercy, which Recompence and Crown the Virtue of the Saints, and as many in that of Might to chaſtiſe Sinners; which number of ſeventy Angels, that have different Names given them, is taken from the 14th Chapter of *Exodus*. Here we have a manifeſt Truth enough; *viz.* that it is Mercy which Rewards the Righteous, and Juſtice which puniſhes the Impenitent.

IV. I am apt to think that the clue of the Myſtery lies in this. The *Cabbaliſts* conſidering God as an infinite incomprehenſible Eſſence, not communicable immediately to the Creature, have imagin'd that he manifeſted himſelf, and acted by his Perfections flowing from him; as the Perfections and Eſſence of the Soul would be unknown, did ſhe not manifeſt and make her ſelf known by the acts of Reaſon and Virtue.

They call theſe Perfections the Habits of God, becauſe by them he manifeſts himſelf, One would think indeed that God hereby conceals, inſtead of revealing himſelf, as a Man that wraps himſelf up in a Cloak, would not be known; but there is a vaſt difference, in as much as Man is finite and limited; whereas the Eſſence of the Deity is imperceptible, without ſome intermediate Operation; as we can't ſee the Sun, becauſe his Luſtre dazles us, but we behold him behind a Cloud, or through a tranſparent Body.

They ſay too that they were the Inſtruments which the ſupreme Architect made uſe of; but to prevent any miſtake, they have added, that theſe numbers proceeded from the Eſſence of God himſelf, and that if we conſider them as Inſtruments, yet it would be a groſs Error to believe that God [o] can take them up and lay them aſide, according to his occaſions for them; as the Artiſt quits his Tools when the Work is finiſh'd, or he has a mind to reſt, and reſumes them when he begins again: *This is impoſſible; for the Inſtruments are not faſtened to the hand of the Carpenter:* "But Numbers, theſe re-"ſplendent Lights, proceed from the Eſſence of the "infinite, and are always united to him as the "Flame to the Coal. And indeed as the Coal diſcovers by the Flame its Strenghth and Virtue, which before were hid; ſo God reveals his Greatneſs and Power by the reſplendent Lights we ſpeak of.

Laſtly, the *Cabbaliſts* ſay that theſe are not only Numbers as *More* imagined, but Emanations which flow from the Divine Eſſence as Rays from the Sun, and heat from the Fire, without being divided from it. The Divinity has not ſuffer'd either trouble, or pain, or diminution, in giving them exiſtence, as a Candle loſes not its light, nor ſuffers any violence, when employed to light another that was put out, or never lighted. Theſe Compariſons don't run upon all four; for the Candle lighted, ſubſiſts independently of that it borrowed its Light from; whereas the drift of the Inventors was only to prove that God ſuffers no alteration by the emanation of his Perfections, and that they always ſubſiſt in his Eſſence.

V. Tho' this be the main deſign of the *Cabbaliſts*, in their deſcription of the Divine Perfections, yet it muſt be own'd, they load this deſcription with ſo many different Colours, as to throw it into confuſion. They carry their Allegories ſo far, as they make it difficult to follow them, and ſpeak ſo often of theſe Perfections, as of ſo many different Perſons, that it requires an almoſt infinite attention not to be miſlead by them; which is ſo true, that the Chriſtians that have attempted to write in *Hebrew* upon the Myſtery of the Trinity, finding no word to expreſs the Perſons, generally employ the word *Sephirah*, becauſe 'tis the Style of the *Cabbaliſts* to ſpeak of the Perfections of God, as of Perſons different from his Eſſence.

VI. Laſtly, they multiply the Effects of theſe *Sephiroths ad infinitum*. Theſe Effects that are often miraculous, are annext to the ſimple Letters, whilſt no reaſon can be given for it but the Caprice of the *Cabbaliſts*. For example, the Kingdom is the laſt of the *Splendors*; but the Word *Coh* [p] is annex'd to it, which often occurs in Scripture, and ſignifies *So* or *thus*. *Simeon Jochaides* maintains, that this Word is cloſe by the Kingdom, on the ſide of Might; but the ſame Author affirms in the *Zohar*, that there is a *Coh* both on the right and left: And therefore the *Kingdom* is call'd *Coh*, becauſe of the twenty five Gates that open on its right ſide, and other twenty five on its left. This *Coh*, or the word *So*, is the Gate of the Myſteries. By this the Prophets enter into the Prophetical Sphere; 'tis alſo the Gate of Prayers, and that which renders them effectual. By this it was that *Abraham* obtain'd the Birth of his Son; the Proof is evident; for God led the *Patriarch*, who complain'd of dying without Heirs, and ſhew'd him the Stars of Heaven, ſaying, *So ſhall thy Seed be.*

VII. This is the Senſe of theſe words, which vulgar Divines don't underſtand: God ſaid [q] to *Abraham, Look now towards Heaven*, there is not ſo much as one rank of Conſtellations or Stars that promiſes thee Poſterity: But what the Stars are incapable of doing, *Coh* ſhall effect by his Virtue; *So ſhall thy Seed be*, ſaid God: That is, paſſing through this Gate thou ſhalt aſcend to the Fountain of Generations, even to that place; that ſource of Liquor that flows upon, and influences over all the Productions of Nature, and by this means thou ſhalt have Children; *So ſhall thy Seed be.* God afterwards bleſſed *Abraham*; but of what Advantage were theſe Bleſſings to the *Jews*, if God had not given them the Key of this Reſervatory? Therefore he intruſted it to the Prieſts, ſaying to *Aaron* and his Sons, [r] *On this wiſe, or So, ſhall ye bleſs the Children of* Iſrael. There you ſee the *Coh* that open'd *Sarah*'s Womb, and brings down bleſſings on her; *ſo* ſhall thy Seed be;

[n] Simeon ben Jochai in Jeſirah cum not. Rittangel p. 185. & 186. [o] Abrahami Patriarchæ Liber Jezirah. c. 1. Sect. 2. p. 175.
[p] כהCoh *ſo.* [q] Apparat. ad lib. Zoh. t. 1. p. 466. [r] Numb. 6. 23.

be; *So ſhall ye bleſs the Children of* Iſrael. It would be eaſie to multiply theſe Examples, in diſengaging them from their obſcurities. But let us return to the particular explication of the *Splendors*.

VIII. The *Enſoph*, that is ſeated above the Sephirotick Tree, or the Divine *Splendors* is the *Infinite*. It is ſometimes call'd Being, and ſometimes no-Being. 'Tis a Being becauſe all things derive their exiſtence from it; 'Tis *no-Being* becauſe 'tis impoſſible for Man to penetrate its Eſſence and its Nature. It is involved in unacceſſible Light, and conceal'd in impenetrable Majeſty. Moreover, Nature has not any Creature that can be compared to it, or can repreſent it as it is. 'Twas in this ſenſe *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* ventured to ſay that God was *Nothing*. He meant to ſignify by it, that God is an infinite Eſſence, that can neither be fathom'd nor known; that he poſſeſſes all things in a perfecter and nobler manner than the Creatures, and that 'tis from him they derive their Exiſtence and Qualities, by the means of his Perfections which are like ſo many Conduits through which the ſupream Being communicates his Favours.

IX. The three firſt *Splendors* are much more excellent than the reſt. The *Cabbaliſts* diſtinguiſh them, and bring them nearer to the Infinite, to which they are intimately united; and moſt make them the *Chariot Mercava*, which muſt be explain'd only to the initiates. The Chriſtians [s] ſeize this Advantage, maintaining, that here we have a Trinity of Perſons ſignified under one and the ſame infinite Eſſence. They even complain of the blindneſs and ignorance of the modern *Cabbaliſts*, who conſider theſe three *Splendors* but as ſo many Attributes of the Deity; whereas theſe *Cabbaliſts* are the wiſeſt among them. And indeed to little purpoſe it is to cite the *Cabbaliſts*, ſaying, "*He that is one*, "*has cauſed an emanation of Lights:* That he has "cauſed three orders of Emanations, and that theſe "Numbers prove the *Trinity of the King from all* "*Eternity*. Theſe indefinite Expreſſions of *Iſachor Beer* [t] are explain'd immediately after. *This whole Myſtery conſiſts in the Emanation of the four Worlds; the Archetypal, the Angelical, the Stellary, and the Elementary.* In the mean time theſe four Worlds have nothing common with the Trinity. Thus *Simeon Jochaides*, in the Name *Jehovah*, found the Father, the Son, the Daughter, and the Mother: With a little ſubtilty the Holy Ghoſt might be found in the *Daughter of Voice*, and the Mother might go for the Divine Eſſence: And yet 'tis manifeſt this was not this *Cabbaliſt*'s intention. The *Jod*, ſaid he, is the Father, the *H*, or the ſecond Letter of the ineffable Name, is the Mother, the *V* is the Son, and the laſt *H* is the Daughter: And what does he mean by this? *The Spirit, the Word, the Voice, and the Work. Maimonides* is quoted, ſaying, "That "the *Crown* is the Original Spirit of the Living "Gods; that Wiſdom is the Spirit of the Spirit; "and *Intelligence*, or *Underſtanding*, the Water that "flows from the Spirit. That though there be ſome "*diſtinction*, betwixt the Effects of Wiſdom, Intelligence and Science, yet there is no *difference*; "for the end is conjoyned to the beginning, and "the beginning to the end. But he explains himſelf by comparing this to Fire or Flame, which emits many different Colours, as ſo many emanations, having all their Root and Principle in the Fire. The Perſons of the Trinity are not conceived as the Purple, Blue and White we ſee in the Flame. But yet the *Cabbaliſts* aſſert that the *Splendors* flow from the Deity, as the Colours from the Flame, or rather from the Fire. We ought not therefore to inſiſt on the Elogies the Doctors beſtow upon the *Sephiroths*, as if they were the Perſons of the Trinity; for as much as they united all the *Sephiroths* to the Eſſence of God; and the very inſtant we conceive theſe three firſt as ſo many Perſons of the Divine Eſſence, we muſt multiply them to ten, ſince they all ſubſiſt in the ſame manner, though there be ſome difference of Order.

X. The *Crown* is the firſt of the great *Splendors*; becauſe as the Crown is the laſt Habit the Man puts on, and is worn upon his Head; this *Splendor* is the neareſt to the Infinite, and the Chief of the *Aziluthick* World. It ſometimes has the Name of *waiting*, becauſe *Job* ſays [u] ſuffer me, or *wait* a little, *and I will ſhew thee that I have yet to ſpeak on God's behalf*; for we muſt wait, till the Crown manifeſts it ſelf, and reveals the Secrets and Depths of the Divinity, who is inſcrutable. Others ſay, [x] that as the Crown incircles the Head, the *Splendor* of that Name comprehends all the reſt: It is full of a thouſand little Channels, flowing with the Effects of the goodneſs and love of God. The Angels that ſurround the Throne of God, are in queſt of it, that they may perform the Coronation; but they cannot find it. And therefore they content themſelves with chanting Pſalms and Hymns, Some of which mount up to the Crown. She gathers up all the Prayers and Vows that are made by the repeating the Prayer *Joſer Or*. All the Choirs of Angels impatiently wait for the deſcent of a portion of this *Splendor* upon them; becauſe from hence they are ſupplied with Food and Nouriſhment; and this we are taught by *David*, ſaying, *The eyes of all Creatures wait upon thee, and thou giveſt them their meat in due ſeaſon.* The Crown is a Woman, becauſe what *ſhe gives, returns into her*. She is impenetrable, and can't be fathom'd. It dazzles the Eyes to attempt to behold her; the Mouth ſhuts up, when it goes to ſpeak of her; and the Soul, that has any Idea of her, remains motionleſs with admiration.

She is call'd the *Non-exiſtence*, becauſe *ſhe retires into the ſecret boſom of God; into an inacceſſible Abyſs of Light; and is a moſt reſplendent* Splendor, *remaining naked; neither covered with any habit, nor dilated by any thing*. Sometimes the title of Crown is given to *the Kingdom* the laſt of the *Splendors*, but in an improper Senſe, as being the Crown of the Temple of the Law, and the People of *Iſrael*.

XI. This is obſcure enough: However, we muſt relate what the Maſters ſay upon ſo important a ſubject. Durſt we venture to ſpeak our Thoughts, without being initiated in the Myſteries, the Crown would ſeem to have received this Name for two Reaſons, namely, its Perfection and Authority over the other *Splendors*. Let me add, that the *Cabbaliſts* believing God the ſupream Being, that [y] Infinite, who is above the *Splendors*, to act only by way of Emanation; the firſt and nobleſt of theſe Emanations, the neareſt to him, and conſequently the moſt perfect, has its influence upon all the reſt, and therefore from hence originally are derived all Goods. She is called the Being of Beings, becauſe ſhe gives exiſtence to all things: She fills the Univerſe from the Centre to the Circumference, with his Bleſſings and Effects. And therefore the Angels indefatigably chant her, and Prayers are addreſs'd unto her. It dares not be ſaid that ſhe is the very Divinity, becauſe the *Enſoph*, or the Infinite is ſuperior: But at leaſt ſhe is inſeperable from it; ſhe is the Canal elevated above all things through which the Divinity communicates his Favours to the firſt Order of Angels.

[s] Kirker Oedip. Egypt. Gymnas. Hierog. Claſſ. IV. § 2. p. 253. [t] R. Iſachor Beer fil. Moſis Peſach. l. Imre. Beriah. [u] Job 36. 2.
[x] Jezirah cum 32. Semitis Sap. Rab. Abrah. & not. Rittangel. p. 59. [y] Enſoph.

XII. The

XII. The ſecond Emanation is Wiſdom, and the third Underſtanding. But we ſhould be too tedious ſhould we go to explain theſe three grand *Splendors*, and afterwards deſcend to the other ſeven. 'Tis better worth while to obſerve the connexion between theſe *Splendors*, and the Creatures the Univerſe conſiſts of. To each *Sephirah* is annex'd a Name of God, one of the chief Angels, one of the Planets, a Member of the humane Body, a Commandment of the Law, and upon this depends the harmony of the Univerſe. Moreover, one thing leads our thoughts to another, and ſerves for a ſtep to carry us up to the higheſt degree of Knowledge and contemplative Divinity. Laſtly, we learn from hence what influence the *Splendors* have upon the Angels, the Planets, and the Stars, upon the parts of Man's Body. See the Table.

XIII. Thus there is a ſubordination of one thing to another throughout the Univerſe, and ſome things have a great influence upon others: For the Splendors influence upon the Angels, the Angels upon the Planets, and the Planets upon Man. And therefore it is ſaid, that *Moſes* who had ſtudied the Aſtronomy of *Ægypt*, where that Science flouriſh'd, compoſed his Law with relation to the Stars. He commanded the Seventh Day to be Sanctified, becauſe of *Saturn* who preſides over *Saturday*, and whoſe malignant influences would be dangerous, if the Effects of them were not diverted by Devotion and Prayer. He appointed the Precept of honouring Parents under the Sphere of *Jupiter*, who being a gentler Planet, is apt to inſpire Sentiments of Reverence and Submiſſion. I know not why *Moſes*, a Man of ſuch Abilities, placed the Prohibition of Murder under the conſtellation of *Mars*; he being fitter to further than ſtop the courſe of it. Theſe are the Extravagances and Viſions of the *Cabbala*; let us return to the ſerious part.

XIV. The ſuppoſition of the connexion of the *Splendors* or Divine Perfections, and their ſubordination obliged them to imagine Canals and Conduits, through which the influences of each Perfection are communicated to another: Otherwiſe the Harmony would have been confounded, and whilſt each *Splendor* acted in its own Sphere, the Worlds of Angels, Stars, and terreſtrial Men would have reaped no Advantage from them. And therefore the *Cabbaliſts* fail not to eſtabliſh twenty two Canals, according to the number of the Letters of the *Hebrew* Alphabet, which ſerve for the Communications of all the *Sephiroths*; conveying the influences of one to another.

XV. From the Crown iſſue three Canals, one of which terminates in Wiſdom, the ſecond in Underſtanding, and the third in Beauty. From Wiſdom proceeds a fourth Canal, which throws it ſelf into the Underſtanding; the fifth paſſes from the ſame ſource to Beauty, and the ſixth to Magnificence. As we have noted moſt of theſe 22 Canals in the great Table of the *Splendors*, we have only two things to obſerve here; one, that each Canal has its particular Seal conſiſting of three Letters: The firſt is that Letter of the Alphabet which ſhews the number of the Canal; and at the ſame time denotes one of the Perfections of God; and the two others are the Letters of the Name of God, *Jah*. Here are two inſtances ſufficient to explain this Matter. The Letter ל or *L* is the number of the twelfth Canal proceeding from *Might* and falling into Beauty. To this Letter are joyned the other two יה *Jah*, and this makes the God of the thirty ways of Wiſdom. The Letter ת or *T* is the number of the twenty ſecond Channel; and the יה being added to it, we find *the God, who is the End of all things*. To each Canal they have given an Epithet of the Deity, and the Letters of the name *Jehovah*, as one of the names of God is annex'd to every *Splendor*.

XVI. It muſt further be obſerved of theſe Lines of Communication, that they never aſcend, but always deſcend: For ſuch is the courſe of Waters that have their ſource upon the Mountains, and flowing ſpread themſelves over the lower places. And indeed though all the Splendors be united to the Divine Eſſence, yet the firſt has a ſuperiority over the ſecond; at leaſt from the firſt proceeds that Power and Vertue which actuates the ſecond; and the Kingdom, which is the laſt, derives all its vertue from the *Splendors* that are above it. This ſubordination of the Divine Attributes might ſeem erroneous; but the *Cabbaliſts* have a Salve for it, by ſaying, that this is only adapted to our way of Conception, and that the *Splendors* are rank'd thus only to diſtinguiſh them, and to facilitate the exact and pure Knowledge of their Operations.

XVII. With the ſame conſideration they have *imagin'd *thirty two ways, and fifty Gates*, that lead men to the Knowledge of all that's moſt ſecret, and myſterious. All theſe ways proceed from Wiſdom; becauſe the Scripture ſays, *Thou haſt created the World in Wiſdom*. All theſe roads are deſcribed in a Book ſaid to be the *Patriarch Abraham*'s; and a celebrated *Rabbin* of the ſame Name, has added a comment to it, to guide men more ſecurely in them. There are fifty Gates to paſs through, which are ſo many degrees of Knowledge, which are obtain'd in proportion as Men ſtudy the Myſteries, or qualify themſelves for the reception of the Divine Light: But no Body ever arrived to the laſt. *Moſes* paſs'd through the forty ninth, but he could go no farther; for God ſaid to him, *Thou ſhalt not ſee my face*; that is, thou ſhalt not be able to ſee the Name of *Jehovah*, which I ſhall call before thee. *Joſhua*, *Moſes*'s Succeſſor, proceeded but to the forty eighth Gate. *Solomon* alſo made a great progreſs, for his Wiſdom was as the Sand of the Sea, and yet he could not open the fiftieth Gate, nor arrive to the degree of Perfection.

XVIII. The *Cabbaliſts* diſtinguiſh theſe fifty Gates into five chief ones; each whereof comprehends ten.

The firſt great Gate includes the Knowledge of the firſt Matter, and the Chaos, of the Void, the Elements, and the Water that cover'd the Earth; the Air that proceeded from the Abyſs; the Waters, *&c.*

The ſecond great Gate contains the Knowledge of Minerals, Flowers, the juice that produces Metals, the Sea, Lakes, Rivers, Plants, Seeds, Inſects, Reptils, Fiſhes, Birds, and fourfooted Beaſts.

The third great Gate of the *Cabbala* proceeds to the Creation of Man; to the Clay he was formed of to the Soul he received; to the Myſtery of *Adam* and *Eve*, to Man that is the little World; to the five Senſes, the five inward Faculties; to the Celeſtial Man, the Angelick Man; to the Man that is the Image and Reſemblance of God.

Opening the fourth Gate, we find the Planets, the Firmament, the *primum mobile*, and the *cœlum empyræum*.

Knocking at the fifth Gate we ſee the nine Orders of Angels. This makes forty nine Gates, but the laſt never opens; for it is the Omnipotent God which Man never ſaw, nor is able to comprehend.

* V. Liber Jezirah Abrahami Patriarchæ cum commentario ſuper 32 ſemitis ſapientiæ a quibus liber Jezirah incipit cum notis Ritrangel, p. 1. *&c.*

XIX. Theſe

XIX. These are the general Principles of the *Cabbala*, which we have reduc'd to the most simple, natural and reasonable Sense. It must be own'd that there is a great deal of vanity, and even danger in this method: For if they say no more than what others have already taught concerning the Operations and Attributes of God, it is useless to employ some perpetual Allegories, and extravagant Metaphors, which instead of manifesting Truth serves only to obscure it. 'Tis casting a Veil over an Object that was in the dark before, and of which we discovered only some faint Glimpses: Besides, they overthrow the Scripture, changing the Sense, and even the very Words of it, to be able to find some Foundation and Support for their Conjectures. Moreover, they lead Men into Error, because 'tis impossible to follow these Divines that heap Figure upon Figure, and have not always Judgment in their Invention. That Mixture of Men and Women we find associated in the Splendors; their conjugal Union, and the manner of making it, are not Emblems noble and solemn enough to represent the Operations and Fecundity of God Almighty. These Things may be more naturally express'd; but 'tis the Art of these Divines to take a great liberty of discourse under the shelter of Allegories: They would quickly be at a stand, if they were to follow Revelation Step by Step. The Transactions of Heaven, or the manner of God's working, being secret and conceal'd, there is no discoursing long upon these Subjects. A Man perceives that he falls into Nonsense or Error; that he has no Idea of what he says, or would teach others, when he launches into Mysteries. Those, that continue the Discourse somewhat longer, are yet forced at last to cry out, *O the depth of the wisdom of God.* [a]But when Men throw themselves over Head and Ears into Allegory, they conceal their Ignorance under this shelter; they imagine there is something of reality in the Metaphors they use, and that there is an Idea annext to the sensible Object: They talk of a Crown, and Canals proceeding from it; of the Light conveyed and communicated by them; they boast of an Archetypal Man: They describe an *Adam Kadmon*, an *Arik Anpin*, or the *long Visage*, with a Scull, and Eyes, and Beard; a *Seir Anpin*, or the *short Visage*, which has likewise all these Parts; they discourse upon every Hair of the Beard; they make it the Subject of the *Great Synod*, and with the help of these sensible Images, they think they have reveal'd mighty Truths, and said a great deal, when indeed they have said nothing, but have, instead of conducting Men to the Truth, misled them farther from it.

XX. No doubt but my Ignorance will be complain'd of, and my want of Taste for these Mysteries. It will be said that I have treated of them two dryly, and have reduced them to too little room, whereas they who handle them more judiciosly, not excepting the Christians, discover admirable Truths in them.

I don't deny but abundance of Things may be seen in the *Cabbalists*, which I have not seen, or have had no Inclination to discover. There is commonly such an obscure Profoundness in their Writings, as is impenetrable. Nothing that Reason dictates can be reconciled with the Terms their Books abound with: After a long and useless Search, a Man is tired; he shuts the Book; he returns to it an Hour after, and thinks he perceives a little Glimpse, but it vanishes immediately: Their Principles at first seem to have some Connexion, but the diversity of Interpreters is so great, that one knows not where to fix: The Terms employed are so foreign, or remote from the Object, that they can't be brought together. And indeed it is easie to conceive, that in considering the *Sephiroths*, for Example, as Men that have their Wives, or as the Habits of the Deity, the Interpreters who think fit to outdo their Predecessors, carry the Allegory so far as to forsake the first Idea of their Masters, and the Principle of their Doctrine.

Besides these Ideas being not clear, but capable of many Explications, who shall fix them? In fine, they combine Metaphors, and wed together figurative Expressions, that ought to have nothing to do with one another; and adding heap upon heap, create new degrees of obscurity. I don't wonder then that some discover Mysteries here that escape others, in proportion to the Fruitfulness of their Imagination, find out Novelties that we are not qualified to perceive: But to supply this defect, we may consult the *Zohar*, and the Mysteries of the *Cabbala*, which a learned Man of our Time has reveal'd, in [a] a Language which all Scholars understand.

XXI. The Christians are divided about the Explications of the *Cabbala*, as well as the *Jews*, and nothing can better convince us of its uncertainty, than their different Conjectures; for they find the Trinity in it, and other Principles of the Christian Religion. *More*, [b] who had overstudied these Matters, thought the *Sephiroths* were nothing but Numbers relating to the ten Fingers of the Hands. He distinguish'd these Numbers into *Physical*, which manifest the Work of the Creation, and *Metaphysical*, which he divided into Three and Seven. He grounded this Distinction upon the *Apocalypse*; for as we there see Three different Persons, *He that is, that was, and is to come, with seven spirits, which are before the throne.* There are also Three principal *Sephiroths*, which are the Three Persons in One Essence, and the other Seven are the Seven Spirits, or the Seven Orders of Angels that stand before God. The learned [c] *Kirker* maintains that as obstinate as the *Jews* are, they must be forced to acknowledge that all the Creatures in the Universe bear the Seal of the Trinity, because, as has been observed, each Canal of the *Sephiroths* has its Seal of Three Letters, which express the Deity.

XXII. *Rittangelius*, [d] who has been at the pains of commenting *the Ways of Wisdom*, or the *Cabbala* publish'd in the Patriarch *Abraham*'s Name, advertises his Readers, that since this Patriarch, all the *Jews* have receiv'd and worshipp'd Three Numbers or Three Modes of Existence, which are the Three First *Sephiroths, the Crown, Wisdom and Understanding*, that they have believed these Numbers to be *equally eternal*; that from hence, as from an impenetrable Abyss, proceeds a Light which is not God; that these Three Numbers are a perfect Unity, for if Numbers are ascribed to the Godhead, 'tis only as the Scripture ascribes to him Hands and Feet. *Lastly*, If there be owned any Subordination in these Numbers, 'tis only to distinguish their Operations, whilst they preserve a perfect Equality. Though all this were true, yet it were better to say plainly that there is only One God in Three Persons, than to perplex ones self with crude Terms, and under their Shelter vent all the Mysteries one has a mind to. But it is neither true, that *Abraham* was the Author of this *Cabbalistick* Book, as is said, or that the *Jews* have always believ'd the Trinity since his time, or that they design'd this Explication of the Mystery, to prevent the *Frauds of Hereticks, who abuse the Words of Scripture*; for

[a] Cabbala denudata. [b] Mori Epistola in Cab. den. t. 2. p. 53. [c] Kirker Oedip. Ægypt. Gymnas. Hierog. Class. iv. c. 9. t. 2. p. 307. [d] Liber Jezirah Abrahami cum not. Rittangel Semita 2 & 3. p. 3. & 5.

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on the contrary, there are no Terms that are more ſecurely abus'd than thoſe of the *Sephiroths*.

XXIII. A Divine, who not only has read the *Rabbins* with great Exactneſs, but has drawn great Advantages, and made happy Diſcoveries from them, not being able to imagine, that the *Cabbaliſts* deſign'd to expreſs the Perfections of God by the *Sephiroths*, ſince no body that has Knowledge of an infinite God, can doubt of his being (*Wiſe, Glorious and Potent*) comes about to ſearch for *Jeſus Chriſt*, God and Man in them: He repreſents the *Meſſiah*, as St. *John* has deſcrib'd him in the *Revelations*, cloath'd in a long Robe, girded with a Girdle of Gold, after the Faſhion of the *Jews* and *Eaſtern People*; he finds a great reſemblance betwixt the Portraiture left of him by St. *John*, and that which the *Cabbaliſts* give of him in their *Sephiroths*. He ſets upon his Head *the Crown*, becauſe St. *John* affirms, *a Crown was given to him.* He bore a *Name* which no body underſtood, which is what the *Cabbaliſts* [f] ſay of the *Crown*, that it is a *Non-exiſtence*, that is, *that it is incomprehenſible, ineffable, and conceals it ſelf in the Boſom or Abyſs of the Divinity.* It would be to no purpoſe to run through all the Splendors, and their Explication. *Magnificence and Severity* are plac'd on the two Arms of the *Meſſiah*, and *Victory and Majeſty* on his Thighs, to which the Words of St. *John* in the *Apocalypſe* are apply'd; *He had written upon his thigh King of Kings*; and what was ſaid long before by *David*, *Gird thy ſword upon thy thigh, thy Majeſty and Magnificence.* Laſtly, is added, The Story of the *Cabbaliſts*, who ſay that every Day Proclamation was made round a Tower, That he that had kill'd the Serpent, who kill'd the Firſt Man, and his Poſterity, ſhould marry the King's Daughter. Many Heroes had attempted it in vain, ſince that Piece of Service was reſerved for the *Silo*, or *Meſſiah*, of whom it is written, [g] *He look'd this way and that way, and when he ſaw that there was no man, he ſlew the Egyptian.* The Serpent is the Devil, the King's Daughter is the Church, which the *Meſſiah* was to marry when he had conquer'd him; and there is nothing better known than the *Reign* of the *Meſſiah*, which is the laſt of the Splendors.

As this great Man diſcovers the Perſon of God incarnate in the Splendors, another finds in them the principal Miracles wrought by the *Meſſiah*, as the change of Water into Wine, at the Marriage of *Cana*, and the Cure of the Leper: For when *Jeſus Chriſt* bid him *Go*, 'twas *Wiſdom* that ſent him; when he added, *ſhew thy ſelf*, this was *Prudence*, and the Prieſts are Bounty. *Laſtly*, By a continual Alluſion to the *Sephiroths* he [h] finds the Lord's-Prayer, which *Jeſus Chriſt* dictated to his Diſciples; which he thinks ſo happy a Diſcovery, as not to doubt, but it may be uſed as an effectual Means for the Converſion of the *Jews*.

XXIV. For my part, I muſt own, that I don't find the Myſteries of Chriſtianity in the *Cabbala*, nor do I conceive there is any glory in diſcovering them therein. To make *Abraham* the Patriarch to communicate this Knowledge to his Children, from whence it was propagated to the remoteſt Generations, is to deceive ones ſelf. The Patriarchs and Prophets themſelves, had not ſo diſtinct a Knowledge of the Trinity, as to read Lectures of it in their Schools, nor can the *Cabbala* juſtly pretend to ſo venerable an Antiquity. Beſides the more I examine things, the more I find, that if theſe *Cabbaliſts* meant any thing, their deſign was to ſpeak of the Attributes of God. Muſt we now from their diſtinguiſhing Three of theſe Attributes, as the moſt excellent, conclude, that they are Three Perſons? The other Seven are repreſented as equally like Perſons, and united to the Divine Eſſence; and this will make them Ten inſtead of Three. Read their Doctors without prejudice, and you'll ſee that they compare the *Sephiroths* to ten Glaſſes, painted with ten different Colours: The Light of the Sun, verberating upon all theſe Glaſſes is the ſame though it ſhews different Colours; and thus the Light, or the Divine Eſſence is the ſame, tho' diverſified in the *Splendors*, and ſhedding on them quite different Influences, which Compariſon makes it manifeſt that the *Sephiroths* are not conſidered by the *Cabbaliſt*, like the Perſons of the Trinity worſhipp'd by the Chriſtians. We'll add another Example, which ſets the matter in a clearer light, though it be ſometimes uſed to prove the contrary.

XXV. *Rabb Schabtè* [i] compares the Splendors to a Tree, in which are diſtinguiſh'd the Root, the Stem, and the Branches: "Theſe Three Things "conſtitute the Tree, and the only difference ob- "ſervable in them is, that the Root is conceal'd, "whilſt the Stem and Branches appear without. "The Stem conveys its Vertue into the Branches, "which fructifie; but in reality the Stem and "Branches depend upon the Root, and make one "and the ſame Tree: Apply this to the Splendors: "The Crown is the conceal'd inſcrutable Root; "the Three Spirits, or *Sephiroths*, or Splendors, "are the Stem of the Tree, and the other Seven "are the Branches, inſeparably united to the Stem, "for he that ſeparates them would be juſt like a "Man that ſhould pluck the Branches from the "Tree, cut off the Stem, and offer it Nutriment, "by dividing it from its Root. The Crown is the "Root which unites all the Splendors, conveys its "Influences upon them, and compriſes them in its "Boſom and Vertue.

Now how is the Trinity to be found here? If it be any way, it muſt be in theſe Three Things which conſtitute the Tree, the Root, the Trunk, and the Branches: The Father muſt be the Root, the Son the Trunk, (for the Prophets ſometimes give him ſuch a Title) and the Holy Spirit the fructifying Branches. But then theſe Three Firſt Splendors ceaſe to be Perſons of the Trinity; for they all Three make but the Stem of the Tree; and what muſt become of the Root and Branches, if the Trunk alone, that is, the Three Firſt Splendors, be the Trinity. Beſides, as we ſee that the Ten Splendors conſtitute but one Tree, we muſt conclude there are Ten Perſons in the Trinity, if we will eſpouſe the Principles of the *Cabbaliſts*. I have often made this Obſervation, becauſe it unhinges all the Machines that are invented to find the Trinity in the *Cabbaliſtick* Syſtem.

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[e] V. Vitringa Obſ. Sacr. l. 1. c. 10. p. 120. edit. 1689. [f] Rittangel in Jezirah. [g] Exod. 2. 12. [h] Vide Cabbala denudata, t. 2. [i] R. Schabtè in Jezirah.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the different uſes of the Cabbala: *Of Contemplative Divinity and Magick.*

I. THE *general uſe of the* Cabbala, *to inſtruct the Soul, and incline it to Piety.* II. *Five Orders of* Cabbaliſts. *A Deſcription of the ſpeculative* Cabbala. III. *The Ceremonies of this* Cabbala, *and Contorſions of the Body juſtified by* Elias Moſes, *&c.* IV. *The* Cabbaliſt's *Union with God. The Miracles it produces.* V. *The Aſtrological* Cabbala. *The Encomiums of the Moon.* VI. *The Magical* Cabbala. VII. *Eſteem'd by the Chriſtians.* VIII. *The Method of it.* IX. *An Inſtance of a Miracle wrought by the Name of God.* X. *Another Miracle by the Devil.* XI. *The myſterious Croſs of the Chriſtians.* XII. *That kind of* Cabbala *of ancient Date among them.* XIII. *Arguments proving the Innocence of the Magical* Cabbala. XIV. *The Vertue, the Holy Spirit was annex'd to Words.* XV. *The Influence of the Stars.* XVI. *An Objection taken from the* Agnus Dei. XVII. *Whether all the Prophets have exerciſed this Magical* Cabbala.

I. THE *Cabbaliſts* maintain, that their Science leads the initiated to Perfection; by raiſing the Soul by degrees to the Contemplation of what is moſt perfect in Nature; which Knowledge helps the Soul mightily to form her ſelf to Piety, to diſengage her ſelf from Senſe, and to take pleaſure only in the ſight of God. Though it be true, that all don't make ſo good an uſe of it, yet it is not a defect of the Science: They ſin thro' their own fault, by adhering only to its Elements, and neglecting to raiſe themſelves to the contemplation of its Myſteries.

II. The Truth is, we may reckon Five Claſſes of *Cabbaliſts*. Some apply themſelves to the unfolding Nature and its Myſteries, which are all latent and included in the Letters of the *Hebrew* Alphabet, and this Science goes by the Name of the *Natural Cabbala.*

Others ſtudy the Connexion and Subordination, which God has eſtabliſh'd between all the Creatures, and fancy when they have found out this Contrivance, that they are able to do Wonders by their Mixture and Combination.

But the perfecteſt Order is that of the *Contemplative Cabbaliſts*. 'Tis not enough for the Soul to apply her ſelf to the ſearch of Celeſtial Truths, unleſs the Body and Senſes concur with her. Whilſt *Adam* was taken up with the Temptation of the Serpent, and of his Wife, who offer'd him ſome Fruit, he loſt his Innocence, and the clear and evident Knowledge of his Maker. We muſt therefore abſtract our ſelves from all ſenſible Objects, captivate the Senſes, and raiſe the Body, if we would be truly contemplative. The Angels are the Canals thro' which the Divinity flows, and communicates it ſelf to us. Unleſs we apply our Mouths to theſe Conduits, the Water will run out and be loſt in the Abyſſes, and we ſhall never quench our Thirſts. We muſt therefore maintain an intimate Union with them, and have our Senſes raviſh'd and exalted as well as the Soul. Don't we daily ſee in Nature, that when any Collection of a Bile or Choler ſtops the motion of the animal Spirits, that the Soul loſes the uſe of its Faculties, and the Man falls into a Lethargy or Palſie. But on the other hand, the Soul acts with eaſe, whilſt furniſh'd with continual Supplies of animal Spirits. The Caſe is parallel in Religion. The Soul, when captivated by the Senſes, or natural Objects, can't riſe to the Knowledge of God, or the Splendors; but when the Senſes, Body, and Soul concur to act together in ſpeculation, a Man is eaſily elevated, and made partaker of the Divine Nature.

But this is only the firſt Diſpoſition of the *Cabbaliſt*, to which he is oblig'd to join Prayer; but aſſiduous, ardent, intimate Prayer, which as it were, cements him to the Deity. It is ſometimes call'd a Touch and Kiſs of Divinity.

Thirdly, The *Cabbaliſt* is oblig'd to addreſs himſelf to Angels, becauſe theſe Intelligences are the Depoſitaries of the Gifts of God, and have Influences upon the Stars. And whereas the Planets have not always the ſame Aſpect and Situation, there is frequent occaſion of changing the Names of the Angels that are invok'd. For 'tis the Appointment of God, that we invoke the Angel that preſides over the Star, which can, or muſt ſhed its Influences in ſuch a Time, or ſuch a Place, or under ſuch a Circumſtance.

Laſtly, The Contemplative *Cabbaliſt* muſt mentally conſider the number of Letters that compoſe the Name *Jehovah*; their Figure, their Combination; the Names of the Angels that are annext to them. The Body muſt act as well as the Soul: Sometimes turning one way, ſometimes another; and the Tongue muſt move in a certain manner, and a Man muſt make certain Geſtures correſpondent to the Pronuntiation of certain Letters, Words, and Names.

They explain this by the Example of the Prophet *Elijah*, who when he prayed to obtain Rain, after a long Drought, put his Head between his Knees, and lay proſtrate upon the little Child that he would raiſe to Life again, applying his Parts reſpectively to the Parts of the Youth. *Eliſha*, *Joſhua*, and *Moſes* changed their poſture, according to the different Requeſts they made to God. All which is a proof that the Body of the *Speculatiſt*, in praying and repeating the Letters of the ineffable Name, muſt often change its poſture and ſituation. The Jeſuit *Kirker* ſays, that this would be of uſe, if it had the Authority of the Church, but without it the *Cabbaliſt* loſes his labour, and is expos'd to abundance of Illuſions of the Devil. And therefore he maintains, that Holy-Water, Holy-Salt, and the Merits of the Saints ought to be ſubſtituted inſtead of all theſe Ceremonies; which by the Wiſdom of God have each their reſpective Vertues, one to cure a Fever, another to promote Childbirth, which is a much certainer Method, than aſcribing to Angels the Power of producing certain Events, and making Addreſſes to them, inſtead of praying to the Saints, as if the Saints had greater Power than Angels; or that we were as certain of the Beatitude of the one, as of the Exiſtence of the other; or that the Church's Authority ſecur'd Men from Deluſions, and the Spirit of Viſion.

IV. The *Cabbaliſt* is ſo far from loſing his labour, that he finds an abundant Recompence, in the ſatisfaction and pleaſure which the Improvements of his Knowledge give him: He unites himſelf to God; and even ſometimes thinks himſelf transform'd into the Deity; and then he is perſuaded he is in a capacity of working Miracles, or receiving Divine Inſpiration; of this we have ſeen Examples in the Sect; for *R. Iſhmael*, after he had div'd into the Secrets of this Science, made a little

Cake, which was no ſooner taſted of, but the Soul felt an emotion, and was fill'd with the Rays of Eternal Wiſdom. *Eleazar* finding one of theſe Cakes made whilſt the Names of God and Angels were invok'd, or elſe made by himſelf, fell into an Enthuſiaſm, and dictated many admirable Prayers, which the *Jews* repeat on Feſtival Days. Thoſe that have attain'd to the *Speculative Cabbala*, work a great many other Miracles: But who will believe them?

V. There is a Fourth Order of *Aſtrological Cabbala*, whoſe Myſteries we ſhall not here reveal, but only relate Three Things. 1. That the *Cabbaliſts* aſcribe great Influences to the Stars, and particularly to the Moon; ſhe is the Store-houſe and Receptacle of the other Planets, communicating with them, and eſpecially with the Sun, who fills her with an enlivening Vertue, which ſhe afterwards diffuſes upon other Creatures: She regulates all the Revolutions below: She is the *only Wife of the Names of God: She holds a Medium betwixt God and the Creature; betwixt the Archetypal Heavens and the Angels; betwixt us and the Starry Heaven; ſhe is the Mediatrix betwixt Angels and Men.* She is impregnated by her Conjunction with the Sun her Husband, and afterwards communicates her Conception to Men, bedew'd with the Grace of God. She receives from *Venus* all the Vertues neceſſary to Generation, and from *Mars* Strength, and a fiery Temper. 2. The pre-exiſtent Souls paſs through all the *Sephiroths*, and certain Spheres on which their Fate depends all the time of this Life. When Man is born, God ſends him a Guardian, or an Angel of the Conſtellation under which he is born. This Angel will direct him ſuitably to the Inclinations he has receiv'd from the Planet. But if a Man be refractory, and forſakes the Angel's Direction, he then falls into unavoidable Crimes and Diſaſters: Such were *Saul*, *Belſhazzar*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, of whom the Scripture gives ſuch frightful Characters. Thoſe that are born under *Mars*'s Conſtellation, are commonly brave and warlike, ſuch were *Alexander*, and *Judas Maccabeus*; but when theſe Warriors abuſe or diſcharge their Angel, they are beaten by the Enemy. 3. Hence ariſes a Third Principle, that if we would make a Child happy, we muſt pacifie and careſs the Angel of the Planet; and by this means the *Cabbaliſts* procure great Advantages to their Children.

VI. There is a Fifth Sort of *Cabbala* much run down by honeſt Men, becauſe they ſuſpect there is ſome Magick in it, and yet the *Jews* frequently ſtudy it. They explain the Precepts and Rules of it, that it may be the eaſier practis'd; and even when they are converted to Chriſtianity, they ſtill continue this Study: They annex a miraculous Vertue to Numbers, and thereby heal Diſeaſes, and avert the Misfortunes Men are threatned with. This Opinion is not peculiar to them; ſome antient Philoſophers having had it. The Hereticks that appear'd in the Infancy of the Church eſpous'd it, and made ſeveral Alterations in it. The ſame Notion is imputed, but wrongfully, to St. *Cyprian* and St. *Jerome*: All that theſe Fathers were to be blam'd for, was the Subtilty with which they argued about the *odd number*, becauſe of the *Unity and Trinity*; but they aſcribed no Vertue to it of working Miracles.

VII. 'Tis however true, that a great many Chriſtians have ſuperſtitiouſly believ'd they could expel Devils by theſe Words, [a] *Let the Lord ariſe, and let his Enemies be ſcatter'd*: And the Fathers [b] of the Church boaſted to have had it from the Devil's Mouth, that he was oblig'd to fly at the very Inſtant thoſe Words were pronounc'd.

There is conſtantly Sin and Error in theſe Notions: Men make the Devil an omnipotent Principle, like the *Manichees*, and imagine that by treating with him, they ſhall be able to do whatever they pleaſe. What a ſtrange Deluſion is this? Are the Devils Maſters of Nature, independently of God? And would God permit his Enemy to ſhare almoſt an equal Power with him! That which is call'd Magick, is an effect of the Art and Imagination of Men, willing to be deceiv'd. What Vertue can there be in ſome Words rather than others? Put them in what different Situation you pleaſe, will the Poſture change their Nature? If they have no Vertue naturally, who can communicate it to them? Is it God, or the Devil, or the Art of Man? No body can determine, and yet Men have been bewitch'd with this Fancy for many hundred Years.

Carmine [c] læſa Ceres ſterilem vaneſcit in herbam,
Deficiunt læſa carmine fontis aquæ:
Ilicibus glandes cantataque vitibus uva
Decidit, & nullo poma movente fluunt.

The Diſtemper lies in the Imagination of Men, which ought firſt to be cur'd; but it's a difficult Task to do it, therefore it is better to ſuffer this Art to dwindle into Contempt, than to give it a Strength which it naturally wants, by impugning and confuting it.

VIII. The *Magical Cabbaliſts* ſay, that Words rank'd in a certain Order, produce ſome miraculous Effects; and that they are proportionably apter for this purpoſe, as they are deriv'd from the Holy Language; and therefore the *Hebrew* is preferr'd before all other Tongues. The Miracles riſe in greatneſs, according as theſe Words expreſs either the Name of God, or his Perfections and Emanations; for which reaſon the *Sephiroths*, or the Names of God are in greateſt requeſt. Theſe Terms muſt be diſpoſed, and eſpecially the Seventy two Names of God taken from three Verſes of the 14th Chapter of *Exodus*, after a certain manner, [d] by means whereof they acquire an active Vertue.

IX. They ſometimes only invoke the Name of God in a *Cabbaliſtick* way; and thus *M. Judas, Son of the Rod*, deliver'd his whole Nation, that had like to have been ruin'd in *Spain*; a *Jew* having beaten a Monk, his Order was reſolv'd to revenge the Affront, and to that end went and dug up the Corps of a converted *Jew*, and carry'd it into the *Cemetery* of the *Jews*; complaint was made to the Governour of *Seville*, and of the whole Province, of this pretended Sacrilege; the dead [e] Man's Grave being empty, and another newly made, the proof of the Robbery appear'd too evident to be doubted of: All the *Jews* were put into cuſtody, but *Judas* preſenting himſelf to the Governour, deſir'd a Sheet of Paper might be brought: He deſir'd the Governour to fold it in *Quarto*, and to put it in his Boſom, then having invok'd the Name of God in a *Cabbaliſtick* way, he ask'd him to unfold the Paper before the Company, which was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd to ſee on one Leaf the Figure of three Monks unburying the dead body, on the ſecond Leaf appear'd three other Monks carrying it, and one of them untying the Cord of his Frock, and giving the end of it to a Brother, for the convenienter carriage of the Corps, that ſeem'd to be heavy. Three other Monks appear'd ſtanding Cen-

[a] Pſ. 67. [b] Queſtiones ad Antioch. apud Athan. t. 2. p. 336. [c] Ovid Amor. l. 3. El. 7. [d] Exod. xiv. 19, 20, & 21. [e] Salomon Ben Virgæ Tribus Judæ p. 222.

tinels

tinels upon the Avenues, and the fourth ſet was digging a Grave in the *Jews* burial Place. The Myſtery being diſcover'd by means of the *Cabbala*, the Governor condemn'd the Monks to be burnt alive: The People mutiny'd, and reſcued ſome of them out of the Serjeant's Hands, but two of them ſuffer'd for their impoſture. 'Tis no wonder the *Jews* would be ſo fond of the *Cabbala*, ſince they aſcribe to it ſo prodigious Effects. Another * *Cabbaliſt* raiſed a dead Child to Life, by putting the Name of *Jehovah* under his Tongue, which ſtop'd the Perſecution.

X. They are not always at the trouble of inſerting the Name of God; that of the Devil's being as fit for their purpoſe. They believe, for inſtance, that he that drinks Water by Night, will infallibly have Vertigo's and ſore Eyes: But to prevent theſe Diſtempers, or to cure them when they have them, they believe, that no more is to be done than to place the *Hebrew* Word *Schiauriri* in a certain Figure. *Schiauriri* is the Devil that preſides over Vertigo's and ſore Eyes: And the Name being written in the ſhape of a Carpenter's Rule, the Diſtemper is found daily to decreaſe and vaniſh away. The way of writing the Devil's Name, is thus.

ש כ ר י ר י
כ ר י ר י
ר י ר י
י ר י
ר י
י

Hence the antient Hereticks took their *Abracadabra*, which was thought an excellent Remedy againſt Agues. This is grounded upon thoſe words of *Geneſis*, where 'tis ſaid the Angels ſtruck the Men with blindneſs at *Lot*'s Door, ſo that they could not find it. The *Chaldee* Paraphraſt having tranſlated *blindneſs*, *Beſchiauriri*, it was concluded that it was an Angel, or rather a Devil, that ſent this kind of Diſtemper, and that it was a perfect cure of it to write his Name, as we ſee above.

XI. *Bartolocci* has given a very different Specimen of this *Cabbala*, which one of his Friends, tho' a Chriſtian, communicated to him. It was a croſs of a Square Figure, on the ſides whereof were the LXXII Names of God, with their Latin explication. All theſe words are compoſed of three Letters; not one of them ſignifies what it is put for; but no matter for that, the deſign was to expreſs by it that God is the *Lifter up*, *the Protector*, *the Hope*, *the Salvation*, &c. In the middle of the Croſs were three different Circles. In the firſt was a little Croſs with theſe words; *I will be the Almighty* [a]; *the Lord God*; *the Lord of Hoſts*. The middle circle contain'd the ten *Sephiroths* in *Hebrew*, and in the laſt the ſame names tranſlated into Latin. Laſtly, the four corners of the Croſs were ſet off with Paſſages of *David*'s Pſalms, and above, were read theſe Words, which ſhew'd the confidence of the contriver. *A myſterious Croſs of great Vertue.* There is no doubt but it was the work of a Chriſtian, as opinionative of the practical *Cabbala*, as the *Jews*.

XII. It may be ſaid too, that this was an ancient foolery among them: for St. *Chryſoſtom* upbraided ſome Women of his Time for combining certain Paſſages of St. *John*'s Goſpel, and wearing them about their Necks as preſervatives againſt the Accidents of Life. The famous *Agrippa* [b] alſo accuſes *Raban Maur*, of having ſo diſpoſed certain *Latin* Verſes about ſome Images, that which ever way they were turn'd, they ſtill were read, and ſome Myſteries found in them. In fine, there have been ſome Ages in which People were ſo bigotted to that vertue of *Taliſmans*, and that kind of *Cabbala*, as to think it infallible. But we ſhall ſpeak more amply of it in the ſequel.

XIII. The *Cabbaliſts* want not Arguments to defend the innocence of their Magick. They maintain, that proper Names are the rays of Objects, wherein is a kind of Life concealed. 'Twas God that gave names to Things, and as he made their Union, he took care to make it an efficacious one. *The names of Men are written in Heaven*, and why ſhould God have put theſe Names in his Books, if they were not worth preſerving. There are ſome words ſo artfully managed in Muſick, which ſo vigorouſly ſtrike the Senſes, as to inſpirit a languiſhing Man, diſperſe his melancholy, expel his Diſtemper, and ſometimes throw him into madneſs: Unleſs there were ſome inherent Vertue in Words, they could never produce ſo great Effects. Why then ſhall we deny the ſame Efficacy to the Names of God, and the Words of Scripture?

XIV. *Origen* and *Picus de Mirandula* imagined, that Words had the greater Power by being barbarous, and pronounced in an unknown Language; which was alſo the notion of antient Hereticks, who to amuſe the People, borrowed *Hebrew* Words, and tranſpoſed the Letters to make the Pronunciation leſs intelligible. But another ſet of *Cabbaliſts* aſſert the contrary; that clear Propoſitions and Prayers are the moſt effectual; becauſe Truth contain'd in a compleat Propoſition, and Holineſs annex'd to a Prayer, communicate an additional Vertue; and therefore the *Jews* and Chriſtians make uſe of the Words of *David*, or ſome Portions of Scripture, and pretend there is no harm in it, ſince they uſe the words which the Holy Ghoſt has dictated, and impregnated with his influence, that they might be ſo employed.

XV. They farther imagine, that the Stars have great influences over certain words, to which they are connected, or ſtrictly united: And that's another Argument of their Efficacy.

XVI. Laſtly they object to the Church of *Rome* its *Agnus Dei*'s worn about the Neck; its Scapularies, employed upon the Body as preſervatives againſt Dangers and Death: The Habits of ſome particular Order, which People covet to dye and be buried in, to eſcape Hell. For if there be any inherent Vertue in theſe material Objects, why ſhould we not allow the like in the words that are pronounc'd, and diſpoſed in a particular manner? They might alſo urge two Prayers that are ſaid to have been found in *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Tomb at *Jeruſalem*. *Whoever ſhall devoutly* [c] *carry them about him, ſhall be delivered from the Devil and avoid a ſudden Death; he ſhall be preſerved from Peſtilence, and all contagious Diſtempers. No Witch or Wizzard ſhall be able to hurt thoſe, who have theſe two fine Prayers about them.* If it be ſufficient to carry certain Prayers in ones Pocket, there muſt be a Vertue annex'd to the conjunction of the Words they are compoſed of: But here is ſomething more particular; for in a Prayer [d] beginning with theſe words; *God, moſt indulgent Father*, &c. we find in a *Cabbaliſtick* way theſe barbarous words, [e] *Ruba, Teh, Hyſtiton, Hya, Laverererareri:* And 'tis aſſerted that *Adam*, who had been in Hell, was removed from thence into

* Salomon Ben Virge tribus Judæ. p. 337. [a] שרי אחיה אדני אלהים יהוה צבאית Bartol. B. R. t. iv. p. 234. Scaddai Achieh. Adonai, Elohim. Jehovah, Tſebaoth. [b] Agrip. de vanit. Scient. c. 47. [c] *See the Practice for Worſhipping the Sacrament of the Altar.* [d] *'Tis in the* Antidotarium animæ. Fol. 92. *And begins* Deus pater piiſſime. [e] Thiers *Of the moſt neceſſary of all Devotions.*

Heaven, by means of the moſt holy Name *Lavererarari.*

XVII. They think it not enough to invent ſome Arguments to juſtifie the *Cabbala*, but they alſo give it a ſacred Original, and attribute the uſe of it to all the Saints. Indeed the *Cabbaliſts* will have it, that it was this Art which exalted *Moſes* above the *Ægyptian* Magicians, and rendred him formidable by his Miracles. 'Twas by the ſame Art that *Elijah* brought down Fire from Heaven, and *Daniel* ſtopt the Mouths of Lions. Laſtly, all the Prophets have ſucceſsfully uſed it for the diſcovery of Events involved in a long futurity. [f] *Agrippa* who after a long Study of this Science found the vanity of it, nevertheleſs ſays it was in uſe among the antient *Jews*, and that the *Ophites*, *Valentinians*, and *Baſilidians*, borrowed it of them: But he is miſtaken; at leaſt 'tis believed the *Jews* were not yet fallen into that exceſs, and that the Hereticks only borrowed the *Hebrew* names of them, whereof they made their *Taliſmans*, and that afterwards the *Rabbins* were the inventors of this Science.

But ſince the *Cabbaliſts* muſt needs trace the Origine of their Science up to the Boſom of God and Paradiſe; 'tis fit that we ſhould examine into the ſource of it. Beſides, ſince all Religions and Nations have had a myſtical Divinity, 'tis neceſſary to ſee in what manner they have treated it. The Compariſon I am going to make of the *Cabbala* of the *Egyptians*, *Greek* Philoſophers, Apoſtles, Fathers of the Church, and antient Hereticks, with that of the *Jews*, can't be thought a digreſſion. On the contrary, it ſeem'd the more neceſſary to enlarge upon this Subject, becauſe it deſerves to be known, but was never yet throughly diſcuſs'd, eſpecially in our Language.

[f] Agrippa de vanit. Scient.

CHAP. XVI.

A ſhort Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Cabbala.

I. *THE* Cabbaliſts *ground themſelves upon the Example and Authority of the ſacred Writers.* II. *The Style of theſe Writers.* III. *Whether* Eleazar *was the firſt* Cabbaliſt. IV. *The Time he lived in.* V. *Factions in* Ægypt *upon the literal and myſtical Senſe.* VI. Philo *the* Jew *a* Cabbaliſt. VII. *As alſo the Eſſenes.* VIII. *The* Chaldee *Paraphraſts have neglected this method.* IX. Joſephus *has Authorized it.* X. *That of the* Talmudiſts *much like it: Six reflexions upon the Scripture.* XI. Cabbaliſts *in* Ægypt *in the twelfth Century.* XII. Maimonides's *Rule againſt them.* XIII. *The progreſs of this Science.*

I. THE *Cabbaliſts* bottom upon the Authority of the ſacred Writers, who have chalk'd out the way they take, and given the example, which they follow. *Moſes*'s Law is clog'd with Types and Ceremonies, and you muſt break the Shell, if you will taſt the Fruit of it. There are innumerable Precepts that ſeem unbecoming the greatneſs of the Divine Wiſdom, if they be taken literally. Would God ſpeak to no purpoſe, and amuſe himſelf with regulating certain inconſiderable Duties which the exacteſt Legiſlators would juſtly wave? The Divine Wiſdom has contrived and inſpirited even the Expreſſions of the Authors, and included whole Mountains of Myſteries under every Precept, and every Word. *He that hath Ears to hear let him hear.* With what deſign are Arms and Eyes, and Wrath and Jealouſie aſcribed to God, but to raiſe us by theſe earthly and ſenſible Ideas to the Knowledge of the greateſt and moſt inſcrutable things in Heaven? The Prophets above all things delighted in Metaphors and Allegories; they had Viſions, wherein God repreſented himſelf in a ſenſible manner. Theſe holy inſpired Men writ not for themſelves; but deſign'd their Writings ſhould be ſtudied, and their Viſions explain'd. *Ezechiel* has not left us his Chariot, that it might remain uſeleſs; on the contrary, this Prophet had too great views: that the Myſtery of this Viſion full of ſo many Truths ſhould be ſtudied; and that we ſhould imitate him in forming the like Ideas, whereby to arrive to the Knowledge and Contemplation of the Godhead. They might add, that *Moſes* left this *Cabbala* to the Saints, who tranſmitted it to Poſterity: But that ſecond Original is more dubious than the firſt.

II. It muſt be owned, that the ſacred Writers have frequently employed Metaphors and Allegories; becauſe it was the common Style of the *Jews* and the *Eaſtern* People, that eaſily underſtood them. The Viſions and Metaphors of *Ezechiel*, or *Daniel*, are bolder than thoſe of the other Prophets; becauſe they lived in *Chaldea*, where that Dialect was more familiar: It would be an Error to take all theſe Expreſſions literally; and the Types would be uſeleſs, were they not applied to the *Meſſiah* for whom they were made. But this is not the difficulty; theſe explications are carried too far; and Myſteries are found even in Hiſtorical Narrations: The plain ſenſe of the cleareſt words is evaded, to find out a remote meaning: And they delight to outvy bold and ſingle Writers, as *Job*, who wrote in *Arabia*, and handled a particular ſubject which required Fictions, Allegories, and Hyperboles: Two things therefore may be obſerved; firſt, that this method, or rather exceſs of the *Cabbaliſts*, inſtead of being ſacred, came originally from the *Ægyptians*. Secondly, that they have been Authorized by Authors of the corrupt and later Ages.

III. The moſt antient myſtical Interpreter to be met with in the Jewiſh *Hiſtory*, is *Eleazar* the High-Prieſt [g], who being queſtion'd about ſome little obſervances of the Law, which the *Ægyptians* thought not of ſufficient importance to be given by God, often recurr'd to the myſtical and figurative Senſe. He maintain'd that God appointed that ruminating, and gentle Creatures ſhould be eaten to teach the meditation of the Law, and the preſervation of Charity. The uſe of Weeſels was condemn'd by the Law, becauſe theſe Creatures were an Emblem of Delators; thoſe dangerous Men whom the King of *Ægypt*, upon diſcovery of their Malice, had reſolved to root out of his Kingdom.

IV. *Eleazar* lived in *Judea* in the Reign of *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, or rather of his Father *Ptolomeus Soter*. And indeed though the Honour be given *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* of erecting an excellent Library, and procuring the verſion of the Septuagint; yet it is certain, that his Father had a greater ſhare in it than he: For *Demetrius Phalereus*, who

[g] Eleazar ex Ariſteâ apud Euſeb. de præp. Evan. l. 8, 9. p. 372.

form'd this deſign, and ſuggeſted it to his Maſter, was *Ptolomeus Soter*'s Favourite; and ſo far from maintaining his intereſt in his Son's Reign, that he was hated and baniſh'd his Dominions by him, for having attempted to exclude him from the Succeſſion, and place one of his Brothers, the Son of *Euridice* upon the Throne. [h] *Anatolius* ſays, that the Septuagint verſion was compoſed under theſe two Princes. That is more probable; but yet it was *Ptolomeus Soter*, the Son of *Lagus*, who ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Judea* to ſeek for ſkilful Interpreters: And with them it was, that *Eleazar* the High Prieſt engaged in a Conference about the Myſteries of the Law. Therefore he lived in this Prince's Time. But, 1. The Prophets had then for a long time ceas'd. 2. The Interpretations which *Eleazar* gave of the Law, can't be conſider'd as *Cabbaliſtick* viſions; ſince he only gave the Reaſons of ſome Rites of his Religion, wherein the *literal* Senſe was ſo involved, as neceſſarily introduced the *Myſtical*.

V. *Euſebius* ſays, that there were ſometime in *Judea* two Factions of the *Jews*, one whereof ſcrupulouſly inſiſted on the literal ſence of the Law; *and the other piercing through the ſurface, entered into the ſublimeſt Phyloſophy.* At the Head of the latter he ſets *Ariſtobulus*, a great Philoſopher known to *Ptolomeus Philometor*, in whoſe Court he lived, and who compoſed for him a kind of Commentary upon the Laws of *Moſes*. He actually gave a myſtical Explication to a great many Scripture Paſſages: He ſaid that *Hands* were aſcribed to God, not only to ſignify his Power, but becauſe of the numerous Army that march'd under his Command when the *Iſraelites* left *Ægypt*. He aſſerted that God only appear'd on Mount *Sinai*, under the Symbol of a miraculous Fire, which burnt, and did not burn; for a Million of Men ſurrounded the flaming Mountain, and not one of them was burnt. He added, [i] that God is *ſtanding*; to teach us that *he has conſtituted the Creatures in a ſtate of conſiſtency.*

Euſebius is miſtaken; for it was not in *Judea* but in *Ægypt*, that theſe two factions were form'd; for it was there that *Ariſtobulus* taught; and 'twas no wonder he eſpous'd this method, ſince *Ægypt* was the true Nurſery of the *Cabbala*; there it was born, and grew up to its full Stature. 'Tis true that in an antient Verſion of *Euſebius*, by ſome father'd on St. *Jerome* [k], by others on *Ruffinus*: *Ariſtobulus* is ſaid to be Born at *Paneas*, a City of *Syria*, which the *Evangeliſts* call *Ceſarea Philippi*: But 'tis a manifeſt miſtake of the Interpreter. At preſent it is read that *Ariſtobulus* lived formerly ὁ πάνυ *O panu*, of this *Greek* Word ſignifying *formerly*, was made the City of *Paneas*. The Tranſlator of St. *John Climacus* has made ſuch another of the ſame Word; producing one [l] *John Opanius*, that never was; whilſt the Author's meaning only was, that *John* had been *heretofore*.

It is farther true, that *Ariſtobulus* is made much younger than we think him; for a Learned Critick [m] aſſerts, that he lived but in the ſecond Century of the Chriſtian Church, in which People took a Pride to foſter ſome ſuppoſititious Works upon the Antients, and the *Jews* attempted to raiſe by it the Glory of their oppreſs'd Nation. We are told that *Joſephus* would not have fail'd to mention a Perſon of his Fame, if his Work had been Publiſh'd long before him. *Euſebius*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſay, that *Ariſtobulus* lived in the time of *Ptolomeus Philometor*, but they are ſo uncertain about this matter, that *Clemens*, forgetting what he had ſaid of him, places him under *Ptolomeus Philodelphus*. This uncertainty gives us reaſon to ſuſpect that they are miſtaken, and that meeting with a Book which *Ariſtobulus* had dedicated to *Ptolomy*, they concluded without more ado that this was *Ptolomeus Philometor*. Indeed the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees* ſpeaks of an *Ariſtobulus* Preceptor to *Ptolomy*, deſcended of the Race of the Prieſts, who then lived in *Ægypt*, and made a conſiderable Figure. That Letter of the *Jews* to their *Ægyptian* Brethren, is dated the 188th Year of the *Æra* of *Seleucides*, which was then followed; and therefore *Ariſtobulus*, *Ptolomy's* Tutor, muſt have lived a long time after *Philometor*. Nor could he be the Tutor of *Ptolomy* the Beneficent, who was then upon the Throne, ſince he was advanced to it very late, not ſucceeding his Brother *Philometor* till he was much in Years. From all which reflexions it is concluded, that *Ariſtobulus* lived under one of the latter *Ptolomy*'s, or rather after *Joſephus*, an hundred and fifty Years or thereabouts after *Jeſus Chriſt*: And if this Conjecture was well grounded, we ſhould be obliged to find a new Origine of the *Cabbala*.

But not to engage in any great diſcuſſion of this Matter; we may obſerve not only ſome uncertainty, but alſo a contradiction in theſe reflexions, which are made to bring down *Ariſtobulus* below the time of the compoſing the Septuagint, the eaſier to invalidate his Teſtimony concerning it. Firſt, *Euſebius*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* agree in placing *Ariſtobulus* in the Reign of *Ptolomy*, to whom he had Dedicated his Book: And therefore we can't, (without the imputation of a groſs fault in them) bring him under the ſecond Century of the Chriſtian Church. Could *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who lived ſo near that time, have been ignorant that *Ariſtobulus* lived only ſome Years before him, and have made him ſo antient, or not diſcover'd a forgery of ſo freſh a date? Beſides there's no variation in *Euſebius*. He ſtill places *Ariſtobulus* in *Ptolomy*'s Reign; and having once ſaid, that this *Ptolomy* was *Philometor*, it can't be denied but he perſiſted in that opinion; it being no ſign of his changing it, that he ſometimes forgot to add the Epithet of *Philometor*. We muſt therefore either abſolutely deſert theſe two antient Writers, or acknowledge with them that *Ariſtobulus* lived under *Ptolomeus Philometor*: But eſpecially, they could not believe that he lived in the ſecond Century of the Church. Secondly, 'tis not eaſily conjectured what Argument can be drawn from the Book of *Maccabees* againſt *Ariſtobulus*; for on the contrary 'tis manifeſt from the Letter of the *Jews*, that there was then in *Ægypt* an *Ariſtobulus* that was a Prieſt and Preceptor to the King. This part of the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees* muſt be forged, if this fact were not true; and if it be true that *Ariſtobulus* lived then, why will they have him live after *Joſephus* in the ſecond Age of the Church? This *Ariſtobulus*, whom the *Jews* call Preceptor to the King, might have been ſo fifty Years before, and yet be ſtill alive under *Ptolomy* the Beneficent, Brother and Succeſſor to *Philometor*. Read how you will, we can find nothing in the Original, obliging us to believe that *Ariſtobulus* was Preceptor in the Year 188, when this Letter was written. *The King's Preceptor* was an honourable Title, which a Man retain'd all his Life; and the *Jews* would take care not to forget a thing ſo much to the Honour of their Nation. Thus the Author of the *Maccabees* Authorizes us to perſevere in our Opinion, and to place *Ariſtobulus*

[h] Scaliger *in* Euſeb. Chron. Animadv. p. 122. [i] Euſeb. Prep. Evan. l. 8. c. 10. p. 377. [k] Bridefertus in Gloſſis ad Bede lib de temporum ratione. c. 28. [l] Ιωάννης ὁ μοὶ πάνυ, Johannes Opanius Scala paradiſi. Gr. 455, 85. p. 82. [m] Humphredus Hody contra Hiſtoriam Ariſteæ de LXX. Interp. c. 10. integr.

and

and his Book under *Ptolomeus Philometer*, to whom it was dedicated.

VI. *Philo* [a] who liv'd in *Ægypt* in our Saviour's time, ran headlong into Allegories, and myſtical Interpretations. By which method he found whatever he pleas'd in Scripture. If God ſpeaks, and calls, *Adam where art thou?* He obſerves that *Eve* in theſe Words is confounded with her Husband, becauſe all the Faculties of the Soul muſt be awaken'd and alarm'd, when it is to be reclaim'd to its Duty. *Eve* is the *Senſe* which God would excite; but as the Senſe is brutal, God calls it together with the other Powers of the Soul. He cites the Woman with the Man, the Man with the Woman, the Body with the Mind, in ſaying *Adam where art thou?* This Inſtance is enough. Thoſe that have look'd into *Philo*'s Works, know that he turn'd all the Scripture into Allegories and Viſions.

VII. It was alſo in *Ægypt* that the *Eſſenes* appear'd with greater Reputation and Luſtre, and theſe Secretaries taught, *That Words were ſo many Images of Things conceal'd: They turn'd the Sacred Volumes and Precepts of Wiſdom into Allegories, according to the Cuſtom of their Fathers, who had left them many Books of that Science.* Here you ſee the Seeds and Principles of the *Cabbala*. It muſt have been already advanc'd into a Science in *Philo*'s and our Lord's time, ſince there were many Books upon that Subject, and the *Eſſenes* continu'd to add new ones to them. We ſee then that it was in *Ægypt* that the *Jews* firſt turn'd *Cabbaliſts*, becauſe they took the Style and Ways of the Country where they liv'd, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

VIII. This Method of interpreting Scripture travell'd from *Ægypt* into *Judea*, but had much ado to find admittance. *Jonathan*, who liv'd, as they ſay, in *Herod the Great*'s time, and *Onkelos*, whom *Fagius* makes [b] Uncle to the Emperor *Titus*, are known by the *Chaldee* Paraphraſes that go under their Names. Theſe two Expoſitors who wrote in *Judæa*, and for the *Jews* there, who ſcarce underſtood *Hebrew*, had frequent recourſe to a figurative Senſe. However they ought not to be confounded with the *Cabbaliſts*, ſince they not only confine themſelves to very narrow Limits; but their Explications are natural and eaſie.

IX. *Joſephus*, [c] who wrote at the ſame time, had a greater byaſs this way, for he maintains that *Moſes* had a double View in the penning his Hiſtory; firſt to give a clear Narrative of Matters of Fact, and next, to involve abundance of Myſteries in Allegorical Expreſſions: Whence he concluded, that the Way to take the Senſe of the Sacred Hiſtorian, was to follow the ſame Method, which he has often done. They ſay too that he promis'd to write a Treatiſe of the *Cabbala*, in the *Eſſenian* Way, becauſe he ſays, *That the Examination of Cauſes produces a very ſublime Philoſophy and Science.* And this Work he would perform *if God ſpared his Life:* But they are under a Miſtake: *Joſephus* only ſpoke of Facts related by *Moſes* in a clear and evident manner, and therefore his Deſign was rather to make a Treatiſe of Phyſicks or Divinity, than of the *Cabbala*.

X. The *Talmudiſts* and *Gemariſts* that appear'd after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and in the ſubſequent Ages, gave a much greater Vogue to Allegories, and may be ſaid to have revived that Sort of *Cabbala* which had its Origine in *Ægypt*, and began to ſpread in *Judæa* in our Saviour's time. They found ſix things in Scripture, whereon they grounded their Method and Interpretations.

Firſt, They obſerve in it the *poſſible admiration*. By which they mean the Parables that ſeem to include ſome ſurprizing Things, or Events, concealing under them ſome Lectures of Piety and Morality. *Job* is the Man that has furniſh'd them with moſt Examples of this ſort, in imitation of whom the *Gemariſts* [d] tell a Story of a Veſſel that was ſhipwreck'd in Floods of Fire; which Prodigy was known to above Three hundred thouſand People, becauſe theſe burning Waters had ſuch an Elevation in the Air, as might be ſeen from the Earth; which Parable ſignifies, *that the Good ſometimes ſuffer with the Wicked, becauſe they are all in the ſame Veſſel.* 2. The *Thalmudiſts* obſerve *ſome Hyperboles* in the Sacred Writings. *Job* is not their only Authority: But *Moſes* ſays, that the *Anakims* were as numerous as Graſhoppers; and *Daniel* aſſerts that *Belſhazzar* drunk as much Wine as a thouſand Men. And no wonder there are ſuch extravagant Hyperboles in the *Talmud*, ſince they have only imitated inſpired Authors. 3. They have often had obſcure and ambiguous Expreſſions. Thus the *Gemara* ſpeaks of *Four famous Cubits* after the ruin of *Jeruſalem*, by which we muſt underſtand the Four Letters of the Name *Jehovah*, which were then diſpers'd over all the Earth. 4. Allegories are frequent in *Ezechiel*, and the other Prophets, what reaſon is then to blame the Allegorical Style of the *Gemara* or *Talmud?* 5. There are Proverbs in Scripture as in the *Talmud*; for *Solomon* has made a Collection of them. 6. *Laſtly*, There are ſome Dreams in it, that not only diſcover Futurity, but reveal the Will of God. *Jacob* dreamt and ſaw a Ladder, and awaking cry'd out, *the Lord is in this place*, becauſe God had reveal'd to him in his Sleep, that he was preſent. And thus the *Talmudiſt* and *Gemariſt* Doctors, *&c.* have diſcover'd ſome Myſteries in a Dream, to which they were abſolute Strangers before.

The *Talmudiſts* build upon all theſe Truths; for it is not doubted but there are in Holy Writ ſome Parables, Hyperboles, Metaphors, Allegories, and Proverbs, and that God ſometimes reveal'd himſelf to the Patriarchs in their Sleep; but it is impertinently concluded, that Men may imagine what they pleaſe with an irregular and unbounded Fancy, and that afterwards their Conceptions muſt be receiv'd with equal Reverence and Submiſſion as the Holy Scriptures.

XI. However it can't be ſaid, that theſe are the true *Cabbaliſts* we ſeek for; and indeed we have diſtinguiſh'd theſe two Orders of Divines. Nor can we fix the time of the latter's Appearance, as being neither a formed Sect, nor a Society of Doctors, with Colleges, Maſters and Statutes. This Science having by degrees riſen to its Perfection. I only obſerve, that the Firſt that began to overſtrain the myſtical Senſe, and love of Allegories, appear'd in *Ægypt*, where a Symbolical Religion ever kept its Reſidence and Empire. Some particular Interpreters would not have the *Jewiſh* Religion come behind the *Ægyptian* in Myſteries, and made their Imagination work hard to find them; which Method pleas'd the *Speculatiſts*. The *Eſſenes* eſpous'd it, and therefore they may be conſider'd under the Notion of *Cabbaliſts*. Some ſeeing ſo great a liberty taken in the Explication of Scripture, and the literal Senſe deſerted without ſcruple, imagin'd they might carry the Licenſe farther, by changing the common uſe of Words and Letters. The firſt Productions of theſe Interpreters are loſt: However, we learn from the Chriſtians that they were very ancient, for we find them before St. *Je-*

[a] Philo de legis Allegor. l. 2. p. 53. [b] Fagius præf. in Targum, *hoc eſt.* Paraphr. Onkelos. [c] Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. Proœm. p. 4. [d] In Gemara titulo Bara Batra, c. v. fol. 73. vide Surenhuſii Epiſt. ad Hottingerum præmiſſa excerptis Gemaræ.

rome, who being better skill'd in *Hebrew* than the reſt, ſo evidently diſplays the Principles of the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts*, that it can't be doubted but this Science was current at that time. The *Sephiroths*, with their Dependences, are alſo very ancient, ſince the *Baſilidians* borrow'd their *Æones* from them. The *Agadici* [d] often mention'd in certain Commentaries in great eſteem with the *Jews*, were alſo myſtical Interpreters, whoſe Works were mightily valu'd. Theſe latter made a Figure in the Twelfth Century: For *Maimonides* obſerves, that ſome Doctors in his time abus'd the Scripture, and made the holy Penmen ſay an hundred things which they never thought of. He wrote in *Ægypt*. He was no Enemy to the myſtical Senſe of Scripture, ſince he often explain'd it. He neither condemn'd the *Talmud* nor the *Miſnah*, upon which he wrote ſome Commentaries. But he pointed at ſome other Doctors of his time, who exaggerated every thing that went through their Hands.

XII. The Rule which this Doctor [e] lays down againſt this Order of Interpreters deſerves to be related, ſince it may be of ſervice to Chriſtians as well as *Jews*. "The Foundation and Firſt Prin-" ciple that ought to be laid, is to fix upon the " principal Drift of a Parable, without attempting " a particular Explication of all the Circumſtances, " and of every Word contain'd in it. By taking " another Method we wander from the Deſign of " the Parable; we run into extravagance; *we loſe " our labour, by endeavouring to explain things that " can't be explain'd.* I know indeed many Do-" ctors are infatuated with this Conceit; they try " to make the Holy Penmen ſay a hundred things " they never thought of; but the Buſineſs is to " inſiſt on the main purport of the Teacher. Would to God ſo wiſe a Rule was always before our Eyes: 'Tis dictated by good Senſe, and we can't loſe the ſight of it, but we muſt deviate from right Reaſon.

XIII. The *Cabbaliſts* who were in *Ægypt* in *Maimonides*'s time, inſtead of profiting by his Inſtruction, thought to carry their Science to perfection, by ſpeaking only in Symbols and Allegories; by ſeeking Myſteries not only in Words, but alſo in Letters; by imagining not only a Gradation, but alſo a Concatenation of ſenſible Creatures with ſpiritual, and by this means pretended to raiſe themſelves to the Contemplation of the Deity.

[d] *They that diſguiſe Truths under Fables.* [e] Maim. in More Nevochim Doctor dubitantium.

CHAP. XVII.

The Original of the Cabbala *among the* Ægyptians.

The Arguments of thoſe that believe it invented by the Patriarchs.

I. *THE Diviſion of Opinions upon this Queſtion. Whether the Patriarchs brought the* Cabbala *into* Ægypt. II. Abraham's *Method and* Cabbala. III. *This Patriarch taught* Mercury *the Trinity.* IV. Mercurius Triſmegiſtus *the ſame with* Moſes. V. Joſeph's *pains to convert the* Ægyptians. VI. Moſes *alſo attempted it.* VII. Manetho *has copy'd* Moſes *and* Joſeph. VIII. Socrates's *Diſcourſe with an* Ægyptian *about Myſteries.* IX. *The Fables of the* Greeks *myſtically explain'd.* X. *The Conformity of the* Ægyptian *Myſteries with thoſe of the* Jews, *taken from* Clemens Alexandrinus. XI. *An Obſervation deſtroying this Conformity.* XII. Oſiris *is* Adam, Abraham, Moſes. XIII. Apis *was* Joſeph. XIV. *Arguments that* Typhon *was* Og *King of* Baſan. XV. Typhon *was the Devil.* XVI. *Or rather* Moſes. XVII. *The Defect of theſe Conjectures.* XVIII. *The* Cabbala *borrow'd from the* Jews.

I. WE have obſerv'd, that the *Jews* deriv'd the *Cabbala* from *Ægypt*. But this Opinion is conteſted by a great many learned Men: They maintain on the contrary, that the *Heathens* took their Religion and Myſteries from the *Jews*. Some think the Patriarchs *Abraham* and *Joſeph* inſtructed the *Ægyptians*: Others ſay, the *Phenicians* were the Channel that convey'd this Knowledge into the Iſles of the *Ægean* Sea, *Greece* and *Sicily*, even to *Spain* and *England*, whither this Nation had ſent Colonies, who brought with them the Religion which their Anceſtors had receiv'd from the Patriarchs. This Religion appears ſomewhat diſguis'd, becauſe it was receiv'd but at the ſecond-hand, and theſe People being remote from the Source, underſtood not *Hebrew*, and could not infallibly reach the true purport of the Types of the Law; but yet there is ſufficient Vindication, that theſe are Streams that flow'd from the *Jewiſh* Religion. *Laſtly*, They fancy, that when the Books of *Moſes* were publiſh'd, the *Heathens* ſeiz'd on them, and attempted to form a Religion like the *Jewiſh*, by copying the Writings of that Lawgiver. We take the quite oppoſite Opinion, as believing 1. That the Religion of the *Ægyptians* was much ancienter than that of the *Jews*. 2. That each Nation deified its Heroes, or made its Gods, without begging them from others. 3. That if there be any conformity betwixt the *Heathen* Religion and the *Jewiſh*, 'tis only in ſome faint Strokes that are artfully heightned. 4. But eſpecially we are certain that the *Jews* deriv'd their *Cabbala*, and the method of teaching we are in queſt of from the *Ægyptians*, which is what we are going to prove; but firſt we will relate the Opinion and Reaſons of thoſe that think this Science was brought into *Ægypt* by the Patriarchs.

II. The learned *Kirker* [a] thinks that *Abraham* was a perfect Maſter of the *Cabbala*, and that it was he who brought it to the *Ægyptians*. They only endeavour'd to enrich it: For this Patriarch, who would not make Images nor humane Figures, for fear they ſhould be abus'd, contented himſelf with ſignifying Myſteries by Letters, or by the different Names of God; whereas the *Ægyptians* pictur'd [b] Men, Women, and Birds, and diſguis'd their Religion under the Repreſentations of different Animals, which they drew upon the Walls of their Grotto's and Temples, and Tables conſecrated to the Service of the Gods. This is what *Ezechiel* [c] alludes to, when he ſays that God having commanded him to *dig in the Wall, he ſaw ſeveral*

[a] Kirker Oed. Ægypt. Gymnaſ. Hierogl. Claſs. iv. c. 4. t. 2. p. 231. [b] *See* Menſa Iſiaca Pignorii. [c] Ezech. viii. 10.

Forms

Forms of creeping things, and abominable Beasts, and all the Idols of the house of Israel *pourtray'd upon the Wall round about.* According to *Kirker*, [d] the Prophet gave a Description of the Religion of the *Ægyptians*, which the *Jews* in their turn imitated in tract of time.

III. The same *Ægyptians* had receiv'd from *Abraham* the Mysteries of the Trinity, for *Mercurius Trismegistus* teaches that the Unity is the Principle and Root of all things which it produces. He explains himself clearly by saying, *that there was only one spiritual Light, which has always enlightned the Soul,* [*Mens*] *and that their Union is nothing else, but the Spirit, which is the bond of all things.* The Soul, Light, and Spirit, are the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. He adds [e] with *Zoroaster, that God the Father of all things produc'd not the World by his Hands like a Workman, but by the Word; and that this Word which proceeds from him, communicating its Fecundity to Nature, has given Water the power of Generation and Production.* Therefore we not only find one God amongst these antient idolatrous Doctors, but the creation of the Universe by the Word which proceeds from him, and in whom are all things. As *Mercurius Trismegistus* was Contemporary with *Abraham*, there is no reason to doubt but that he learnt from this Patriarch this great Mystery of the Christian Religion; and the *Ægyptians* forthwith made an Emblem of it, which is to be seen at present, representing the Trinity, in the Figure of a Globe wing'd with two Serpents.

IV. When we throughly study the History and Religion of the *Ægyptians*, we find other Mysteries in it, which evidently prove that they drank at the Patriarch's Fountain. Here are some Arguments, which the rather deserve relating, as they have been collected by an Ingenious [f] Critick, and the Veil of a strange Language is an Impediment to their being known as they deserve to be.

First, The *Ægyptians* confess themselves, that the Sciences began not to flourish with them, till after *Osiris* and *Isis*, whom they worshipp'd as two Gods. *Socrates* reporting what he had learnt in *Ægypt*, says *Theuth* was ador'd there, who had taught the Inhabitants the Arts, the use of Letters and the Sciences: And therefore they make him the God of Wisdom and Eloquence; but *Theuth* was *Mercurius Trismegistus*, who is the same with *Moses*. *Osiris* was the Patriarch *Abraham:* And thus the first knowledge of Religion, Arts and Sciences, was brought into these Places by the *Israelites*.

V. It can't be deny'd but *Joseph* liv'd long in *Ægypt*, where he chang'd the Form of Government that *Pharaoh* had committed to him. *Jacob*, who came down thither to embrace his Son, had the pleasure of seeing the flourishing State of this Kingdom, and had many Conferences with the King. The Father and Son taught the *Ægyptians* Astronomy, the Knowledge whereof they retain'd, even after they had corrupted that of God and Religion. *Joseph*, who took care to preserve the Interests of the *Ægyptian* Clergy, would not abandon their Souls after he had fed their Bodies. For can it be imagin'd that he was so diligent to fatten all these Priests, that they might be better able to serve their Idols, and the Devil? This would be a reproach to this Patriarch, who was more sollicitous for the Salvation of their Souls, than the nourishment of their Bodies, and who having given them some political Laws, spread the Knowledge of God, and the *Jewish* Religion; for by his means it was propagated in this Country.

VI. This Knowledge was corrupted some time after the death of *Joseph*, but was restored by *Moses*; for the Scripture does not mention all that he did towards the conversion of the *Ægyptians*, before he left them to themselves. He must have labour'd much in their Conversion, if what *Strabo* says be true, that he was expell'd the Country, for deriding their Gods, and refusing to worship them. Their Commerce with the *Jews* was greatly improv'd, when *Solomon* married *Pharaoh*'s Daughter; and it was impossible but that this Prince's Wisdom was dispers'd in Places where he was so strictly ally'd. *Alexander the Great* plac'd abundance of *Jews* in *Ægypt*, who deriv'd the Waters of the Sanctuary into the famous School of *Alexandria*.

VII. *Manetho* is the most antient of all the *Ægyptian* Historians. 'Tis said that he decypher'd the Inscriptions of the antient Pillars; that he made Extracts from *Mercurius Tresmegistus*'s Books, and from all these Pieces not only compos'd the History of the *Dynasties*, but also of Religion.

This Historian living in the Reign of *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, who had the Bible translated by LXX Interpreters, gives grounds for two Conjectures. One that this Prince who was a great Lover of Learning, being charm'd with the sight of the Scripture-Succession of Mankind from its Original, oblig'd his Priests to compose one like it, in order to confront the antient *Ægyptian* Monuments with the *Jewish*.

This First Conjecture is very probable, to which is added this other, that *Manetho* copy'd the Memoirs of *Joseph* and *Moses*: One of these great Men being *Mercurius Tresmegistus*, and copying the Holy Scripture, disguis'd it under Fables, which the simple and credulous Vulgar had mixt with the Truth. These are the Channels through which the *Jewish* Religion was deriv'd to the *Ægyptians*, but the proof of it would be more manifest, by examining the Religion of these Nations. We will only offer some Sketches of their resemblance, that we may not straggle too far from the Subject we are upon.

VIII. *Socrates* [g] relates, that in his Voyage to *Ægypt* he discours'd the Sages of the Country about the principal Events of the *Grecian* History; concerning *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*'s Deluge, and the Adventures of *Niobe* and *Phoroneus*. The *Ægyptian* laugh'd at the wise Man of *Greece*, and upbraided him with the Juvenile Spirit of his Nation; said they were ignorant of Antiquity, and did not penetrate into Theological Mysteries. The History of *Phäeton*, for Example, so famous among you, said the *Ægyptian*, is not a Fable, but contains a great Mystery; which is, that at the period of certain Revolutions, a great Conflagration happens in the Universe, wherein the Inhabitants of the Mountains are miserable sufferers: But the *Nile*, on whose Banks we descend, guards us from this Calamity, and on the contrary, when the Gods afflict us with too great an Inundation, the Mountains serve for our retreat.

IX. We see that the *Ægyptian* was [h] a *Cabbalist*, who saw farther into the *Grecian* Mysteries than *Socrates* himself, though he was of *Greece*. The *Ægyptian* acknowledg'd too, that there were some great Mysteries conceal'd under the Emblems of *Phäeton*, *Niobe*, *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*; and what

[d] Kirker Oed. Ægypt Theatr. Hierogl. Synt. 1. Mensa Isiaca. c. 2. t. 4. p. 82. [e] Ibid. Anacephalœosis totius operis. c. 1. t. 4. p. 576. [f] Theophilus Gale; *the Court of the* Gentiles; *of Discourse touching the Original of Humane Literature*, &c. *from the Scriptures and* Jewish *Church*, *in* 4° Oxon. 1672. 2 Tom. l. 1. c. 2. p. 38. [g] Socrates apud Platonem in Timæo. p. 524. [h] Gale, ibid. l. 3. c. 6. p. 68.

were

were theſe Myſteries! *Phaeton* repreſented the burning of *Sodom*; *Niobe*, *Lot*'s Wife changed into a Pillar of Salt; *Deucalion*'s Deluge, was *Noah*; and *Phoroneus*, was *Pharaoh* drowned in the red Sea. All theſe were Truths derived from the *Jews*, and myſtically taught the People both in *Ægypt* and *Greece*.

X. *Clemens Alexandrinus* * who grew old in the moſt famous School of *Ægypt*, and muſt have been very well acquainted with the Rites of the *Ægyptians*, relates, "That in the front of their Ceremo-" nies appear'd a Singer with an Inſtrument of " Muſick in his Hand, and two Books of *Mercurius* " *Triſmegiſtus*, one whereof contain'd Hymns, and " the other the Rule of the Kings. The Aſtrono-" mer followed, holding a Dial and a Palm with " four Books of Aſtrology, compoſed by *Mercurius* " The *Scribe* came after, carrying a Pen in his Ear, " a Book and a writing Desk in his Hand: His bu-" ſineſs was to know the Art of the Hieroglyphicks, " the Deſcription of the *Nile*, *&c.* A fourth appear-" ed with a Chalice to make Libations, who was to " be well verſed in all that related to Victims, Sa-" crifices, *&c.* And all the Devotion of the *Egyptians* conſiſts in Prayers, Hymns, Sacrifices, Feſtivals, and the oblations of firſt Fruits.

XI. "Here we ſee, ſays Dr. *Gale* [a], the Rites of " the *Jews*, who had alſo their Chanters; their ſo " famous Scribes; their Cup in the Sacrifices; their " Shew Bread; their Victims; their Feaſts, *&c.*

Not to go to confute every one of theſe Articles, it may be here obſerved, that it is not ſufficient to meet with Singers and Prieſts, Sacrifices and Libations, among the *Jews* as well as the *Ægyptians*; ſince theſe things were common to all Religions; as it is not enough to find two Men with a Noſe and Eyes; to conclude that one is the Son of the other, or that they have any great reſemblance. We muſt enquire whether the *Ægyptians* did not differently Cloath, and give their Singer and Scribe a different Office. Did the *Jewiſh* Chanters carry *Triſmegiſtus*'s Books into the Temple? Were there any Aſtronomers with a Dyal in their Hand? was it the Office of the Scribe to decipher the Hieroglyphicks of the Temple and Altar? Theſe are all Characters of diſtinction, which ſhew a manifeſt difference betwixt theſe Religions. A Proceſſion has been diſcovered [b] made to the Honour of *Iſis*, in which a Woman carries a muſical inſtrument like thoſe which the *Jews* employ in chanting their Pſalms: Another has Palm-branches, a third a Globe in her Hands. Shall we ſay that this was the Feaſt of Tabernacles in which they carried Branches, played on Inſtruments, and ſung Pſalms, and praiſed God, the Author of the Univerſe? But the ſame Proceſſion preſents us with ſome manifeſt Characters of Heatheniſm; for one of the Women bears the Statue of Horns; another carries that of *Harpocrates* and *Iſis*: Laſtly, we find the Figure of an Ox, which was the Symbol of the *Ægyptians*. We muſt not therefore be dazled with ſome Ceremonies that are found in all Religions, and may be common to the true as well as falſe; but we muſt examine the whole Rite, to paſs an unprejudiced judgment.

XII. Dr. *Gale* does not ſtop at theſe general reflexions; but examines the Divinities ſo famous among the *Ægyptians*, and finds *Adam* in *Oſiris*, and *Eve* in *Iſis*: For God gave her the Name *Iſcha*, which is near a-kin to that of *Iſis*. In the ſame *Oſiris* he diſcovers *Abraham*, whoſe Name was celebrated for bringing from *Chaldea* the Knowledge of Aſtronomy and the true Religion. He eſpecially diſcovers in the ſame Divinity, *Moſes* the *Hebrew* Legiſlator, 'Tis ſaid that *Oſiris* was buried in an Iſland of the *Nile*, becauſe *Moſes* in the Bulruſh Ark was expoſed upon the Waters of this River; *Hercules* was *Oſiris*'s General, which is the Scripture *Joſhua*, that commanded *Moſes*'s Army. *Oſiris* had with him *Anubis*, who is commonly painted with a Dog's Head, becauſe he wore a Dog's Skin; this relates to the Name of *Caleb*. *Pan* made War under *Oſiris*, which *Pan* is the Meſſiah, who conducted the People of *Iſrael* in the deſart. *Oſiris* is repreſented with Horns, like *Moſes*; becauſe the reflexions of Light are miſtaken for Horns.

Laſtly [a] another God is conjoyned with *Oſiris*, which might be the Sun, becauſe his Name ſignifies Light: But this is *Aaron Moſes*'s Brother. I queſtion whether theſe correſpondencies between *Moſes* and *Oſiris* will appear very manifeſt; but I am obliged to relate them, as having taken upon me to repreſent the Arguments of this Author. Let us farther obſerve, that *Thoth* (the God, whom the *Phenicians* brought into the very Heart of *Germany*) was the *Mercury* of the *Ægyptians*: the Inventor of Arts and Sciences, and likewiſe the *Moſes* of the *Hebrews*.

XIII. Some Criticks fancy that *Apis* was a King of *Memphis*, who having fed his Subjects in a time of Famine, that depopulated the Country, was after his Death worſhipp'd by them in the Figure of an Ox. Not only becauſe it was the cuſtom of the *Ægyptians* to conſecrate certain Creatures to their Heroes, and that an Ox which is imploy'd in Agriculture, was a proper Emblem to keep up the Memory of a King that had fed them; but becauſe in the *Ægyptian* Tongue *Apis* ſignifies an Ox. The majority both of *Jews* and Chriſtians imagine, that it was *Joſeph*, who was worſhipped under this Similitude; and therefore the *Iſraelites* were the eaſier induced to give him divine Honours in the Deſart. *Pharaoh* had highly honoured *Joſeph*; he call'd him his Father *Ab*; whence came the Name of *Apis*. Beſides, *Joſeph* nouriſh'd the People. We ſhall not ſtand to diſcuſs all theſe Opinions, it being ſufficient to obſerve, that Dr. *Gale* maintains the latter; and at the ſame time aſſerts, that *Joſeph* might be the *Ægyptians Thoth*, or *Triſmegiſtus*.

XIV. Some believe [c] that *Typhon*, terrible in *Ægypt* for the miſchiefs he did the Inhabitants, was the Serpent *Python* which *Apollo* kill'd, from whence he took the Name of *Pythian*, and indeed *Python* is made by the Anagram of *Typhon*; but they ſee in the ſame cruel and barbarous God, *Og* the King of *Baſhan*. It has been ſaid that *Typhon* was plunged into the bottomleſs gulphs, which the *Jews* believed to be the Manſions of the Giants and Anakins; for they call'd the Aſſembly of the Giants Hell. They ſaid likewiſe that *Typhon* was drown'd in a Lake, or in the River *Orontes*, which was taken from *Job* [d], who ſays the Giants ſuffer in the Water. Moreover, they commonly picture *Typhon* with Serpents, becauſe it was the cuſtom of the *Hebrews* to call the Giants and their Enemies Servants and Dragons. They add too [e] that the Serpent ſtop'd *Apollo* in his March, when he went to *Delphi*. *Og* the King of *Baſan* oppoſed *Joſhua*, in his march to *Shilo*, and there is ſo great an Affinity betwixt *Shilo* and *Delphi*, that it can't be doubted but it is one and the ſame place. The *Greek* Poets have attributed even the very Bed of *Og*, King of *Baſhan*, to *Typhon*, that no ſtroke of reſemblance

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. p. 633. [a] Gale ib. t. 2. l 1. c. 2. p. 30. [b] Colomna in hortis Medicæis montis pinciari apud Kirkerum Oedip. Ægyp. Templum Iſiac. c. 9. t. 1. p. 225. [c] Gale ibid. p. 1. l. 2. c. 7. p. 94. [d] Dickinſon Delphi Phenicisantes c. 1, 2. p. 1. ad 20. in faſciculo. 1. [e] Job. 26. 5. [f] Δαιμόνι & ἠν ἀγνοσόφις Callim.

might be wanting. There, ſays *Homer*, [f] were the Beds of *Typhon*.

Εἰν ἀριμοις ὅθι φάσι Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς.

Theſe Beds were in *Arama*, a Mountain, which ſome place in [g] *Cilicia*, and others in *Lydia*; but it was in *Syria*; for *Aram* the Son of *Sem*, was the Father of the *Syrians*; and the *Greeks* muſt needs believe, that *Typhon* died in that Country; ſince they caſt him into the River *Orontes*. This is ſtill far from the places of *Joſhua*'s March, but a verſe of *Homer* inſenſibly brings them nearer. *Typhon* was killed

Χώρῳ ἔνι δρυόεντι Τάης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ.

At Tde in a place full of Oaks, in the midſt of a fat People. If we inquire for a place full of Oaks, and a People fatned with Proſperity; we ſhall find this to be the People of *Canaan*, where there were Oaks in abundance. The Oak of *Abraham*; the Foreſt of *Sichem* are well known; and the Inhabitants were an happy People. There needs no more then, but to correct the Text, corrupted by the Tranſcribers, and make it *Judæa*; for *Tde* is *Judæa* [h], and thus the *Typhon* of the *Ægyptians* and *Greeks*, will appear in his proper ſhape, *Og* the King of *Baſhan*.

XV. As for Dr. *Gale* [i] he immediately Conjectures, that the *Ægyptians* repreſented the Devil under the Name of *Typhon*; for they ſuppoſed this haughty and cruel Prince had made War with *Jupiter*, who with a Thunderbolt plunged him into the Abyſs of Fire under Mount *Ætna*, which ſtill ſends out eruptions of Flames. And what's this, but the Hiſtory of the Angels, and the Devil thrown into Hell, according to St. *Peter*? His very Name comes from *Topbet*, that Valley of *Canaan* ſo infamous under the Name of *Gehinnon*, becauſe of the Fires made in it to burn the Children to Aſhes that were offered to the falſe Gods; and this word ſignifies to *burn*. [k]

XV. Mean while this *Typhon* may be alſo *Moſes*, whom the *Ægyptians* hated for the Plagues which he had brought on their Nation. They ſaid that *Typhon* the Son of a Queen, had been ſhut up in a Cheſt; that afterwards the command of all the Creatures was given him; but not content with that, he raiſed an Army, which he divided into thirteen different Bodies, with which he made War upon the Gods. This is the Hiſtory of *Moſes*; for he paſs'd for the Son of the *Ægyptian* Princeſs: He was put into an Ark upon the Banks of the *Nile*. *Jethro* committed his Flocks to his keeping: He divided the People of *Iſrael* into thirteen Tribes, ſubdividing that of *Joſeph* into two. Laſtly, he made War upon the *Ægyptian* Gods. Since he oppoſed their Idols.

XVII. Beſides the diverſity of Conjectures about this Divinity, there is a general defect in the Arguments; which is, that *Moſes* is fit for every thing. He is the *Oſiris*, or the *Beneficent* God of the *Ægyptians*; he is at the ſame time the Devil; he that does them good and hurt, whom they both worſhip and deteſt. *Joſeph* is at once *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* and *Apis*. 'Tis not probable the *Ægyptians* ſhould make a God and a Devil of the ſame Man, or even different Perſons of him. The Idolaters accumulated the Actions of many upon the ſame Hero to excite the admiration of the People with the Narrative of a more illuſtrious Life; but they did not divide the Subjects: If *Moſes* therefore with all his Characters, and bright Actions of his Life be found in an *Ægyptian* Deity, they ought to fix there; and not to proceed to Metamorphoſe him into *Typhon* and *Triſmegiſtus*; for otherwiſe it ſeems that *Moſes* may ſerve for every thing. If it be ſaid that the Idolaters, to diſguiſe his Hiſtory, have diſtributed to each of their Divinities a little portion of his Life, as the Superſtitious divide the Relicks of a Saint into different places; it muſt then be confeſs'd, that it is very hard to diſcover a *Moſes* ſo odly diſguiſed, and we are no ſurer of finding him in the *Ægyptian* Gods, than the Relicks of the Saints, in the ſeveral places that pretend to them. But this is a Reflexion only by the by. Let us end Dr. *Gale*'s Syſtem.

XVIII. The *Egyptians*, [l] when they had borrowed their Heroes and Saints from the *Jews*, and made their Gods of them, derived from them alſo the way of teaching Religion to the People. And indeed every Body knows the extream fondneſs of the *Perſians*, *Medes*, *Syrians*, and *Chaldeans*, for Fables and Mythology. This was ſuitable to the Infancy of the World, and the times wherein the Rules of Hiſtory were yet unknown. However, we muſt not imagine that theſe Antient Nations groſly believed and propagated the Fables, that have come down to us. This was an agreeable way of teaching and ſhadowing ſome important Truths under Emblems and Allegories. *Voſſius* [m] Apologizing for *Diodorus Siculus* obſerves, that the antient Stories that to us ſeem fabulous and ridiculous, comprehended ſome great Events; as the Deluge, and the building the Tower of *Babel*, mention'd by *Beroſus*, *Alexander*, *Polyhiſtor*, *Mnaſeas*, and others. He adds, that 'tis no wonder that theſe antient Compilers of miraculous Stories, often contradict themſelves; becauſe 'tis impoſſible but theſe Matters ſhould be diverſifyed in ſo long a tract of Years and Ages; it being ſufficient that they ſometimes are conſiſtent. *Fable*, ſays *Ariſtotle*, *preſents an Event that cauſes Admiration:* No wonder then that the *Ægyptians*, and other Nations of the Idolatrous World, borrowed their Fables from the Scripture. 1. Becauſe we find there a great many miraculous Events, fit to raiſe the Admiration of Men. 2. We find alſo in the Law abundance of Types and Ceremonies, under which God conceal'd the moſt important Truths of Religion, from whence the Idolaters learnt to veil their Myſteries and their Gods; ſuch is the ſource of the *Ægyptian Cabbala*.

[f] Homer Iliad 2. p. 89. [g] Didymus Scholia ibid. [h] Ibid. p. 13. Τάης read Ιάδα. [i] Ibid. c. 4. p. 51. [k] *Hence according to Mr.* Bochart, *comes the* Greek *word* Τύφειν ardere. *He believes alſo that* Typhon *was* Moſes, *and has fancied ſome correſpondences betwixt them.* V. Bochart, Hierozoicon. [l] Gale ib. p. 1. l. 3. c. 2. p. 32. [m] Voſſi. de Hiſtor. Gr. l. 2. c. 2. p. 168.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

A different Syſtem oppoſed to the foregoing, concerning the Theology of the Ægyptians. *They were the Inventors of their Gods and* Cabbala.

I. *THE Deſign of this Chapter.* II. *A gap in the Line of Communication betwixt the* Jews *and* Ægyptians. III. *The* Ægyptians *jealous of their Religion, did not borrow that of others.* IV. *An Argument taken from the Chriſtians living in* Ægypt. V. *The Original of the* Ægyptians *Error about their Antiquity.* VI. *The time in which the firſt of their Kings lived.* VII. *Whether* Chus *brought Idolatry into* Ægypt. VIII. Menes *cotemporary with* Cham *or* Miſraiim, *the Author of the* Ægyptian *Religion.* IX. *The Deluge unknown to the* Ægyptian *Sages.* X. *An Argument taken from* Socrates's *converſation.* XI. *The Deluge mention'd by* Diodorus Siculus, *different from* Noah's. XII. *Whether* Prometheus *was* Noah. XIII. *An Abſtract of the Truths preſerved by the* Ægyptians. XIV. Cham *was* Jupiter Ammon. XV. *Of the Writings of* Mercurius Triſmegiſtus: *Whether he changed his Religion in* Ægypt. XVI. *The Exiſtence of a God always owned.* XVII. *The Notion of a ſupream God, who did not create the World.* XVIII. *A ſecond God the Author of the World: His deſcription in an Oracle.* XIX. *The uſe and neceſſity of Symbols and Emblems.* XX. *The Sun the Image of the Divinity.* XXI. Triſmegiſtus's *parallel betwixt the Sun and God.* XXII. Oſiris *was the Sun.* XXIII. *And ſo was* Serapis. XXIV. Mitras. XXV. *Several Figures of* Harpocrates *explain'd.* XXVI. Oſiris *turn'd into an Hero.* XXVII. *A myſtical explication of his Hiſtory.*

I. HAving expoſed to view the Syſtem of the Criticks, who conſider the *Jewiſh* Religion as the ſource of all the reſt, and the method of the *Cabbaliſts* as the Plan, which all Nations have copied, it is reaſonable to oppoſe our Conjectures to them, and to ſhew that the *Ægyptians* were the firſt *Cabbaliſts* of the World; that they have carried this Science farther than any other Nation, and that after they had invented their Gods, they found out this method of teaching Religion to the People.

II. Firſt, 'tis taking pains to no purpoſe, to ſeek for Lines of Communication betwixt the *Jewiſh* and *Ægyptian* Doctors: For not to reckon thoſe terrible gaps of four or five hundred Years, from one Perſon to another; from *Abraham* and *Joſeph*, to *Moſes*; from *Moſes*, to *Solomon*; from *Solomon*, to *Alexander the Great* [a], though we allowed the commerce of theſe Doctors to have been much more frequent, it can't be thence concluded, that the one borrowed their Religion of the other.

III. And indeed the *Ægyptians*, conceited of their Antiquity, their Knowledge, and the fineneſs of their Wits, had a contemptible regard for other Nations, and look'd upon the *Jews* as Slaves, that had long ſtoop'd under their Yoke, before they ſhook it off. Men commonly receive their Gods from their Maſters, but ſeldom if ever, take them from the Hands of their Slaves. 'Tis obſerved as a thing extraordinary in this Nation, that *Serapis* was brought from another Country into *Ægypt*. This was the only Divinity they took up from Strangers; and even this is a conteſted Fact, ſince the Worſhip of *Serapis* ſeems much antienter in *Ægypt*, than the time of *Ptolomeus Lagus*, wherein this Tranſlation was made from *Sinope* to *Alexandria*. The Worſhip of *Iſis* was convey'd to *Rome*, but the Gods of the *Romans* never came into *Ægypt*, though they were its Conquerors and Maſters.

IV. The Chriſtians lived much longer in *Ægypt* than the *Jews*; where they had Biſhops and Doctors of extraordinary Learning. And their Religion not only flouriſh'd there, but was often ſupported by the Supreme Authority: And yet the *Ægyptians*, with our Rites and Ceremonies before their Eyes, maintain'd a ſcrupulous adherence to thoſe of their Anceſtors; neither adding to the bulk of their Religion with our obſervances, nor admitting them into their Worſhip. How then can we imagine, that *Abraham*, *Joſeph*, and *Moſes*, had the Art to perſuade the *Ægyptians* to relinquiſh their old Superſtitions, for the Religion of the *Jews*, whilſt the Chriſtian Church, which had ſo great a Commerce, and near a Neighbourhood with the *Ægyptian* Idolaters, could make no impreſſion on them, by the Miniſtry of ſo vaſt a number of Biſhops and Learned Men, in the ſpace of ſo many Centuries? *Socrates* relates, how devoted the *Ægyptians* of his Time were to their Temples, Ceremonies, and Myſteries. We don't find any track of Chriſtianity, in the deſcriptions of their Religion, which *Macrobius*, or *Clemens Alexandrinus* and others have given us: How then do they obſerve ſome evident Characters of Judaiſm in it?

Beſides, it is not enough to diſcover ſome ſhadow of reſemblance between two Religions, or two Writers, to conclude that one proceeded, or ſtole from the other; becauſe there are ſome notions of Religion, which are common to moſt Nations, as there are ſome thoughts incident to the Minds of ſeveral Writers. An Example will demonſtratively prove it.

The Church of *Rome* worſhips Saints and Images, and the Proteſtants diſcover the Origine of this worſhip in Heatheniſm. And indeed there are twenty reſemblances betwixt them; which can't be denied. In the mean time the Chriſtians that pray to Saints, did not adopt the Worſhip of the Heathens. They invented it themſelves; and on that reſpect there is a conformity betwixt the two Religions, tho' one was not the Parent of the other. Their Admiration of the Martyrs conſtancy, and the ſervice it did the Church and God himſelf, made them fancy they had a more immediate acceſs to him than great Sinners. They imagin'd, that the Saints ſhortned the paſſage betwixt us and God; the Soul has no occaſion to fly ſo high as the Supreme Being, who is at an infinite diſtance from her; but ſhe reſts her ſelf by the way upon theſe Mediators, who are Men as our ſelves. Images were placed in Temples by way of Ornament; to revive the Memory of the antient Heroes of Chriſtianity, and to be the Book of the Ignorant. If we compare Popery with Paganiſm; their Heroes turn'd into Tutelar Gods of every Kingdom, Province, Profeſſion or Family; we ſhall find not only the Worſhip of the *Romiſh* Saints, and Heathen Heroes, to be grounded upon the ſame reaſon; but the parts of this Worſhip and Ceremonies attending it to be alike: Yet who will venture to ſay that the Chriſtians, who firſt paid their Devotions to Saints, or Images ſought after the Books of the antient Heathens to form their Worſhip by them, and took ſo infamous an Idolatry for a Mo-

[a] *From* Abraham *to* Moſes *are reckon'd* 430 *Years*; *from* Moſes *to* Solomon 480 *Years*; *from* Solomon *to* Alexander *near* 600 *Years*.

del of their own? We muſt do the *Heathens* the ſame Juſtice, and not imagine them perpetual Plagiaries of the *Jews*; becauſe they have ſome little Parts of their Religion reſembling that of the People of God: Moſt commonly, theſe are only Proportions artfully adjuſted, and very hard to be diſcern'd.

Theſe Inſtances ſhould convince us, that it was not ſufficient for one Theologiſt, as *Abraham* or *Moſes*, to have travell'd from one Country to another; nor even for two Religions to be Neighbours, to ſuppoſe them transform'd and incorporated into each other. There is no certainty of the *Ægyptian* Religion's being grafted upon that of the *Jews*, becauſe we diſcover ſome Touches of reſemblance in them, or ſome Line of Communication betwixt theſe Nations by means of the *Phenicians* or the Patriarchs.

V. The *Ægyptians* deluded themſelves with the Notion of an Antiquity which they had not; when finding in their ancient Monuments a long Catalogue of Kings who had govern'd in this Country, they have drawn them out into a continued Succeſſion, which multiplies their Number, and their Years, or rather Ages of their Duration. They were not willing to reflect that *Ægypt* had been divided into three Parts, the Upper whereof *Memphis* was the Capital, the Lower, where the *Iſraelites* ſettled, near *Heliopolis*, by *Joſeph*'s Direction, and the *Thebais*, to which the City *Thebes*, ſo celebrated by the Poets for its largeneſs and beauty, gave its Name: Each of theſe Kingdoms had its reſpective Kings. They might too have been ſubdivided, ſince we are convinc'd from the Deſcription of the neighbouring Country of *Canaan*, that every City had its King. They have therefore unreaſonably augmented the number of their Kings, by bringing all the Kings of theſe Three disjointed Kingdoms into One Liſt, and making them ſucceed one another, though they were Cotemporaries, or as we may ſay Collaterals, which Deception is the Original of the Antiquity, the *Ægyptians* ſo much plume themſelves upon.

VI. But notwithſtanding all their Errors, they fail not to ſettle a fix'd Period, comporting with the Sacred Hiſtory. For they ſay that *Menes* was the firſt of their Kings, from whoſe Reign they reckon a thouſand four hundred Years to *Seſac*, or *Seſoſtris*, who beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*, in the Reign of *Roboboam*. This Computation is exact enough, for by riſing Fourteen hundred Years upwards from this Siege to *Menes*, we come pretty near the [a] Deluge; and this firſt King of *Ægypt* appears to be *Cham*, *Noah*'s Son, who peopl'd *Africa*. *Miſraiim*, *Cham*'s Son was undoubtedly King of *Ægypt*, ſince that Country goes by his Name in the Sacred Writers.

VII. I ſhall not inſiſt upon what *Gregory* of *Tours* [b] ſays, that *Chus*, *Cham*'s Son, *driven by the Devil*, eſtabliſh'd Idolatry and Magick, before unknown: "That he was the firſt that erected a Statue to "be worſhipp'd. Having made a League with the "Devil, he brought down Fire and Stars from the "Firmament: He went to the *Perſians*, and taught "them to worſhip the Fire; and after his death, "they ador'd him under the Name of *Zoroaſter*, "*or the living Star*. *Kirker* [c] produces a long Paſſage out of *Mor-Iſaac*, a *Maronite*, who imputes the ſame thing to the Children of *Cam*. He adds, that they plac'd Statues upon Pillars, and the tops of Walls, which by the Art of the Demons ſpoke, and anſwer'd when they were enquir'd of, or were offer'd Victims; and taught what was tranſacting in foreign Parts. *Laſtly*, He aſſerts, that theſe particular Cuſtoms of the *Ægyptians* ſpread over all the World. If this be true, the *Ægyptians*, inſtead of deriving the true Religion from *Noah*'s Sons, learnt of them to corrupt it, and worſhip Idols. But 'tis better to remain in our preſent uncertainty as to the Religion of *Chus* and *Miſraiim*, and content our ſelves with Two Obſervations.

VIII. *Firſt*, That *Menes* having been King of all *Ægypt*, (which was not divided, till under his Succeſſors) Four hundred Years before *Abraham*, and a great deal more before *Joſeph*, it is not conceivable, that the *Ægyptians* liv'd without any Religion and Worſhip the ſpace of Five hundred Years. Therefore their Religion was much anci-enter than the Patriarchs; and 'tis in vain to attempt to make their Gods of a more modern Extraction, by confounding them with *Abraham* and *Moſes*. *Abraham* muſt have chang'd the Religion of theſe Idolaters, during a very ſhort ſtay among them, and have made himſelf ſo conſiderable in the Nation, as to be worſhipp'd after his death, to the prejudice of its Kings and Heroes. In the mean time not one of theſe things is prov'd, and it muſt be own'd that not one of them is probable.

IX. If *Cham*, or his Children had eſtabliſh'd a Religion in *Ægypt*, that continued there, we ſhould find in all the antient Monuments of this Country an Emblem of the Deluge, rather than of other leſs conſiderable Events of the Sacred Story. For which there is this manifeſt reaſon, that *Cham* having remain'd ſo long in the Ark, could not forget to acquaint his Poſterity with a Judgment, that was the Conſequence of the Sins and Idolatry of the firſt World. Yet we don't ſee that the univerſal Deluge had a place in the Hiſtory, Religion, or *Cabbala* of the *Ægyptians*.

X. *Socrates*'s Converſation with a learned *Ægyptian* [d] demonſtratively proves it; for having inform'd the *Grecian* Philoſopher, that the great Diſaſters the World is threatned with, will happen by Conflagrations and Inundations, he obſerves, that when the Earth lies under Water, the *Ægyptians* have a great advantage above the other Nations of the World, becauſe then the Shepherds, inhabiting the Mountains are ſecure. Therefore it was not believ'd in *Ægypt* that there had been a Flood, that roſe above the tops of the Mountains; but he farther obſerves, that in *Ægypt* the Water never falls from Heaven, and that the Inundations proceed from the over-flowing of the *Nile*, and the Waters that proceed from the Bowels of the Earth. In a Word, He makes an oppoſition betwixt his Country and *Greece*, where *Deucalion*'s Deluge was divulg'd. *Laſtly*, He aſſerts that *Ægypt* was ſafe from great Inundations, and therefore the antient Monuments and Pillars long ſince erected, were ſtill ſeen ſubſiſting. A learned Man that had had any Idea of *Noah*'s Flood, for which the Cataracts of Heaven were open'd, and the Rain pour'd down for ſo many Days together, which had cover'd the higheſt Mountains, and buried thoſe that fled to them as a ſafe Retreat; could never have ſpoke thus. Whence it appears, that only the Inundations of the *Nile* were known in this Country, which were carefully meaſur'd.

XI. *Diodorus Siculus* [e] ſpeaks of a Deluge that happen'd in *Ægypt* in *Prometheus*'s Reign; but he obſerves, that it was the *Nile*, that burſting its Banks, overflow'd one Part of the Country, and particularly that where *Prometheus* reign'd, and deſtroy'd part of his Subjects. *Prometheus*, the King of one Part of *Ægypt*, has nothing in common with

[a] *The Deluge happen'd in the Year* 1657, *and* Jeruſalem *was beſieg'd by* Seſac, *King of* Ægypt, *in the* 3033 *Year of the World.* [b] Gregor. Tur. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 5. p. 6. [c] Mor. Iſaac de Studiis Philoſoph. apud Kirker Oed. Ægypt. Temp. Iſiac. t. 1. p. 171. [d] Plato in Timæo. p. 524. [e] Diod. Sic. Hiſt. l. 1.

Noah. The overflowing of the *Nile*, that only overflows ſome neighbouring Banks; a Province of a little Kingdom, wherein part of his Subjects eſcape the violence of the Water, can't be taken for the Deluge that overwhelm'd the whole Earth, and had quite another Cauſe than the ſwelling of a River. Here we neither ſee *Prometheus* that only eſcapes with his Family, nor an Ark, ſerving for a Veſſel, nor the reſtoration of Mankind by this ſingle Man. On the contrary, the *Ægyptian* Hiſtory ſays *Oſiris* employ'd *Hercules* to reduce the *Nile* to its wonted Channel. They were ſo perſuaded, that the antient Inundation, which was [f] preſerved in remembrance, proceeded from the *Nile*, that the ſubſequent Kings took Precautions againſt its overflowings. *Seſoſtris* rais'd ſome ſtrong Banks near the Cities; *Sabacon* ſtill added to their height. But eſpecially great Mounds were rais'd near to *Bubaſta*, which had been the greateſt Sufferer, becauſe it was ſituate in the lower *Ægypt*.

Qua [g] *dividui pars maxima Nili,*
Ad vada decurrit peluſia, ſeptimus amnis.

XII. However ſome will have it, that *Prometheus*, [h] was *Noah*; that *Herodotus* calls this Prince's Wife *Aſia*, and that *Noah*'s Wife was certainly an *Aſiatick*. Beſides, we find a Deluge under *Prometheus*, as under *Noah*. But are theſe Arguments? Muſt all the Kings, in whoſe Countries Inundations have happen'd, or ſhall happen, be ſo many *Noah*'s? Is it ſufficient that *Noah*'s Wife was born in *Aſia*, to confound her with *Prometheus*'s Wife, who had that Name. *Laſtly*, Don't we ſee that the Fable of *Prometheus* has no affinity with the Hiſtory of this Patriarch? And therefore other [i] learned Men think that *Prometheus* was *Magog*, the Son of *Japhet*, who ſettled with his Family upon Mount *Caucaſus*, where the Fable ſays, that *Prometheus* was bound. As this Mountain has two ſubterraneous Fires in it, he was accus'd of ſtealing Fire from Heaven, and carrying it thither. *Laſtly*, *Magog* ſignifies *Conſumption*, which agrees with the Story of a Vulture's eating *Prometheus*'s Liver. This Conjecture is perhaps as ſubtle as the other, but this diverſity of Opinions ſhews at leaſt that *Noah* is not manifeſtly *Prometheus*; and that the Deluge of the one is very different from the other's.

The univerſal Deluge therefore was not known to the *Ægyptians*. And if this Truth was ſo buried among them, as to leave no Footſteps of it, how is it likely to find the other Events of the Sacred Hiſtory, the Types and Shadows of the Law?

XIII. And indeed the Hiſtory of Events, which *Cham* and his Children publiſh'd, were quickly forgot in *Ægypt*, but they preſerved much longer ſome general Principles of Religion; as the Exiſtence of a God, the Creation of the World; the Immortality of the Soul, and the knowledge of a miſchievous Principle. Nor is it any wonder, that theſe fundamental Truths that were taught by *Cham*, were not ſo ſoon forgotten as the reſt, becauſe theſe are Principles that are common to all Religions, without which Religion periſhes, or very difficultly ſubſiſts.

XIV. In the mean time a conſiderable change happen'd after the death of *Cham*; for the *Ægyptians*, in profound Gratitude to the Hero, whom they conſider'd as the Founder and Father of their Kings, worſhipp'd and deify'd him, who was afterwards known by the Name of *Hammon*. They afterwards referr'd the Worſhip that was paid him, to the Sun; whether they had forgotten that *Cham* was the Founder of the Nation, or that their Devotion for this Luminary engroſs'd moſt part of the other Worſhips: Certainly [k] *Hammon* was repreſented with Horns, and worſhipp'd in this Figure, like the Sun: Let us not be accuſed here of making Conjectures like thoſe we are confuting; for 'tis own'd that *Cham* and *Ham* are the ſame thing. *Plato* [l] obſerves, that there was a King of *Thebes* in the upper *Ægypt*, who ruled over all the Country, who was worſhipp'd by the Inhabitants, and ſtyl'd by the *Greeks*, *The God Hammon*. Here you have the Deſcription of *Cham*, or *Menes* King of *Thebes*, and all *Ægypt*, which was not divided among his Children till after his Death and Deification. As he became famous, each Nation in proceſs of Time gave him different Names, according to the Genius of its Language; but he preſerved that of *Cham*, or *Hammon* in *Africa*,

Διὸς κεκλήμενος Ἄμμων.

And the *Greeks* themſelves, who gave him the Title of *Jupiter*, left him ſtill his antient Name, that ſpecified his Original. The *Jupiter Hammon*, who had ſo famous a Temple in *Egypt*, was the *Cham* of the *Hebrews*. *Philaſtrius*, who has confounded him with the *Pharaoh* that was drown'd in the *Red-Sea*, is groſly miſtaken: For *Hammon* was *Cham* the firſt *Ægyptian* Hero, the Founder of their Monarchy and Religion, whom in Gratitude they made a God.

XV. Some time after there appear'd among them a ſecond Inſtructor call'd *Thoth*, or *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, to whom is aſcribed the Invention of Arts and Sciences. 'Twas he that invented Writing, which was a thing not known before. Which ſhews that he can't be conſider'd either as *Moſes* or *Joſeph*, ſince there were Books already written, and Pyramids whereon they drew Figures repreſenting publick Events. To him they aſcribe a prodigious number of Books: *Seleucus* reckons Two thouſand. *Manetho*, who was an *Ægyptian*, makes the number conſiderably greater, which has given occaſion to the Criticks to ſay they were only Verſes; or that inſtead of Books we muſt underſtand *the Revolutions of the Heavens*, or the *Years* of the *Ægyptian Dynaſties*, as if *Mercury*, who liv'd a long time before the end of theſe *Dynaſties*, could have ſpecified the Years of them. The number of Books might be enhanced, becauſe the *Ægyptians* took a pride to paſs their Works under *Mercury*'s Name. But rather than impertinently to confound, *the Revolutions of the Stars* with *Books*, or to run into Conjectures, let it only be obſerved, that theſe Books were but little Diſcourſes about Nature and Religion, which an Author might carry up to the number of Two thouſand, without fatiguing himſelf to death.

It ſignifies little to know whether it was he that gave the Form to the *Ægyptian* Religion, and made freſh Alterations to the Truths which were taught by *Cham*. 'Tis impoſſible to pierce through the Obſcurity of ſo many Ages; however, this Honour has been aſcribed to him for above Two thouſand Years. The *Ægyptians* have always ſaid, that he was the Miniſter of *Oſiris*, the Favourite of the Gods. Perhaps he might ſpread this Report himſelf, to give a greater Authority to the Religion he eſtabliſh'd, which is the Artifice of Innovators. The moſt antient *Greek* Authors that have ſpoken of him, follow the *Ægyptians*. *Jamblicus* has diſcover'd the Principles of his myſtical Theology, and though he never ſaw *Triſmegiſtus*'s Books,

[f] Herodot. l. 2. c. 137. [g] Lucan. Pharſal. l. 8. [h] Gale ibid. l. 2. c. 6. p. 73. [i] Stillingfleet. Origin. Sacr. l. 3. c. 5. p. 594. Bochart Phaleg. l. 1. c. 2. [k] Corniger Ammon. [l] Plato in Pharo p. 1241.

which

which muſt have been loſt before his Time, yet we can't deny him the Glory of having derived what he ſays out of ſome Fragments and Extracts that were ſtill in being. But not to dwell upon *Triſmegiſtus* or *Thoth*, it is ſtill certain that the change was brought into the *Ægyptian* Worſhip before *Joſeph* and *Moſes*. Let us ſee what this change was.

XVI. *Firſt*, The Idea of a Supreme God, which *Cham* had left was ſtill preſerved: If this Father of the Nation ſhall not be allowed to have left his Children the Knowledge of a God, that will not affect us, ſince they might have this Notion of a Firſt Principle from the Light of Nature, without the aſſiſtance of Revelation or Tradition. In ſhort, there's no need of deſcending to *Abraham* or *Moſes*, to find this Firſt Foundation of Divinity.

XVII. *Mercury* call'd [m] "This Supream Being, "One only God, who exiſted before the Firſt God, "and was immovable, remaining in *the ſolitude of* "*his Unity*. It was not he that produced the Univerſe, for he was ſuperior to the Creator and Father of Nature. You are miſtaken, O Men, ſaid *Numenius*, [n] ſpeaking of this Firſt Principle, by imagining God the Creator of Heaven to *be the Firſt, there is another above him.* They placed him in the higheſt Heaven, ſurrounded with thick Clouds, which rendred him inviſible and inacceſſible to the Eyes of Men.

Αυτὸν σ' ἐκ ὁράω περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐσήρκται.

I don't ſee him, for he has a Cloud about him, ſaid *Orpheus*. He was ſo rarely ſpoken of to the People, that 'tis no wonder they forgot him, or did not think of him: But to the ſhame of the Philoſophers, the Vulgar had better Notions in this reſpect than they; ſince there is nothing above the Creator of the Univerſe, unleſs you'll find a ſecond Perſon of the Trinity in this Creator, which Myſtery the Philoſophers never dreamt of.

XVIII. Be it how it will, the *Ægyptians* had a Second Principle inferior to the Firſt, who tho' he never was ſeparate from him, yet he received his Ideas of him. He was no Production, but an Emanation of the Firſt God. He was Father to himſelf: Eſſence and Unity flowed from him as from their Fountain. He was the Agent in the Production of the Univerſe; and therefore was call'd *Demiourgos*, the Framer of the World, a Term well known to the antient Hereticks, who took it from hence.

'Tis ſaid that *Pharaoh* ſeeing himſelf overwhelm'd with the Plagues that *Moſes* had brought upon his Land, ſent to conſult the Oracle of *Memphis* what God it was that did him ſo much miſchief: The Oracle anſwer'd, "That the God of *Iſrael* was a "[o] Light, which proceeded from the God of Hea- "ven, eternal and immortal; more glorious than "any Light, under whom the Heaven and Earth "trembled. A God without Father, Father to "himſelf: A Father, and at the ſame time his own "Son; begotten, taught by himſelf; without Mo- "ther; ſteady, immoveable, whoſe very Name "cannot be expreſs'd. He lives in pure Fire; but "as for us, we are only Angels. This Oracle de- ſerved relating, ſince we find in it the Deſcription of the God we ſeek for.

Lactantius ſays, [p] that this Oracle was deliver'd at *Colophon* in *Ionia*, and he concludes that it is falſe, ſince *Jupiter* had a Father: But it is of little moment to know the Place where theſe Verſes were compoſed; but yet it is ſurprizing that the Heathens had an Idea of the Deity coming up very near to that of the Chriſtians. Moreover this was the current Divinity in *Ægypt*; and therefore *Julius Firmicus* [q] before he embraced the Chriſtian Religion, compoſing his Books of Aſtronomy, and beginning to explain the *Ægyptian* Myſteries, according to their Principles, invok'd *Him that is the Father and Mother of all things; who is beneficent: Father and Son to himſelf:* And this was the ſupreme God, going by the Name *Oſiris*.

XIX. *Mercury* [r] imagin'd that the Gods took delight in ſcreening themſelves behind the Creatures; and that they gave them to Men as ſo many Images, and Symbols of themſelves. Since the Deity lov'd whatever imitated him, and wore the moſt ſenſible Characters of his Power and Greatneſs, they were obliged to reverence and conſecrate the Images that moſt perfectly repreſented him. To which concurr'd [s] another reaſon, *viz.* that the People being incapable of riſing up to the Contemplation of a latent God, they were to repreſent him by ſenſible Objects, the eaſier to inſtruct them. Images are the Books of the Ignorant: And thoſe which Nature furniſhes, and which God himſelf has made, and impreſs'd with his Greatneſs and Beauty, are much more agreeable to him, than thoſe that are faſhion'd by the Hands of the Artiſt.

Purſuant to this Notion the *Ægyptians* made diverſe Symbols of the Second God, whom they conſidered as the Author of the Univerſe. Theſe Symbols and Names did not depend upon the Fancies of Men, but the Deity communicating himſelf to the *Ægyptians* in preference to other Nations, they choſe the propereſt Terms and Symbols to repreſent him. *Would to God*, cries *Jamblicus*, [t] they had never been changed. "Prayers are grown in- "ſignificant, becauſe they have changed the an- "tient Rites. The inconſtant and deſultory *Greeks* "are always innovating, whereas they ſhould re- "ligiouſly obſerve the Inventions of *Ægypt*, after "the Example of the *Barbarians*, who are more "ſteady in their Religion. Here you ſee the O- rigine of the *Cabbala*, whoſe Antiquity is acknowledg'd and apologiz'd for by the *Greeks*.

XX. Of all the Symbols of the Deity, the moſt ſenſible, moſt beautiful, and moſt eloquent, was the Sun; and this was preferr'd by *Mercury*, and the *Ægyptians* before all the reſt. He was called the King of Nature, or the *King* by way of Excel-

[m] Jamblicus de Myſteriis Ægypt. Sect. 8. c. 2. [n] Numenius apud Euſeb. præp. Ev. l. 11. c. 18.

[o] Εσι κατ' ἐρημιοίο Θεοῦ μεγαλοίο βεβηκὼς,
Φέγγος ὑπερβάλλον ἠ, ἀένναον. ἀθάνατον πῦρ
Ὃς τεσμεῖ πᾶν γαῖαν ἠ ἔργον ἠδε θάλασσα,
Ταρτάριοί τε βυθοὶ ἠ δαίμονες ἐρρίγησε
Αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ τε πάλιν υἱὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ,
Αὐτομυὴς ἀδίδακτος ἀμήτωρ ἀσυφέλικτος
Οὔνομα μηδὲ λόγῳ χωρέυμενον ἐν πυεὶ ναίων,
Τῷ τί Θεὸς μικρὸν δὲ Θεοῦ μέρος ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς
Λοιπὸν ἀπιθι σιγῶν ἐκ βώμων ἡμέτερων.

Cedrenus Hiſtor. Compend. p. 33.

But theſe ſame Verſes have been corrected by Thomas Gale, *in his Notes upon* Jamblicus, *from whence we have taken them. The Sixth and Seventh Verſes are entirely wanting in* Cedrenus. *We only read there another Word,* τεισόλιος, thrice happy, *which the* Latin *Interpreter has ſo tranſlated to introduce the Trinity.* Atque unus triplici ſub nomine felix. [p] Lact. de falſâ Relig. l. c. 7. p. 38. [q] Jul. Firmi. Aſtron. l. 5. Præf. [r] Jambl. de Myſt. Ægypt. Sect. 8. [s] Ibid. Sect. 7. c. 1. p. 150. [t] Jamb. ibid. c. 5. p. 155.

lence,

lence, and in time God was forgotten, whoſe Image this Luminary was, and he ſtole the whole Adoration of the People.

There is no need of fetching this Idolatry from the neighbouring *Arabians*, who ſpending their Nights in tending their Flocks, in a Country where they could hardly appear abroad in the Day-time, addicted themſelves to the ſpeculation of the Stars: For moſt Nations have agreed in acknowledging the Sun as the Father of Nature, and have given him the Title of *God*, in an abſolute manner. *Themiſtius* obſerves, [a] that thoſe who would ſee God, but can't directly gaze at him, look upon the Water where he is pictur'd. And this was the common Language of the *Greeks*.

Deus ille locus ſub nomine Graio
Dicitur———.

Some ſay too that his Name was derived from the Name of God, [b] and that his fiery Chariot drawn by Four Steeds, which the Poets give him, was borrowed from that of *Elias*. *Sedulius* at the Head of a great Train of Authors ſays, that the Sun derived his Name from *Elias*, only by the alteration of an Accent.

Quam bene flammivomi prælucens ſemita cœli,
Convenit Eliæ *meritoque & nomine fulgens?*
Hæc ope dignus erat, quoniam ſermonis Achivi
Una per accentum mutetur litera Sol *eſt.*

As the *Greeks* and *Perſians* ſacrificed, and conſecrated Horſes to the Sun, this Cuſtom muſt come from Scripture; becauſe the Kings of *Judah* kept a number of Horſes for the Sun. *Kimki* ſays that the Kings mounted them to meet this Luminary, and ſalute him at his Levee; but to ſupport this, they muſt ſuppoſe that the Poets had read the Scripture, and that the Sun wanted this Name till after *Elias*'s Time.

The Beauty of this Star, and its Influences upon the Earth were ſufficient to excite the Admiration of the People; and we ought not to ſeek any other Origine of the Worſhip that was paid to him. It muſt alſo be confeſs'd that this Symbol of the Deity was the nobleſt and moſt becoming him, of all that ever were invented. God alone was capable of giving a Repreſentation of himſelf, and whoever reſolves to worſhip him by Images, ought certainly rather to do it by the Sun, than by a Picture or a Statue; and therefore we have ſeen Hereticks, who notwithſtanding the Light of the Goſpel, have thought fit to worſhip him, and imagin'd that the Sun-flowers invigorated by this Luminary, deſerved a kind of Adoration.

XXI. 'Tis certain that *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* preferr'd this Symbol of the Deity to all others, for its beauty and Luſtre. He ſaid, 1. That [c] as the Sun communicates its Influences not only to all the Parts of Heaven, but to all Nature; ſo God diſplays the Effects of his Power upon all Things. 2. As the Sun is never weary of acting and doing good, ſo the Bounty of God is inexhauſtible, and this ſupreme Being never changes. 3. There is no Creature more capable of expreſſing the Unity of God, and the Multiplicity of his Operations, than the Sun, who alone does ſo many things. 4. The Symbols of this Luminary were generally ſeated upon Clay, to ſignifie that it is He that gives Strength to the Earth, to Matter and to Nature. 5. He was elevated upon a Lote-Tree, as a kind of Throne, to teach, that the Sun was above Matter, and that the Deity inhabits the Empyreal Heaven, whoſe Perfection is expreſs'd by the roundneſs of the Leaves, and Fruit of the Lote [d]: We might add to what *Jamblicus* ſays, that it is a watery Plant, whoſe Leaves dip into the *Nile* at the ſetting, and emerge at the riſing of the Sun, as if it refuſed to give any Signs of Life, but in proportion to the Influences it receives from him.

XXII. *Oſiris*, that famous God of the *Ægyptians*, was the Sun, or rather the Sun was the Emblem of the beneficent God *Oſiris*: But it's common to give Images the Names of the Originals they repreſent; and as the People worſhipp'd the Sun without thinking of the Deity it repreſented, it grew cuſtomary to take *Oſiris* and the Sun for one and the ſame thing. He was call'd *Polyophthalmos*, [e] that had many Eyes, becauſe the Sun enlightens the Earth, and ſees all its Productions. *O Sun thou ſeeſt and heareſt every thing*, ſaid *Homer*.

Ἥλιος ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.

Diodorus Siculus [f] obſerves, "That *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, the Sun and Moon) were lookt upon as "Gods that circuited the World with a continual "motion. They nouriſh'd the Earth; and tho' "contrary, formed the Year by their Union: "They are the Fountain and Principle of Gene"rations, becauſe both are humid: All Bodies "receive their Exiſtence or Nutriment from them. "In a Word, the Sun and Moon perfect Nature. It would be loſs of Time to produce more Arguments to prove that *Oſiris*, or the Sun, was the God of the *Ægyptians*.

XXIII. They reduced almoſt all their other Gods to this one. *Serapis* was another Name for the Sun; and therefore the Gates and Windows of his Temple were opened at the moment of his riſing, to admit his Beams.

Vulcani [g] *& Phœbi radios cæpere priores*
Surgentis ſolis foribus delubra recluſis.

Reineſius gives an Inſcription *to Jupiter the Sun* [h], *the invincible Serapis*. The *Ægyptians* repreſented him ſometimes as a youthful God, and ſometimes as an old one. 'Tis thought they [i] alluded to what *Tacitus* ſays; that a *young* Man appear'd to *Ptolomy*, who adviſed him to ſend for his Image at *Synope* in *Pontus*; but *Serapis* was worſhip'd in *Ægypt* long before *Ptolomy*'s time. He had already ſome Temples at *Memphis*, and even at *Alexandria*; but he was repreſented under both theſe Figures, becauſe in his Aſcenſion he is very different from what he is in his Declenſion.

XXIV. *Mithras* was likewiſe the Sun, or rather was but a different Name, which the *Perſians* beſtowed on the *Ægyptian Oſiris*.

Seu [k] *præſtat Oſirim*
Frugiferum, ſeu Perſæi ſub rupibus antri
Indignata ſequi torquentem cornua mithram.

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[a] Themiſt. Or. xi. [b] Ἥλιος, *the Sun*, ab אֵל God. [c] Jamblic. de Myſter. Ægypt. Sect. 8. c. 2. [d] *This Plant is common in* Ægypt. *upon the Banks of the* Nile, *and has a ſoporiferous vertue. It was uſed to be ſaid to thoſe that made long Voyages, that they had eaten* Lotus, *that is, that they had forgotten their Country.* [e] Kirker Templum Iſiac. c. 3. p. 176. *The* Ægyptian *Word anſwers to the* Greek πολυόφθαλμος. [f] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. c. 1. [g] Poſidippus ἐπιγεάμμασι [h] Inſcript. Reines δεῖ ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σεράπιδι. [i] Vide Cuper Harpocrates. [k] Stat. Theb. 1.

Indeed

Indeed he was ſometimes repreſented, mounted upon a Bull, with a Torch, Plants, a Dog and a Lion, to note, that upon the Sun's entring into the Sign *Taurus*, he impregnates the Earth with the vertue of producing Plants and Animals with the Power of Generation: He had alſo [l] a Scorpion near a Plant ſhutting up it ſelf, to teach us, that as the Sun loſes its heat, when it enters the Sign Scorpio, nature loſes its vigour and beauty.

XXV. Laſtly, *Harpocrates* alſo repreſented the Sun. 'Tis true he was the God of ſilence; he put his Finger upon his Mouth, becauſe the Sun was worſhip'd with a reverential ſilence: And hence came the *Sige* of the [m] *Baſilidians*, who had their Origine from *Ægypt*; he was pictured half naked, becauſe the Deity is immaterial. He had [n] Wings to ſignify the quickneſs of his Operations. He held a Bucket in his Hand inſtead of a *cornu-copia*; becauſe all good things proceed from God and the Sun; and in the other [o] a Soothſayer's crooked Staff, with a Bird at the end of it, which ſome, as *Suidas* ſays, have taken for a Stork, others for a Lark; but it was a Whoopo, who by the variety of his Plumes, denoted the prodigious diverſity of the Creatures produced by God.

A Triangle hung upon his Back, or was placed at the Pedeſtal of his Statues, to ſignify the Perfection of the Univerſe, or that the World was made by an infinite Wiſdom, as *Kirker* aſſures us [p], who had ſtudied theſe matters with a wonderful exactneſs. Laſtly, *Harpocrates* was ſeated upon a Lotus, the Plant of the Sun. He commonly held the Whip, the Club, the Bucket, and the other Ornaments attributed to this Luminary and *Oſiris*. It would be in vain to be more particular in the proof of it, ſince Mr. *Cuper* [q] has ſo exhauſted the Subject in a Diſſertation, that 'tis impoſſible to add to it. Let us only obſerve that *Orus*, another famous *Ægyptian* Deity, was alſo the Sun. Thoſe that have a mind to derive his Name from the *Hebrew*, will find *Aor* [r] to ſignify *Light*.

XXVI. Such frequent mention was made of the Sun, or rather of *Oſiris*, under which Name he was worſhip'd, as a Deity and a Perſon, that it was imagin'd he had been an Hero, who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf on Earth by his noble Exploits. They give out that this Prince built ſome Cities in *Ægypt*; ſtopt the inundations of the *Nile*; invented Agriculture; the uſe of the Vine, Muſick, Aſtronomy, Geometry. He raiſed a potent Army wherewith he pierced through *Aſia*, even to the *Indies*: He march'd to the very extremities of *Europe*, teaching the Arts and Sciences he had invented, to the Inhabitants of thoſe great Provinces of the World. In his abſence *Typhon* often attempted to embroil his Kingdom: But Queen *Iſis* whom he left Regent, who was a gracious Princeſs to her Subjects, had a watchful Eye over all his Motions. At laſt *Oſiris*, ſurfeited with Conqueſts, return'd to *Ægypt*; where he fell a Sacrifice to *Typhon*'s Malice, who cut his Body into many pieces. His Wife gather'd them all up, excepting only one part.

XXVII. 'Tis no great venture to ſay that all this is myſtical, it being the grand method of the *Ægyptians* to inſtruct the People with ſuch kind of Stories. They pictured their Gods like Men, the Sun himſelf not excepted, and ſo 'tis no wonder that in tract of time they made a Hero of him: Beſides, we don't find in the firſt Ages any Conqueror that reduced the whole World to his Obedience. We may ſay then, that this *Oſiris* ſo celebrated for his Victories, was the Sun, who carries his Light over all the Univerſe, who is the Father of Nature, and the Author of the Goods ſhe abounds with. His abſence, whilſt *Iſis* ſits at the Helm is the Night; and then the Moon preſides, and ſhe is thought to diſſipate the Clouds and thick Miſts wherewith the evil Principle would darken the Air. *Typhon* prevails when the Sun paſſes from one Hemiſphere to the other; for then it is he kills *Oſiris*; he removes the Light, he raiſes Storms and Tempeſts, and Nature changes her Complexion. If this ſeems too ſubtle, and *Oſiris* muſt paſs for one of the antient Kings of *Ægypt*, famous for his Conqueſts, and worſhipped by the People after his Death, I ſhall not contradict it; but this does not ſo perfectly compromiſe with the *Ægyptian* Theology, which was Symbolical. We can't conceive how *Oſiris* came to be the Sun, whereas it was common to equip the Sun like a Hero, and a Man.

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[l] Apud Kirker. Templ. Iſiac. c. 7. p. 217. [m] Sige Σιγὴ *ſilence*. [n] Cuperus Harpocrat. p. 25, 36. [o] Pignorius Menſa Iſiaca. Fol. 15. [p] Kirker Oed. Ægypt. Templum Iſiac. Synt. 2. c. 7. p. 151. [q] Cuperi Harpocrates *in Quarto*. 1687. [r] אור Aor. lux.

CHAP. XIX.

A Continuation of the ſame Subject.

Abraham, Joſeph, Moſes, *taught the* Ægyptians *nothing: The Antiquity of their* Cabbala; *its Explication; its compariſon with that of the* Jews.

I. *A Third degree of Idolatry: The Animals, Symbols of the Gods.* II. *A Reflexion againſt the Divines taken from the progreſs of this Worſhip.* III. *The worſhip of the Moon; an Oblisk conſecrated to her.* IV. *Whether the Horns ſhe is painted with, were taken from thoſe of* Moſes *at the Devil's inſtigation.* V. Iſis *become a Heroine: An Inſcription to her Honour.* VI. *Whether the* Greeks *worſhip'd her: The Origine of this Error.* VII. *The frightful Figure of* Typhon, *and its Explication.* VIII. *The Original of the* Ægyptian *Religion.* IX. *The Hiſtory of* Abraham *caſt into the Fire, and not burnt.* X. *The worſhip of the Sun antienter than* Abraham. XI. *This* Patriarch *did not teach Aſtronomy in* Ægypt. XII. *Their Religion more antient than* Joſeph. XIII. *Four Circumſtances proving, that the* Ægyptians *did not derive their Religion from* Moſes. XIV. *A paſſage of* Maimonides, *proving the ſame.* XV. *The* Cabbala *invented to conduct Men to God.* XVI. *Its Origine attributed to* Triſmegiſtus: *Its two views.* XVII. *The ſacred Letters Hieroglyphical.* XVIII. *Their Antiquity.* XIX. *Divers Examples of theſe Hieroglyphicks explain'd.* XX. *A neceſſity of explaining the Hieroglyphicks myſtically.* XXI. *The difficulty of attaining to this Science: Precepts concerning this matter.* XXII. *The Elevation*

 of

of the Soul neceſſary. XXIII. *The concatenation of Cauſes produces great Effects when it is Studied.* XXIV. *Whether the Golden Calf, and the brazen Serpent were* Ægyptian Taliſmans. XXV. Marſham, *who maintains it, confuted.* XXVI. *The brazen Serpent miraculous.* XXVII. Moſes *very averſe to Magick.* XXVIII. *A Compariſon of the* Ægyptian Cabbala *with the* Jewiſh.

I. THE *Ægyptians* advanced a third Step farther, and ſo compleated the groſſneſs of their Idolatry. They believed they were to conſecrate Animals to the Heroes, or the Sun, which they adored; or that they ought to have living and ſenſible Symbols of their Deities; or rather their Divines had both theſe views at once. The Ox ſeem'd an admirable Symbol, not only becauſe of the uſe of this Creature in the Tillage of the Ground, but alſo becauſe the Sun when he enters the Sign of the Bull [a], communicates a vegetative Virtue to Plants. And therefore they repreſented *Serapis* mounted upon a Bull. They had two of theſe living Bulls, which they carefully fed; but to multiply the Images of their Gods, they made them of Metal, Gold, and Silver, and from hence the *Iſraelites* borrowed their Golden Calf.

Thus it was, that they chang'd the worſhip of the true God, whom *Cham*'s Poſterity could not but know, into that of the Sun. They afterwards changed the Sun into an Hero, and the Hero into the Figure of an Ox: For as *David* reproach'd the *Iſraelites* [b] *They changed the glory of God into the Similitude of an Ox that eateth Graſs.* The People worſhip'd theſe Symbols of the Deity, as the Chriſtians have done the Images of the Saints. One would think there was no great harm to conſider the Sun as an Image of the Deity; but when once Men abandon the Creator, who alone deſerves their Homage, they ſlide inſenſibly from Symbol to Symbol, from Image to Image down to the vileſt Creatures. We often lament the groſs Idolatry of the Nations that worſhipp'd Beaſts; but have not living Creatures a nearer relation to God and Men, than a painted Canvaſs, or a carved piece of Marble? Divines complain, that the People have always a violent propenſion to ſenſible Objects and Idolatry; and I don't deny it; but in the mean time Divines of all Ages have been more to blame than the People, ſince they conducted them to the Adoration of Creatures: That they might be able to Diſcourſe longer, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Croud, they have diſguiſed Religion with obſcure Terms, Emblems, and Symbols: They have ſpoken of theſe Emblems and Symbols, as if they were alive; as if they were Perſons; and have dreſs'd them like Men and Women: This has train'd up, and encouraged the People in their carnal Notions: They thought that they might devote themſelves to the Symbols, which were furniſh'd with a wondrous Efficacy, and treated more of than of the Deity himſelf. Whereas they ought to give the People the ſimpleſt Ideas of God, and talk ſoberly of him; they embelliſh, they enrich, and magnify their Ideas of him, and this is what has corrupted Religion in all Ages, as is manifeſt from the inſtance of the *Ægyptians*. By veiling Religion under pretence of procuring it reſpect, they have buried and deſtroyed it.

III. When the Sun was thus worſhipped, it was not reaſonable to leave out the Moon, whom the *Greeks* entituled Goddeſs, and who according to the antient naturaliſts, has mighty influences in the production of Plants and Minerals. The *Ægyptians* call'd her *Iſis*. We find an obeliſque, upon which there is a creſcent with theſe words, which expreſs whatever can be ſaid to her Honour and Advantage.

Ισις [c] εγω ειμι παντο γεγονω και ον και
εσομενον και το εμον ωεπλον
ουδεις των θνι
θων απε
καλυ
ψε
ν.

I *Iſis* am all that has
been, that is or ſhall
be, no mortal Man
hath ever
me un-
vei-
le
d.

becauſe *Iſis* was not only conſider'd under the notion of the Moon, but under that of Nature, whoſe Operations and Methods of acting are inſcrutable.

IV. Whereas ſhe was repreſented with Horns on her Head, *Pignorius* [d] has fancied, that the Devil, who would ever be aping God, poſſeſs'd the *Ægyptians* with the Notion of this Figure; becauſe *Moſes* deſcending from the Mountain, had Horns on his Forehead. The fault is very groſs. Dr. *Gale* [e] has ſomewhat alter'd it, in ſaying *Oſiris* was painted, for the ſame reaſon with Horns; becauſe the radiations of Light which ſhone about *Moſes*'s Head were miſtaken for Horns; they had ſome very natural Reaſons for giving Horns to the Sun and Moon.

Ardua [f] *ſuſpiciens minuentis cornua Lunæ*
Nortivagoſque colens aſtrorum conſulit ignes.

But it is not true, that *Moſes* had Horns; and ſtill leſs likely that the *Ægyptians* ſhould go to copy the Author of the *Vulgar*, who took the Light for Horns; and an Analogy that is founded upon ſuch Errors as theſe, has but a bad Foundation.

[g] *Iſis* is alſo made a Heroine, as you ſee in this Inſcription of hers: "I am *Iſis* Queen of *Ægypt*, "the Wife of *Oſiris*, Mother of King *Orus*; no Bo- "dy can infringe my Laws: I have invented the "Art of Tilling the Ground, and producing Har- "veſts: I am a glittering Star; *Bubaſta* has been "built to my Honour; Rejoyce, rejoyce, O *Ægypt*, "that I was bred in Thee.

Laſtly, this Goddeſs was worſhipp'd under the Figures of Birds and Beaſts. For [h] *Ælian* ſays, that Vultures were conſecrated to her; and a Dog is commonly joyn'd with her.

VI. It ſeems that the *Greeks* worſhip'd *Iſis* and *Oſiris* under other Names, as that of *Bacchus*.

Ogygia [i] *me Bacchum canit.*
Oſyrin Ægyptus vocat
Arabica gens Adoneum.

This worſhip was difficultly introduced in *Rome*, becauſe of the impurity its Myſteries abounded with, which uſually adminiſtred ſome favourable opportunities for debauchery.

Famque expectatur in hortis
Aut apud Iſiacæ potius Sacraria lenæ.

[a] Apr. 20. [b] Pſ. 106. 20. [c] Apud Kirker Templ. Iſiac. c. 7. t. 1. p. 152. [d] Pignonius Menſa Iſiaca. Fol. 16.
[e] Gale ubi ſupr. p. 2. l. 2. c. 7. p. 94. [f] Corrippus ad Juſtinian. [g] Ego ſum in aſtro canis refulgens. Apud Kirker Templ. Iſiac. c. 4. p. 193. [h] Ælian. l. 2. c. 22. [i] Auſonius.

A Goddeſs can't be more hardly uſed, than to be tax'd with the managery of Love-intrigues, and have her Temple made the Rendezvous of Gallants. However, the *Latins* worſhipped *Iſis* as well as the *Greeks*. She had a publick place in *Rome*, that went by her Name, her Temple, her Houſe, her Altars; and we find a Medal of the Emperor *Claudius*, who put himſelf under her Protection.

SALUS AUG.

Mariners and Painters took her for their Patroneſs.

Pictores quis neſcit ab Iſide paſci?

But it is eaſy to obſerve, that this worſhip of the Goddeſs was much degenerated. *Triſmegiſtus*, or the Authors of the *Ægyptian* Religion, meant to worſhip the Moon as a Symbol of the Deity; and this Symbol diſcarded God and Nature: Nay, the Moon her ſelf was forgotten; to worſhip an imaginary Woman under the Name of *Iſis*; and afterwards the Prieſts added abundance of Ceremonies, that were celebrated by Night, becauſe the Moon preſides over it; and the young Initiates, and the Prieſts themſelves took advantage of this Circumſtance to content their Paſſions: 'Tis however certain, that this Worſhip originally related to the Moon, or Nature. 'Tis ſaid, that *Triſmegiſtus* foretold that it ſhould one day come to paſs, that the *Ægyptian* Religion ſhould be forgotten, and nothing remember'd but the fabulous and incredible part of it: But this Prediction was made *ex poſt facto*, and after the arrival of the thing.

VII. As *Oſiris* was worſhipp'd in *Ægypt*, and conſider'd as the Author of *all goods*, ſo *Typhon* was dreaded as the Source and Principle of all Evils. I have already obſerved the impertinence of making him to be *Moſes*. The *Ægyptians* had been obnoxious to Storms, Tempeſts, inundations of the *Nile*, Peſtilence and Famine, long before *Moſes*'s Appearance in the World: So that *Typhon*, to whom they attributed all the changes of the Air, was much antienter than the Deliverer of *Iſrael*. It might more probably be ſaid, that *Typhon* was the Devil, of whom they had heard *Cham* and his Poſterity talk in a doleful manner; but I queſtion whether the Memory of this rebellious Angel, and his wretched fate was ſo long preſerved. There was no need of reſorting to Scripture, and the Anceſtors of the *Jews* for a Knowledge that was natural. All the Eaſtern People have been convinc'd there was an evil Principle, as being ſenſible of the blows he gave them; and the *Ægyptians* were as much poſſeſs'd with that Notion as the reſt. They confin'd all his influences to the miſchiefs he could do in this World, and never thought of ſhutting him up in Hell, to ſuperintend the Puniſhments of the Wicked. They [k] picture him like a Man rearing his Head above the Clouds, into the Starry Heavens. His Hair was briſtly; his Beard thick and flaming; his Eyes ſparkled with Fire; his Body and Thighs, and eſpecially his Hands, were full of Serpents; they were extended from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*: His Feet reſted upon the Sea and Mountains.

This Figure diſcovers *Typhon*'s power over the Planets and the Air. He cauſed the Thunder, and ſent the Rain, and confounded the Elements of Fire and Water, and uſher'd in the Winds that blow upon the Sea and Land. Some find in this Portraiture the darkneſs of the Underſtanding; the Fire of Luſt and Envy, ſo well repreſented by the Serpents, and moſt of the Vices that breed the miſeries of the Univerſe. But this is driving Conjectures much too far.

There was no neceſſity for the *Ægyptians* to borrow their Religion from the *Jews*. All theſe Articles of their Faith, which we have related, had been for a long time among them: In which there was nothing but humane wit might have invented in any part of the World. The variations obſerved in other Religions, proceed from the difference of Climates, the ſubtilty of Wit, and the progreſs of Sciences, which have flouriſh'd in ſome Provinces more than in others, why then muſt the Heathens have derived their notices from *Abraham* or *Moſes*. Religion was already corrupted, and Idolatry more antient than *Abraham*.

IX. Saint *Jerom* [l] produces an antient Tradition of the *Jews*, which certifies that *Abraham* was caſt into the Fire by the order of the *Chaldæans*, becauſe he would not worſhip it; that he eſcaped, but that *Haran* his Brother was burnt to Aſhes; according to the account of *Moſes*, who ſays that *Haron* died before his Father in the *Fire* of the *Chaldeans*; for ſo they tranſlated it, whereas our Interpreters have put it, *Haran* died at *Ur*, which was a City of *Chaldea* where the Fire was worſhipp'd. The [m] more modern *Jews* confirm this Tradition, telling how *Abraham* meeting a Maid, who carried an Idol, after ſome conteſt broke it. Complaint was brought to *Nimrod*, who commanded *Abraham* to worſhip the Fire: The *Patriarch* anſwer'd, he would ſooner worſhip the Water, which extinguiſhes the Fire, the Clouds from whence the Water proceeds, the Wind that gathers the Clouds, and Man who is a more perfect Being than the Wind. *Nimrod* provok'd by his Anſwers, cauſed him to be thrown into the Fire, from whence he came out without being burnt; but *Haran*, whoſe Faith waver'd till he ſaw the Miracle, having declared for *Abraham*, was condemn'd to the Fire, and conſum'd by it.

X. 'Tis no matter whether this Tradition be true or falſe, as this is moſt probable: We know at leaſt, that the Fire was worſhipp'd in *Chaldea*, ſince a Town derived its Name from it. This Fire was the Symbol of the Sun, which is never extinct, but enlightens and heats. He was worſhipp'd in *Ægypt* under other Repreſentations. Therefore there is no neceſſity of metamorphoſing *Abraham* into *Oſiris*, or *Triſmegiſtus*, or of aſſerting, as has been done, that the *Ægyptian* Gods were of much later Date than this Patriarch. On the contrary, the worſhip of the Sun had already gain'd moſt part of the habitable World, and the uſe of the Signs under which he was adored, was very well known a long time before *Abraham*.

XI. There was no need of this Patriarch's bringing Aſtronomy out of *Chaldea* into *Ægypt*. The *Chriſtians* and *Jews* make themſelves ridiculous, when opinionated with the Learning of their firſt Heroes, they convert them into ſo many itinerant Aſtrologers, propagating their Art into foreign Countries, where they made but a little ſtay. It was not Aſtronomy, but Faith, that diſtinguiſh'd *Abraham* from the reſt of his Cotemporaries. Tho' he had been perfectly skill'd in the Motions of the Stars, it is not probable he would have ſet up for a School-Maſter, or a Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in *Ægypt*, to vend his Knowledge there. Perhaps there were no People in the World, who were more inquiſitive after Science, or had more convenience for learning Aſtronomy, than the *Ægyptians*. The Nights were clear, the Heavens ſerene; the exceſſive Heat often obliged the Inhabitants to turn Night into Day: And therefore they might

[k] Kirker. Templ. Iſiac. c. 8. p. 221. [l] Hieron. Quæſt. in Geneſ. p. 1319. [m] R. Chaia Ben Adda.

eaſily

eaſily apply themſelves to Aſtrology, without having recourſe to *Abraham*; or ſtanding in need of his Journey into this Country for his Improvement.

XII. *Joſeph* was very ſerviceable to the *Ægyptians* in their Polity and Government; but 'tis certain that inſtead of introducing his Religion into the Country, he a little depraved his own: For he ſwore by *Pharaoh*, and did not eat after the manner of the *Hebrews*, for fear of rendring himſelf odious to the *Ægyptians*, whoſe Cuſtoms he had adopted: He muſt needs have diſſembled a great many things, ſince he ſo exactly obſerved the Rites of the Country, as to refuſe to dine with his Brethren, becauſe that carried ſome ſhadow of Religion. Whatever it was, there was at that Time ſo prodigious a diſtance, betwixt the *Jewiſh* and *Ægyptian* Religion, that the Rites of the one were *abominable* to the other. We have reaſon then to ſay, that Idolatry was of a much antienter ſtanding than *Joſeph*, in that Country. If they reſpected him in his Life-time, they quickly forgot him after his Death; which is no wonder, for *Joſeph* had bought up the Country, and reduc'd all the Subjects Lands to the King's poſſeſſion. This ſort of Miniſters, even whilſt they ſerve the State, are always hated by the People, whom they reduce to a wretched Vaſſalage. His Memory grew odious; the paſt Famine was forgotten, and only the Slavery he had brought upon them was remembred. And therefore they were far from worſhipping him. He was buried in the Lower *Ægypt*, where his Brethren liv'd. His Bones were ſuffered to reſt, till *Moſes* took them away. Is not this demonſtrative, that *Joſeph* was not worſhipp'd by the *Ægyptians*? And indeed they would not have left his Tomb and Bones to the cuſtody of ſlaviſh Shepherds, whom they infinitely deſpiſed; but would have conveyed them into the ſtately Pyramids, deſign'd for the Sepulture of the Heroes. and great Lords of the Country; they would not have ſuffer'd this Object of adoration to be removed into the Land of *Canaan*. In ſhort, the *Ægyptians* had enough of their native Heroes to deifie without Strangers. *Joſephus* reproaches the Lazineſs of their firſt Kings: But 'tis certain they reckon'd ſome great Men, as *Æſculapius*, *Mercurius*, and many others, whom they would have choſen to worſhip before a *Canaanite Hebrew* Slave, who was diſmiſs'd from a Priſon, to make his Fortune in their Country.

XIII. As to *Moſes*, there is no manner of difficulty; for though it be more confidently affirm'd, that this Legiſlator was *Triſmegiſtus*, and that the *Ægyptians* tranſplanted their Religion out of the Nurſery of his Books, yet we may obſerve Four Circumſtances which overthrow this Conjecture. 1. *Moſes* was educated in the *Ægyptian* Learning, which the Scripture would not have taken notice of, if the *Ægyptians* had not been renown'd in the World for their Arts and Sciences. They were then the moſt literate and polite People of the Earth; and can it be imagin'd that this Nation, that had ſo well ſtudied Nature, built Obelisks and Pyramids to engrave Events, and preſerve the Memory of Religion and the Gods, ſhould have their Worſhip ſtill to form? 2. This appears, becauſe *Pharaoh* permitting the People to ſacrifice to their God, *Moſes* anſwer'd, they ſhould ſacrifice the Abomination of the *Ægyptians*, that is, by ſacrificing Sheep and Oxen, they ſhould render themſelves abominable to the *Ægyptians*. So that God was not only worſhipp'd under the Emblem of the Sun, and the Sun under the Name of *Oſiris*, but they had already conſecrated Oxen and Animals to him: And the Religion of the *Ægyptians* was more ancient than *Moſes* and *Joſeph*, and already contain'd the ſame Abomination, becauſe the *Hebrews* fed upon the Animals which the *Ægyptians* had conſecrated to their Gods. 3. This is ſtill more clearly explain'd by the Hiſtory of the *Golden-Calf*, which was a Relick of *Heatheniſm* practis'd in *Ægypt*, where they conſecrated molten Animals inſtead of living ones, and particularly Bulls of Gold, becauſe that is the Metal of the Sun. 4. Inſtead of the *Iſraelites* lending their Religion and Heroes to the *Ægyptians*, this captive People adopted the Gods of their Maſters: For *Joſhua*, a little after the death of *Moſes*, ask'd them, *Whether they would ſerve the Gods which their Fathers ſerved in Ægypt.* The Religion brought thither along with *Jacob*, was ſo far from ſpreading and diſperſing it ſelf among the Idolaters, that it ſunk with their Poſterity. The Worſhip was aboliſh'd; and therefore when God renew'd his Laws, bid them *remember the Sabbath*, the Obſervation whereof had been interrupted during their Time of Bondage. A great number worſhipp'd Idols, and the Diſtemper was inveterate; for not only thoſe that came out of *Ægypt* had been guilty of the Crime, but their Fathers had ſerved theſe falſe Gods beyond *Jordan*, and the *Red-Sea*. It can be no longer then diſputed, but that the *Ægyptians* invented their Religion before *Moſes*; and to pretend after that, that they extracted it from his Writings, is to fall into a ridiculous Abſurdity.

XIV. *Maimonides*, [a] ſo famous among the *Jews*, is perſuaded that the Law was given in oppoſition to the ſuperſtitious Cuſtoms of the *Ægyptians*. "*Moſes* inflicted a capital Puniſhment on the *Ma-*
"*gicians*, becauſe he had ſeen a prodigious num-
"ber of them in *Ægypt*, who boaſted of their Pow-
"er of killing Serpents and Worms; of preſerv-
"ing the Crops of Corn from Tempeſts; and daz-
"led the People with ſeveral Prodigies. He would
"not ſuffer an *Iſraelite* to ſhave his Beard and
"Hair, becauſe the *Ægyptian* Prieſts did ſo. *Laſt-*
"*ly*, He forbad Men to diſguiſe their Sex, becauſe
"the *Arabian* Magicians would have Men, when
"under the Conſtellation of *Venus*, to dreſs them-
"ſelves like Women, and Women to take the Hel-
"met and Breaſt-plate. The Law therefore was very oppoſite to the Cuſtoms of the *Ægyptians*: We have ſaid enough of the Origine of their Religion, let us examine at preſent their *Cabbala*, whereof we have already given ſome little Sketches.

XV. It was conſider'd as ſomething Divine, and they believed they could not arrive to the Knowledge of theſe great Myſteries, without the Aſſiſtance of Inſpiration: And therefore it was ſaid, *Phtas the God ſpeaks to you*, which was a kind of Proverb applied to thoſe, who raiſing themſelves above the Vulgar, explain'd the Secrets of Religion, becauſe it was imagin'd they had derived this Knowledge from the Boſom of the Deity.

XVI. They trace the Original of it up to *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, who invented this kind of Science for two Reaſons: Obſerving ſo prodigious a number of Objects in the Univerſe, which wore the Impreſſes of the Grandeur and Excellence of their Maker, he did not doubt but that they were ſo many Images and Symbols that repreſented the Deity. He thought therefore that he might propoſe all theſe Objects to the People, as the eaſieſt Mediums to recommend God to their Senſes, and cheriſh their Devotion. He obſerved next, that in the vaſt multitudes that peopl'd *Ægypt*, there

[a] Rambam, *or* Moſes, Maimonides more Nevochim, l. 3. c. 3.

were very few ſpiritual Votaries. The reſt were of a groſs and carnal Underſtanding, fitter to prophane the Divinity, if it were committed naked, as we may ſay, into their Hands, than to honour it as it ought to be. He therefore imagined certain Symbols of the Deity, which he intruſted to the Vulgar, whilſt the more intelligent, piercing through the Myſteries, might riſe to the Contemplation of God.

Proclus perfectly explains this Notion which is alſo aſcribed to *Mercury*. " As the Godsact differ-
" rently according to the reſpective Genius of Men:
" They beſtow ſenſible Goods on all, but reſerve
" the ſpiritual for thoſe that are capable of ſeek-
" ing and enjoying them. Mythology manifeſts
" the Gods to the Vulgar, but their Nature and
" Perfections are diſcover'd only by thoſe that
" know how to imitate them. To diſcover the
" Truth, is the way to furniſh a Fool with an oc-
" caſion of deſpiſing it, and to render the Wiſe
" lazy, whereas the Emblems and Fables that veil
" Religion, prevent the Contempt of the one, and
" engage the other in the diligent Study of it.

XVII. As *Mercury* invented the Art of Painting the Speech, he was careful to give ſome particular Characters to the Prieſts, who handled the Myſteries of Religion: But there was a third kind of Writing which was call'd *Hieroglyphical*, which it ſeems had the preheminence above the reſt. It was made uſe of not only to veil the Myſteries of Religion, but alſo to explain the Vertue of Plants in Phyſick; the Revolution of the Stars in the Heaven; and even Hiſtorical Events, were repreſented in this manner.

XVIII. I ſhould be loth abſolutely to aſſert, that this Practice was as ancient as *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, or that he was the Author of it, though that may be, and it is commonly aſcribed to him. But theſe two Things can't be diſputed: *Firſt*, That Hieroglyphicks were very frequent among the *Ægyptians*: *2dly*, That they were of a very great Antiquity, ſince not only all the remaining Monuments of that Nation, as the *Obelisks*, and Table of *Iſis* are full of them, but alſo the moſt antient Writers, who have treated of the *Ægyptians*, have attributed to them this method of teaching the People.

XIX. Thoſe that will be at the trouble of examining the Nature of theſe Hieroglyphicks, may caſt their Eyes upon the Table of *Iſis*, or the Books of *Pignorius* [b] and *Kirker*. The Eyes are immediately dazled with the Beauty and Variety of theſe Figures. In the mean time, if we find ſo many Difficulties in Hiſtories, wherein each Event is expreſs'd in a number of known and uſual Terms, which clearly declare the Event or Thought of the Author; what hideous Darkneſs muſt involve the *Ægyptian* Hiſtory and Religion, which were only known by ambiguous Signs? 'Twas impoſſible but they muſt often vary in the Explication of theſe Signs, and in a long Tract of Ages forget what the Ancients mean by them. And then every one made his Conjecture; and the Prieſts taking advantage of the Obſcurity of the Signs, and Ignorance of the People, made the beſt of their own Learning and Fancies, and hence neceſſarily happen'd two Things: One, That Religion often changed; the Other, That the *Cabbaliſts* were in great eſteem, becauſe they were neceſſary Men.

However, it muſt be own'd, that they had ſome Rule for the ordering and diſpoſing of theſe Symbols. They join'd certain Figures to others, and each Figure having its Signification, by their Combination, they made a Train of Myſteries. The Table of *Iſis*, for Inſtance, which is crowded with ſuch a multitude of Figures of Men, Women, Dogs, Birds and Monſters, was invented, chiefly to repreſent God, and the Production of the Univerſe: There we find *the Gate of the Gods*, that is, the Univerſe; and the Deity ſurrounded with certain Figures denoting Empire; the Facility of his acting; the Abundance and Variety of Creatures produced by him; with a great many other Truths mingled with Errors: They made uſe alſo of a Circle, to ſignifie that God had neither beginning nor end; and whoever thinks fit, may compare this Circle with the Crown of the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts*. *Laſtly*, They repreſented God in the Figure of an *Ibis*, a Bird very well known in *Ægypt*, and nearly reſembling a Stork; by his piercing ſight they ſignified the Wiſdom of God; and by placing him ſitting, they underſtood the Quiet and Empire that God exerciſes without any trouble. This Bird, which they deſcribed with the Hands and Feet of a Man, held the Staff of *Iſis* with one, and with the other a Croſs faſtned to a kind of Globe. *Lipſius* out of Zeal for the Croſs, as if it ought to be peculiar to the Chriſtians, conteſted this Particular; but 'tis but opening ones Eyes to ſee his miſtake. And beſides, the ſuperſtitious Chriſtians might triumph upon it, as if God, who inſpired *Sybils* to ſpeak more expreſly than the Prophets, of the Sufferings and Death of his Son, had alſo taught the Idolaters the Myſtery of the Croſs, which was one Day to be erected over all the Earth; and they would have ſo much the juſter Grounds for it, as this Symbol was in high eſteem with the *Ægyptians*. We ſee it in moſt Obelisks; it was thought the apteſt Emblem of all the reſt, and even the moſt excellent Amulet in the World. *Judaiſm* is not ſo clearly expreſs'd in the *Ægyptian* Myſteries, as *Chriſtianity*. The Croſs was the Symbol of the Planets, and ſignified, that God was the Pilot that ſteer'd their Motions. Indeed *Saturn*'s Character was a Croſs and a Ram's-horn; *Jupiter* alſo bore an Horn with a Croſs; *Venus*'s Sign was a Circle with a Croſs. This was therefore the true meaning of the *Ægyptians*; and *Marſilius Ficinus* alledging the Reaſons that obliged the *Ægyptians* to prefer the Croſs to all other Symbols, takes them from the nature of Bodies, which are long and broad, like the Croſs, ſo that nothing can better repreſent their Surface. He derives it alſo from a certain ſituation of the Stars, wherein, ſays he, they dart their Rays, and form the Figure of a Croſs. *Ibis*'s [c] Head was adorn'd with a Circle of Flames, Serpents, and Wings, all which expreſs'd the Properties of the Deity, which has neither beginning nor end, which for ever lives, ſends Light and Heat, and exerciſes all its Operations with an incredible quickneſs.

XX. We have already obſerved, that the *Cabbaliſts* left theſe groſs Symbols to the People, but the learned and initiated piercing through theſe Objects, pretended to aſpire to the Knowledge, and even Contemplation of the Deity. They believed the ſenſible Objects, whereof the Univerſe conſiſts, to be ſo many Images of the Supreme God; and that when they did not ſtop at the Surface of Bodies, but dived into their relations with the Celeſtial and Empyreal World, they acquired an exact and perfect Knowledge.

XXI. But this was not attain'd to without great Application and Pains; and they were not admit-

[b] Pignorius Menſa Iſiaca, Kirker Tabula Iſiaca, in Oedip. Ægypt. t. 4. *See abundance of theſe Hieroglyphicks in the ſame Book.*
[c] Vide Plura apud Kirkerum in Obeliſco Pamphyliano. l. 2. Ibi de cruce anſata.

ted

ted to this Study, without a great many Ceremonies. Strangers were excluded from them, unleſs they were circumciſed; and *Pythagoras*, who had the curioſity to enter into theſe Myſteries, was obliged to ſubmit to this Law, and be circumciſed. The Paſſions were to be expelled out of the Soul, to approach God with greater Tranquillity. It was one of the Maxims aſcribed to *Zoroaſter*, and received in *Ægypt*, *Call the Hunters of the Soul.* There were Two of theſe Hunters, *Knowledge, and Purity of Heart*, and they took their Name from their driving away Ignorance and Impurity. Silence was abſolutly neceſſary, which was ſufficiently known by the Figure of *Harpocrates* ſtanding at the Gates of the Temples, with his Finger upon his Mouth. Waſhings were uſed, that the Myſteries might not be defiled; but this was common to all Religions.

Tu genitor, [b] *cape ſacra manu, patrioſq; penates:*
Me bello è tanto digreſſum, & cæde recenti,
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
Abluero.

But among the *Ægyptians* they were to take off their Cloaths, to ſignifie to the Novices, that the Heart and Spirit ought to be naked in the preſence of the Gods. They had a Maxim, not to adhere to ſenſible Objects.

Μὴ φύσεως καλέσης ἄϋτοπλον ἄγαλμα.

Ne vocaveris imaginem naturæ perſpicuam. The initiated [c] were taught, that there was an intelligible Object, to which they muſt give *the Flower of the Soul.* They had another Precept, *That they muſt haſten to the Light, to the Rays of the Father, from whence the Soul arrayed with abundance of Spirits, is deſcended.*

XXII. *Laſtly*, They ſaid, That there were two Cups, one above, and the other below: Whoever drank of the latter was always thirſty; his Deſires increaſed inſtead of abating; but he that drank of the other, was fill'd and ſatisfy'd. This firſt Cup was the Knowledge of Nature, which never fully ſatisfies thoſe that dive into its Myſteries; and the ſecond Cup, which was wholly to quench thirſt, was the Knowledge of the Myſteries of Heaven [d]. Some *Chriſtians* apply to this, the Words of our Saviour, *He that believes in me ſhall never thirſt*, to which they add what he ſays in another place, *that whoever loves his life ſhall loſe it, but he that hates his life ſhall keep it unto life eternal*, becauſe they ſuppoſe that *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* ſaid, *that we muſt hate our bodies to love our ſelves, and that by loving our ſelves, we gain our Souls.* But my deſign by producing all theſe Rites, is only to ſhew, that the *Ægyptians* had long ago chalkt out to the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* a Road for their contemplative Divinity.

XXIII. Beſides this Advantage, their *Cabbaliſts* had another that ſeem'd conſiderable. They underſtood the Dependences betwixt Second Cauſes, and Superior Intelligences. Obſerving that every Plant, or Object partak'd of the Qualities of a Superior Being, they diligently ſtudied out the Planet, and then the Genius, or Celeſtial Intelligence that preſided over this Object. They next ſtudied the Channels through which this Planet and Celeſtial Intelligence poured their Influences upon the Object: In a Word, they examin'd the ſecret Rings of the Chain which links Heaven to Earth; and having diſcovered them, they had the Power of bringing down theſe Genius's, either by paying them ſome proportionate Honours, which they approved of, either by Herbs or Perfumes, which they delighted in; and this Aſſiſtance of the Genius communicated to the Terreſtrial Object, a vertue which it naturally wanted.

They diligently ſtudied under what Planet a Child was born; what Genius preſided over the Planet, and by this diſcovery, they found means of avoiding Misfortunes, and of making themſelves happy.

'Tis plain, that the *Ægyptian Cabbaliſts* furniſh'd the *Jewiſh* ones with the Example of ſtudying Magick. They were ſo expert in this Art in *Moſes*'s Time, that tho' he was inveſted with the Power of God, he had much ado to riſe above their Enchantments, and to triumph over their Subtilty. There is nothing better known than the *Amulets*, and *Taliſmans* of *Ægypt*; and therefore I will only inſiſt upon one Thing that deſerves to be minded.

XXIV. *Marcilius Ficinus* pretends that *Aaron* caſt the *Golden-Calf* in the Deſart, only for a *Taliſman*, becauſe the Aſtrologers aſſured him, he would gain by it the Protection of *Venus*, againſt the Influences of *Scorpio* and *Mars*, which were oppoſite to the *Jews*. He adds, That the *Brazen-Serpent* was another *Taliſman* made uſe of in *Ægypt*, to drive away Serpents. The famous *Marſham* has not only eſpouſed this latter Opinion, but embelliſh'd it with ſeveral Stories, which are told concerning the method of enchanting Reptiles: He that had ſo little Faith in other reſpects, makes no ſcruple to vent Fables, becauſe they ſtruck at a conſiderable Event of the Sacred Hiſtory.

XXV. He grounds himſelf upon the Example of *Medea*, who by her Voice prevail'd upon the Dragon, that kept the *Golden-Fleece:* He quotes *Orpheus*, who fetcht back his Wife from Hell, that a Serpent had bitten. *Laſtly*, He produces a whole Nation of Enchanters, the *Marſi* that laid the Serpents to ſleep.

Marrubiâ [e] *venit de gente ſacerdos*
Vipereo generi, & graviter ſpirantibus hydris
Spargere qui ſomnos cantuq; manuq; ſolebat.

Theſe Examples are childiſh, for the *Golden-Fleece* was not guarded by a Serpent. The Ambiguity comes from the *Hebrew* Word *Nachaſh*, ſignifying Braſs as well as a Serpent. The *Golden-Fleece* was a Treaſure ſhut up by a Brazen Gate, which *Medea* had the Art of opening. This ſimple and natural Explication ruins all the Tales about theſe Enchantments. The Story of *Orpheus* is ſtill more ridiculous: For tho' this Muſician ſhould have had the Art of ſtupifying Serpents, muſt it have extended to the raiſing a dead Woman, becauſe ſhe was bitten by a Serpent? *Laſtly*, Would Mr. *Marſham* be pleas'd to have all the Stories of Witchcraft paſs for ſolid Truths? And yet thoſe ſupernatural Operations are better proved than thoſe of the *Marſi* about Serpents.

XXVI. Some *Naturaliſts* ſay, That there is nothing apter to exaſperate the Sore, or to cauſe the death of thoſe that are bitten by Serpents, than to look upon or touch Braſs. So that *Moſes* would have invented a very improper *Taliſman*; but to bottom upon this Aſſertion, is to oppugn the imaginary vertue of the *Taliſmans* with another Fal-

[b] Virg. Æn. 2. [c] Effatum xv. xxiv. xxix. apud Kirker. Gymnaſ. Hierogl. t. 2. p. 143, 146, 148. [d] Kirker Theatr. Hierogl. in Oed. Ægypt. Anacæphaleos. c. 1. p. 584. [e] Virgil Æneid. l. 7. V. 750.

ſhood,

ſhood, and ſupport the Truth of *Moſes*'s Hiſtory by chimerical Events. Thoſe that believe, that mortal Woaunds and bitings were cured by the Effigies of a Serpent, ought to prove the Truth of what they advnce, and the Power of *Amulets*. They would be obliged to acknowledge, after a ſorrowful Experiment, that there was a miraculous Vertue in *Moſes*'s *Brazen Serpent*, of a very different Nature from what is aſcribed to the *Taliſmans*.

XXVII. *Moſes*, inſtead of borrowing the *Ægyptian*'s *Cabbala*, and *Myſtical Theology*, took all the Precautions to alienate the *Iſraelites* from them. 1. He prohibited them, by the Divine Command, to make Images, which annull'd the uſe of the *Ægyptian Hieroglyphicks*. 2. He made publick Regiſters of the Hiſtory of the Nation, that they might eaſily ſatisfie their Curioſity, without recurring to certain ambiguous Signs, which every one explain'd in *Ægypt* according to his Will, Humour, and Intereſt. 3. He expreſs'd ſuch an Averſion to Enchantments and Magick, as to make it a capital Crime to tamper in it.

XXVIII. 'Tis true, the *Jews* borrow'd their *Cabbala* from the *Ægyptians*, but this was a long while after *Moſes*, and after the Conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, under the Reign of *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, who drew into his Kingdom abundance of *Jews*, and made the Commerce with that Nation more frequent than before.

And indeed we need only compare theſe two *Cabbala*'s together, to be ſatisfied of their reſemblance; and ſince the *Jews* did not ſtudy this Art till a long time after the *Ægyptians*, it muſt be own'd, that the latter are only Copyers, and the others the Authors of it.

Firſt, They own'd in *Ægypt* a Firſt God, encompaſs'd with Clouds, impenetrable, which is the *Enſoph* and Infinite of the *Jews*.

The Second Principle, that proceeded from the Firſt, and was inſeparably united to him, but yet received his Ideas and Influences from him, was the Crown, or the Firſt of the *Sephiroths*. As the *Jews* aſſerted theſe Emanations of the Deity, only becauſe they could not conceive that the Moſt Supreme Being, (if I may uſe that Expreſſion) was the immediate Agent in the Creation of the Univerſe, and therefore imagin'd a Gradation of Principles ſubordinate to one another: So the *Ægyptians* had invented this perfect and different Being upon the ſame account.

They ſpoke ſometimes of a Third Principle, which has led the *Chriſtians* into this miſtake, that they had received the Knowledge of a Trinity of Perſons in the ſame Eſſence, from the Patriarchs; but this Third Principle, which the *Platoniſts* afterwards call'd *Mens*, was the Soul of the World diſperſed through all the Creatures.

The *Ægyptians* gave different Names to the Deity, according to the diverſity of his Operations. They call'd him *Amun Phtà Oſiris*; thereby expreſſing his Power, Truth and Goodneſs, which anſwers to the *Sephiroths* which the *Jews* have multiplied.

The *Ægyptians* believed that there were Three Worlds, or Three Heavens; the Archetypal, Celeſtial and Senſible World. Each of which had its Trinity preſiding over it, the Father, the Power, and the Spirit. There was a great Subordination between theſe Worlds, ſo that the Images of all Things in Heaven are found here below: Whatever is on Earth, exiſts in Heaven *ſpiritually and inviſibly*: And heavenly Things, as the Intelligences, exiſt in God, as in their Source and Original: 'Tis eaſie to be obſerved, that theſe are the *Aziluthick*, *Briathick*, &c. Worlds of the *Cabbaliſts*.

The *Ægyptians* aſſign'd ſome great Influences to the Sun, and Moon, and Stars. They carried the thing ſo far, in defence of Free-Will, as to maintain, [f] that every Man had two Souls, one that came immediately from God, the other from the Stars and Celeſtial World; the firſt was perfectly free, but the other had its byaſs from the Impreſſion of the Stars and Intelligences.

Jamblicus reporting this in the Fragments of *Mercury* and *Porphyry*, aſſerts, that this Opinion ſtill prevail'd in *Ægypt* in his time. 'Tis but taking a view of the pompous Elogies the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* beſtow upon the Stars and Moon, to find the Conformity we are ſeeking for.

Laſtly, The *Ægyptians* thought by the help of Symbols to aſcend to the Contemplation of the Deity, *whoſe Union makes the Happineſs* of the Creature. *Bithys*, an *Ægyptian* Prieſt, who had read the Writings of *Triſmegiſtus*, extracted this Truth from them: "That [g] a Man is happy by his Union with "God. Don't imagine that the *Ægyptians* had "neglected this Part of Religion; on the contrary, "they have taught it in a divine way. Don't "think that their Divines conſulted God about tri-"fling Things, but they interrogated him about "*their Purification, the Separation of the Body, and* "*Salvation.* They don't ſtand to examine crab-"bed and uſeleſs Difficulties, but apply them-"ſelves to that which is advantageous to the "Soul. *Laſtly*, Don't fancy that they give way "to any Dæmon to ſeduce them into Error, "for they riſe above the Devils, *and aſcend even* "*to the Divine Nature.* Thus the *Ægyptians* had the ſame end in their *Cabbala* as the *Jews*; but theſe latter abhorring Images, declined the uſe of Symbols, and humane Repreſentations, and by this means preſerved themſelves from Idolatry.

[f] Jambl. de Myſter. Sect. 8. c. 8. p. 162. [g] Ibid. Sect. 10. c. 7. p. 178.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Cabbala *of the* Greek *Poets and Philoſophers: Their Uſe of Fables, Emblems, and Allegories.*

I. THE *Deſign of this and following Chapters.* II. *The* Greek *Poets have diſguiſed the Truth under Allegories.* III. Orpheus *knew the* Sephiroths, *and taught the Myſtery of the Trinity.* IV. *The praiſes of* Homer: *The Conformity of his moral Maxims with thoſe of* David *and Solomon, proved.* V. *The method he took for the inſtruction of Men.* VI. *His manner of treating the Gods, myſtically explain'd.* VII. *The Truths of Religion: The Adventures of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Iſhmael, *related by* Homer. VIII. *The* Cabbala *neceſſary to the Philoſophers:* Pythagoras *known to the* Ægyptians *and* Ezechiel. IX. *The correſpondence of his Religion with that of the* Jews. X. *His* Cabbala *Explain'd.* XI. *How he had derived it from the* Jews. XII. Euclid *rejects Allegories and Symbols in Phyloſophy and Religion.* XIII. Socrates *does the ſame.* XIV. *However he was a* Cabbaliſt. XV. *The perpetual Allegories of* Plato. XVI. *A continuation of his Allegories about the Creation.* XVII. *Whether he knew the* Jews, *and explain'd their Doctrines.* XVIII. *Whether he lived in* Jeremy's *time.* XIX. *His Ideas and noble Expreſſions about the Deity explain'd.* XX. *He knew the Truth.* XXI. *What might be the meaning of his Allegories.* XXII. *A Reflexion upon the Philoſophers and their contemplative Divinity.*

I. THE *Cabbala* has had great influences upon all Religions: The Chriſtians have uſed it, as well as the Heathens; and from hence the antient Hereticks derived their *Æons* and *Dogms*, which have hitherto been impenetrable. As it was compoſed of different parts, all the Sects did not follow the ſame Syſtem. Each Religion took what agreed with it; and therefore I ſhall diſtinguiſh the different degrees of this Science, and examine the uſe which the Heathens, Chriſtians, and Hereticks have drawn from it.

II. 'Tis pretended, that the Heathen Poets and Philoſophers not daring to explain Religion, and their private Thoughts to the People, diſguiſed them under ſome perpetual Allegories. The vulgar took their Diſcourſes literally; but wiſe Men look'd through the Curtain, and diſcover'd the ſublime Truths that were taught under Emblems and fabulous Stories.

Salluſtius [a], an antient Philoſopher, look'd upon the Fables as ſomething Divine. *The Gods*, ſaid he, *inſpired the Poets that invented them, and ſometimes uſed them, to manifeſt themſelves to Men.* There was no finding the reſemblance and Images of the Deity, but by this means: There was a neceſſity therefore of uſing it to diſcover him. As the Gods ſhower ſome ſenſible Goods on all Mankind, but reſerve the Gifts of the Spirit for ſome Favorites; the Fables reſembling ſenſible Goods, are for the Vulgar and Artificers; but the ſecret and particular underſtanding of the Myſteries included in Symbolical Divinity, is reſerved for the Wiſe. To ſpeak properly, the World is but a Fable; for it is conſtituted of Bodies and Spirits. The Bodies are ſeen; but the Spirits are inviſible, and only diſcover'd by Study. The Deity would be deſpiſed, if the Knowledge of him was proſtituted to Fools and ignorant Men; but you prepoſſeſs them with a Reverence for the Gods by concealing them, and at once kindle a noble ardour in the Breaſts of the Wiſe, to penetrate through the Veil, and ſee what is hid under it. Laſtly, we ought not to wonder, that the Fable attributes Robberies and Adulteries to the Gods; for theſe Crimes are uſher'd in only to teach Men, that there is a Truth incloſed in theſe diſhoneſt Stories, and that we ought not to ſtick to the Letter. I have alledged this reaſoning of *Salluſtius*, 1. To ſhew that the Heathens had actually a *Cabbaliſtick* Divinity. 2. That they Apologize for it with the ſame Arguments as the *Jews*. And indeed they made uſe of the Example of the Deity, who often conceals himſelf. They alledged the compariſon of the Soul and Body, of ſenſible and ſpiritual Objects: They juſtified the Follies of the Poets, by the neceſſity of preventing the Vulgars contempt of the Gods, and inſpiring the Wiſe with a deſire of a thorough Knowledge of them. Laſtly, they thought the Extravagance of fabulous Stories was only a caution to the Reader, not to ſtop at the Gate of the Myſtery, but to dive into the bottom of it. 3. The Authority of this Heathen juſtifies thoſe Chriſtians who really believe this to be the true deſign of the Poets; and not only find in their Writings, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, as the Supreme God, but pretend alſo to diſcover in them all the Religion of *Moſes* and the *Patriarchs*, which had been communicated to them by the *Phœnicians*, the Diſciples of *Abraham*, and Neighbours of the *Jews*, with whom they had an intimate commerce. Truly this is a great Myſtery; yet ſince Men have taken ſuch pains to diſcover it, and are certain that they have ſucceeded, 'tis neceſſary to ſpeak of this Heathen *Cabbala*.

III. *Orpheus*, the moſt Antient of all the Poets, travelling into *Ægypt*, was initiated in all the Myſteries; and therefore he is ſaid to have been a Magician of this Country. They aſcribe to him the Art of taming wild Beaſts by his Muſick; but we muſt underſtand in a [b] *Cabbaliſtick* meaning, that he united Men naturally wild, and diſperſed in Foreſts, and gave them Laws when he had united them into Society. This we have from *Horace*. [c]

Sylveſtres homines ſacer Interpreſque Deorum,
Cædibus, & victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres, rapidoſque leones.

Beſides, this Poet has mention'd *Councel*, *Light*, and *Life* in ſuch a manner as eaſily diſcovers the three firſt *Sephiroths*, the [d] *Crown*, *Wiſdom*, *and Underſtanding*: And he extracted them from the Writings of *Moſes*, which he had read in *Ægypt*.

But farther, [e] they find alſo the Trinity explain'd by this Antient Poet. 'Tis true, his Words would not have been ſo explain'd before the Incarnation; but they immediately diſcover this Myſtery in his myſtical Verſes, in this manner.

He calls Night the *Mother of the Gods*. This Night procreated Heaven, which he alſo calls the *Father of all things*; *Aged by his Birth*; *the Beginning and End of all things*. This Heaven, the Off-

[a] Salluſtii Damaſcii de Dyſet mundo c. 3. pag. 245, 246. Ed. Th. Gale. 1688. [b] Gale, *the Court of the Gentils*. p. 2. l. 2. c. 2. p. 92. [c] Horat. de Arte Poet. [d] Kirker Oed. Ægypt. Gymn. Hier. Claſſ. 3. c. 4. p. 150. βυλὴ, φάος, καὶ ζωή. [e] Ibid. c. 12. p. 194.

ſpring

ſpring of Night is the Light; this Light is *Jeſus Chriſt*, who is Conſubſtantial with his Father. The Scripture ſays in this Senſe, that his Darkneſs is as the Light. *JESUS*, the Sun of Righteouſneſs is the *Alpha* and *Omega*.. He is alſo the Aged by his Birth: *Aged*, becauſe he is from all Eternity; but he was *born in Time*. Laſtly, *Orpheus* ſpeaks of a Power *ſupremely high, to which nothing can reſiſt, which conquers all, which is a Light and a Fire.* Here you have the Holy Ghoſt very naturally repreſented, and why was there not added one Stroke farther, to have ſhewn *invincible and victorious* Grace. Will you ſay, that the Jeſuit *Kirker* was not willing to read in *Orpheus* the condemnation of the Society? In the mean time, does not this all-conquering irreſiſtible Fire, which is the Holy Ghoſt, teach us, the grand Myſtery of the Converſion of Men by an *irreſiſtible* Light and Energy?

IV. Several Authors have attempted to make *Homer* conſiſtent with the ſacred Writers in Four Things. 1, In the Style: For there are ſo many *Hebraiſms* in his Verſes [a] that one can't avoid perceiving that he had read *Moſes*, and the one may be often explain'd by the other. 2. This Poet relates many Rites that have an evident relation to thoſe of the Old Teſtament. 3. His two Poems, which may be juſtly call'd the two Eminences of *Parnaſſus*, are full of admirable Sentences, and therefore they are compared to thoſe of *Solomon*, and a [b] Parallel is drawn betwixt this King's Thoughts and this antient Poet's. *Scaliger* went too far in ſaying, that *Homer* was divinely inſpired; but at leaſt he entred into a kind *of Enthuſiaſm, which inſpired him, and rendred his Genius next-kin to Divine.*

Eſt Deus in nobis; agitante celeſcimus illo:
Impetus hic ſacræ ſemina mentis habet.

The Antients have ſaid, that *Homer* travelled into *Ægypt*, and the *Ægyptians* aſſerted that he was born there. No wonder then that he was acquainted with the Books of *Moſes*, and inſtructed in the *Jewiſh* Religion in this Country. If the *Ægyptian* Pretence be falſe, it can't however be diſputed, but that this Poet lived long at *Samos*, and had a Correſpondence with the *Phænicians* for a great while, who had taught him the Hiſtory of the *Jews*. 'Twas the Notion of *Juſtin Martyr*, "That *Homer* had taken a great deal from the Writings of "the Old Teſtament. But without inſiſting upon "this Diſcuſſion, it ſuffices that the Sentences, "which are innumerable in this Poet's Verſes, are "like thoſe diſperſed in the Books of *David*, *Solomon*, and ſacred Authors. A modern Author has fill'd a great Volume with this Parallel of Sentences and Maxims, becauſe if St. *Paul has ſanctified a Saying* of the Poet *Menander*, he might likewiſe ſanctifie the Maxims of *Homer*. But amongſt a thouſand Examples, we'll content our ſelves with one.

Βυλομ' εγὼ λαὸν σόον ἔμμϐναι ἢ ἀπόλεσθ.

Homer here introduces a Prince ſaying, *He had rather have his People ſafe, than ſee them periſh.* 'Tis firſt obſerved, that this is not the true meaning of this Maxim. The King meant, no doubt, *that he would die, in order to ſave his People.* However take the Words as you pleaſe, they have a great reſemblance with thoſe of Scripture. For God ſpeaks like this King, ſaying, *I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live. God would not that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to repentance.* If this ſecond Senſe be preferr'd to the firſt, we find *Jeſus Chriſt*, who would have all Men ſaved, and to that purpoſe voluntarily ſuffers death: However the Names of *Mars*, *Mercury*, and the falſe Gods, found in his Verſes, in the midſt of his Sentences, ſhould not ſcandalize us, ſince by them the Poet means *War*, *Wiſdom*, &c. or ſome Attributes of God.

The Fourth Article of Conformity is much more important than the reſt, ſince *Homer* under pretence of recounting the Adventures of *Ulyſſes*, is proved to have related thoſe of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, the Judges and Heroes of antient *Iſrael*.

To give the greater Authority to this Conjecture, 'tis obſerved that the Antients [c] have given this Teſtimony to *Homer*, that he generally made uſe of Allegories. The Anonymous Author of his Life, which ſome abſurdly will have to be *Plutarch* [d], (for then he muſt have written two different Lives of the ſame Man) and others, *Dionyſius* [e] *Halicarnaſſenſis*, maintains, that *Homer* deſign'd to [f] repreſent the Strength of Body in his *Iliad*, and the Strength of the Mind in the *Odyſſes*. He has only employ'd Fables, ſays he, *to awaken the Attention and Admiration of his Readers:* For they admire what aſtoniſhes and ſurprizes. He has comprized the Hiſtory of Nature under theſe Fables, which proves that he knew every thing, and has furniſh'd ſome Memorials not only for Poets, but for Orators, Hiſtorians and Philoſophers which came after him.

Heraclides, an antient Author, has made a Collection of this Poet's Allegories: Who this *Heraclides* was is not eaſily gueſs'd, ſince there are a Dozen or Thirteen of the ſame Name. However we muſt not with *Geſner* confound him with the *Heraclides*, whoſe Life *Diogenes Laertius* has left us; for he was a *Platoniſt*; and this Treatiſe of Allegories ſeems to have been compoſed only to vindicate this Poet againſt *Plato*, who had baniſh'd him out of his Republick.

He obſerves [g] that the uſe of Allegories is very antient. And thus *Alcæus* has given the Deſcription of a Veſſel in danger of being loſt, in ſo natural a manner, that it looks to be his only Aim. Whereas he repreſented the Tyranny of *Myrſilius*, who was about to ruin the Republick of *Mitylene*, and ſink the liberty of his Country; becauſe in Allegories one thing is ſaid, and another meant.

Homer would be an impious Atheiſt, if this had not been his method, ſince he ſays a thouſand things affrontive of the Gods. He would perpetually contradict himſelf, ſince he ſpeaks [h] honourably of them, and maintains that they ought never to be reſiſted.

Οὐκ ἄν ἔγωγε θεοῖσιν επουρανίοισι μαχοίμλω
Νήπισι οἵ Ζηνὶ μλυεαίνομλῳ ἰσοφαρίζειν.

Non ego Cælicolis unquam pugnavero divis:
Stultitia eſt nos velle Jovem contendere contra.

Apollo, of whom *Homer* tells ſo many Stories, is the Sun, whoſe Nature, Operations, and Effects he decribes: In calling him *Exaerges*, he means, that he operates a great way off, ſince he ſends his

[a] Vide Bogani Homerus Hebraizans, *in which he would prove that there is no Poet comes ſo near the Sacred Writers*, neminem Poetam tantopere referre ſacros Scriptores. [b] Homeri Gnomologia duplici paralleliſmo illuſtrata, uno ex locis ſacræ Scripturæ, quibus *Gnomæ Homericæ*, aut prope affines, aut non prorſus abſimiles; altero ex Gentium Scriptoribus, per Jacobum du Portum Cantabrigienſem, in 4°. 1660. Cantabrigiæ, p. 4. *There are* 291 *of them.* [c] Crœſius Homerus Hebraiſans in 8°. an. 1704. [d] Vide Plutarchus de Audiendis Poetis, p. 19. Id. de vitâ & poeſi Homeri. [e] Theoph. Gale præf. ad opuſcula Mythologica phyſica, ed. Amſtæl. 1688. [f] Homeri vita ib. p. 284. [g] Heraclites Ponticus allegoriæ Homericæ, ibid. p. 412. [h] Ibid. p. 409.

Rays

Rays from Heaven down to the bottoms of Valleys; and 'tis abſurd to believe, that he made him the Son of a [i] Woman, that came from the Banks [k] of the *Tanais*, or *Volga*, to *Delos*, to perform her Devotions. In Stiling him *Lucegenetes*, he deſign'd not to have it thought, that he was born in *Lycia*, ſince that Fable was invented a great while after; but he inſinuated, that the Sun is the Author of the firſt twilight that uſhers in the Morning. His Verſes abound with ſuch like natural Truths, which the ignorant don't underſtand.

V. *Dion* [l] *Chryſoſtom* likewiſe affirms, that *Homer* finding it very difficult to inſtruct the Men of his Age, made uſe of Fables to teach them Hiſtory and Morality. Some diſcover ſome Aſtronomical Truths in the debauchery of *Mars* and *Venus*; becauſe the Conjunction of theſe two Planets makes a Nativity fruitful in Adulteries. Theſe impurities are ſecret at firſt, but when the Sun riſes higher, they grow publick. Others have diſcovered in them ſome Lectures againſt Muſick and obſcene Songs, which corrupt the Heart, and inſenſibly draw it into the greateſt debaucheries. We are taught from *Juno*'s Marriage with *Jupiter*, that love-toys don't laſt always. We grow weary of a Miſtreſs that has decoyed us; Enjoyment grows diſguſtful, the Family is diſturb'd with jealouſies and perpetual quarrels.

VI. Moſt ignorant Readers, and a few *Cabbaliſts*, are ſhock'd to ſee the Gods in Chains like *Saturn*, thrown headlong from Heaven like *Vulcan*; one while they are diſmembred of their noble parts; another, they run madding after Women. *Juno* raving with Jealouſie, is always reſtleſs, and in an ill humour; but there lies the Art of the *Cabbala*, to involve a myſtical Senſe under Stories that at firſt ſight appear ridiculous. The Chains of *Saturn* denote [m] the concatenation of Secondary Cauſes, by the Power of the Deity. *Vulcan* tumbling from Heaven down upon Earth, is a Symbol of the Divine Influence, which leaves Heaven, and deſcends to the low parts of the Earth. Laſtly, all the *Cabbaliſts* underſtand by the Marriage of the Gods the Generation of the Creatures; and the vehement deſire of Nature to produce them is ſignifyed by *Juno*'s Jealouſie and Paſſion to converſe with *Jupiter*. The *Ægyptians* repreſented *Iſis*, every where in queſt of her Husband's Body, and panting after an Union; and the *Jews*, in imitation of them, give Women to the *long and little Face*, as well as to the *Sephiroths*. *Homer* was a *Cabbaliſt* as well as they: He muſt therefore be explain'd in the ſame manner; and the rather, becauſe 'tis improbable, that this Great Man, prefer'd by Antiquity before all the Poets, ſhould have dealt in ſuch unſavory and indigeſted Fables, without fixing a myſtical Senſe to them.

VII. We muſt not imagine, that his Verſes treat barely of the Operations of Nature; for the Poets were the Divines of their time: *Homer* was their Maſter and Founder, and therefore he preaches up the exiſtence of a God in the moſt evident manner. He gives him the name of *Jupiter*, which is derived from a Word ſignifying to *live* or to *burn*, becauſe God is eternal, and a conſuming Fire. But rather let us ſay, that his Name came from the *Hebrew* Word *Zeis* [n], which ſignifies, *that which is*, and imports as much as the ineffable Name *Jehovah*. *Homer* [o] was ſo exact in his *Odyſſes* about the *Unity* of a God, that he only ſtiled the Heroes Divine Men, though it was the cuſtom of his Time to Worſhip and Deify them: He expreſſes himſelf otherwiſe in his *Iliad*, becauſe ſinging the Adventures of the Pagan Heroes, he was obliged to ſpeak their Language; but in his *Odyſſes*, giving the Hiſtory of the *Patriarchs*, he kept to the Style of a ſacred Orthodox and Religious Writer.

The Names of *Ulyſſes* and *Penelope* are imaginary, or Metaphorical, in imitation of the holy Penmen, who call *Jeſus Chriſt*, *David*, and *Jehu*, *Zimri*. The Iſle of *Ithaca*, where the Poet has ſeated the Empire of *Ulyſſes*, is *Meſopotamia*, the Country of the *Patriarchs*. *Minos* who lived ſo long, and was the Head of the Family, repreſents *Abraham*, who was very Old when he begat *Iſaac*. *Atrides*, or *Agamemnon*, is the Scripture-Lot, whoſe Name ſignifies *to conceal*. He has alſo ſpoken of *Abraham* under the Name of *Neſtor*, and his Son's Name is Αγλαῶ, from an *Hebrew* Word ſignifying to *laugh*, a plain proof that this is the *Iſaac*, that *Neſtor*, that is, *Abraham* was obliged to Sacrifice. *Telemachus* is *Iſhmael*, for this Name being Hebrais'd, ſignifies to *draw the Bow*. The *Lacedæmonians*, of whom *Homer* ſo often ſpeaks, expreſs'd their Original in their Name; they were *a People of the Eaſt*, as being the Children of the *Patriarchs*, who came from the *Eaſt* into *Canaan*. Laſtly, [p] *Agamemnon*'s *Iphigenia*, is *Jephtah*'s Daughter, which has the exacter coincidence, becauſe theſe two Princes lived at the ſame time. And thus *Homer* is [q] made a good Divine and *Cabbaliſt*, who wrote all the ſacred Hiſtory in Allegories and Adventures, which ſeem fabulous and Romantick.

VIII. The *Cabbala* was much more neceſſary to the *Greek* Philoſophers, than the Poets, as having a great intereſt to conceal their Sentiments in matter of Religion, and to reveal them no farther than was agreeable to the Peoples Palate. *Pythagoras* made an happy uſe of this Method: He was Born at *Samos*, and had learnt of the *Phœnicians* ſeveral Truths, which they had received from the *Patriarchs*. He travell'd into *Ægypt*, where he had a great intimacy with the *Jews* that were captive there. *Selden* thought that *Pythagoras* was cotemporary with *Ezechiel*; that he had converſed with this Prophet, and was inſtructed in the *Jewiſh* Religion, whereof ſome Lineaments appear in his Writings. He borrowed of the *Jews* the method of forming his Colleges, and making different Orders of Diſciples; for the *Jews* had two Claſſes of Proſelytes, and the Maſters cauſed their Diſciples to ſit on Benches on the Ground, elevated above one another, till they became *perfect*, which St. *Paul* [r] alludes to, ſaying, *he was not yet perfect*. Laſtly, he imitated the Diſcipline of the *Eſſenes*, which were of a longer ſtanding than is commonly believed. For this College of *Caſideans* was form'd during the Captivity. Theſe Votaries [s] ſeeing the People too much addicted to the World, and Idolatrous Worſhip, thought, that they ought to ſeparate from this impure Body, and enter into a more private and Religious Society. *Pythagoras*, who found them in *Chaldea*, was charm'd with their way of living, and borrowed their Auſterities and Rules.

IX. But this Philoſopher eſpecially, ſtudied the Religion of the *Jews*, and their Ideas of the Deity, on which account he calls his Philoſophy a Theology. He gave God the Name of *Quaternity* [t] which was taken from the Name of *Jehovah*, that was never pronounced, and conſiſted of four Letters. God

[i] Exaerges *was the name of this Votary.* [k] Ibid 416. 417. [l] Dion Chryſ. or. de Homero. v. p. 561. [m] Kirker Oed. Ægypt. Gymnaſ. Hier. 3. c. 7. p. 171, 180. [n] Ζεὺς ab Hebr. יהוה Jeſ. הוה Zeh. *He that is.* [o] Homerus Hebraiſans. Croeſ. Introd. c. 12. p. 181. *and* Odyſſ. c. 1. p. 240. An. 1704. [p] Du Portus. Ibid Præf. [q] Gale *Court of the Gentiles.* p. 2. l. 2, c. 2. p. 93. [r] Phil. 3. 12. [s] Gale. ib. l. 2. c. 6. p. 147. *See the ſecond Book of this Hiſtory.* c. 13. *where I prove the contrary.* [t] Τέτραχτὺς *from* Τέτραγράμμαϛον. Gale. c. 8. p. 147.

was *Being* by way of Excellence; and the Stile of the *Jews* ſpeaking of God, was *he that is:* He [u] and an *Unity* of Principle; *whence proceeded the duality in an indefinite manner*; but this *duality was always dependent like Matter, on its Principle, or its Author.* He believed that all things proceeded from this Unity; that God animated and enliven'd all things; and that he ought to be the principal Object of the Study and Knowledge of Men; he ſerved him very religiouſly, and Worſhip'd him before the *Æons*, *Demons*, and Heroes; he condemn'd [x] the Images of the Deity, and would have his worſhip burden'd with few Ceremonies. Salt was in his Meals the Symbol of Union, which he had taken from the *Jews*, with whom it was the Sign of their Covenant with God; and therefore he forbad any Sacrifice to be offer'd him without Salt. The Tranſmigration of Souls was a *Jewiſh* Tradition a little diſguiſed; for he fell into that Error from his having learnt in *Chaldæa* that the Bodies ſhould hereafter riſe again. And thus the *Jews* who believed the Reſurrection, eſpouſed alſo the Tranſmigration of Souls, as appears by *Herod*, who was afraid that *Jeſus Chriſt* was the ſame *John* Baptiſt, who had been Beheaded by his Order. Laſtly, he enjoyned his Diſciples ſilence, as the moſt certain means to arrive to the Contemplative Divinity, which *Pythagoras* had ſo often heard of from the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts.* [y]

X. From them it was, that he learnt thoſe numerous Symbols, wherewith he ſhadowed ſome important Truths from the People, and only revealed them to the Initiated. This *Cabbaliſtick* Art was in Uſe among the *Jews* in *Sampſon's* Time, at whoſe Marriage, Riddles were propoſed, which could not be read, without the Aſſiſtance of his Wife. They were in great vogue in the *Eaſt*, and particularly among the *Jews* in *Solomon's* Reign. Therefore *Pythagoras* took his method from thence. He forbade the uſe of Beans; under which myſtical Language he meant the Pleaſures of the Fleſh: "Dont taſte "them, ſaid he [z], in Summer; rarely in Spring and "Autumn; they are more allowable in Winter; "but never do it, except when you would weaken your ſelf. He would *have the upper hand given only to his Diſciples*; which is a Precept wholly Jewiſh and Chriſtian; for he [a] meant by it that no commerce was to be had with *Strangers, nor holy things given to Dogs*, as *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaid afterwards. He commanded not to approach *dead Beaſts*; which was alſo forbidden by the Law, to teach Men to avoid the *dead Works of Sin.* Laſtly, *Pythagoras* made uſe of Numbers; the Unit was the number of Perfection, and the Symbol of the Deity, who is the Author of all things. *Minerva*, or *Wiſdom*, was notified by the number Seven. This perfectly correſponds with the *Sephiroths*, and eſpecially with the Notions of *More* and other *Cabbaliſts*, who believe the *Sephiroths* to be Numbers.

XI. *Pythagoras* therefore perfectly underſtood the *Cabbala*, having learnt it of the *Jews*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls his Doctrine an Hebraiſing Philoſophy, not only becauſe it agrees with the *Jewiſh* Principles, but becauſe he followed their method of inſtruction. A great Man [b] who has unravell'd the Life and Sentiments of the Antient Philoſophers with a moſt wonderful Accuracy and Learning, has in a few words compriſed the Summary of this Subject. 'Twas Pythagoras, ſays he, *that brought into* Greece *this method of teaching by Emblems and Silence, which he had borrowed of the Jews. When his Diſciples ask'd him any thing concerning any important matter, they were contented with his anſwer, and acquieſced.* He has ſaid it. And thus the antient *Cabbaliſts* [c] with an implicit Obedience ſaid, the *Wiſe Man hath ſpoken.* All this part of the Pythagorical Philoſophy, reſpecting the Deity, was expreſs'd by Symbols, like the *Cabbaliſtick* Divinity: And indeed, this was the method of all the antient Philoſophers and Poets, who beſides that, they believed Religion to be beſt expreſs'd this way, conceal'd the Truth under Allegories and Emblems, to prevent irreligion and and contempt. The Symbols were ſo many aſſiſtances and ſupports to the Memory; and each of theſe Symbols had its Badge and known Signification, as Soldiers have their particular Liveries to diſtinguiſh them; and ſo that there could be no miſtake. Laſtly, it was with great Wiſdom, that *Pythagoras* gave Reputation to this Method in *Greece*, becauſe *material Objects are the Images of ſpiritual and heavenly things*, and ſerve to raiſe the Soul to the contemplation and fruition of God.

XII. *Euclid* of *Megara*, not the Mathematician of that Name, took a contrary Method to *Pythagoras's*. For he Prohibited his Diſciples the uſe of Emblems and Allegories, as what obſcured Matter and Diſputation, inſtead of clearing them. *If the Emblems and Compariſons*, ſaid he, *be juſt, we ought rather to go directly to the Object they repreſent, that being the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way of knowing it. We diſcover it without a Veil, which ever ſpreads ſome ſhade and obſcurity over it. If the compariſons are defective, they occaſion a thouſand difficulties, and are fit only to give falſe Ideas.* But this Method was not followed. The Poets and Philoſophers continued to darken their Doctrines, and to conceal the Knowledge of their true Sentiments from the Vulgar. I believe notwithſtanding that, the thing is overſtrain'd, and Notions are fathered upon the antients which were none of theirs.

An Author, for inſtance, who has lately publiſh'd an explication of many *Antiques*, ſuppoſes that the Antients expreſs'd the Unity of God by the Pantheon of which they have often ſpoken; becauſe they included all their Deities in one ſingle Temple. This Conjecture is no better than that which he has made upon a Chariot and four Horſes, encompaſſed with the twelve Signs of the Zodiack, which he takes [d] for a *Taliſman* of the *Priſcillianiſts.* The Truth is, the *Pantheon* was no invention of the Philoſophers, nor is it to be found in their Writings; but it was the work of Statuaries and Architects, who never dreamt of the Unity of God, nor meant ſo ſubtilly to conceal it. They aim'd rather at the conveniency of the People, who found in one place all the Gods they deſired to Worſhip; and here the moſt capricious had wherewithal to regale their fancies.

XIII. I queſtion whether *Socrates* ought to be rank'd among the *Cabbaliſts*: For, 1. He was ſo open in his Opinions, as to expoſe himſelf to the Jealouſie of the *Poets* and *Sophiſts* of his Time, who brought an Accuſation againſt him, and cauſed him to be ſentenced to Death. He was a Martyr to the Unity of God: whereas if he had wrapt up his Doctrine in figurative Expreſſions, they could not have convicted him of teaching it; for there is an inexhauſtible Fund of Subterfuges in this Science, as well as in Scholaſtick Divinity. 2. *Socrates's* Excellency lay in Moral Philoſophy. He

[u] Diogen. Laert. Pyth. l. 8. §. 25. p. 507. Ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀπάντων, μόναδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ὕλην τῇ μονάδι αἰτίῳ οὔσῃ ὑποστῆσαι. [x] V. Reuchlin de Cabbala l. 2. Gale *Court of the Gentils.* p. 2. l. 2. c. 67. 8, 9. ibid. p. 177. [y] Reuchlin de Cabbala l. 2. 775. [z] Pythag. apud Diog. Laert. l. 8. Segm. 9. p. 494. [a] V. Gale. c. 9. p. 194. &c. 200. [b] Stanley. [c] Stanley *Hiſtory of Philoſophy of* Pyth. Fol. 136. [d] Le Gemme Antiche figurate di Michel Angelo cauſeo de la chauſſe Fig. 110. *and* 55. in Roma 4. 1700.

† was

was ſenſible of the Defect of the old Philoſophy, which confined Men to the ſtudy of the inſcrutable Secrets of Nature, inſtead of raiſing them to the Contemplation of God. He perceived alſo that it was impoſſible for the Soul to be united to the Deity, whilſt it was burthen'd with Vices, and tormented with Paſſions. He compared moſt Philoſophers to Phyſitians, that ſtudy Diſeaſes, but either cannot, or will not labour to find out the neceſſary Remedies to cure them. And therefore he changed the antient Method, reducing Philoſophy to the *Knowledge*, *Love*, *and Imitation of God*, for he talk'd in this manner; and in order to qualifie his Soul for the Imitation and Contemplation of God, he labour'd to purge it of Vices. 3. In fine, his Method of teaching was natural, and ſome Ironies excepted, with which he interwove his Diſcourſes, nothing could be more plain. He maintain'd too, that it was ſpoiling Children to inſtruct them by Fables and Allegories, which they could not unriddle in ſo tender an Age. This is the Judgment we muſt give of *Socrates*, when we examine without prejudice what we know of him.

XIV. But notwithſtanding, [a] there are Three Things ſaid of this Philoſopher. 1. That he was acquainted with ſome important Truths, as the Perfection and Unity of God, ſince he was a Martyr for it: The Corruption of Man, in whom he ſuppoſed a Vice, an Evil born with him; a neceſſity of Divine Inſpiration, both to know God, and to do good; and tho' the Demon that attended him was rather an evil Angel than a good One, yet it is proved, that *Socrates* begg'd the Aſſiſtance of Spirits, and of a particular Inſpiration 2. They ſay that he borrow'd his way of diſputing from the *Jewiſh Doctors:* For he obliged his Diſciples to ask him ſome Queſtions, which he anſwer'd rather by overthrowing their Opinion, than eſtabliſhing his own, becauſe he was convinced, that he knew but little. This was alſo the method of the *Jews*, which continued down to our Saviour's Time. For thus the *Phariſees* came to queſtion him, and demanded a Miracle; and on another occaſion, "[b] *they urged* " *him vehemently, ſeeking to catch ſome thing out of* " *his mouth.* They laid Snares for him but *Jeſus* " *Chriſt*, as well as *Socrates*, eluded their Queſti- " ſtions with Railleries Cenſures, and Parables. 3. They find a kind of *Cabbala* in this Philoſopher; and if he condemned Fables and Allegories, it was only for the ill uſe that was made of them, for he was 'willing that Men ſhould be conducted thro' that Road, provided it was made eaſie, and they were led more directly to the Truth.

XV. *Plato* likewiſe frequently employed Riddles, and made uſe of obſcure and impenetrable Terms. to thoſe that were not initiated, for fear they ſhould diſcover his true Sentiments.

Plato ſays, " That the Gods kept a great Feaſt " after the Birth of *Venus*, in which *Porus* was " drunk; at the end of the Banquet, *Poverty* came " to the Palace-Gate, to beg the Leavings. She " found *Porus* profoundly ſleeping out his Debauch " in the Garden; ſhe had a mind to lie with him, " and to have a Child to comfort her in her Ne- " ceſſities, and ſo ſhe conceived, and brought forth " *Love*. *Euſebius* [d] owns that this is obſcure, but yet believes with *Origen*, that *Plato*, as a *Cabbaliſt*, deſign'd to repreſent the Original of the World. *Venus* is *Nature*, which then appear'd; becauſe God created the Univerſe. The *Feaſt* ſignifies that Abundance of Goods, that *Nature* is enrich'd with. In *Porus* you find *Adam* giving himſelf up to Pleaſure, and growing drunk with it. *Poverty* is the Devil that tempts him in that Condition.

XVI. The ſame Philoſopher, willing to teach Men what was the Source of Love, which they knew not before, gives them this Leſſon to communicate it to others. " Firſt, ſays he, [e] we muſt " know that Men were not always made as they " are at preſent; for there are only two different " Sexes, the Man and Woman, whereas there were " ſome *Androgynes*, or *Hermaphrodites*, whoſe Spe- " cies is loſt, and only their Name remains. The " Male proceeded from the Sun, the Female from the " Earth, and the *Hermaphrodite* from the Moon, who " participate of the Earth and Sun, as the *Hermaphro-* " *dite* of the two Sexes. Moreover Men were entire- " ly double, which rendred them active; for they " wheel'd about with great Celerity. They were ſo " ſtrong as to attempt to make War with the Gods. " *Jupiter*, who ſaw, and was alarm'd at this Attempt, " convened his Counſel, which was in extream con- " fuſion; for to deſtroy the Men, would be to aboliſh " Religion, Worſhip, and Sacrifices. *Jupiter* be- " thought him of an Expedient which ſucceeded; " which was to divide them into two halves; from " which accrued a twofold Advantage, one was " the weakning Man, and the other doubling the " number of Worſhippers; and ſaid *Jupiter*, if ever " they offer to ſtir again, I'll divide them once " more in two, and then hopping only upon one " Foot, be their Deſigns never ſo miſchievous to " us, they can't proſper. This Counſel was ap- " proved by the reſt of the Aſſembly, and Men " were divided. *Apollo* was employ'd to turn eve- " ry One's Face to a right ſituation, to draw to- " gether the Skin where the Sciſion was made, to " make a Purſe of it, which is the Belly, and to " tie it up with what they call the *Navil*. He af- " terwards poliſh'd the Skin, employing to that " purpoſe an Inſtrument like that of the *Curriers*, " to prepare their Leather. Men thus ſeparated, " ſought conſtantly a re-union; they embrac'd and " kiſs'd, but ſtill Generation was wanting, and " Mankind periſh'd by this barren Love. *Jupiter* " relented, and altering his firſt Reſolution, chang- " ed the ſituation of the Genital Parts, placing " them before, whereas they wore them *ſuper na-* " *tes*. This reſtored Order to Nature; Generati- " on was perform'd; Love was ſatiated, and eve- " ry one laboured to get his Living; every one " ſought his other half, but the *Hermaphrodites* are " infinitely fond of Women, commit frequent A- " dulteries, and from them moſt commonly Whore- " mongers are produced.

XVII. When we give theſe Words an unprejudiced Reading, we find nothing in them becoming a Philoſopher, far from exciting the Admiration of *Chriſtians*, and obliging them to rob him of the Glory of his Invention, and to make him a Plagiary of *Moſes*, or the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts:* And yet People are uſed to make *Plato* ſteal from *Moſes*, and to ſay, that in his Travels in *Ægypt*, [f] he ſtruck an acquaintance with *Jeremiah*, who was removed thither, after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. [g] *Euſebius* ſays poſitively, that the fore-going Allegory is the Hiſtory of *Eve* taken out of *Adam*'s Side, copied from *Geneſis*, and paraphraſed by *Plato*. 'Tis added, [g] That this Philoſopher ſpeaking of the Immortality of the Soul, and the Creation of the Univerſe, owns that he extracted a ſolid Proof of it *from an antient Tradition, from a certain divine Diſ-*

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[a] Κάλον ἔμφυλον. Gale Court of the Gentiles. p. 2. l. 3. c. 1. p. 216. [b] Ibid. Mark viii. 11. Luke xi. 53. [c] Kirker Oed. Ægypt. cl. 3. [d] Euſeb. Præp. Evan. l. 12. c. 11. p. 584. [e] Plato in Convivio. p. 323. [f] Euſeb. ibid. c. 12. p. 585. [g] Παλαιὸς λόγος, apud. Plut. παλαιὰν πίστιν διὰ λόγου θεῖα τινὸς ἢ ἔκοσα μυθὸν, i. e. *The antient Tradition; the antient Faith; the probable Fable.* Gale's Court of the Gentiles, p. 2. l. 3. c. 2. p. 229.

courſe, and from a probable Fable. That is, from ſome written Tradition of the *Jews*, who call'd it the Word of God.

Others not ſatisfied to make *Plato* tutour'd by *Moſes* or *Jeremiah*, will have it, that the old *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* inform'd him of all theſe Myſteries, and of the Art of teaching them as he has done: They pretend, that being well acquainted with the Gradation of their *Sephiroths*, or *Splendors*, he has ſpoken of that call'd *Malcouth*, *the Kingdom*, which is Female, and joins her ſelf to her Husband *Tiphereth*, which ſignifies *Beauty*, and denotes the *Adam Kadmon*. Why don't they rather ſay, that *Plato* eſpous'd their Dream about *Adam*'s Formation, for they ſay, that he was created double, and that God cut him in two, as *Plato* ſays *Jupiter* ſerved the Giants, that went to dethrone him: Or rather, why ſhould we ſeek for ſo many Myſteries, that can't be ſupported but by weak Conjectures; and though they were well grounded, would do no honour to the Chriſtian Religion?

XVIII. *Plato* is made to be Cotemporary with *Jeremiah*, meerly for the ſake of having him inſtructed by this *Seer of the Lord*. This is a much groſſer Fault, than that of *Ælian*, who makes him fight at the Battle of *Tanagra* and *Corinth*, one of which was fought ſeventeen Years before he was born, and the other when he was but ſix Years old. *Diogenes Laertius* makes *Euripides* and *Plato* to be in *Ægypt* together; and ſo he would have had on one hand the Prophet *Jeremiah*, and on the other the moſt famous Poet of his Age, which muſt have made an uſeful and agreeable Converſation. But *Euripides* was dead ſome Years before *Plato*'s Travel's into *Ægypt*, and *Jeremiah* near two Centuries, ſo that the Acquaintance of this Prophet and Poet with the Philoſopher is equally chimerical. Had *Jeremiah* been his Maſter, he would have taught him to diſlike the *Cabbaliſts*, who annulled the Law and Truth, by their Allegories.

XIX. *Plato* had ſome grand Ideas of the Deity, or rather he has ſpoke more nobly of him then other Philoſophers. He aſſerts, that as he is an Intelligent Being, his Conceptions muſt be immutable and eternal. He call'd God *Good*, becauſe he heaps Goods upon the Creatures: *Beautiful*, becauſe his Eſſence is always equal; *True*, becauſe he is the Fountain of Truth; *Father*, becauſe he is the Principle of all Things: *Laſtly*, He is *Ineffable*, becauſe indeed there is neither Genus nor Species nor Difference that can be applied to him. He tranſcends our Expreſſions and Thoughts; becauſe Man that depends upon his Senſes, is ſtill dropping upon ſome ſenſible Object, whereas he ought to abſtract from every thing that is corporal, and to conceive a pure Spirit.

Theſe are charming Expreſſions to thoſe that read him, without being at the pains of connecting his Syſtem; but when we go deeper, and enquire, for inſtance, how the World was made, we learn from him that the matter of it was eternal, and that it was not poſterior to the Deity, from whom it flowed, except in order of Nature. He diſtinguiſhes, 1. The internal and intelligible Word, which is the Pattern or Model which God framed to himſelf of all the Things that he was to produce. 2. A *Second* Word which he *uttered*, which was Matter, which God began to force out of his Boſom; this Matter was form-leſs, being only *the Receptacle*, *Nurſe*, *Mother*, *and the Subject of all Forms*, for it was capable of receiving all ſorts of Figures, but it had none of them; as when we would make the impreſſion of a Seal upon the Wax, we chuſe a Piece which as yet has received none, leſt the Figure we would impreſs upon ſhould be confuſed; God deſigning the Production of the World, iſſued from his Boſom a Matter without Form, that it might be ſuſceptible of all the Figures he would pleaſe to give it. 3. From theſe Two Principles aroſe a Third, call'd *the only Son of God*, μονογενὴς, which was the World in the Order we now find it. He gave this World a Soul to animate it, and a Reaſon to conduct it; and as he ſpeaks himſelf, he made it *animate and rational* [h].

Turn this Sentiment on what ſide you pleaſe, you'll never find in it the Hiſtory of the Creation deſcribed by *Moſes*; and if he has not embraced *Moſes*'s Principles, how can it be ſaid that he has copied him in this matter, and only cloath'd him wih ſome *Cabbaliſtick* Allegories, to avoid ſcaring the People, accuſtom'd to another Syſtem, by the Novelty of his own?

XX. Whoever will examine this Philoſopher's Allegories, and not be prejudiced by the Authority of *Origen* and *Euſebius*, (who have found *Moſes*'s Syſtem in it under other Terms) will manifeſtly ſee that theſe Ancients are miſtaken. And indeed there is no Analogy betwixt *Porus* and *Adam*, and the *Devil* and *Poverty*: Was innocent *Adam* drunk with Pleaſures, and aſleep before he was tempted? Is it not better to ſay that *Poverty* was the Woman created whilſt the firſt Man ſlept, who afterwards entred the Garden, and robb'd him of all his Happineſs? *He knew her*; but inſtead of producing *Love*, *Cain* was the Fruit of that Conjunction.

They will have it, that the Men, who were created double, expreſs the manner of *Eve*'s Extraction from the Side of *Adam*: Very well: But what will become of the *Hermaphrodites*, who were of both Sexes? What will they ſay of *Jupiter*'s Deſign, who upon mature conſultation reſolved one time or other to cut Men into two equal Parts, and to maim them all, leaving them but one Leg, if they continued their Inſolence, and attempted to dethrone the Gods? What will they do with *Plato*'s Conjunction of theſe Men after they were divided? That is ſo beaſtly, that *Euſebius* ventured not to relate it, but was content to take a little part of it, and leave the reſt, which affronted Modeſty, and could not be read without bluſhing. However, all this is patch'd together and tends to ſhew how *Love* was produced. What reference has all this to the Two *Sephiroths*, the *Malcouth* and the *Tiphereth*; the *Kingdom* and *Beauty* married to each other: I know not why the *Kingdom* is made the Wife, and *Beauty* the Husband. The *Jews* ſay that the *Malcouth* is the *Aſſembly of Iſrael*; that ſhe receives the Prayers and good Works of the Saints; that ſhe adorns her ſelf with them, and preſents them to *Tephereth* her Husband: In God's Name, let the Church have the Office of preſenting to God the Prayers of the Faithful that compoſe her; but this is far enough from the Creation of *Adam* and *Eve*, and their Marriage related by *Plato*.

XXI. It will be ask'd, perhaps, what could be *Plato*'s Meaning? But it is not my Buſineſs to unfold it: He might have a thouſand different from thoſe imputed to him; and might have taken them from the *Heathen Religion* rather than the *Jewiſh*. But it is not enough to aſſert at random [i], "that "*Heſiod* and *Ovid* have framed their Gods out of "the Antient Patriarchs, and their Fables out of "the moſt ſacred Truths, or the Scripture: That "*Plato* was ſtiled Divine, only for the Divine "Knowledge he derived thence; that *Socrates*

[h] Ἐμψυχον καὶ λογικὸν. [i] Macè Chefcier, *Curate of St.* Oportune. Chron. & Hiſt. *Abridgment of the Old and New Teſtament*, in 4°. Paris, 1704.

" would not have been ſentenc'd to die, if he had " not found in Holy Writ the Unity of God; and " that *Ariſtotle* extracted the nobleſt Strokes of his " Morality from it. But theſe Aſſertions ought to be proved: For *Ovid* and *Heſiod* had never read *Moſes*, or the Hiſtory of the *Judges*. The *Heathenish Fables* did not always comprehend the Truths of our Religion; and it would be doing the Poets, the Authors, or Reporters of them too much Honour, to aſcribe to them that Deſign. *Plato*, I confeſs, was more judicious; but he had a mind perhaps to play upon the Credulity of the People, or make them ſenſible of the Ridiculouſneſs of their Superſtitions. He deſign'd, perhaps, to wrap up ſome particular Opinions, under ſome whimſical Ideas; and there is no need of his reading *Moſes*, to have ſaid all that we have related; or rather, all that he ſays is no manner of proof of his Deſign to paraphraſe this ſacred Hiſtorian. What if we ſhould carry our Conjectures farther, and maintain with a learned Man, that *Uranus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, thoſe falſe Gods of Antiquity, and the *Sphere* it ſelf of the *Barbarians*, came from the *Titans*, the *Sacræ*, or the *Celtæ*, among the *Greeks* and *Ægyptians!* In the mean time, theſe *Barbarians* had never read the Holy Scripture [k], and we muſt find out ſome new Lines of Communication before we can derive the *Jewiſh* Religion to the *Greeks*, thro' their Hands.

XXII. There are but two Things neceſſary to be obſerved concerning the Philoſophers; *Firſt*, That excepting *Socrates*, who ſpoke more naturally than the reſt, they were exceſſively fond of Allegories, Symbols, and a myſtical Theology. However, this was a dangerous Method, and liable to Illuſion. A modern Philoſopher, accuſtom'd to ſolid Reaſoning, maintains, that *Rhetorick* is an Impediment to the exact Knowledge of the Truth; whereas the Antients thought it neceſſary to paint the Objects, and make them ſenſible to the Mind; he affirms [l] that Men ſhould be ſpared *theſe ſenſible, lively, and moving Images, by reaſon of the Wounds that they make in the Heart, and the Images, which the moving Impreſſions of ſurrounding Bodies leave upon the Mind. We can't be too cautious in avoiding theſe Images, becauſe they tend to debilitate its Strength and Liberty,*

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The Antients fell into exceſs; it being certain that ſenſible Images buried Truth, and weaken'd inſtead of adorning it. In the mean time, there are ſome Subjects ſo naturally profound and obſcure, that we can't give Novices an Idea of them, without this Aſſiſtance.

Secondly, The Antient Philoſophers bigotted to this Symbolical Divinity, imagin'd, like the *Cabbaliſts*, to arrive to the Contemplation of the Deity; and they ſaid they were not only united with him, but transformed into him. *Jamblicus* [m] ſmiled to hear a Man ask him whether it was true, as was reported, that when he ſaid his Prayers, he was lifted ten Cubits from the Earth; that his Body and Cloaths changed colour, till ſuch time as he came down again; but it was believed at leaſt at that time, that contemplative Philoſophy produced theſe Effects, and conferred a Power of working Miracles. He ſaid himſelf, [n] that this *drew him near to the Deity*. *Proclus* alſo maintain'd, " That Men " arrived to the ſupreme Good by this ſame con- " templative Divinity; which requires no great " Study nor Learning, but the Repoſe and Tran- " quillity of the Soul, and a Conſtancy of Mind, " which carries us to the Deity in an unſpeakable " manner. We muſt, inſtead of much Diſcourſe, " offer our ſelves to the Divine Light, ſhut up " our Senſes, and only contemplate that Unity of " ſecret Beings, to reſt in it. We have ſaid enough of the *Philoſophical Cabbala*; and we ſee it has ſo great a Conformity with the myſtical Divinity of the *Chriſtians*, that we can't but find the one in the Picture of the other.

[k] Pezeron *Antiquity of the* Celtæ. *Preface.* [l] *Father* Lamy *againſt the Rhetorick of the College.* [m] Eunapius Jambl. Vita. p. 2. & 4. [n] Jambl. de Myſt Ægypt. §. 1. c. 11. p. 121. & §. 2. c. 11. p. 55.

CHAP XXI.

Of the Method Jeſus Chriſt *uſed in his Diſcourſes, and of that of St.* Paul *in the Explication of Types and Allegories. The Explication of that of* Agar.

I. *Whether* Jeſus Chriſt *was a* Cabbaliſt. II. *An Explication of theſe Words,* One tittle of the Law ſhall not paſs away. III. *The* Phariſees *were not* Cabbaliſts. IV. *St.* Paul *accuſed of being a* Cabbaliſt. V. *The Story of* Agar *turn'd into Allegory.* VI. Bentley's *Conjecture. How this Text ought to be explain'd.* VII. *St.* Paul's *Parallel betwixt* Abraham's *two Wives explain'd.* VIII. *St.* Paul *does not make it an Argument againſt the* Galatians. IX. *His Method can't be made a Precedent.*

I. JESUS CHRIST going to juſtifie himſelf againſt the Accuſation of the *Jews*, who gave out that he came to aboliſh the Law, aſſures them, [a] *Till heaven and earth paſs, one jot or one tittle ſhall no wiſe paſs from the law, till all be fulfilled.* Which Words have made it believed, that our Lord was a *Cabbaliſt*, who counted the Points of the Law, to draw Myſteries out of them. And *Capel* [b], who rejected the Antiquity of the Points, obſerves, that the Word tranſlated in our Verſion, ſignifies the little Point of the prickle of a Thorn, which was put over the Letters; and that our Saviour alluded to their Cuſtom, who not only reckon'd the Letters of the Law, but alſo the little ornamental Points of them, and boaſted that they underſtood all their Excellence and Value. This Conjecture may be confirm'd by the Authority of a learned [c] Rabbin, who aſſerts that there were ſome in the Prophet's Time, who employ'd themſelves to examine the Particles of the Law: *They weigh'd each Letter, one after another, and found a myſtical Senſe in them; and they not only ſcann'd the Letters, but even the minuteſt Points, wherein likewiſe they found ſome Myſtery.*

II. But this Rabbin lived but in the Fourteenth Century; and the Author of theſe *Paths of Faith* is not the famous *Meir*, a *Proſelyte of the Race* of *Nero*,

[a] Mat. v. 18. [b] Capel in Mat. v. Critic. t. 6. p. 152. [c] R. Meir in Semitis fidei, Semita 8. init. fol. 104. c. 4. ibid.

who

who lived a little after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; but a *Spaniard*, call'd *Meir Aldebi* [d], who flouriſh'd a long time after; ſo that his Authority doth not go far. 'Tis no wonder that a Man, who ſaw the *Cabbala* eſtabliſh'd in his Nation, and had heard the Exactneſs of the *Maſoreths* cried up, ſhould believe that there were ſome exact Criticks in the Prophet's Time, who buſied themſelves to calculate the Letters, and their Points: But he ſays too much of them to be credited. Our Lord followed the Prejudice of the *Jews* in behalf of their Law. They believed that not the leaſt part of it whatever could be loſt. Purſuant to this Prejudice our Saviour ſaid, that not a *Jod*, the leaſt of the Letters, nor a Point of the Law ſhould ever paſs away. 'Twas in the ſame manner, that he uſed another *Jewiſh* Expreſſion, when he ſaid, he was not come *to deſtroy the Law*, that is, *to releaſe any one from obedience to its commands* [e]; for this was the *Jews* way of ſpeaking: ſo that there is no need of ſetting up *Cabbaliſts* at that Time, who counted the Letters, and every Point of them, and annex'd ſome Myſteries to them; ſince it does not appear from Scripture that this Science was yet invented.

III. There's not only no Footſteps of it in the Goſpel; but the two reigning Sects in our Saviour's Time ſeem not to have known the *Cabbala*. It was the *Phariſees*'s great Intereſt to prove that their Traditions were contain'd in Scripture, and conceal'd under the Shell of ſome Expreſſions. What advantage had they not had over the *Sadducees* in their Diſputes with them, if every Letter of the Law, every Comma, every little Point of a Letter had furniſh'd them with a Tradition?

Inſtead of recurring to a precarious Succeſſion of Doctors, which is very uncertain, they need only to have dipt into the Book, and ſhewn by the *Cabbala* all their Doctrines in the Five Books of *Moſes*, which had been the eaſier for them, becauſe they derived the corruption of the Law, from the Law it ſelf. The Word which forbids Murder, would *Cabbaliſtically* have authoriſed the hatred of Strangers, and confined Charity to the *Jews*. And yet the *Phariſees* never employ'd this ſort of Armour, which would have dazled the Eyes of the People. *Jeſus Chriſt* never charged them with this depravation of Scripture. They call'd Tradition an Oral Law; they derived it from the Mouth of *Moſes*; they inſiſted upon the Teſtimony of the Ancients, and knew nothing of this *Cabbaliſtick* Art of drawing Myſteries from Letters, or from their Conjunction and Tranſpoſition. They then were ſatisfy'd with ſome Allegorical Interpretations, which obtain'd in their Nation.

IV. *Jeſus Chriſt* likewiſe was contented to employ ſome Parables againſt the *Phariſees*, and to uſe the figurative Style that was cuſtomary with the *Jews*. But St. *Paul* is accuſed of tranſgreſſing the Bounds that our Lord kept in, of finding Types where there were none, and giving a myſtical Senſe to Hiſtorical Narratives, which is not due to them, but by the Rules of the *Cabbala*.

V. The Apoſtle ſcruples not to ſay that *Agar* was *the Law* that only brought forth Slaves, and that *Sarah* was the Goſpel-Diſpenſation, that brought forth free Children, and Heirs of the Houſe. Had he been contented to produce this Story as an Emblem, without drawing Arguments from it againſt the *Galatians*, who equal'd the Law with the Goſpel, the difficulty had been leſs. Preachers often give themſelves this liberty, and Writers are forc'd to borrow theſe Types, to make themſelves more intelligible to the People. But he diſputes againſt the *Galatians* [f], *Tell me, ye that deſire to be under the Law*; and he calls his Explication the Law it ſelf, as believing it was ſo neceſſary a Conſequence of Scripture, that it might be confounded with it. Beſides, St. *Paul* affirms, that *Agar* means *Mount Sinai*; but the difficulty is to find out this Signification, tho' declared by an Apoſtle. To ſay that he alluded to the Word *Agar*, which in *Arabick* ſignifies a *Stone*, which has ſome reference to *Sinai*, and *Arabia Petroſa*, ſo call'd, becauſe its Capital, built upon a Rock, was called *Petra*, whither St. *Paul* retired when he left *Damaſcus*, is to make him over-witty and ſubtle.

VI. A learned *Engliſhman* [g], thinks that theſe Words, *Sinai is a Mountain in Arabia*, ſlipt into the Text from the Margin, where they had been put to notifie the place where the Law was given; and it muſt be own'd that this Conjecture removes the Difficulty; but it is bold and unneceſſary, for without altering the Text, it may be thus tranſlated; *For Agar ſignifies Sinai, which is a Mountain of Arabia.* As *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaid, *This is my Body*, in giving the Bread, which was the Symbol and Repreſentation of it: St. *Paul* might ſay, *Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia*, that is, this Bond-Woman is the Type, and ſignifies that Place upon which the Law was given. And this clears the Text of all difficulty.

VII. The Parallel, which St. *Paul* draws betwixt *Abraham*'s two Wives, their Poſterity, and the two Churches of the Old and New Teſtament, cauſes ſomewhat more Confuſion; however it may be ſaid that as the *Hagarenes*, or *Iſhmaelites*, the Children of *Agar* are circumciſed, but for all that are Slaves, ſo the *Jews*, the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, notwithſtanding their Ceremonies and Covenant, retain the Spirit of Bondage. As in the Marriages which the Patriarchs contracted with their Servants, there always remain'd a Stain, ſince the Wife had no Dowry, nor did the Children ſhare the Inheritance, but had only ſome portion of Land aſſign'd them; ſo the *Jewiſh Church*, tho' in alliance with God, was deſtitute, notwithſtanding that, of the Title of *Spouſe*, and its Members of the glorious Denomination of *Children of God*, who partake of the incorruptible Inheritance of Glory. In fine, Let us abridge the Parallel, and only ſay, that here we find Two Wives, Two Children, Two Mountains, Two Nations, Two different Conditions, One of Slavery under the Law, and the Other of Adoption under the Goſpel, where the Spirit teaches us to cry *Abba Father* [h].

[d] Ganz. Tſemach David. an. 120. *that is* 1360. p. 145. [e] Λύσαι Solvere. [f] Gal. iv. 25. [g] Bentley.

[h] *St.* Paul's *Parallel betwixt* Agar *and* Sarah.

Two Wives of *Abraham*.

Agar, a Slave. —^— *Sarah*.

The two Children.

Iſhmael. —^— *Iſaac*.

The two Mountains.

Sinai. —^— *Sion*.

The two Covenants.

The Law given upon Sinai. —^— *The Goſpel upon* Sion *at* Jeruſalem.

The two Cities.

Jeruſalem *in* Judea. —^— *The Heavenly* Jeruſalem.

The two Nations.

The Jews, *having the Spirit of Bondage*. —^— *The* Chriſtians, *in whom the Spirit cries* Abba Father.

The two Conditions.

The Spiritual Slaves. —^— *The Children by Adoption, Heirs of God.*

VIII. The

VIII. The main thing to be obſerved is, that this is only an Allegory, and St. *Paul* does not pretend to draw any Argument from it againſt the *Galatians*; for having demonſtrated in the preceding Chapters the advantage of the Goſpel above the Law, and the impoſſibility of being juſtified by its Ceremonies, he concluded his Epiſtle with a paſſionate Exhortation, *My little Children, of whom I travail in birth again until Chriſt be formed in you; I deſire to be preſent with you now, and to change my Voice, for I ſtand in doubt of you.* This has no air of diſputation; and in concluſion of ſo pathetical an Addreſs, remembring the Subject he had been treating of, he adds, *ex abundanti*, the Allegory of *Agar*, which ſerved at once for an Embelliſhment to his Diſcourſe, and gave a freſh blow to their Infidelity, already ſtagger'd by more forcible Arguments. He addreſſes himſelf to thoſe that deſired to be under the Law, and talks to them by an Allegory, becauſe they were accuſtom'd to this kind of Interpretation received in the Synagogue. He aſks them, *whether they did not hear the Law*; becauſe this Type ſeem'd clear to thoſe that followed this Method, and had already drawn other Myſteries from this Story, which was capable of furniſhing a great many: There is nothing more uſual than to fight an Enemy with his own Weapons, and to oppugn him with one of thoſe Arguments, which we call *ad hominem*. This was St. *Paul*'s deſign, who employ'd ſome Allegorical Explications againſt the *Jews*, becauſe they were uſed to them, and thought perhaps at that time, that the Story of *Agar* was fraught with excellent ones of this kind.

IX. But no conſequence can be drawn from hence to authorize theſe interpretations. For if a Perſon divinely inſpired, and acquainted with the drift of the Holy Spirit has allegoriſed an Hiſtory, muſt we imagine that all the other Stories are big with *Mountains*, and are ſo many Types of the future Events of the Church? If St. *Paul* has done it once or twice, it does not follow that we are Privileged to ſift all the Places, that leave room for a Conjecture, and confidently to produce it. Laſtly, if St. *Paul* made uſe of an Allegory, when diſputing with Adverſaries, that thus interpreted Scripture; it does not follow that we have a right to give the like Interpretations to thoſe that ſtick to the literal Senſe of Scripture.

We ought to have St. *Paul*'s Authority, his Prudence, his Knowledge, and engage with the ſame Enemies as he; to turn the antient Events into Types and Allegories: And all that can be concluded from his Application of *Agar* and *Sarah* is, that this part of the *Cabbala* was well reliſh'd with the *Jews* at the time of this Apoſtle's Writing his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, whereof this Allegory is one of the obſcure Paſſages, and hardeſt to be underſtood.

CHAP. XXII.

The Cabbala *of the Chriſtians: The firſt part. Which relates to the exceſſive fondneſs of the Fathers for Allegories.*

I. ST. Barnabas *finds Jeſus Chriſt in the Land flowing with Milk and Honey.* II. *Several faults he has committed.* III. *The Myſteries he extracted from the Hiſtory of the Creation.* IV. *Whether Man be King of the World: His Empire conteſted.* V. *St.* Barnabas's *Epiſtle ſuppoſititious: But very antient.* VI. Hermes *a great* Cabbaliſt. VII. *The* Greek *Fathers more Cabbaliſts than the* Jews. VIII. *The reaſon why the Fathers took this method.* IX. *A rule to be obſerved.* X. *How the exceſs of the Fathers may be juſtified.* XI. Celſus's *Accuſation againſt the Chriſtians about it.* XII. *The praiſes given by* Origen *to the myſtical Senſe.* XIII. *Obſervations upon* Origen. XIV. *His Apology: The Judgment that ought to be made of it.* XV. *A Compariſon between the Chriſtians and Jewiſh Interpreters.* XVI. *A Prophetick Syſtem.* XVII. Rome *deſcribed in an antient Oracle.* XVIII. *Attempts to retake the Holy Land in vain.* XIX. *The Prophetick* Phoſphorus: *The ruine of the* Jews *foretold.* XX. *Chriſtian Hereticks pointed at in* Moſes's *Song.* XXI. *The Reformers deſcribed in the Revelations.* XXII. *The modern Divines much addicted to the myſtical Senſe.*

I. ST. *Barnabas*, St. *Paul*'s Scholar went much farther than his Maſter; at leaſt the Letter that goes by his Name is ſtuff'd all over with moſt unnatural Allegorical Explications. If God promiſes his People that they [a] ſhall enter *into a Land flowing with Milk and Honey*, he diſcovers *Jeſus Chriſt* in this Sentence, by *the underſtanding of Parables, and by a knowledge given by God.* The Land is *Man*; and this Man is *Jeſus Chriſt*; we enter into this Land when God calls us into his Church; and as Children live by Milk and Honey, (for *Jupiter* himſelf was fed with them in his infancy) the faithful are ſuſtain'd and enliven'd in *Jeſus Chriſt* by Faith. Nor was he the only Perſon that has had this Notion: For St. *Jerome*, who firſt found an Image of the *Jews* in the Milk and Honey, becauſe under the Law they were not qualified for ſolid Food, at laſt finds out in them the faithful, who enter into the Church, and are fed by Faith, till they can be ſupplied with more ſolid Nouriſhment. Add to this, that the Milk and Honey given to the Catechumen's after Baptiſm; and from this conjunction of Ceremonies and Promiſes, you'll make one of the moſt overgrown Myſteries in Nature. The Land of *Canaan* will *flow with Milk and Honey*, only to ſignifie the Church, which was to nurſe up its Children with both theſe aliments after Baptiſm. *Jeſus Chriſt* muſt needs be this Land, becauſe he is Man ſprung from a Virgin Land, and at the ſame time is the Fountain and Origine of Grace. Laſtly, God in promiſing his People a Land flowing with Milk and Honey, promiſed them the Meſſiah, and the Nouriſhment which he affords by Faith.

II. Had St. *Barnabas* derived this from a divine and particular Revelation, the Truth of it could not be queſtion'd, but he makes it depend upon his Piety. Beſides, he falſly quotes a paſſage of *Iſaiah* [b], whom he introduces, ſaying, *Who is he that ſhall know the parable of the Lord? who? but the Wiſe, the Learned, and he that loves the Lord his God?* Whilſt *Iſaiah* ſays nothing of a Parable, which is a word of St. *Barnabas*'s own invention, ſlipt into the Text to authorize his Explication. He adds farther out of his own Head, *It ſhall be the Wiſe, the Learn'd*, and thereby deſtroys the whole deſign of the Prophet; who by ſaying, *who hath directed the Spirit*

[a] Barnabæ. Ep. p. 18. [b] Eſa. 40. 13.

of the Lord? would have it underſtood that his Council is impenetrable. But St. *Barnabas*, by changing the *Spirit* into *Parable*, and adding, *that he that loves God ſhall know it*, makes the Prophet ſpeak directly contrary to his meaning.

III. St. *Jerome* [c] has cenſured ſome Interpreters of his Time, who grounding on St. *Paul*'s Authority in Stiling *Jeſus Chriſt* the *ſecond* Adam, *and the celeſtial* Adam, carried theſe Applications to our Lord too far. But St. *Barnabas* had beaten the way for them long before; nor could they come up to him within diſtance, though they made all the haſte imaginable. For indeed, he turns the whole Hiſtory of the Creation into Allegories; and finds *Jeſus Chriſt* in the greateſt part of it. If God ſaid to our firſt Parents *increaſe and multiply*, he underſtands the *Chriſtian Church*, and the progreſs of the Goſpel; for the Children, wherewith the Earth was to be fill'd, were the ſame that St. *Paul* ſpeaks of, *for the bringing forth which*, this Apoſtle underwent ſo much pain and travail, as *Methodius* [d] ſpoke afterwards.

If the Prophet *David* ſays, that the *Righteous ſhall be like a Tree planted by the Rivers of Water*, he finds in this Tree the Croſs, and Baptiſm in the Water, together with the Reward he beſtows on the Good, [e] whoſe Words *are, thoſe Leaves that never wither*, becauſe they are inſtrumental to the converſion of Infidels.

IV. God ſaid to Man, that he ſhould have Dominion over all *the Beaſts of the Earth, and the Fiſhes of the Sea*. Man from hence aſſumed a faſtuous Title, and proudly ſtiled himſelf *King of the Univerſe*. However, 'tis ſomewhat difficult to diſcover the nature of an Empire, which has left ſo few footſteps of it. An Anatomiſt ſome Years ſince drew a whole Legion of Enemies upon his Back, for degrading Men from the Dignity of *Kings of the World*. They would not ſo much as ſuffer him to abdicate in his own particular. " I am very " ſenſible, ſaid he [f], that I have no ſhare in this Do- " minion; the Dogs bite me, unleſs I take care of " my ſelf; I dare not venture into a Wood, when " I know there are Wolfes in it; and I ſcarce think " my ſelf ſafe when I ſee Lions in Chains; even " the Oxen in the Streets of *Paris* put me in a fright, " and I ſlip into a Shop till they are paſs'd by. In the mean time, he might have defended himſelf by St. *Barnabas* Authority, who had maintain'd the ſame thing before him; and even overſtrain'd that Truth. For as if Man in the State of Innocence had never had this Empire, and knew nothing of his having loſt it by Sin; he aſſerted, that God refer'd Men to the State of Perfection, to enjoy the Effects of his Promiſe.

V. Should we relate all the Allegorical Explications he gives of the Creation, or of the Oracles of the antient Prophets, we muſt tranſcribe this Venerable Author; but muſt it be from hence concluded, that the Apoſtles, or their Collegues in preaching the Goſpel were great *Cabbaliſts*? But this piece has only St. *Barnabas*'s Name, the Aſſociate of St. *Paul*; and ſeeing it is not inſerted in the Canon of Scripture, it ought to be rejected as ſpurious. However, 'tis a very antient Author, and muſt have lived in the ſecond Century, ſince on the one hand, he wrote his Letter after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, and on the other, appear'd many Years before *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who has quoted ſome things out of him. And therefore this part of the *Cabbala* conſiſting in extravagant Allegories, and giving a myſtical meaning to every thing which was borrowed from the *Jews*, is of great Antiquity with the Chriſtians, who at that time made a great uſe of it.

VI. It muſt needs have been much in vogue, ſince he that father'd the *Paſtor* upon *Hermes* the Brother of *Pius*, has ſtuffed it with viſions and allegorical Explications, which *Origen* afterwards eſpouſed, as if they had been dictated by the Holy Ghoſt.

VII. *Juſtin Martyr*, who had a correſpondence with the *Jews*, and been Educated amongſt them, could not fail to follow the ſame Method. 'Tis no wonder then that we find in his Writings ſo many violent explications of Scripture, that can't be reckon'd ſolid, when they are vigorouſly examin'd. The *Greeks* exceeded the Method of the *Jews* by the Vivacity of their Genius, and the pleaſure which they took to multiply *ad infinitum*, the Arguments of the Chriſtian Religion. It will be ask'd whether they were in the right to interpret Scripture after this rate, and whether they did not impoſe upon themſelves, and thoſe they would inſtruct, by giving them only ſome chimerical Conjectures, inſtead of ſome Proofs for the Meſſiah.

VIII. I own that theſe Fathers are commonly weak in their Reaſonings, and their Allegories are very unnatural; but the number of Arguments diverts an Adverſary, and takes off his Application, by a ſuperficial view of one Object after another; he is pleaſed, and conſequently the eaſier conquer'd. Beſides, he is overwhelm'd by a multitude of Arguments; whilſt he is prepared to anſwer ſome, he has nothing to ſay to others, though of leſs force, becauſe they are new to him; and it can't be denied, but that the Antients have often uſed this Art with the greater ſucceſs, becauſe they had to do with the Eaſtern People, whoſe imagination is briſker than ours.

IX. There are ſome paſſages of Scripture commanding Crimes, in which caſe there is a neceſſity of having recourſe to the figurative Senſe, according to the Rule laid down by St. *Auguſtin*, and others, where the Scripture would lead Men into Error, if it were literally purſued, as when Members are aſcribed to God. There are ſome Oracles that can't be applied to the Prophets of the Old Teſtament; as when *David* introduces God, ſaying to his Lord, *ſit thou on my right hand*, or *Iſaiah* foretells that a *Virgin ſhall bring forth*; we muſt neceſſarily apply theſe Paſſages to *Jeſus Chriſt*, becauſe 'tis impoſſible to find any other Object they can belong to; but inſtead of multiplying them, they ought to be contracted, and collected all together: For as each Lineament of a Picture gives a reſemblance of the Original, but 'tis their Conjunction alone that makes it perfectly and eaſily known, ſo every Oracle and Type leads us to *Jeſus Chriſt*; but it muſt be owned that they make up an evident Demonſtration, when inſtead of diſſecting them, and going from paſſage to paſſage, they are combined into one circumſtantiated Relation to the Perſon and Life of the Meſſiah. Divide the parts of an Human Body, and you make it an uſeleſs thing, but when they are united, we admire this Maſter-Piece of the Power and Wiſdom of God. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the Meſſiah, whoſe Perſon and Life, never merit a greater admiration, than when we ſee all the Lines terminate into this Center, and all the parts of Scripture united to prove and manifeſt his coming into the World.

Laſtly, there are ſome Facts in the Lives of Princes and Patriarchs, that may be applied to *Jeſus Chriſt*: But this is a ſlippery ground, and muſt be trod with great fear and caution, in as much as we know not the intention of the Holy Spirit; and the

[c] Ibid. p. 19. [d] Meth. apud Phot. Cod. 237. [e] Barn. Epiſt. p. 37. [f] Lamy's *Reflections upon the Anatomical Diſcourſes*. p. 166.

literal Senſe being Juſt and Natural, it ſeems that we can't ſearch for any other without giving too great a ſwing to our imagination; eſpecially it can't be produced as an Argument, ſince it can't be made one without a new Revelation.

X. The Ancients have ſo frequently broken theſe four Rules, that 'tis impoſſible to juſtifie them, unleſs we ſay, that they followed the received method of their time; and as their buſineſs was to convert the *Jews* or *Greeks*, they were to be commended. They might urge the *Jews* with the *Cabbala*, and certain Interpretations received among them: And as a *Cabbaliſt*, at preſent, has no right to object againſt our drawing ſome Proofs for the Chriſtian Religion from the firſt Word of *Geneſis*; ſo the Ancients were obliged to admit Objections taken from allegorical Interpretations, which were received by the *Rabbins* of that time with veneration. And indeed, *Joſephus*, who was contemporary with the Apoſtles and their Diſciples, admitted Allegories. The *Thalmudiſts* have gone farther than their ancient Maſter, and have alembick'd, as we may ſay, the Old Law. We have ſeen ſome other Interpreters, [g] who call'd the literal ſenſe of Scripture the *little Word*, and the myſtical ſenſe the *great Word*. The *Cabbaliſts* have brought this Art to its perfection. And, therefore, in all Ages the *Chriſtians* have had ſome right to employ this method againſt the *Jews*, when they went to convert them, ſince it was their way of interpreting Scripture. The *Greeks*, who were at firſt converted, were, for the moſt part, diſperſed *Jews*, or Proſelytes, who had ſtudied the Law, and the reſt being accuſtomed in their old Religion, and even Philoſophy, to court myſtical Interpretations, were far from complaining, when they were employed on their behalf; becauſe they were paſſionately fond of them, as we have ſeen, in treating of their Poets and Philoſophers.

XI. But notwithſtanding this, the *Chriſtians* may be tax'd with their not being contented to uſe this method againſt the *Jews*, who were accuſtomed to it; for they often took pleaſure in giving their Imagination a looſe, and hunting for a myſtical meaning in the ſacred Writings, becauſe the literal ſenſe ſhock'd them with its ſimplicity: And this Dotage on the myſtical Senſe was ſo great, that *Celſus* thought it was an artifice of their inventing to explain ſeveral Paſſages of the Law and Goſpel. This Enemy of Chriſtianity maintain'd, that our ſacred Authors had commanded Crimes, and Things reproachful to Nature; and in order to their excuſe, the *Jew* and *Chriſtian* had confederated, to find Allegories in all theſe Precepts, that ſo they might be capable of a rational Meaning. *Origen* caſt the blame upon the *Jews*, that is, upon *Ariſtobulus* and *Philo*, whom he accuſed of inventing too violent Allegories, and juſtified the *Chriſtians* by the Example of the Philoſopher *Numenius*, who took a great many things out of the Writings of *Moſes*. But this was but a poor Apology: for it ſignified little that *Philo* ſhew'd the way, ſince the *Chriſtians* followed it; *Origen* eſpecially launch'd into a boundleſs Exceſs.

XII. He was ſo opinionated this way, as to ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt, who came with the Embaſſy of Peace, would never have ſuffer'd his Diſciples to read the Hiſtory of the Wars of *Iſrael*, if they had not allegorically explain'd them. And, therefore, Jeſus Chriſt was the inventer and teacher of Allegories to the *Chriſtians*, as *Moſes* had been to the *Jews*; and whereas we imagine, that theſe Hiſtorical Facts are to be literally interpreted. *Origen* will have it, that our Lord and his Apoſtles diſcover'd ſome great Myſteries in them. Where-ever the word Law was found, he confidently aſſerted, a Myſtery was to be ſought, ſince the Law was a ſhadow of things to come. He conſider'd the literal ſenſe, as the Body of Chriſt, which was ſeen by the Unbelievers; and the myſtical Senſe, as the Divine Nature united to the Humane, which was known only by the Saints; one was the hard Shell of the Almond, which *Aaron*'s Rod produced, and the other the delicious Fruit which can't be taſted till the Shell be broke. He farther compared the common Interpreters to Men walking in deep Valleys, whoſe Proſpect is intercepted all around, whilſt thoſe that are exalted upon the Mountains diſcover diſtant Objects. Laſtly, He turn'd the whole Hiſtory of the Creation into Allegory, after which, he had ſome reaſon to call it a *Fable*: for not critically to enquire, whether this Word be capable of a good meaning; and whether an Hiſtory may be call'd a *Fable*, as the fabulous Siege of *Troy* is call'd an Hiſtory.

Hactenus Hiſtoriæ,

ſays [h] *Propertius*; it is ſtill true, that by allegorically interpreting the Creation of Man in *Paradiſe*, nothing that *Moſes* ſays can be depended on; and his Hiſtory of the firſt World muſt be reckon'd among the Fables of the Golden Age.

XIII. We may obſerve Three Things concerning *Origen*. *Firſt*, That he referr'd the Origine of allegorical Interpretations to the *Jews*, from whence they were derived to the *Chriſtians*: For he often ſays it. *Secondly*, That there were before *Origen* many Doctors who took up this *Jewiſh* Method. And indeed, *Barnabas*, or the Author of the Letter that goes by his Name, and *Hermes* did it; but he obſerves farther, that *ſome* had ſaid before him, that the *Ægyptian* Midwifes were humane Sciences; or that *Sophora*, one of theſe Midwifes, was the Law, and *Phua* the Goſpel. He [i] ſpeaks too of Doctors, his Predeceſſors, and Cotemporaries, who had handled the ſame Queſtion; an evident proof, that there were then a conſiderable number of Divines, whoſe Names and Works are loſt, that in interpreting Scripture came very near to *Origen*'s Method: But there were alſo more judicious Divines that conteſted [k] this liberty of *Origen*; for he confeſſes, that when he went to tear off the Veil of *Moſes*, and dive into the latent ſenſe, he found himſelf overwhelmed with Letters and Complaints: his Friends alſo accuſed him, and broke with him, becauſe they thought *he dug Wells to no purpoſe, whilſt Truth was to be found upon the Surface*. *Laſtly*, He frequently ridiculed thoſe that being *Friends to the Letter*, rejected his [l] Interpretations; from whence it appears, that this kind of Interpretation was not received either in *Syria*, or in *Ægypt*, where *Origen* moſt reſided.

XIV. He juſtified himſelf by St. *Paul*'s Example, as if it was allowable to follow this Apoſtle in all the ways he has choſen. We now find *Philo Metrodorus* and *Heraclides* quoted for his excuſe, as if the *Jews* and *Heathens* were Patterns fit for him to imitate, in ſo nice a matter as the Interpretation of Scripture. It has been ſaid of him, that he is the beſt and worſt of Interpreters: but the latter of theſe Characters ſuits better with him than the former. Whilſt we admire his Fancy, we muſt own that he exceſſively indulged it; for the very moment that he found any difficulty in the literal ſenſe ſtop'd his carrier, or any thing that did not ſuit with the ſubtilty of

[g] *Theſe Interpreters were ſometimes called* Agadici *in* Midraſh Tehillim; *they ſpoke often of the* Devar Katon, *the little Word*; *and of the* Devar Gadol, *the great Word. They paſs'd for Wits, were Rare, and their Works not eaſie to be had.*

[h] Proper. l. 4. Eleg. 1. [i] Orig. in. Exod. Hom. 1, 2. [k] Orig. in Gen. Hom. 13. [l] Orig. in Exod. Hom. 2.

his Wit, he run in queſt of Allegories, which was his common Refuge, to wind himſelf out of a Perplexity. The Remedy is eaſie, but not ſecure.

XV. His fondneſs for Allegories frequently led him into Error. Tho' the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers took the ſame method, yet they condemn'd the Extravagance of this over-volatile Wit; and he had a thouſand Enemies that attempted to blaſt his Memory. *Juſtinian* the Emperor was one of them, who would have his [m] Books condemned. But the Remedy came too late, and only ſerved to revive Controverſies in the Church, and a Scandal that had been too long continued; the particulars whereof would carry us too far from our Subject.

XVI. *Origen* was attack'd in vain; there having been Divines in all Ages, who have thought, that Myſteries were to be explored in the Prophets, and Scripture Hiſtorians. And there are at preſent ſome ingenious Doctors, who not content to diſcover here and there ſome Truths in them, do alſo build ſome prophetical Syſtems. This is the Principle that they lay down, *viz.* that the Holy Ghoſt, who is infinitely perfecter than Man, might have different Views, and include ſeveral Meanings under the ſame Expreſſion: And therefore we muſt ſift the different ſignifications of each word, if we intend to follow the Holy Ghoſt in his Views, and penetrate his Deſigns: Inſtead of fixing upon the firſt obvious Meaning, we muſt go deeper, and conſider whether there be not another Meaning conceal'd under the ſurface of the Letter. Beſides, as it is believed, that the Fate of the Church, and the principal Revolutions which have happen'd, or ſhall happen in it for the future, are characteriz'd in Scripture; that the Prophets have foreſeen, and foretold them; or elſe that they are hid under the Hiſtorical Facts of the Old Teſtament: Thoſe who by their application and inſight, can reach the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, are much happier than others; becauſe they know the future Miſery or Proſperity of the Church, and a thouſand things which others are unacquainted with. Let us give ſome inſtances, that we may the better judge of them.

Adam [n] ſpoke myſtically of his Wife, and he gave Names to the Creatures; had prophetick Views, which appear to thoſe that will take the pains to look into them: And therefore the firſt Man is conſider'd as the firſt of the Prophets that foretold the Fate of the Church, *David*, ſaying, *Let the Lord ariſe, and let his Enemies be ſcatter'd*, deſcribed in large Characters the Fate of Perſecutors. And conſequently *Domitian* was kill'd; *Decius* was depriv'd of Burial; *Valerian* was made a Footſtool for the King of *Perſia* to mount his Horſe; *Aurelian* was ſtabbed by his Friends; *Diocleſian* obliged to abdicate the Empire, and *Licinius* to give it up to *Conſtantine*, who had declared War againſt him. All theſe miſerable Events, by which God avenged his Church of its Perſecutors, appear in the Oracle of *David: When God ariſes, his Enemies are ſcattered.*

XVII. *Rome* is found deſcribed in that ancient Oracle, *The unhappy Seat that eſtabliſhes Iniquity againſt Law*; becauſe the Title of *Seat*, or *See*, has been given to the Biſhoprick of *Rome* in preheminence of all others. The Prophecy was fulfill'd in *Sylveſter*'s time, who firſt appropriated it, without conſidering, that his *See* might one time or other, from hence, be proved to be that of Antichriſt ſignified by a Prophet. The truth is, this Pope writing to the Council of *Nice*, ſtyl'd himſelf Biſhop of the *Apoſtolick See*; and *Syricius* had before mention'd the Decrees of the *Apoſtolick See*, *which no body ought to be ignorant of.* It might be objected, that ſeveral little Biſhopricks, as that of *Troyes* in *France* were call'd Apoſtolical Sees, but this might eaſily be anſwer'd, becauſe in point of prophetical Explications, no body is ſo very ſtrict. 'Tis much more hazardous to caſt *Nero* out of the number of the firſt Perſecutors of the Church, and to thruſt *Licinius* in, who only eſpouſed the Heathen Party to win them over; and yet it is done without ſcruple, becauſe, otherwiſe, by aſcending up to *Nero*, the Calculation would be too long, and too ſhort by leaving out *Licinius*. The Council of *Nice*, by eſtabliſhing the Worſhip of Images, and publiſhing the frequent Miracles wrought by Relicks, accompliſh'd *Zachariah*'s Prediction, that the *Idols ſhould ſpeak Vanity.*

XVIII. The *Chriſtians* have often made ſome inſignificant attempts to retake *Jeruſalem*, and to found an Empire there; which was a ſtrange madneſs in all reſpects: for St. *Luke* having foretold, that *Jeruſalem ſhould be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the Times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*; there was no difficulty in reading the Prophecy, to perceive, that the Infidels ſhould be ever Maſters of the Holy City; and therefore *Saladin* retook it from the *Chriſtians*, and expell'd the Kings they had ſetled there. *Frederick* II. made another attempt, which at firſt ſucceeded; but the Sultan of *Babylon* came, and made himſelf Maſter of the City, and maſſacred abundance of *Chriſtians*. They raiſed a *doleful Cry* over *Tyre* and *Sydon*, which had been the Garden of God. *Judæa* was filled with Slaughter, and *Chriſtianity* ſuffered every where. But yet, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* foretold, that *God ſhould viſit his Flock, and make them as his goodly Horſe in the Battel*, the Event anſwer'd the Prediction: for indeed, this Flock made up of *Albigeois*, *Vaudois*, *Wickleviſts*, *Bohemians* roſe up amidſt the general reigning Corruption. God muſtered them, and drew them up into Battalia. This Battel-horſe did him Honour; for they maintain'd the Truth in the midſt of cruel Torments.

XIX. The prophetick *Phoſphorus* [o] is a Treatiſe ſo much the more extraordinary, that by the aſſiſtance of the Light, it ſheds upon *Moſes*'s Song; we diſcover in this little Abridgment the Hiſtory of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. *The Rock of Ages which the Jews diſhonour'd by their Ingratitude, is Jeſus Chriſt*, the Refuge and Support of the Saints, who appear'd in ſo mean a condition on Earth, that he was deſpiſed. God *threatned to hide his Face*, becauſe the holy Nation actually loſt the Knowledge it had received. The Doctors brought forth nothing but Viſions and Fables, which manifeſt the blindneſs which Sin had brought upon them. The *Romans* ridiculed their Ceremonies; *Caligula* placed his Statue in the Temple. *Jeruſalem* was taken; but the *Romans*, puff'd up with this Conqueſt, *forgot themſelves, and ſaid, 'Tis not the Lord that hath done this.* They gave all the Glory of it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*; they perſecuted the *Chriſtians*, becauſe they proceeded from the Synagogue. God, to puniſh them, preſerved the remainder of the *Jewiſh* Nation, which was often burthenſom to the *Romans*.

Latiùs exciſæ peſtis contagia ſerpunt,
Victoreſque ſuos natio victa premit.

Conſtantine puniſh'd his Perſecutors, and in his Perſon was fulfill'd the Prediction of *Moſes*: *One ſhall chaſe a thouſand, and two ſhall put ten thouſand to*

[m] *See* Euſtathii Antiocheni de Engaſtrimutho contrà Originem ab Allatio Ed. Crit. c. 8. p. 419. & Origeniana Huetii.
[n] Gurtleri Baſilæenſis in Academia Daventrienſi. Profeſ. Syſtema Theologiæ Propheticæ, 1702.
[o] Salomonis Van Til Phoſphorus Propheticus, ſeu Moſes & Habacuci Vaticinia novo ad *iſtius canticum* Commentario illuſtrata, 1700.

flight.

flight. For neither *Maximin*, nor *Maxentius*, could not withstand *Conſtantine*, who was *alone*.

XX. *Moſes*'s Song likewiſe preſents us with thoſe Hereticks, that over-valuing the Law, went to make a jumble of this Oeconomy with the Goſpel, or that robbed God of the glory of Juſtification to give it to Man. *Arianiſm* is repreſented there with a ſingle Stroke; 'tis a ſpeaking Picture: *for their Rock is not as our Rock*, ſince they had not the ſame Ideas of Jeſus Chriſt that we have. Preſently after appears *that Vine which is of the Fields of Gomorrah*; *their Grapes are Grapes of Gall, their Cluſters are bitter*. This is the Reign of Antichriſt, the degeneracy whereof is prodigious.

XXI. Laſtly, [p] Another finds the Reformation ſo naturally repreſented in the *Revelations*, as to manifeſt the particular Perſons that have laboured in it. *Cranmer*, *Thomas Cromwell*, Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Treaſurer *Cecil*, are evidently ſignified in the Angels that God ſpeaks to. The Church of *Sardis* is that of *Wittemberg*, which was the firſt which was reform'd by *Luther*; and this Church, which had the reputation of Living, is Dead, becauſe it retain'd the Impanation, the Ubiquity, and the corporeal Preſence of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt. *Philadelphia* is the Type of the Churches of *Swiſſerland* and *Geneva*, united by a reciprocal Charity, and of long continuance. Laſtly, *Laodicea*, whoſe Angel is neither Cold nor Hot, was the Type of the *Engliſh* Church, which on one hand zealouſly eſpouſed the Reformation; there you ſee her Heat; but preſerved Epiſcopacy, which chills her, and keeps her in a medium betwixt Hot and Cold. It would be endleſs to give the Particulars of all theſe kind of Explications.

XXII. Theſe Specimens are ſufficient to ſhew, that the *Jews* are not the only Interpreters, who find in Scripture a very different Senſe from the literal one. Every one diſcovers his different Myſteries; every one has his initiated, that ſearch the Mines, and extract Gold lurking in the Veins of the Earth. They that pretend to ſlight theſe Diſcoveries, do it only perhaps becauſe they want Genius to make them themſelves; and think them too ſubtle, becauſe they have not ſubtilty enough to taſte the pleaſures and advantages of them. Be it as it will, theſe *Chriſtians* have nothing to upbraid the *Jews* with, as to this firſt part of the *Cabbala*, which relates to the myſtical and ſecret meaning of Scripture. Let us proceed to the ſecond part, which depends upon the value and ſignification of Letters: for the *Chriſtians* mimicking the *Jews* and *Heathens*, made a great deal of uſe of them in St. *Jerome*'s time.

[p] Brightman Apocalypſis, Ἀποκαλύψεως. V. Hammond in Apocal. c. 2. & 3. p. 855. & 881.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Second Degree of the Cabbala.

Each Letter ought to ſignifie a Word. This a commom cuſtom with the Heathens *in Inſcriptions. An Explication of many Inſcriptions, and Medals.*

I. *THE Original of the Second Kind of* Cabbala. *Letters written upon* Belteſhazzar's *Palace Wall.* II. *Each Letter went for a Word in Inſcriptions.* III. *The* Monogram ☧ *common among the* Heathens. IV. *An Explication of the Letters* D. M. *upon Tombs.* V. *Theſe Tombs were of the* Heathens. VI. *An Explication of the Epitaph related by Father* Mabillon. *The mixture of* Heatheniſm *and* Chriſtianity *common.* VII. *Theſe Letters ſignified the Gods* Manes. Fabretti *confuted.* VIII. *The* Romans *did not divide the Letters: Two contrary Inſtances.* IX. *The* Medal *of* Caracalla *differently explain'd.* X. *The Title of King given the Emperors.* XI. *An Inſtance of* Medals, *whoſe Legend is unexact.* XII. *The Title of Emperor given* Valerian, *who was not one.* XIII. *The Kings of* France *and* Spain *with the Title* AUG. *in their Coins.* XIV. *The famous* Epheſian *Letters.* XV. *The Method of the* Cabbaliſts *dangerous.* XVI. *The Reaſoning of ſome* Chriſtians.

I. *DAniel* relates, that *Belteſhazzar* giving a ſumptuous Entertainment to all his Court, ſaw a Man's Hand draw ſome Characters upon the Wall, which none of the *Wiſe Men* could read: The Obſcurity aroſe from hence, that each Letter including a Word, it was next to impoſſible to gueſs at the meaning of that miraculous Scribe. This Example ſhould diſguſt Men with Abbreviations, the underſtanding whereof depends either upon the imagination of Interpreters, or Divine Inſpiration. However, the *Jews* fancy, that God, who writ theſe Characters upon a Wall, took the ſame method in penning the Law, and that Mountains of Myſteries depended not only upon every Word, but upon every Letter ſeparated from one another. They followed this Notion when return'd from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, during which, the Inſcription upon *Belteſhazzar*'s Wall, *Daniel*'s Explication, and the Accompliſhment of this Prophecy, had made a great noiſe. We can't determine whether they began to weigh the Letters, and ſeparate them from the Words which they compoſe, immediately after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity; or, whether this Abuſe crept in amongſt them a long time after. The *Cabbaliſtick* Art had probably its Progreſſes like the reſt. At firſt they found ſome Myſteries in Hiſtorical Narrations, and in the Words employed by the Holy Pen-men; but whether they were weary of digging in this Mine, or that the Mind of Man, which is fond of Variety, found a new degree of Glory in extracting Myſteries from each Letter a Word conſiſted of, they betook themſelves to this Study; which, perhaps, the Abreviations, ſo common with the *Heathens*, gave occaſion to: Which is what we ſhall at preſent enquire into.

II. The *Heathens* had a cuſtom of making *Anagrams* like the *Cabbaliſts*, and computing the value of the Letters, to draw Conſequences from them. *Lycophron* [a] grew more famous *by his Anagrams than his Verſes*. He lived in the time of *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, who was the Father of Learning, whoſe Name he derived from [b] *Honey*. He handſomely call'd *Arſinoé* [c] *the Arrow of Venus*. 'Tis ſaid, he learnt this Art from the *Hebrews*, whoſe Language

[a] V. Tzetzes Proleg. in Lycophr. Alexandr. Λυκόφρονος. [b] Πτολεμαῖος, Ptolomy. The *Anagram* is ἀπὸ μέλιτος, *from Honey*.
[c] Ἀρσινόη ἴον ἥρας: Arſinoe, *the Arrow of* Venus.

be understood. 'Tis certain, they at that time flourish'd in *Ægypt*, in the Reign of a Prince who intrusted them with great Employs, and that they then applied themselves to this kind of Study: But we may save *Lycophron* the labour of learning *Hebrew*, to be their Disciple in point of *Anagrams*; for the *Jews* that were setled in *Ægypt*, generally spoke *Greek*: And therefore *Ptolomy* was obliged to send to *Jerusalem* for Interpreters, who perfectly understood *Hebrew* to translate the Bible. But without having recourse to this, the *Greeks* computed the number and value of the Letters, and found Mysteries in them, as well as the *Jewish Cabbalists*. And thus it was, that a Poet playing the Satyrist upon * *Demagoras*, found that the numeral Letters of his Name, made a Number equal to that of the *Plague*. This Number amounted to 420; from whence he inferr'd, that his Enemy was the *Plague*. [d] *Suidas* relates, that *Eratosthenes* having been invited from *Athens* into *Ægypt* by *Ptolomy* the *Beneficent*, had the Name of *Seats* or *Degrees* given him, as the *Latin* Interpreter speaks; but this is a gross Error. *Suidas*'s meaning was, that *Eratosthenes* was call'd *Beta*, because of the second Rank he bore amongst the Learned of his Age; and therefore he was also call'd the *Second* or the [e] *Younger Plato*. There is a Critick of opinion, that he was call'd *Beta*, because he was second, or under Librarian to *Ptolomy*: But it is more probable, that *Plato* was reckon'd the first of the Philosophers, and *Eratosthenes* the second. Therefore Letters were made use of by the *Greeks*, to note the Rank of Learned Men in the Republick of Letters; which Practice *Martial* imitated among the *Romans*, to whom it was not common.

Quod Alpha dixi, Codre Penulatorum
Te nuper aliquâ cum jocarer in Chartâ:
Si fortè bilem movit, hic tibi versus,
Dicas, licebit me [f] *Beta Togatorum.*

In fine, the *Greeks* and *Romans* expres'd an entire Word with a Letter or a Character, which was particularly in use with the Lawyers:

Hic etiam Legum Tabulas & condita jura
Noverit, atque notis levibus pendentia verba;
Et licitum sciet & vetitum, quæ pœna sequatur
Perpetuus populi privato in limine Prætor.

Though this Poet says, it was easie to know these Letters and Cyphers, which the Ancients made use of, yet 'tis certain, they occasion a great Obscurity at present in the Explication of ancient Monuments. We read in an Inscription of [g] *Gruterus*, *P. H. C.* and we gues that they signifie *Provinciæ Hispaniæ Citerioris*, whereof *Petreia* was Priestess. Each City had its particular Gods; but all the People of a Province agreed in sacrificing to a single God, who was their common Patron; and the Priests of this Deity, were those of the Province, dignified above the rest. There are on Medals, a thousand other Examples of peculiar Characters, which can't be fill'd up by the very word the Engraver design'd; because the Practice that was then familiar and well known, is in process of time grown obscure.

III. We often find upon some *Christian* Monuments, the A and Ω to signifie *Jesus Christ*, who bears that Name in the *Apocalypse*. There was nothing more common after *Constantine* than the Cypher of *Jesus Christ*, ☧ or ☩. And yet we must not mistake our selves; for the *Heathens* also used it. *Fabretti* has produced the Collar of a Fugitive Slave, having upon it the ☧ with these words: *Stop me, for I am a Run-away: tene me quia fug. & reboa me Victori, &c.* He pretends that this Slave was characterized by his *Christianity*; and offers his conjecture and prejudice for a proof: for it is certain, that Slaves wore Collars with this Cypher, to note their Name, or Office in their Master's House. The same Character is seen upon a [h] Medal of *Decius*, the Persecutor of the *Christians*, with this word upon it, BA☧ATO; and this Cypher is also put upon the Staffs of *Osiris* and *Isis*. *Martianus Capella* speaks of two Letters *X. N.* who would not think here was a Character of *Christianity? Χρὶς ὁ Νικᾶ, Christ Victorious.* But it was a mystical Name of the *Sun*; and these two Letters design'd a certain Number he was used to be signified by. Nothing can be more opposite to *Jesus Christ*, than the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. And yet the same Cypher served the false God as well as the true one; for we see a Medal of *Ptolomy*, King of *Cyrene*, having an *Eagle* carrying a *Thunderbolt*, with the Monogram of *Christ*, to signifie the Oracle [i] of *Jupiter Hammon*, which was in the Neighbourhood of *Cyrene*, and in the Kingdom of *Ptolomy*. Lastly, *Socrates* and *Sozomenus* relate, that when the Temple of *Serapis* was demolish'd, they found in it the Monogram of *Jesus Christ*; an undoubted proof that it was employ'd by the *Heathens* long before *Constantine* fix'd it in his Standards. The *Ægyptians* maintain'd, that this Letter signified the Life to come. We must not therefore imagine, that where-ever this Letter is found upon Tombs and Monuments, it is a characteristick of *Christianity*; for this could only be since the decay of *Heathenism*, and the Reign of *Constantine*.

IV. We have still another proof of the obscurity of Abbreviations in these three Letters, *D. M. S.* 'Tis pretended, that the *Christians* had them cut upon their Tombs, and *Fabretti* will [k] have them to signifie *Deo Magno Sacrum. This Tomb is consecrated to the Great God*; and the rather, because the Cypher of our Lord is sometimes found with them. *D. M. S. X.* that is to say, *Deo Magno Sancti Uno.* There are found other *Criterions* of *Christianity* upon these Tombs, as *Innocence*, which Baptism alone could impart. They likewise discover Baptism and Confirmation in another, which [l] Father *Mabillon* had already publish'd.

D. M. SACRUM XL
LEOPARDUM IN PACEM CUM
SPIRITA SANCTA ACCEPTUM
EUM TE A BEATIS INNOCENTEM.
POSUERE, &c.

* Δ 4 Λ 30
A 1 O 70
M 40 I 10
A 1 M 40
Γ 3 O 70
O 70 Σ 200
P 100 ———
A 1 420
Σ 200
———
420

[d] Suidas voce Eratosthenes, p. 1024.
[e] Grut. Thes. p. 321. Inf. 8.
[f] Mart. Epigr. l. 5. ep. 27.
[g] Humphredus Hody contra Histor. Aristeæ, c. 9. p. 163.
[h] Apud Tristan. T. 2. p. 595.
[i] Χρησήριον, Scaliger in Euseb. Chron.
[k] Fabretti Antiquar. Inscript. Explic. c. 8. p. 547.
[l] Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 73.

Lastly,

Laſtly, we [m] find theſe ſame Letters upon the Tombs of three Women, named *Victoria*, who were interr'd in the Burial-place of *Tertullinus* Martyr; and if theſe three Women were at firſt *Heathens*, 'tis probable they crept by ſome ſecret Paſſage into the *Catacombs*, where they heard the Goſpel preach'd, and were converted.

V. The ſingularity of this Matter deſerves a little pauſe and conſideration: Nor is it mere curioſity that engages me to decypher theſe Letters; for the reaſon why the Abbot *Fabretti* has found *Chriſtianity* and the praiſes of the great God in them is only, becauſe the Reputation of the *Catacombs* of *Rome*, and the Veneration of Relicks receive a terrible blow from ſome touches of *Heatheniſm*, which are ever and anon diſcover'd in them; and we are concern'd in the vindication of this Truth.

Theſe Letters D. M. which they fill up with the *Great God*, the *Heathens* ſo peculiarly employed to ſignify *Dii Manes*; that nothing but a preſſing Intereſt of Religion, ſeventeen hundred Years after, induced them to Conjecture, that they ſignifyed the Great God. But *Fabretti* was ſo tranſported with his prejudice, as to leave one amongſt the Chriſtian Monuments, in which the *Diis Manibus* is expreſs'd at length. [n]

DIIS MANIBUS
PRIVATA MATER
ASTEROPÆ FILIÆ FECIT.

VI. Father *Mabillon*, who could not doubt but that the *D. M.* ſignifyed the *Dii Manes*, and found an hideous medley of Religions in the Epitaph, he had Tranſcribed from the Abbot *Fabretti*, imagines that this was done in the firſt Ages of the Church, by ſome Body that underſtood his Chriſtianity by Halves, and had retain'd ſome dregs of his Heathen Religion: But the confuſion would ſtill be great, if ſuch ſort of Chriſtians were found in the Catacombs, inſtead of the Saints they look for; and Votaries that Sacrificed to the Gods *Manes*, inſtead of Martyrs that Sacrificed their lives for God. Beſides, this Epitaph inſcribed in barbarous Words, could not be of the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, but muſt be refer'd to later times. Nor is there any likelihood that the Chriſtian Cemeteries were mark'd with the numbers XL, as this muſt have been. It were better to own that they were *Chriſtians* not very nice, who finding a Stone fit to cover their Grave, upon which was this firſt Line,

D. M. *Sacrum* XL.

made uſe of it, without raſing out this Character of Heatheniſm. A Man of Father *Mabillon's* Judgment and Learning could not but know, that they did not ſtand much upon this, but commonly only turn'd the Stone, which is *Chriſtian* on one ſide, and *Heathen* on the other. We muſt not therefore miſapply this Word *Spirita Sancta*, and conclude that the beginning is Chriſtian as well as the end; for the *Dii Manes* are there confounded with the Holy Ghoſt, and Heatheniſm with Innocence acquired by Baptiſm or Confirmation.

VII. In the third place we find in theſe Inſcriptions the word *Sacrum*, joyn'd with the *D. M.* which was ſtill the Style of the *Heathens*, who invoked the *Dii Manes*, and conſecrated their Tombs to them; but the *Chriſtians* never did any thing like it. We ſee alſo ſome Tombs, with a Veſſel for Libations on them; this, in conjunction with the *Dii Manes*, to whom the Libations were made, is a Character of *Heatheniſm*. *Fabretti* [o] in vain reads *Deo Noſtro Chriſto*, *to God our Chriſt*, becauſe there is a leg of the M that is thus confounded, D. M. His Error is manifeſt. Beſides, *Libations* were unknown to the *Chriſtians*; for they had not yet borrowed their Holy Water from the *Heathens*, and I am miſtaken, if ever they ſet any Veſſels of it by dead Bodies, or upon their Tombs. *Tertullinus's* burial place, wherein *Fabretti* has found the three Women *Victoria*, whom he dreſſes up for *Chriſtians*, is one of the moſt ſuſpected. *Aringhus*, who mention'd it, and upon whoſe Teſtimony this is grounded, bottoms himſelf only on the ſpurious acts of Saint *Stephen*. How is it known that theſe three Women, call'd *Victory*, went into the *Chriſtian Aſſemblies? Conjectura tantum?* And is one Conjecture ſufficient at this time of day to find out their *Chriſtianity*, which was unknown to all the World before? And what is this Conjecture? it is Founded upon nothing, and meer prejudice. Beſides, it is not enough to convert the Women, unleſs the Husband alſo be made a Chriſtian. For it was *Teleſphorus* that erected this Tomb to his Wife, who had deſerved it, *bene merenti*. And yet we find on it the *Dii Manes*, the manifeſt Character of *Heatheniſm*.

Laſtly, the *Monogram* of *Jeſus Chriſt* was not in uſe with the *Chriſtians* before *Conſtantine*. Some *Heathens* at that time made uſe of it, no wonder then that we ſo frequently find it joyned with the *Dii Manes*: And indeed, it is to be imagin'd, that in thoſe wretched Times, when the Perſecution obliged them to conceal the Bodies of Martyrs from the Eyes of their Perſecutors, that they were induſtrious to engrave the Cypher of *Jeſus Chriſt* upon their Tombs; and to inform all Comers, that theſe Tombs were Conſecrated to the great God, which was not done even when *Chriſtianity* prevail'd. It muſt therefore be concluded, that the Abbreviations are miſapplied, and that wherever theſe Letters D. M. S. are found, we muſt leave them to the *Heathens*, who conſecrated their Tombs to the *Dii Manes*.

VIII. 'Twas another Cuſtom of the Heathens to inſert on Medals, and Inſcriptions, ſome Syllable of a Name denoting the Perſon, or his Dignity. They only wrote AUG. TRIB. to ſignify the *Auguſtus's*, and the Tribunes. But then the Letters of each Syllable went only to make a Word, and they were not ſeparated to make ſo many different Words. The ſame Method was obſerved by a ſtronger Reaſon, when two entire Syllables were expreſs'd. There was perhaps only the CONOB, that made an exception to the Rule. For this Word muſt make Five, which are fill'd up with a great deal of difficulty. There is another Example taken from a *Greek* Inſcription, in which ΚΥΡΣΑ is divided into Κυρίῳ Σαραπιδι; but perhaps this was two words, ΚΥΡ-ΣΑ having the point expunged betwixt them. Moreover, theſe Inſtances are very rare, ſince only one can be produced in each Language. Laſtly, theſe Examples are not preciſely contain'd within the Rule; for theſe two Syllables can't make an intelligible Word; for what will you make of *Conob*, or Κυρσα?

IX. There is notwithſtanding, a Medal of *Antoninus Caracalla*, in Mr. *Foucault's* Cabinet [p], with theſe words upon it, Ανλονῖνον βασι, muſt we ſeparate theſe two laſt Syllables with a Learned Antiquary, and read,

Ανλονῖνον [q] βιόδωρος ἀγαπᾶ σῖλω Καφυαλῶν,

Antoninum diligit alma ceres Caphyatarum,

Ceres the nurſing Mother of the Caphyates, *loves* Antoninus.

[m] Fabretti, ibid. [n] Fabretti, ibid. p. 550. [o] Fabretti, ibid. 275. [p] *Intendant at* Caen. [q] *See this Medal in the Memoirs of Arts and Sciences*, March *and* April, 1701. p. 222, *and* September, October, 317.

or must we more simply understand [r] *Antoninus* the Emperor? whichever way you take, the difficulty is great. If of the two Syllables Βασι you make three words, you overthrow the Rule we have just laid down, and which is certain: If compleating the Word you read *Emperor* or *King*, you give a blow to another Rule which was never broken; which was, not to give this Title to the Emperors upon their Medals.

X. I pretend not to determine this Question between the Antiquaries, who controvert it with a great deal of Learning and Wit: But it is more natural to believe that the *Greeks* have varied as to the flattering Title of *King*, than as to the Rule, which they more inviolably observed than the *Latins*, of never separating the Letters which composed one or two Syllables: And indeed the *Greeks* were used to give their Princes the Title of King. The *Ægyptians* gave it to the *Ptolomies*; the *Syrians* to *Antiochus*. It was not the custom to joyn the Titles of *King* and *Autocrator*, and yet we see this done in some of their Medals. *Tryphon*, when he could not get himself acknowledged King of *Syria* by the *Roman* Senate, yet order'd a Medal to be struck for him with this Inscription,

Τρυφωνος Αυτοκρατορος Βασιλεως.

Some Medals of *Abgarus*, King of *Edessa*, of whom we have spoken enough, had also the Title of King: It would be no wonder then that the Community, or City of *Caphyia*, should do the same thing for *Caracalla* at a time, when this Title began to be less scrupled. The *Greek* Historians have often called the Emperors Kings, though they could not be ignorant how odious this Title was at *Rome*. *Herodian* mentioning the same *Caracalla*, whose Medal we have explain'd, says, that *Severus made him partaker of* [s] *the Kingdom as well as his Brother* Geta, Zozimus [t] relating that the *Gordians* were expected from *Africa* in the Year 235. Styles them *Kings*. *Tertullian* who should have been more exact, or better inform'd, asserts, that it was not [v] lawful for the *Supream Pontifex*, *the King of the Age to marry again*. The Emperors were the Supream Pontiffs and Kings, *Tertullian* speaks of.

XI. Besides, they were not so exact in Medals, but that they sometimes departed from the common Rule, Father *Pagi* [x] has produced one of *Numerianus*, of which we read.

IMP. C. M. AUR. NUMERIANUS.

He has attempted to prove by it, that after the Year 198, the Title of Emperor was given to those who had neither been *Tribunes* nor *Proconsuls*, because *Severus* had done it in favour of *Geta*. But he is evidently mistaken; for the rule was observed a long while after, of reserving the Title [y] of *Emperor* to the *Augusti*, and of not giving it to the *Cæsars*. Hence *Maximian*'s bitter exclamation: *Must I be always Cæsar?* He could not bear this Superscription upon the Letters that were written to him, but was desirous to be styled Emperor, because this Title was annext to the Supreme Dignity: Nevertheless, we see it in the Medal of *Numerianus*, who was not *Augustus*. So that the Medallists did not always follow the common Rules; but when they had a mind to flatter the Princes for whom these Monuments were made, they took the Title that was most agreeable to them; and if any Cities have done it, it must be acknowledged that the *Greeks* who were used to design their Princes by the Title of King, were more likely to do it than others.

XII. We find such another Monument in *Trebellius Pollio*. [z] The younger *Valerian* having been kill'd near *Milan*, these two Words were Engraven upon his Tomb.

VALERIANUS IMPERATOR.

It signifies little whether *Trebellius Pollio* was mistaken, in taking *Valerian* for *Gallienus*'s Brother, whereas he was his Son, as *Casaubon* thought, which is not probable. It still remains true, that the *Majesty* or *Dignity* which *Valerian* exercised, was disputed; some maintaining that he was *Cæsar*, others imagining that he was made *Augustus*; and the third Party degrading him from both these Dignities. If he had been truly Emperor, there could have been no doubt made of it. The doubt arose from his Epitaph, in which this Title was inserted in an Honorary manner, and by *Claudius*'s *Order*. Here then you see some Medals and Inscriptions with Terms not us'd in the Ages wherein they were Engraven. Another has lately been discovered upon the Mountain *Fourvieres* at *Lyons*, made in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, by *Æmilius Carpus*, who having been present at one of the Sacrifices call'd *Taurobolium* offer'd at *Rome*, for the prosperity of the Emperors, carried away the Blood and Head of the Bull that was Sacrificed, and building an Altar at *Lyons*, consecrated a Priest to attend it, and offer the like Sacrifices for the Prince's Preservation. At the beginning of the Inscription are these words.

Taurobolio [a] *Matris*. D. M. I. D.
Quod factum est & imperio.

MATRIS D. DEUM.

Here you see two Mothers of Gods; one was *Cybele* the Mother of the God's, *the Great Idea*; the second was *Faustina*, the Wife of *Antoninus*, who wore the Title of *Mother of the Gods*, not only because she was deify'd after her Death, but also because she was the Mother of *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*. But that which is more important to be observed in this Inscription, is the Title of *Lords and Gods*, given to these Princes *Dominorum Deum*. 1. It was not usual to stile young Princes Gods, before they mounted the Throne, or deserved this Honour, by some important Service. But yet we find some Examples of this; and there is a *Greek* Medal stamp'd for *Drusus* and *Germanicus*, on which they are call'd ΝΕΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ, *New Gods*. 2. 'Tis still more uncommon to style Princes *Domini*, Lords. *Augustus* refused this Name, that it might be appropriated to *Jupiter*, and it was not commonly used to Princes, till towards the decay of the *Roman* Empire. Nevertheless, we find in an Inscription dug up at *Lyons* this Title of *Lord*, given *M. Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*. It seems too, that this was commonly practised in this City, since we find another of *Antistius* with these words.

Secundum mandata Impp. Dominorum NN Augg.

By order of our Lords the Emperors.

which has no ambiguity, since the word Lord is Engraved at length with all its Letters. It will be

[r] *By reading* Βασίλεα *Regem.* ibid. [s] Herod l. 3. c. 9. Κοινωνὸς τ῀ βασιλέιας, *participes regni.* [t] Zozim. H. l. 1. 16. [v] Tertul. ad Uxor. l. 1. c. 7. [x] Pagi. crit. Bar. p. 112. an. 284. [y] Lactan. de Mort. *Persecutor.* c. 9. p. 84. *and* Bauldry not. ibid. [z] Treb. Pollio *in* Valeriano Junior. p. 175. *and* Gallienis. p. 181. [a] V. *Memoirs for the History of Arts and Sciences.* Apr. 1705. p. 652.

ſaid perhaps that the City of *Lyons* was apt to flatter Princes, ſince ſhe had erected an Altar to the Honour of the *Cæſars*. *Aram Cæſarum.* But this, inſtead of invalidating, confirms our Conjecture; for it proves that Cities and Provinces had ſome certain particular Cuſtoms for their Medals and Inſcriptions.

XIII. Should we relate the moſt extraordinary Cuſtoms, we might produce that of *Ptolomy Phiſco*, that is, the Gor-bellyed. 'Twas an affront offer'd to this King of *Ægypt*, to put his Belly upon the Medals, which made *Scipio* and the *Roman* Ambaſſadors laugh ſo heartily; and yet it was done by a Medalliſt. Laſtly, ſhould we deſcend lower, we might obſerve, that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* ought not to be call'd *Auguſti*, ſince this Title was that of the *Roman* Emperors; and yet *Gregory* of *Tours* gives it *Clovis*, as he had given the Title of *King of the Romans*, *Rex Romanorum* to *Syagrius*, againſt the Rules; becauſe he commanded at *Soiſſons*. But farther; we find a Medal of *Recaredus* King of *Spain* with theſe words.

VICTORIA AUG.

And Mr. *Le Blanc* [b] has produc'd another of *Childebert* with the ſame Inſcription, which did not belong to this Prince, nor could be given him but to flatter him.

You may explain how you pleaſe *Antonimus*'s Medal; but it is more natural to leave him the Title of King, and not to ſeparate the Letters to make ſo many words of them, ſince this was not the Cuſtom of the *Greeks* and *Latins*.

XIV. Laſtly, the *Heathens* annex'd a Miraculous or Magical Vertue to certain Words and Letters. 'Tis ſaid, this Art was at firſt invented [c] at *Epheſus*; where there were Magicians to whom they brought the Poſſeſs'd, and by muttering ſome Letters or Words, they expell'd the Devil, and cured the Sick. 'Twas believed that thoſe who repeated, or carried about them thoſe *Epheſian* Letters, or rather Words, were always Victorious. They enchanted the Enemy, and ſo made themſelves certain of Victory. An Experiment was made of them upon a young *Epheſian*, who in the *Olympick Games* had already maſter'd thirty Combatants: The laſt, who was of *Miletus*, had not ſo much as the power to combat, which weakneſs made it ſuſpected that there was ſome Charm in the Caſe. They ſtript the Champion, and found the *Epheſian* Characters faſten'd to his Heel, and he was vanquiſh'd as ſoon as they were taken from him. The Inhabitants of *Miletus* did not long yield to thoſe of *Epheſus*; for a Famine depopulating this City, one *Branchus* bethought himſelf of caſting Leaves of Laurel, and marching at the Head of a Troop of Children, into whoſe Mouths he put theſe words,

Cantetis pueri, Heus Hecaergon, atque Hecaergam.

The People anſwered with ſeveral barbarous words, and the Famine ceaſed.

Such ſort of Fictions or Imaginations as theſe, are found in all Nations; and we muſt not wonder to ſee them among the *Greeks*; for theſe People were as Superſtitious, as they were Polite. Beſides, only the credulous vulgar, were opinionated with theſe kind of Prodigies, and aſcribed them to the vertue of Characters. Philoſophers maintain'd, that there were ſome natural Myſteries in them, and that theſe barbarous Words *Aſcki*, *Cataſki*, *Hex*, *Tetrax*, *Damnameus Æſion*, which were thought at *Epheſus* to be fit for doing wonders, were ſo many Symbols, containing an important Truth. And indeed, *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaks of a [d] *Pythagorean* Philoſopher who explain'd them ſo.

Theſe words ſignifyed *darkneſs*, *light*, *the Earth a Quatrain*, or the Year, *the Sun that ſubdues every thing*, *and Truth*: And this Symbol ſhewed, that by comparing Darkneſs with Light; the Sun with the Year; and the Earth with all its Productions, we diſcover the Ornament of things Divine.

Clemens Alexandrinus [e] admires this method of the *Greeks*, as of great uſe to conduct Men to the Knowledge of true Religion. It is fit for every thing; for it exerciſes the Wit; it inſtructs in a little time, and infuſes Piety. And therefore he ſought for Examples of it as far as the *Scythians*, who painted their Hero *Anacharſis*, holding his Right Hand upon his Mouth, and his Left upon his noble Parts, thereby giving a lecture of Morality. For greater care is to be had of curbing the Tongue, than the inclination to carnal Pleaſures. We have already ſeen, that if the *Heathens* annex'd ſome Myſteries to certain Words and Letters, the Doctors of the Chriſtian Church were taken with this method; and extoll'd the Uſe of it in Piety and Religion.

XV. However, this method is more dangerous than uſeful. Firſt, Abbreviations occaſion a great deal of obſcurity: If it be ſo difficult to ſupply the Letters that are wanting, and to fill up a Word, even when thoſe that ſtamp'd a Medal, or Engraved the Inſcription, had a deſign of indicating this Word; how can we diſlocate all the Letters of Scripture, to Compoſe ſome new Words of them, when we are not aſſured that this was the Deſign of God?

The Heathens did not diſunite the Letters of a Diſcourſe of a Book; we have already obſerved, that this was hardly ever done, when the Letters compoſed two Syllables, or an entire Word; whereas the *Cabbaliſts* reſpect neither the Words of God, nor his Diſcourſes, nor entire Books; on the contrary they think, that Letters ſo much the fitter to produce the Myſteries as they compoſe an Auguſt and Sacred Name, as that of *Jehovah*.

XVI. The *Cabbaliſts* juſtify themſelves by the Authority of the *Heathens*; for ſay they, if Men can make every Letter repreſent a Word, God who is infinitely wiſer, muſt have included ſome ſublime Truths in each Letter of his Law, which ſwarms with Myſteries. Some *Chriſtians* have eſpouſed this Principle. St. *Jerome* found ſome Myſteries in each Letter of the *Hebrew* Alphabet: Many have followed him in that dark Road, and others add, that if Men have very different Views in writing or pronouncing a Word; God might, and ought for a ſtronger Reaſon, to have employ'd each Word of Scripture in all the Senſes they are capable of; and we ought not only to explain whatever they ſignify with the *Jews* or *Greeks*, but the diſcovery made by this means are of the higheſt uſe.

[b] Le Blanc *Treatiſe of French Coins.* [c] *Thence came the* Epheſian *Letters, that is, Magical Characters.* [d] Androcides apud Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 5. p. 568. [e] Androcides ibid. p. 559.

CHAP. XXIV.

The uſe that the Jewiſh Cabbaliſts *and* Chriſtian Doctors *have made of Letters. St.* Jerom's *Alphabet.*

I. AN *Example of the* Cabbala, *taken from* Geneſis. II. *The Separation and Combination of Letters. A falſe Etymology of the word* Maccabeus. III. *The Acroſticks of the* Sybills. *The Subtilties of the* Chriſtian *Fathers upon the word* Ἰχθύς, *which includes the Name of* Jeſus. IV. *St.* Jerome's Hebrew *Alphabet explain'd.* V. *The Applauſe he gave himſelf upon that Diſcovery.* VI. *The abuſive Terms he finds in* Semei's *Malediction.* VII. *The Myſteries of the Name* JESUS *compared with thoſe of* Jehovah. VIII. *The* Cabbaliſts *change the Letters.* IX. *St.* Jerome *thereby explain'd a very obſcure Paſſage of* Jeremiah. X. Sheſhach *changed into* Babel. XI. *Examples upon which St.* Jerome *grounds this Change.* XII. *The Opinion of Modern Criticks upon* Sheſhach. XIII. Sheſhach *was* Seſoſtris. XIV. *The Application of his Story to the Prophecy.* XV. *St.* Jerome's *Fault.*

I. THE *Cabbaliſts* change the Scripture-terms, and ſubſtitute others in their room, which have no relation to thoſe dictated by the Holy Spirit. *Moſes* ſays, that *in the beginning God created.* Theſe three words are diſplaced, to make room for three others: Inſtead of the [a] beginning they put *Wiſdom*; and thence conclude, that God did not create the Univerſe immediately; but that *Wiſdom*, one of the ten *Sephiroths*, was an Emanation from him, and employed by an Inſtrument, with the other *Lights* or *Splendors* in the Creation of the World. Inſtead of the word *Created*, they ſubſtitute the *Goodneſs of God*, becauſe God created the World by his infinite Goodneſs. Laſtly, By the Name of God, they underſtand *Might*, becauſe it is derived from a word that ſignifies Strong and Mighty; and it was by his Power that God produced the Univerſe out of Nothing. Thus, in theſe three words, *in the beginning God created*; they diſcover *Wiſdom*, which directed the Creation, *Goodneſs*, which was the motive to this great Work; and *Power*, which effected it: Which Method is of great Antiquity, ſince the firſt of theſe Explications is obſerved in the *Targum* of *Jeruſalem*; nevertheleſs it is dangerous: For by this means, Men may find in Scripture whatever they have a mind to. [b] *Gaffarel* ſo conceited as he was with this Art, had reaſon to ſay, that the *Cherubims* of the Ark were perhaps of the Figure of a Saddle, becauſe by tranſpoſing the Letters of *Cherub*, from whence they derive *Cherab*, and *Cherubine*, we find *Rechab*, which ſignifies to ride on Horſe-back, and a Saddle: or elſe they may ſay, they were like Rain, becauſe *Cheraviu* has a great affinity with *Cherubin*, and ſignifies *like Rain.* In the mean time, there's nothing more ridiculous.

II. They ſeparate the Letters that make up a Word, and of each Letter make another Word. They are happy when this Word happens to conſiſt of as many Letters as the firſt; for herein lies the Skill, but it is not always obſerved. *Junius* thought, that he had hereby diſcovered the Origine of the Name *Maccabeus*, which is ſo obſcure. He fancied, that the Letters, whereof this Name was compoſed, were the four initial Letters which *Judas Maccabeus* had inſcribed in his Standards. מ. כ. ב. י. M. C. B. I. *Miccabi*; and that they were to be fill'd up with four words, ſignifying, *Who is equal among the Gods to thee, O Lord?* This Notion has been confuted [c] by ſaying, that the *Notaricon*, or that part of the *Cabbala*, was not invented in the time of the *Maccabees*, and that the *Romans*, upon whoſe Authority *Junius* built, only put ſome Arithmetical Figures in their Colours, to let the Soldiers know the number of their *Cohort.* But theſe two Obſervations are falſe: for the *Romans* had ſomething more than Arithmetical Figures in their Enſigns; namely, theſe Letters, S. P. Q. R. And there were alſo ſome other Characters, denoting the Name of the Legion. 'Tis no matter, whether there were any *Cabbaliſts* in the time of the *Maccabees*; for this cuſtom of abbreviating Words, and only putting ſome Capital Letters in Inſcriptions, is of more ancient date; and therefore the *Maccabees* might uſe it. But I obſerve Two Things that more ſolidly overthrow this Opinion: *Firſt*, That *Judas* was call'd *Maccabeus*, before his raiſing of any Troops, and diſciplining them. *Secondly*, That this Name was given to all thoſe that ſuffer'd at that time upon the ſcore of Religion. For thoſe ſeven Martyrs were call'd *Maccabees*, that ſuffer'd with their Mother at *Antioch*; and yet they had neither Arms, nor Soldiers, nor Standards, whereon to inſert theſe Letters. 'Tis better to own our ignorance of the derivation of this Word, than to imagine Facts repugnant to [d] Hiſtory, or to ſay that theſe two Words are to be divided, one whereof ſignifies a *Wound*, and the other *by me*; both which; repreſent the Courage and Strength of *Judas*, as the counterfeit *Joſephus* ſays. Let us ſeek for another Example of the *Cabbala*, ſince this is unexact.

The *Beginning*, which is the firſt Word of *Geneſis*, conſiſts of ſix [e] Letters. Of this Word they make ſix others, the firſt of which begins with [f] a B, the ſecond with an R. by which means the *Jews* find abundance of Myſteries; they caſt an Eye upon *Geneſis.* They can find as many different meanings as there are Words in *Hebrew* beginning with a B. He diſcovers ſome new Myſteries, by joining certain Words beginning with a B, to others beginning with an R. The Combinations and Significations infinitely multiply, by taking the ſame method with the four ſucceeding Letters. The *Chriſtians* likewiſe find in this Word *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.*

III. The truth is, the *Chriſtians* have * eſpouſed this method. We find ſome Acroſticks of the Names of *Jeſus Chriſt* in the *Sybilline* Verſes, which, however ſpurious, are notwithſtanding very ancient, and were compoſed rather by a *Chriſtian* than a

[a] Berechit *in the beginning*; *They put* Hacacamah, *Wiſdom.* Bara, *that is, created, denotes Goodneſs.* Ælohim, *or* Æl, *the ſtrong God, is Power.* V. Menaſſe Ben Iſrael Probl. de Creatione. Probl. 13. p. 56.
[b] Gaff. Curioſitez Joüies, c. 1. p. 21. *But there is a fault as to the word* Rechab.
[c] Fuller Miſc. l. 2. c. 13. [d] Fuller, ibid. p. 1320. [e] בראשית Bereſchit. [f] ב *ſignifies* Ben, ר *ſignifies* Rouach.

* Ἰ χθὺς, *Piſces,*
Ἰ ησᾶς, *Jeſus,*
Χ ειςὸς, *Chriſtus,*
Θ εὖ, *Dei,*
Τ ἱὸς, *Filius,*
Σ ωτὴρ, *Salvator.*

Jewiſh

Jewiſh Cabbaliſt. It has been imagin'd, that in the firſt Century, they were commanded never to pronounce the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*; but to ſupply this defect, they framed a Word of five Letters, which ſignified *Fiſh*; but the initiated meant by it, *Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, the Saviour.* By the help of this little Cloud, they ſo dextrouſly hid themſelves from the *Heathens*, as not be diſcover'd, and hereby eſcap'd Perſecution. But not to examine what was the preciſe meaning of the Fathers, and whether they borrowed this Word from the Verſes fathered upon the *Sybills*, as [g] *Proſper* ſays, 'tis certain that they ſubſtituted, in the *Cabbaliſtick* way, the like number of Words for that of Letters, which the word *Fiſh* was compoſed of. And not content with this, the Fathers annex'd ſome Myſteries and important Truths to it: [h] St. *Auguſtin* found the Purity of *Jeſus Chriſt* in it: For he is a *Fiſh* that lives in the midſt of Waters, or *that could deſcend into the Abyſs of our Humanity without loſing his Innocence.* He lived without Spot and Sin. [i] St. *Paulinus* ſaw *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Miracle of the five Loaves and two Fiſhes, *who is the Fiſh of the living Water.* [k] *Proſper* finds in it the Sufferings of *Jeſus Chriſt*; for he is the *Fiſh dreſs'd at his Death*, which feeds, and furniſhes us with excellent Remedies. All this is drawn from the Alluſion of the five Letters that make up the word *Fiſh*, and which may likewiſe compoſe theſe five words, *Jeſus Chriſt*, the *Son* of *God*, the *Saviour.* Laſtly, [l] *Optatus* of *Melevis*, compares this Divine Fiſh to that of *Tobias*, whoſe Liver expell'd Devils.

Nor is this all; for [m] *Tertullian* finds the *Chriſtian* Church in it. All the Faithful were with him. *So many Fiſhes bred in the Water, and ſaved by our great Fiſh.* Baptiſm is this Water, out of which there is neither Life nor Immortality. They muſt have been wonderfully taken with this Notion, ſince they have diverſified it ſo many ways, and dwelt upon it ſo long. For [n] St. *Jerom* commending a Man that deſired Baptiſm, tells him, that like the *Son of a Fiſh*, *he deſires to be caſt into the Water.*

IV. This is but a ſmall part of the *Chriſtian Cabbala*, which St. *Jerom* has carried a great deal higher. *Firſt*, The *Hebrew* Alphabet appear'd to him full of Myſteries, which he was not content to explain *vivâ voce*, to a Woman of his Acquaintance, but put them in Writing for fear ſhe ſhould forget them. In order to diſcover theſe grand Truths of the Alphabet, he divided it into ſeven parts: The firſt contains the four firſt Letters A. B. G. D. The A. ſignifies Doctrine; the B. is an [o] Houſe; the G. is Fulneſs; the D. a Table or a Gate. What is the meaning of all this? Each Letter contains a Word, and theſe four Words united together, teach us, that *the Doctrine of the Houſe of God, which is the Church, is found in the fulneſs of the Divine Books.* The better to underſtand it, we muſt know, that the *Gate* is ſometimes taken Figuratively for the firſt Page of a Book. The four following Letters ſignifie *this* [p] and *that Life*; which teaches us, that *there is no Life without the knowledge of the Scriptures, which conduct us to Jeſus Chriſt.* The laſt Section is ſo obſcure, that I don't underſtand it; it contains four Letters, which make theſe four Words, [q] *Vocation*, the *Head*, the *Teeth*, *Sign*, *i. e.* the Vocation of the Head, the Signs of the Teeth: this is very dark. St. *Jerom*, explains himſelf, by ſaying, That Words are articulated, and pronounced by means of the Teeth; and that by theſe *Signs*, that is, by theſe Words, we come to *Jeſus Chriſt*; who is the *Head*, and who conducts us to the *eternal Kingdom.*

V. "Tell me, I pray, cries this [r] Father and "Doctor of the Church, after this happy Diſcove-"ry; tell me what's more ſacred than this Sacra-"ment? What's more delicious than this Plea-"ſure? What Diſhes are ſo pleaſant, what Ho-"ney ſo ſweet, as the Knowledge of the Wiſdom "of God, the entring into his Cabinets, and pene-"trating into the meaning of our Creator and our "God? We'll give the Prophane leave to laugh, "whilſt we arrive to this ſpiritual Science. Let "others hunt after Wealth; let them carouſe in the "richeſt Veſſels; let them ſparkle with their Golden "Garments; let them be applauded: But as for "us, our Riches conſiſt to meditate Day and Night "upon the Law of God; to knock at a Gate that "is ſhut, to receive the Bread of the Trinity; and "with our Lord, to trample upon the Waves of "the World." Theſe Congratulations of St. *Jerom* to his Female-friend, upon the Myſteries of the *Hebrew* Alphabet, are ſo extraordinary, that I could not withſtand the Temptation of producing them, to ſhew what ſatisfaction this Father took in the *Cabbala*, and in the Advantages which he pretended to draw from it.

VI. The ſame Father, ſtill purſuing the *Cabbaliſtick* Principles, obſerved, that *David* repreſenting to *Solomon* on his Death-bed, how *Shimei* curſed him, made uſe of a Word [s] of five Letters: Each of theſe Letters imported an abuſive Term; ſo that *Shimei*, ſays St. *Jerom*, call'd *David Adulterer*, *Moabite*, *Impious*, *Leprous*, *Abominable.* Which is a freſh proof of this Father's being a grand *Cabbaliſt.*

VII. We have ſeen, that the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* diſcover the greateſt Myſteries in the Letters that compoſe the ineffable Name, *Jehovah:* But don't fancy, that the *Chriſtians* have been willing to yield to them in this point of Glory. The Name of *JESUS* is a Name above every Name; and 'twas God himſelf that gave it. It includes the Name of *Jehovah*, and conſequently we can't doubt of its Excellency. But obſerve farther, that *Jehoſchuah* is compoſed of the four Vowels which form the Name of *Jehovah*; which four Vowels ſignifie the eternal and ſupreme Divinity of *Jeſus.* He is the *Jehovah.* In the middle is a ſingle Conſonant, an *S.* ש which has no Sound unleſs you join it to a Vowel: Join it to to an *A.* אש Æſch, *the Fire*, and you find a Name of God; and JESUS *came came to ſend Fire on the Earth, and what will I, if if it be already kindled?* And the Holy Ghoſt deſcended on the Apoſtles in the ſhape of fiery Tongues. Beſides this *S.* ש compoſed of three Lines in the middle of the Name of [t] JESUS, expreſſes the Trinity of Perſons in a ſingle Eſſence. The Name of *Jehovah* was ineffable; but ſince JESUS was to be incarnate, and his Name declared to the Gentiles, *that at the Name of JESUS every Knee ſhould bow*, it was neceſſary to add a Letter to it; and what Letter more pro-

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[g] De Prædeſtinatione, cap. 19. [h] Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. [i] Paulin. Ep. 33. [k] Proſper. ibid.
[l] Optat. contra Parmen. l. 3. [m] Tertull. de Bapt. c. 1. p. 459. [n] Hieron. ad Bonoſ. Ep. 43. [o] בית Beth, *Domus.*
[p] He *iſta*, Vau *& hæc*, Zain *hæc*, Chet *vita.* [q] Koph *Vocatio*, Reſch *Caput*, Schin *Dentes*, Thau *Signum.*
[r] Hieron. Ep. 155. ad Paulam Urbicam, p. 1307, & 1308.
[s] *The* Hebrew *Word is* Nimreſeth, *compoſed of five Letters; and each Letter makes a Word.* N *makes* Næph, *which ſignifies* Adulterer; *the* M *makes* Moabite; *the* R *makes* Reſhang, *Wicked or Impious*; Tſad *makes* Tſara, *Leprous*; *and the* T Thoaba, *Abominable, not only to Men, but to God.* Hieron. in 3 Reg. p. 373.
[t] יהשוה *Jehoſchuah*, Kirker Oed. Ægyp. Gymn. Hierogl. Claſs. iv. c. 7. p. 284.

per than the S? As two [u] Authors have learnedly proved it, this is the Name *that is higher than Heaven, deeper than Hell; the Enemy of Devils, that drives away Distempers, in which all the other Names of God are comprehended.* Methinks I can't prove by stronger Testimonies, that the *Christians* have, for many Ages, doated on the *Cabbala.*

VIII. The *Cabbalists* have a second method [x] of changing Letters. I'll give it in a few words, and will insist upon it no longer than is necessary, for the explaining a Passage of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, which all the Commentators have been gravell'd with.

When they find in the Old Testament a word beginning with an A. א they change it, substituting the last Letter of the Alphabet, which is the T. ת among the *Hebrews*, and the Z in our *French* Versions. If the next Letter be a B. ב as in *Abba*, Father, they transplant another from the end of the Alphabet into its place, which is the S. ש of the *Hebrews*, and the Y of the *French*; and from this combination of Letters they make a new Word.

IX. This Method was practised in St. *Jerome*'s time, who has left us an Example of it. But this Father, misled by the *Rabbin* that instructed him, or by the Authority of those he had read, pretended, that this change of the Letters was long before practised by the Prophets.

He grounded himself upon a Passage of *Jeremiah*, which could not be interpreted without the *Cabbalistick* Art. The [y] Prophet menacing the Kings, that God shall cause them to drink of the Cup of his Fury, declares, that the *King of Sheshach shall drink after them*; and afterwards, upon the accomplishment of this Threatning, exclaims, [z] *How is Sheshach taken? and how is the Praise of the whole Earth surprized? how is Babylon become an astonishment among the Nations?*

X. The Interpreters of St. *Jerome*'s time, believed that *Sheshach* was the Devil, who, after he had inebriated all the Nations of the World, was to suffer, in his turn, all the Punishments which he deserved. But this Interpretation being disliked by this [a] Father, he thought he could remove the Difficulty, by the Method before observed; according to which, *Sheshach* is metamorphosed into *Babylon*. He bottoms his Conjecture upon the Ingenuity of *Jeremiah*, who seeing the King of *Babylon* besiege *Jerusalem*, durst not say openly, that he should one Day suffer the Punishment due to his Tyranny. But as he was a good *Cabbalist*, he put *Sheshach* instead of [b] *Babel*. In the word *Babel*, there are two B's, for which two S's are *Cabbalistically* substituted, and a *Lamed* or L instead of the *Caph*.

XI. St. *Jerom* farther enforces this Method by St. *Paul*'s Example, who used the same cunning as *Jeremiah*, for writing to the *Thessalonians* against the Emperor, and fearing, lest by naming him, he should stir up a violent Persecution against the *Christians*, was contented to say in general terms, *The Mystery of Iniquity doth already work; only he who now letteth, will let until he be taken out of the way.* Antichrist, says St. *Jerom*, could not come till the *Roman* Empire was destroyed; and, lest the Prediction of the Fall of the Empire should occasion some disturbance to the *Christians*, St. *Paul* does not name it, as *Jeremiah* waved the naming the King of *Babylon*, and only pointed him out by *Sheshach*, which no body but a *Cabbalist* could understand: This deserves some Examination.

XII. Modern Criticks think, that *Sheshach* was a *Babylonian* God; *Grotius* has gone so far as to say, that *Meschach*, one of *Daniel*'s Collegues, borrowed his Name from hence; because the Names of the Gods were often given to Men. We find among the *Assyrians* a Feast of five Days continuance, which answered to the *Saturnalia* at *Rome*, which was call'd *Sacea*: And [c] *Vossius* fancies, this Feast was instituted on account of the *Sacæ*, a barbarous People, who had made frequent incursions into *Assyria*. They were repulsed into their own bounds; and the Memory of that joyful Deliverance was celebrated with a solemn Feast. But *Strabo* assures us, that the *Sacæ*, instead of being destroyed in *Jeremiah*'s time, beat *Cyrus*'s Army that made War upon them. Besides the Feast which the *Persians* celebrated with Bonfires, and publick demonstrations of Joy, did not relate to these conquered People, but to the Night. And indeed, the *Persians* have a Feast call'd [d] *Sasa* and *Sadak*, that is, the Night of Funeral Piles, or Fires. The People, and even Kings, divert themselves with Bonfires on the Hills and Plains. They take Wild Beasts, and Birds, tying dry Herbs to them set on fire, and so convey the Fire and Flame into the Air and Woods. And the true reason of all these Diversions, which are perform'd in the longest Night of the Year, is not to express their Joy for being delivered from the *Sacæ*; but that the Winter being far spent, and the Days beginning to lengthen, they hope for a more serene and finer Season. I am inform'd, that the same thing is done in some Counties in *England*.

XIII. I can't see how the Criticks cou'd have over-look'd this *Sheshach* of *Jeremiah* in Scripture, since he is described in so visible Characters. For the Sacred History tells us, that in [e] *Reboboam*'s time, *Sheshach*, King of *Ægypt*, came up against *Jerusalem*, and took it, plundering all the Treasures of the Temple, and taking away all *Solomon*'s golden Shields. And *Josephus* copying this sacred Writer, adds, that *Herodotus* calls this King *Sesostris*, and ascribes to him the Conquests of *Sheshach*. He was therefore a Prince call'd by the Greeks *Sesostris*, by the Jews *Sheshach*, and by the Ægyptians *Sethosis*. This Prince, after having ravaged *Judæa*, which was in his way, and made the King tributary of it, march'd on with his Army, consisting of Twelve hundred Chariots, of Sixty thousand Horse, and a greater number of Foot, into *Assyria*; beat the *Medes* and *Persians*; and conquer'd their Country, having first destroy'd part of its Inhabitants. He spread the Terror of his Name into all the *East*. *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that he submitted all *Asia* to his command, and not only push'd his Conquests as far as *Alexander*, but pass'd the *Ganges*, penetrated into the *Indies*, as far as the Sea, and subdued the *Scythians* as far as the *Tanais*, at present called the *Volga*. Here you have the Scripture-*Sheshach*, who from an Hero, and a Conqueror of *Asia*, became a God, according to the Practice of those Times and People.

Indeed, this ambitious Prince left behind him, in all places, some Monuments of his Courage and Conquests. When he found any couragious Nations that withstood him, he caused the vital Parts of a

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[u] Archangelus Novoburgensis Lib. de Nomine Jesu & Reuchlinus de verbo mirifico. Kirker. ibid. p. 285.

[x] *They call the general method* Themoura, *which signifies* Change, *and makes one of the thirteen principal Rules. And under the* Themoura, *they comprehend that which they call* Atbatch, אתבש

[y] Jer. xxv. 26. [z] Ibid. li. 41. [a] Hieron. in Jerem. p. 620.

[b] בבל *the* ב *is the second Letter of the Alphabet: And therefore, by taking the last but one, which is the* ש, *and putting the* ג *instead of the* ל, *they make* ששך

[c] Vossius de Idol. l. 2. c. 22. p. 211. [d] V. Hide Historia Relig. veter. Persarum, c. 19. p. 255. [e] 1 Kings xiv. 25.

Man to be carved on the Statue, or Pillar he erected; but when they cowardly ſubmitted, he put the *pudenda* of a Woman with theſe Words.

Βασιλεὺς [f] βασιλέων, καὶ δεσπότης δεσποτῶν Σεσώστρις.

Seſoſtris King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquer'd this Country by his Arms.

XIV. There was ſeen a Statue of this Heroe, which repreſented him five Hands high, holding an Arrow in his Right Hand, and a Bow in his Left, arm'd Cap-a-pee, with theſe words Engraven on his Shoulders.

I have conquer'd this Country by my [g] *Strength.*

The faſtuous Titles of *Lord of Lords*, *King of Kings*, and *Maſter of Maſters*, make it conceivable enough, that *Sheſhach* ought to be rank'd with the Gods of *Aſia*: There is no need therefore of changing *Babylon* into *Sheſhach*, nor recurring to the *Sacæ* for the Explanation of the Paſſage in *Jeremiah*. He has repreſented *Babylon* by one of the falſe Gods worſhip'd there; having ſaid in another place that *Bel was fallen upon his Knees*; and this God was *Sheſhach*, or *Seſoſtris*, who had made himſelf Maſter of this Country in *Rehoboam's* Time, long before *Jeremiah*. It appears then that *Jeremiah* did not want the Aſſiſtance of the *Cabbala* to diſguiſe his Predictions.

XV. St. *Jerome* is manifeſtly miſtaken, in believing that the Prophets made uſe of it to perplex their Prophecies, and render them unintelligible to thoſe whom they threatned. However, we learn from this Father two things; one, that this part of the *Cabbala* was very well known in his Time; the other, that the *Chriſtian Doctors*, and thoſe that were look'd upon amongſt the Fathers as the moſt judicious Interpreters of Scripture, made no ſcruple to eſpouſe it.

[f] Diodor. Sicul. l. 1. p. 35.

[g] *'Tis in the Greek by my Shoulders.* Herod. l. 2. c. 106.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Alphabet of the Heavens.

I. *HOW the Meſſiah and the Comforter are diſcovered by means of ſome of the Hebrew Letters.* II. *The Celeſtial Alphabet eſpouſed by* Poſtel. III. Picus *of* Mirandola *aſcribes it to the* Jews. IV. *Heaven is a Book: The Stars are Letters.* V. *How the Lines are made.* VI. *The Characters are* Hebrew: *The Method of Studying them.* VII. *The Uſefulneſs of this Science.* VIII. *Futurities are known by it.* IX. *An Apology for the* Jews, *concerning this Alphabet.* X. *Whether* Origen *believ'd this Alphabet true.* XI. Picus *of* Mirandola's *Problem: Whether all things are written in Heaven, to them who know how to read them.* XII. *This Alphabet a Fiction.*

I. THE Chriſtians have made ſome farther uſes of the Alphabet. The famous *Picus* of *Mirandola* [a] maintain'd, that by the Myſtery of the *Cabbala*, a cloſed *Mem* [b] taught us the Reaſons of the Paraclete coming after the Meſſiah. The *Vau* [c] and the *Jod teach us how Jeſus Chriſt as God, is the Principle of himſelf as Man.* If you join the two *A's* that are in *Jacob's* Prophecy, *the Scepter ſhall not depart from* Juda, to the two *A's* we read in theſe words of the *Proverbs*, *Wiſdom poſſeſs'd me from the beginning*; and to other two *A's* in the beginning of *Geneſis*; *the Earth was void*, you'll eaſily diſcover that *Jacob* ſpoke of the Name of the Meſſiah; *Jeſus the Nazarene* [d]. Laſtly, the Name of three Letters הוא *He*, *Vau*, *Aleph*, given to God, not only ſhew the Myſtery of the Trinity, but alſo the poſſibility of the Incarnation; not only according to the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts*; but alſo by the Method of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*. This Eſſay is ſufficient to manifeſt what [e] *Agrippa* ſaid, that theſe are the *witty conceits, and the Sallies of an irregular fancy.*

II. An Aſtrological and Cœleſtial Alphabet is attributed to the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts*, which the *Chriſtians* have borrowed of them. One can't imagine any thing more poſitive than what *Poſtel* ſays upon it. *I ſhall be reckon'd perhaps a Lyar, if I ſay that I have read in Heaven in Hebrew Characters, which* Eſdras *has given the Key of, whatever is in Nature; yet God and his Son are my witneſſes that I lye not; I will only add, that I have read it but implicitly.*

III. *Picus* of *Mirandola* fathers this Notion on the *Jewiſh Doctors*; and as he had much ſtudied the *Cabbaliſts*, whoſe Art had dazled him, it may be imagin'd that he was not miſtaken. [f] *As Aſtrologers ſee in the Heavens certain Images, from whence they draw their Conſequences; the* Jewiſh *Maſters have alſo their Celeſtial Alphabet, and aſſert that they diſcover in it the Elements and Characters of their Language.* *Agrippa* [g] ſays the ſame thing; and *Gaffarel* [h] adds to their Teſtimony, the Authority of a great many famous *Rabbins*, *Maimonides*, *Nachman*, *Aben Eſra*, *Kimki*, *Abravanel*. One would think a Fact could not be conteſted, that was ſupported with ſo many citations.

IV. 'Tis worth while to hear what theſe Gentlemen ſay. 'Tis not impoſſible for God, who governs the Clouds as the reſt of the Creatures, to paint in them ſome ſtrokes denoting future Events. The Rain-bow which is a Sign of the Covenant made with *Noah*, and an aſſurance, that the World ſhould no more periſh by Water, may be at the ſame time a ſign of Grief. We may find a thouſand ſuch Hieroglyphicks in Clouds, which we might eaſily decypher, did we ſtudy them with a little care. But above the Clouds are the Stars that make ſome more legible Characters. *Iſaiah* ſays, *that the Heavens ſhall be rolled up like a Book*; but the *Caph* has been ill Tranſlated; for the כ ſignifies *becauſe* it is a Book: So that the Prophet conſider'd the Heavens as a real and true Book, which ſhould one time or other be rolled up. This Book contains Letters and Characters; it being improbable that God ſhould leave it blank, and wholly uſeleſs; and indeed *Moſes* ſays, that *in the beginning God created the Heavens*. There is a little Word in the [i] *Hebrew*

[a] Joh. Picus Miran. Concluſiones Cabbaliſticæ lxxi. ſecundum opinionem propriam ex ipſis Hebræorum Sapientum fundamentis Chriſtianam Religionem maxime confirmantes. p. 72.
[b] Th. 41. p. 74. [c] Th. 43. [d] Id. The. 31. 34. p. 74. [e] Agrippa de Vanit. Scient. cap. 47. [f] Picus Mir. In Aſtrolog. l. 8. c. 5. p. 443.
[g] Agrippa de occulta Philoſoph. l. 3. c. 30. [h] *Strange Curioſities.* c. 13. p. 279.
[i] *et*, את *but it ſhould be read* aot אות *which ſignifies* Sign, Character.

which is not tranſlated, which ſignifies the Letters or Characters of the Heavens.

V. We have found the Letters of the Book; let us now look for the Lines. *David* moſt expreſly takes notice of them in one of his *Pſalms* [i]; for where he ſays that *the ſound of the Heavens is gone out into all Lands*, it ſhould be tranſlated *Line*. 'Tis true the *Septuagint* has Tranſlated it, that the *ſound of the Heavens* [k] which declare the glory of God, is heard in all places; and St. *Paul* quoting theſe words of *David*, has followed them: What then were the Copies corrupted in St. *Paul's*, and the *Seventy* Interpreters Time? The difficulty is conſiderable; but not to accuſe the *Jews* of Infidelity, or Negligence, we may ſay that theſe Interpreters have preferr'd the Senſe to the literal Signification; and this afterwards occaſion'd ſome variation in the *Hebrew* Copies. *Maimonides* adds upon this paſſage, that *David* could not ſay the Heavens declare the glory of God, becauſe this [l] Word is never applied to inanimate Things; but the Reaſon is, that there are ſome intelligences that move the Heavens; that ſituate the Stars in a fit poſture to frame Letters, by which God meant to notify the Events impending over Mankind; we muſt not wonder after this, if Heaven be conſider'd as a *Sacred Book*: This Name is often given it by the *Rabbins*; and the Fathers of the Church going farther than they, have aſſerted, there are ſome Pages in it, and in theſe Pages ſome wonderful inſtructions; for thus St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Proſper* ſpeak. *Albertus Magnus* added, that it was the univerſal Book. Laſtly, St. *Auguſtin* [m] compared Heaven to an Human Face; for as by the Motions of the Face we diſcover the inward Sentiments and Affections, ſo a great many things may be diſcover'd in the Firmament, and read by the Light of the heavenly Bodies.

VI. It would be to no purpoſe to give the Precepts of this Art; they that deſire them may [n] conſult thoſe that have a greater Faith and Experience in this matter, we will only obſerve three things, 1. That the Characters made by the Stars are *Hebrew*. For this is the ſacred Language, wherein God ſpeaks from Heaven, and by Heaven to Men upon Earth. 2. We muſt ſtudy this heavenly Alphabet; for the ſame Stars don't always conſtitute the ſame Letters; this depending upon the Aſpect, or declenſion of the Stars, we muſt ſometimes read from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, and ſometimes take the contrary way. And yet ſome have made ſo conſiderable a progreſs in this Reading, that *Porphyry* one day going to kill himſelf, *Plotinus* who read his deſign in the Stars, came and diverted him from it. *Flud* ſo well known by his Apology for the *Roſi-crucian* Brethren, was ſo extraordinarily verſed in this Art, that he eaſily diſcover'd future Events; and we have already heard *Poſtel's* Oath, who call'd God to witneſs his Knowledge in it.

VII. Laſtly, nothing is more uſeful than this Science. Inſomuch, that Cardinal *d'Ailly* has obſerved, that the Planets have had ſome great influences upon the birth and Origine of Religions. *Saturn* was the Father of *Judaiſm*, and *Venus* the Mother of *Mahometiſm*, and therefore theſe People celebrate *Friday*, and are much given to Venery. The Chriſtian Religion [o] was born under the Aſpect of the Sun; for which reaſon we celebrate *Sunday*. The *Pope*, the Head of this Religion, lives at *Rome*, the City of the Sun; and the Cardinals are cloath'd in Red, which is the colour of this Luminary. In the mean time *Saturn* had ſome hand in the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, for which reaſon he was melancholy; he was never ſeen to laugh, but wept ſometimes; and as Melancholy dries the Skin and Bones, *Jeſus Chriſt* Born under *Saturn*, appear'd much older than he was; and the *Jews* believed him to be near fifty. His Face was all over freckled, becauſe *Venus* was in Conjunction with *Saturn*. The Wiſe Men knew by their Calculations that he was to be born the 25th of *December*, in the 42. Year of *Auguſtus*, and came to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip him. Laſtly, by exactly tracing his Horoſcope, and reading in the Stars, *Jeſus Chriſt* muſt neceſſarily be crucified.

VIII. 'Tis a ſmall matter to tell what is paſt. *R. Chomer*, who had obſerved that *Meduſa's* Head, or the Stars it was made up of, had denounc'd Deſolation to *Greece*, becauſe they form'd a Word that ſignifies *Deſolate* [p], maintain'd that the two *Eaſtern* Empires were menaced with approaching Ruine; one of them was the *Turkiſh*, over which was read this Word *Cak* [q] which ſignifies to be *ſick*, *weak*, and *beaten*. By the Rules of the *Cabbala* we muſt caſt up the Sum of the Letters in this Word, which is MXXV. which ſhews the duration of this Empire. And by reckoning this number of Years from the Year DCXXX, wherein it began, the *Ottoman* Empire muſt have been deſtroy'd in the Year MDCLV. *Gaffarel* is commonly made the Author of this Prediction, but the *Rabbin* is the inventer of it, and he only the Reporter of it. He found likewiſe the other Prediction concerning the fall of the *Chineſe* Empire ſo obſcure, that he was not able to explain it. This is enough to give an Idea of this Science, and we need no more to diſcover its vanity. Let us add only a word of an Apology for the great Men, that are accuſed of falling into this Extravagance.

IX. A judicious and [r] impartial Critick has acquitted theſe Learned *Rabbins* from the Calumny which *Gaffarel* has caſt upon them. For he obſerves that the Citations he produces, import only that the Heavens *are a Book*; but it muſt not be concluded from this metaphorical Expreſſion, that all who call them ſo believe, that there are Letters in Heaven which may be read as one of *Cicero's* Books. Not only *Maimonides* and *Kimki* have never maintain'd ſo Chimerical an Opinion, but they have alſo ſaid things that abſolutely overthrow it. *Aben Ezra* [s] was ſo far from believing it, that he laught at the Aſtrologers, who ſpoke of the fall of the Stars, and attributed Influences to *Lyra*, and other Signs of the *Zodiack*. We muſt therefore confine our ſelves to ſome *Rabbins* of leſs Reputation, as *Chomer* and others, who may have borrowed this Notion from the *Arabians*, where *Poſtel* boaſts of his having learnt it.

X. We muſt juſtify the Fathers by the ſame reaſon. There is only ſome doubt concerning *Origen*. *Sixtus Senenſis* [t] accuſes him of believing that the Heavens were legible; becauſe this antient Doctor taught three Things: Firſt, that the Stars could not be the cauſe of Events, for that human Liberty would be deſtroy'd by it. 2. That however, the Stars were Signs of what was to happen to States and private Perſons. *Futurity*, ſaid he, [u] *may be written in Heaven, as being a Book, and a great prophetick Volume.* "Hence *Jacob* bad his Children "*read in the Leaves of Heaven, what muſt be the* "*fate of you and your Children.* And when the "Prophet *Iſaiah* ſays, *that the Heavens ſhall be* "*rolled up like a Book*, he meant perhaps to teach "us that the Events which God has printed in this

[i] Pſ. 19. [k] *Inſtead of* Koam Sonus, *read* Kavam Linea *or Line*. [l] ספר Sephar. [m] Aug. contra Man. l. 2. c. 21.
[n] Gaffarel's *ſtrange Curioſities*. c. 3. p. 296, *&c.*
[o] Cardan. Comment. in Ptolom. l. 2. Card. Ab. Alliaco apud Sixt. Senens. Bibl. Sanct. l. 6. p. 425. Gaffarel's *ſtrange Curioſities*.
[p] Charab. [q] כאח. [r] Buddæus Introd. ad Hiſtor. Philoſ. Hebræor. p. 337. [s] Aben Ezra apud Picum de Aſtrol. l. 8. c. 5.
[t] Sixtus Sen. Bibl. l. 5. An. 15. p. 331. [u] Origen apud Euſeb. de præd. l. 6. c. 11. p. 292.

cœleſtial

" cœleſtial Book, ſhall be entirely accompliſhed; " as the Oracles of the Prophets, which are ful- " fill'd by the Event." Laſtly, [x] *Origen* confeſſes, that it is difficult for Men to read in Heaven their future Deſtiny, whether good or bad; but that the Angels at leaſt have this knowledge; and that there are alſo ſome Men that acquire it, either by their Obſervations, or dealing with Devils. So that according to *Origen*, Heaven is a Book, a Parchment, fill'd with Characters; the Stars are ſo many Signs, which denote the Fate of private Men and Kingdoms. To read them, is above the ordinary Capacity of Men; but they may attain to it, and ſometimes do. It muſt be owned, that *Origen* ſpoke boldly; but yet, I believe, he look'd upon the Stars as Signs, whoſe different Aſpects noted Events: But he did not ſuppoſe, that they were ſo many Letters of the Alphabet.

XI. [y] *Picus* of *Mirandola* made it a Problem, *Whether all things were written and ſpecified in the Heavens to him that was able to read them.* He maintain'd alſo, that *Moſes* had expreſs'd all theſe Effects of the Stars by the word *Light*; becauſe it is Light that derives and carries all the Influences of the Heavens upon Earth. But he alter'd his Opinion, and obſerv'd, that not only theſe Characters, extoll'd by the *Hebrew* Doctors, were chimerical; but alſo that the Signs themſelves had not the Figures of the Names that were given them: that the Sphere of *Aratus* was very different from that of the *Chaldeans*, who confounding *Libra* with *Scorpio*, reckon but eleven Signs of the *Zodiack*. *Aratus* himſelf, who was the inventer of theſe Names, was, in the opinion of the Ancients, very ignorant in *Aſtronomy*.

XII. Laſtly, A Man muſt be very whimſical to think, he ſees Letters in the Heavens, and reads them, as *Poſtel* pretends to have done. *Gaffarel* had no more ſenſe, though dignified in the Church. If he did not prognoſticate the Fall of the *Ottoman* Empire, yet he at leaſt believed it, and proved the ſolidity of the Science by a very learned Collection. In the mean time, he had the mortification to ſurvive his Prediction, which is ſo manifeſtly falſe. 'Tis the common Fate of thoſe that take not a pretty long time for the accompliſhment of their Prophecies. They ſhould be ſo wiſe as not to run the risk of a Blow, that ſullies all their Glory, and convicts them of having been whimſical. But theſe Aſtronomers are too bigotted to their Science and Principles, to hearken to Reaſon and good Advice.

[x] Origen, ibid. p. 286.

[y] Pic. Mir. Heptaplus, c. 4. p. 51. Idem in Aſtrol. l. 8. c. 5. p. 443.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Numbers and Value of the Letters. *Of the Uſe made of them by the* Cabbaliſts, *the firſt Fathers of the Church, and the* Baſilidian *Hereticks. The true Explication of their* Abraxas.

I. *THE plurality of Words eſtabliſh'd by the firſt Letter of* Geneſis. II. *The Virtue of the Number Fifteen.* III. *Myſteries found by St.* Barnabas *in the Number* 318. *The Faults of this Father.* IV. *Different Myſteries, which the other Fathers have found in it.* V. *The Myſteries of the* Baſilidians *in their* Æons. VI. Abraxas *and* Abracadabra *explain'd by a new Interpreter.* VII. *The Vanity of this new Explication.* VIII. *The Verity of the* Satisfaction *abſurdly aſcribed to the* Baſilidians. IX. *The only Myſtery of theſe Words conſiſts in the Number* 365. X. *The* Greeks *imagin'd the ſame thing.* XI. *The* Ægyptians *fancied the ſame of the* Nile. XII. *The firſt Order of* Taliſmans, *compoſed of barbarous Words.* XIII. *The ſecond Species taken from Numbers.* XIV. *The third from the Names of God and Angels.* XV. *The* Chriſtians *have practiſed it.* XVI. *The fourth kind, compoſed of* Groteſk *Figures.* XVII. *The Images of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, *imploy'd for* Taliſmans.

I. THE *Hebrews* uſe Letters for Numbers, like the *Greeks*; and the *Cabbaliſts* have, by this means, open'd a new Magazine of Myſteries. When they examine, for Example, whether there were more Worlds created before this, which we inhabit, they are divided. *Maimonides* maintains, that we ought not to admit more Words, becauſe this would introduce the Eternity of Matter. But a great many Doctors believe, that the World muſt be deſtroyed at the end of Seven thouſand Years; and therefore it is not impoſſible, but there might be another World before this which *Adam* and *Eve* have peopled. They add, that this Opinion brings no prejudice to Faith; becauſe they ſuppoſe that God created them, and that there is no eternal Matter. Laſtly, The [a] *Cabbaliſts* interpoſe, and decide the Queſtion by the firſt Letter of *Geneſis*: For *Moſes* commencing his Hiſtory with a B, ([b] Bereſchit) muſt neceſſarily denote by it the *ſecond* World. The Letter B is the Number Two. *Moſes* has put it in the beginning of *Geneſis*; and therefore he believed, that there was another World which God had created before this.

II. Nor are they content to find ſome great Myſteries in Numbers; but they, beſides, aſcribe miraculous Virtues to them. *William* of *Moncada*, who was a *Jew*, and had learn'd the Secret of his Father *Alphrag*, confeſſes, that he always wore a thin Plate of Gold, whereon was engraven the Head of a *Lion*, with nine Letters, which diſpoſed in three different Columns, made the Number [c] XV, which way ſoever you read them; and above were theſe two words, *in the Name of God*, becauſe the Name of God יה makes alſo the Number XV; and by the help of this Secret, he could make himſelf happy.

III. [d] *Zonaras* relates, That the *Jews* having attempted to make a Proſelyte of *Helena*, *Conſtantine*'s Mother, this Prince appointed a Conference between their Doctors and Pope *Sylveſter*. The Pope had the better of the *Jews*, when *Zambrez*, one of their Doctors, ordering a Bull to be brought, pronounc'd ſome Letters, or the Name of God, in his Ear; upon which, he fell dead at his Feet: He thought this Miracle a deciſive Argument for his Religion; but the Pope anſwered it by raiſing the Beaſt to Life again; which made it appear, that the *Pope* and the *Chriſtians* knew more upon this Head than the *Jewiſh* Doctor. But 'tis eaſie to obſerve, that this is rather a Fable than an Hiſtory.

It is only true, that the *Chriſtians* have been as weak as the *Jews* in all theſe Particulars: And

[a] V. *The* Zohar, *and* Menaſſes Ben Iſrael, *of the Creation.* Probl. 12. p. 51.

[b] בראשית

[c] V. Bartolocci, B. R. t. 4. p. 250.

[d] Zonaras Annal. t. 3. p. 5.

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not only the common sort of *Christians*, but also the celebrated Doctors, imprudently styled Apostles, have sought for Mysteries in Numbers.

And indeed, [e] St. *Barnabas* asserts, that *Abraham* circumcised Three hundred and eighteen of his Slaves. The Fact is false, and *Moses* says nothing like it. The Mystery he draws from it, falls to the ground: However, 'tis plain, that mistaking in this Circumstance, he alludes to the number of Slaves, that *Abraham* arm'd to rescue *Lot* out of the hands of the King of *Sodom*, who had carried him away; and here it is the Mystery appears, which is the Foundation of the Gospel, *Jesus, and him crucified.* For the two first Letters of the Name *Jesus* make eighteen, and the T, which stands for [f] 300, is the Image of the Cross, to which *Jesus Christ* was nailed: And thus the *Greek* Arithmetical Figures of three hundred and eighteen make *Jesus Christ on the Cross.* If St. *Barnabas* had been reminded, that *Moses* wrote in *Hebrew*, and that the *Greek* Figures and Letters he reckons by, don't agree with those of the *Jews*, he would have had the mortification to see his Mystery fall to pieces.

'Tis no great wonder for such a silly thing to escape a Man; but for a Doctor to call God to witness "that it is true; to give Thanks for it, "as for a Revelation; confidently to assure his "Readers, that he never said any thing truer and "more natural;" this would be inconceivable, did we not find this fault imitated by a great number of Fathers, who have out-stript Saint *Barnabas*.

IV. [g] *Clemens Alexandrinus* finds a Cube in the Number 8, with a perfect equality in all its Dimensions: The Number 10. *has been judged perfect by all Nations.* There is thrice 100 in the Number 300, which is also a perfect one. *Clemens* afterwards turns his Thoughts every way, and combines these Numbers in several manners, to draw out of them more Wonders still. *Origen* would not lose so fair an opportunity of finding some Mysteries. The Poet, who has attack'd the *Marcionites* in Verse, under *Tertullian*'s Name, finds the Cross in the Number of Three hundred Soldiers. But instead of those that were led by *Abraham*, he puts those who followed *Gideon*, and he mounts them on Horse-back.

Hoc [h] *etenim signo prædonum stravit acervos*
Congressus populo Christi, sine milite multo
Tercenteno equite numerus Tau, littera Græca,
Armatis facibusque & cornibus ore canentum.

Liberius, writing to the Bishops of *Macedonia*, to acquaint them how overjoy'd he was, that the *East* and *West* had agreed upon the Article of our Lord's Divinity, found the Council of [i] *Nice* represented by *Abraham*'s 318 Servants. This was diverting the Mystery, and bringing it down from the Master to his Domesticks: But this shews, that the same Number may be applied to a great many Uses, by the help of a good Invention. I don't know whether *Liberius* was the first Author of this Notion; but in all appearance, it was thought to be extremely ingenious, since it has been so often repeated. [k] St. *Epiphanius* having collected an hundred and eighteen Scripture-Passages against the *Marcionites*, triumphs upon this Number, as if these Hereticks must necessarily be confounded with this Circumstance: *For the* 18 *seem'd to proceed from the Person and Name of* Jesus Christ, *and his glorious Benediction is declared by the Number* 100. This Passage is so obscure, that his Interpreter has not ventured to translate it; and the learned *Petau* has forgotten to illustrate it in his Notes. In the mean time, this shews, that St. *Epiphanius* found a profound Mystery in the Number of an hundred and eighteen; that he believed with the Ancients, who preceded him, that eighteen I H. represented the Name of JESUS, and that an hundred, which was a perfect Number, signified the Benediction of God, and Eternal Life; for [l] many of the Fathers believed the same. A Man must be very fond of Mysteries drawn from Numbers, to carry them so far. And yet these illustrious and admired Doctors of the Church have done it: We might add to them St. *Ambrose*, St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Augustin*, and the Poet *Prudentius*, who says, that the Knowledge of the Mystery included in the Number 318, makes a Man rich and happy.

Nos [m] *esse largè Vernularum divites,*
Siquid trecenti bis novenis additis
Possint, figurâ noverimus mysticâ.

V. No wonder that the *Gnosticks* loved Numbers, since they saw the *Jews* and *Fathers* of the *Church* find such Mysteries in them. In imitation of them, they discover'd their eighteen *Æons* in the two first Letters of the Name [n] JESUS. They maintain'd, that *Jesus Christ* suffer'd in the twelfth Month, and that there are twelve Hours in a Day to signifie the twelve *Æons*: And lastly, they believed that *Jesus Christ* lived thirty Years, to intimate the xxx *Æons*.

VI. the *Abraxas* of the *Basilidians* gives the Criticks some trouble, because they can't readily conjecture what was meant by it. *Tertullian* says, that they consider'd it as the supream God; but afterwards, *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the Salvation of the World by the Cross*, were found in it. Interpreters pretend, that part of this Term is made up of *Hebrew* Words, and the other part of *Greek*; and observes how the P. H. who has the last attempted its [o] Explication, finds the Mystery in it.

A	*Ab*,	Father.
B	*Ben*,	Son.
P	*Rouah-Hakadosh*,	Holy Ghost.
A	Ἀνθρώπους,	Men.
C	Σώζων,	Saving.
A	Ἁγίῳ,	By the Holy.
Ξ	Ξύλῳ,	Wood.

We find the Trinity expres's'd, and the Mystery of the Cross design'd by the *Holy Wood.* By the same Method they explain *Abracadabra.*

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[e] Ep. Barnabas, c. 9. p. 29.

[f] I makes 10
H ——— 8
T ——— 300
N° 318

[g] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. p. 658.
[h] Apud. Tertull. Carm. ad Marc. l. 3. c. 4. p. 1065.
[i] Liberii Ep. ad Episc. Maced. apud Socr. l. 4. c. 12. p. 223.
[k] Epiph. Hær. 42. p. 374.
[l] V. Cotel. Monum. Pat. Not. p. 29.
[m] Prudent. Psychomachiæ Præf.
[n] I H. 18. } V. Iren. l. 2. c. 2. p. 190.

[o] *An Explication of the Names* Abraxas *and* Abracadabra, *in the Memoirs of Arts and Sciences.* Sept. & Oct. 1701. Art. 29. p. 249. Edit. Holl. de Nicholas de-Siglis.

A	*Ab*,	Father.
B	*Ben*,	Son.
P	*Rouah-Hakkadoſh*,	Holy Ghoſt.
A	Ἀνθρώπους,	Men.
C	Σώζων,	Saving.
A	Ἁγίῳ,	By the Holy.
Δ	Δένδρῳ,	Tree.
A	*Ab*,	The Father.
B	*Ben*,	Son.
P	*Rouah-Hakkadoſh*,	The Holy Ghoſt.
A	*Adonai*,	The Lord God is one.

We muſt not forget, that *Vendelinus* found three other Words in theſe three Letters, CAΔ: for he Σωτηρία ἀπὸ Νόξης, *Salvation comes from Glory*, and by Glory he meant the Trinity.

VII. Thus it is, that Men amuſe themſelves in finding great Myſteries where there are none. I ſhall not ſtand to obſerve, that theſe Criticks attempting to find the Trinity here mingle *Hebrew* Words with *Greek* and *Latin* Characters, which are very different. They are forced to return ſometimes to the *Greek*, ſometimes to the *Hebrew*, which cauſes a great confuſion; and when they have found the *Greek* Words, they have ſtill occaſion for a Comment to find out the Trinity in them, or to learn that three Perſons are one God. For the *Glory* does not ſignifie the Trinity. This Word being underſtood, makes another very uncertain Conjecture; and by ſuppoſing all we can, this Expreſſion, *Salvation comes from Glory*, or the Trinity, will never be juſt, nor the Myſtery evident. For 'tis from the Croſs and Shame of *Jeſus Chriſt* that Salvation comes. The P. H. ſuppoſes, that the Trinity of Perſons being twice expreſs'd in *Abracadabra*, the *Valentinians* had a deſign to add the Unity of God to it by an *A*, which ſignifies *Adonai*. 'Tis the leaſt concern of Hereticks to eſtabliſh the Unity of God in a Trinity of Perſons; and though they ſhould have this Deſign, the Title of Lord, or *Adonai*, does not expreſs that there is only *one Lord God*, except in the imagination of a *Chriſtian* full of this Doctrine, who would find it in every thing.

VIII. But theſe Interpreters ſeem not to have ſtudied the Notions of the *Baſilidians*, the inventers of this barbarous Term; for it was not the Style of the firſt Ages to call the Croſs the *holy Wood*, *and the holy Tree*: And though theſe Expreſſions ſhould have been uſed by the Orthodox, it can't be ſaid they were by the *Baſilidians*, who denied the reality of our Saviour's Sufferings. And indeed it is very ſtrange, that theſe Words of [p] St. *Ireneus* are forgotten. *Baſilides* affirms, "That *Jeſus Chriſt* "did not ſuffer, but that one *Simon*, a *Cyrenian*, "undertook to bear his Croſs, and that this *Ægyptian* was crucified for him; *Jeſus Chriſt* having "ſo transfigured him, that the *Jews* were deceived, and thought, that they were crucifying "him himſelf, whilſt he laugh'd at them under the Shape of *Simon*, which he had aſſum'd: "For *Jeſus Chriſt* being the ſpiritual and eternal "Virtue of the Father, could change his Likeneſs "as he pleaſed; and thus he aſcended into Heaven, laughing at thoſe who thought they had "him, tho' he was inviſible." 'Tis impoſſible, that Hereticks, who ſaid *Jeſus Chriſt* was not crucified, and boldly maintain'd, that we ought not to believe in him, as having brought from Heaven only the Appearance of a Body, and that thoſe who died for their Religion, were Martyrs of *Simon* the *Cyrenian*, ſhould be ſollicitous to inſert in their Myſteries, that *Salvation came from the ſacred Tree, or holy Wood.*

IX. We ought to look for nothing in this barbarous Word, but Numbers. By computing the Sum of the *Greek* Letters this Word is compoſed of, we find CCCLXV.

The *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* believed, there were many Heavens involved one within another, like *the Coats of an Onion*. The firſt is infinitely active; but the Motion leſſens proportionably as they multiply, ſo that the laſt is purely paſſive. Some have confin'd their Number to ſeven, and pretend there is a like Number [q] of *Earths*, whereof one is higher than the other; for *Judæa* is ſituated upon the higheſt Earth, and *Jeruſalem* upon the higheſt Mountain of *Judæa*: but others multiply the Number of the Heavens a great deal more; and the *Baſilidians* did the ſame. They reckon'd, ſaith [r] St. *Ireneus* CCCLXV *Heavens, as many as there are Days in the Year.*

X. This is the only Myſtery contain'd in *Abraxas*; and 'tis in vain to ſeek for any others. Hereby they expreſs'd the ſupreme God, who created the CCCLXV Heavens, and divided the courſe of the Sun into Three hundred ſixty five Days; and therefore they encloſed the ſupream God, and the Name *Abraxas*, in the Circle of the Sun.

The *Greeks* found the Number CCCLXV in the Name of *Meitras*; for ſo it ought to be written, as they writ *Neilus*. They ſignified hereby the CCCLXV Days of the Year, and the Sun, who is the Father of the Day, and whom they worſhip'd as a Great God. Hence come the Inſcriptions related by [s] *Gruterus*, wherein he is call'd, *the only God, the invincible* Mithra, *the holy, the invincible, the omnipotent God.*

As it is believed, that the [t] *Perſians* alſo call'd him by a Name, which ſignifies *Great, and the greateſt of all the Gods*; a [u] Learned Man has obſerved, that this word ſignifies *Love, Mercy*, and was attributed to the Sun, becauſe he nouriſhes Mankind, and ſuſtains the Univerſe by his Love. He aſſerts alſo, that *Mithra* was not the true God of the *Perſians*, who guiltleſs of Idolatry, only conſider'd the Sun, as the moſt glorious and perfect of all Creatures. But to defend this Opinion, we muſt impugn that of all the ancient *Greeks* and *Latins*, who have affirm'd that *Mithra* was the Sun, who was invoked the Day before a Battel, and was ſworn by, in any ſolemn Affirmation of a Truth.

XI. The *Ægyptians* had the ſame Notion of the [x] *Nile*. They found the Number CCCLXV in the Name of this River: they call'd him King, and *Auguſtus*; they adored him as a beneficent Deity; they ſtyled him ſometimes the *Ægyptian Jupiter*:

Te [y] *propter nullos Tellus tua poſtulat imbres*
Arida, nec fluvio ſupplicat herba Jovi.

It ſeems, they had no need of *Jupiter*; becauſe this River ſupplied the Wants, and even Labour of the Husbandmen.

The *Baſilidians* being ſprung from *Ægypt*, borrowed their *Abraxas* thence. This was the ſupreme God they worſhip'd; and they gave him this Name, to ſhew that he had created Three hundred ſixty five Heavens, and diſtributed the courſe of the Sun into Three hundred ſixty five Days.

But afterwards ſome of theſe Hereticks made *Taliſmans* in imitation of the *Cabbaliſts*, of which they invented four principal kinds. Firſt they Engraved upon a Seal, or a thin plate of Gold certain barba-

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[p] Iren. l. 1. c. 23. p. 119.
[q] In Zohar Menaſſe de Creat. Probl. 28. p. 107.
[r] Iren. ibid.
[s] Gruter Theſ. Inſcr. p. 34. n. 3, 5, 6.
[t] Voſſius de Idol. l. 2. c. 9. p. 178.
[u] Mether. Hyde de Relig. Perſar. c. 4. p. 107.
[x] Νεῖλος, p. 365.
[y] Tibullus.

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rous words, to which they annex'd ſome miraculous Vertues. The Poet *Serenus*, who is rank'd amongſt the *Baſilidians*, maintain'd, that the Word *Abracadabra*, written in a certain manner was a Specifick againſt an Ague.

Inſcribes [z] chartæ, quod dicitur Abracadabra,
Sæpius & ſubter repetes; ſed detrahe ſummæ
Ut magis atque magis deſint elementa figuris.
Singula, quæ ſemper rapies: & cætera figes,
Donec in anguſtum redigatur litera conum;
His lino nexis collum redimire memento.

We find another of theſe *Taliſmans*, which the Orthodox, in imitation of the *Hereticks*, have compoſed of words without any meaning. Theſe words are to be ſo written, that which way ſoever you turn the Figure, you ſtill read the ſame words.

S	A	T	O	R
A	R	E	P	O
T	E	N	E	T
O	P	E	R	A
R	O	T	A	S

XIII. Secondly the *Baſilidians* made ſome *Taliſmans* of the *number* of their *Æons*, or of the three hundred and ſixty five Heavens. The *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* alſo made uſe of Numbers. *Bartolocci* [a] produces three of them, one whereof is the Moon with her *Creſcent*, having on the *Reverſe* the number 369, which is always found in the different Lines of the Square. On the ſecond we ſee *Mercury* with his Rod, and on the Reverſe the Number 260. On the third is *Mars*, and on the reverſe the number 175, all in *Hebrew* Characters.

XIV. Thirdly, of all the *Cabbaliſtick Taliſmans*, there is none that goes beyond that wherein they join the Name of God with thoſe of Angels, *Uriel*, *Michael*. Hereticks likewiſe imitated this Cuſtom. *Fabretti* [b] has produced a Seal made for the uſe of ſome *Gnoſticks*, having the Figure of an human Body with Six Arms: The two uppermoſt carry Torches: The middlemoſt are Arm'd with Daggers, and the laſt with Whips, with theſe words, *Saba Abraxas*; *the God of Armies*.

Mr. *Germond*, Auditor in the Chamber of Accounts at *Paris*, has another, with theſe words Ingraved upon it, *Abraxas*, *Adonai*, *Jao*, *Sabaoth*, which are thus Tranſlated, *the Father*, *the Son*, *the Holy Ghoſt*, ſaying Men by the Croſs is the Lord of Hoſts. But we have already overthrown this Interpretation, which goes upon a falſe preſumption; we muſt therefore Tranſlate [c] them, *Lord God*, *Lord of Hoſts*. *Abraxas* is the Characteriſtick Title aſcribed by the Sect to God, and the reſt are borrowed from Scripture. Upon the reverſe we read the Names of *Uriel*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael*, *Michael*; ſo that we have a proof, that the *Hereticks* join'd the Names of Angels to that of God in their *Taliſmans*.

XV. The *Chriſtians* have been no wiſer than the *Cabbaliſts* and *Hereticks*; for a famous Traveller [d] has diſcover'd ſuch a kind of *Taliſman* in the *Greek* Church for the City of *Miletus*. We ſee there the Name of God written in *Greek* Characters, diverſified fifteen times over, and the Letters ſo tranſpoſed, as to make a barbarous Word of it.

ΙΕΟ ΥΑΗΩ	ΙΗΩΑΕC	ΥΑΗΟΙΩΕ	ΗΟΛΙΑΩΕ	ΙΗΕΟΥΩΑ
ΑΕΗΙ	ΕΗΙΟ	ΗΙΟΥ	ΙΟΥΩ	ΟΥΩ
ΟΥΩ	ΥΩΑ	ΟΑΕ	ΑΕΗ	ΑΕΗΙ
ΑΓΙΕ	ΑΓΙΕ	ΑΓΙΕ	ΑΓΙΕ	ΑΓΙΕ
ΦΥΑΑCΟΝ	ΦΥΑΑCΟΝ	&c.	&c.	&c.
ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ	ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ			
ΜΙΛΗCΙΩΝ	ΜΙΛΗCΙΩΝ			
ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑC	ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑC			
ΤΟΥC ΚΑΤΟΙ	ΤΟΥC ΚΑΤΟΙ			
ΚΟΝΤΑC	ΚΟΝΤΑC			
ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ.	ΦΥΑΑCCΕΤΕ	ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ	ΜΙΛΗCΙΩΝ	ΚΑΙ [illegible]ΤΑΣ ΚΑΤ

This Prayer is found with it; *Holy* Jehovah, *preſerve the City of* Miletus, *and all its Inhabitants. O Archangels let the City of* Miletus *and all its Inhabitants be preſerved.* The diſcoverer of this Monument aſcribes it to the *Baſilidians*; but what intereſt had theſe Hereticks to pray for the whole City of *Miletus*, and its Inhabitants? Did they ever Reign there? The Church wherein it was found, ſhews what ſtreſs was laid upon it for preſerving the City from the dangers that might threaten it.

XVI. Laſtly, the *Baſilidians* draw Figures and Groteſks upon their *Taliſmans*. *Baronius* has produced one of them having the figure of a Man arm'd with a Lance. As the *Cabbaliſts* and *Ægyptians* gave their *Taliſmans* an human Figure, its Body is cover'd with Characters hard to be decipher'd; but it can't be doubted, but that this belong'd to theſe antient Hereticks, ſince *Abraxas* may be plainly read in it. There is another of theſe *Taliſmans* Engraved with the Figure of a Man, whoſe Head is incircled with Rays as the beatified Saints are painted. He has ſome Wings ſpread upon his Shoulders, with theſe words upon the Reverſe, *Raphael*, *Gabriel*. 'Tis the Opinion of a Learned Man, that this [e] radiating Head, and winged Body, repreſented the Sun; and that the *Baſilidians* alluded to the words of *Malachy*, who promiſes the riſing of the Sun of Righteouſneſs with healing in his Wings; for the Name of *Raphael* ſignifies a God that heals, or *brings health*. But this was rather a mixture of *Heatheniſm* with *Chriſtianity*, and *Angels* with the Images of the Sun, who was painted in *Ægypt* with Wings. *Iſaiah* cries, [f] *Wo to the Land ſhadowing with wings, that ſendeth Ambaſſadors by Sea, even in Veſſels of Bulruſhes*. This relates to the Feaſt of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, or the return of the Sun, whoſe Images and Repreſentations were ſent on Veſſels of Bulruſhes upon the *Nile* and Sea, and commonly had Wings faſtned to them. *Maimonides* alſo relates that the *Ægyptians* had a Cuſtom of laying four Women naked on their Backs upon the Ground, who lifting their Feet, pronounc'd certain words whereby Hail was ſtop'd, becauſe they had loſt the *Taliſman*, which

[z] *See above* p. 203. *how* Schiauriri *was written.* [a] Bartolocci Bibl. R. t. 4. p. 251. [b] Fabretti Inſcript. Ant. Explic. c. 7. p. 535.
[c] *Memoirs for the Hiſtory of the Arts and Sciences.* Sept. Oct. 1701. p. 297.
[d] Wheeler's *Voyages.* t. 2. p. 277. [e] Le Moine Diſs. de Jehova Juſt. noſtra. [f] Iſ. 18.

ad that vertue, whereupon was a *Venus* lying in tha t poſture.

The *Jews* were more averſe to the Engraving any human Figure, becauſe of the danger of Idolatry,

Nulla [g] *autem effigies nulli commiſſa metallo*
Forma Dei.

as *Statius* ſays of the *Athenians*, who had an Altar in the middle of their City conſecrated to *Mercy* without any Human Figure. 'Tis ſaid that the *Arabians* have imitated the *Jews*, and that in repreſenting the Conſtellations, they have uſed different Figures from ours. They deſcribed, for inſtance, *Aquarius* by a Mule loaden with two Tuns of Water, inſtead of a Man; and *Gemini* by two Peacocks; but both the *Arabians* and *Cabbaliſts* have at laſt laid aſide that point of nicety. We have produced the Images of *Mercury* and *Mars* cut by a *Jewiſh* Hand, and there was to be ſeen a Silver *Taliſman*, at Mr. *Mareſcot*'s [h] Maſter of Requeſts of *Paris*, having the Figure of a Woman repreſenting the Sign *Virgo*, or rather the *Moon*, with theſe three Letters, אהא which ſignify theſe [i] three Words, *God is one:* And the Angelical Characters obſervable in this *Taliſman*, as in *Solomon*'s *Clavicula*, don't Authorize our denying it to the *Jews*; for on the contrary, we find them often inſerting the Names of Angels.

XVII. The *Taliſman* made publick by Mr. *Sponde* can't be attributed to the *Gnoſticks*, ſince we find the Images of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* upon it; we muſt therefore acknowledge that the *Chriſtians* have followed the *Cabbaliſts* and *Hereticks* in all their Methods. The Term *Abraxas* upon the Reverſe, is no Argument that a *Chriſtian* did not make uſe of this *Amulet*. They have copied the *Hereticks* even in their Characteriſtick Terms, when they have fancied ſome Vertue annex'd to them. And thus many have made trial of the Remedy *Abracadabra*. It is not certain that the Inventer of it was an *Heretick*; only he was a Phyſitian, and a bad *Chriſtian*. 'Tis imagined, that they who had theſe Images of the Apoſtles, had a reſpect for them; and leaſt they ſhould diſparage them, inſcribed the *Abraxas* upon the Reverſe; as if People who employ'd an Image for the playing a trick of Magick, and put the barbarous Word on the Reverſe of a Medal, ſhould not dare to inſcribe it round theſe ſacred Heads. Don't we find Men in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Time, annexing a Vertue to ſome Words of St. *John*'s Goſpel? And if they did not reſpect the *Word*, nor the Maſter, how is it likely that they ſhould reſpect the Image of his Diſciples? They that employed theſe Heads of the Apoſtles, were ignorant *Chriſtians*, or doaters on Magick, fancying, that they could perform Miracles by it; and they put the Characteriſtick Term of Amulets upon the Reverſe, according to the uſual Cuſtom. In ſhort, has not [k] *Wierius* given us a deſcription of the manner how the *Chriſtians* exerciſed Lightning and Thunder, Hail and Tempeſts? They took three Hail Stones, and threw them into the Fire in the Name of the Trinity; they repeated twice or thrice the Lord's Prayer, and two or three Chapters of Saint *John*'s Goſpel; after which they made the Sign of the Croſs, againſt the Cloud, and the Thunder, drawing it on the Ground towards the four points of the World, and then the Exorciſt thrice pronounc'd theſe words, *The Word was made Fleſh*, *Verbum caro factum eſt*; and adding as often, *Let this Tempeſt fly*, *fugiet tempeſtas iſta*, and it immediately ceaſed: Here we have whatever is moſt Sacred in Religion; the Trinity, the Word, the Lord's Prayer, the Goſpel of St. *John*, the Exorciſm, the Sign of the Croſs; God knows what effect all theſe Ingredients produced. What then do People think of, that maintain, that theſe *Chriſtians* have had ſuch reſpect to the Heads of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, as not to dare to Engrave *Abraxas* about them? And that out of a pious Veneration for the Figures of the Apoſtles, they cut it on the Reverſe of the Medal. A Man muſt be ſtrangely bigotted to Images, and think a mighty reſpect is due to them, to talk at this rate.

[g] Stat. Theb. l. 12.
[h] Gaffarel's *Curioſities*. c. 7. p. 176.
[i] *Or elſe God*; *his Name is one* Æl Haſchem achad. Gaff. Ibid.
[k] Wierius de præſtigiis Dæmonum. l. 4.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Cabbaliſtick Sephiroths *compared with the* Valentinian Æons. *An Explication of theſe* Æons, *and the deſign of the Hereticks.*

I. *THE laſt part of the* Cabbala. II. Baſilides *and* Valentinus *were* Ægyptians. III. *They derived their* Cabbala *from the* Jews. *St.* Ignatius *corrected, explain'd.* IV. *St.* Irenæus *confirms it.* V. *An Amulet of the* Baſilidians *publiſh'd by* Fabretti. VI. *Its Explication.* VII. *The general deſign of the Hereticks.* VIII. *An Explication of the two firſt* Æons. IX. *The Plan that God lays down: The third and fourth* Æons. X. *The Creation of the World.* XI. *Curioſity puniſh'd: The production of three Creatures.* XII. *The ſecond claſs of* Æons. XIII. *The Word* Æons *compared with the* Sephiroths: *Its Origine.* XIV. *The* Æons *were not the Attributes of God.* XV. *The* Æons *and* Sephiroths *are the Emanations of the Deity.* XVI. *The Marriages of the* Æons *and* Sephiroths. XVII. Syneſius's *conformity with the* Cabbaliſts. XVIII. *How the* Cabbaliſts *expreſs the ineffable Majeſty of God.* XIX. *Several* Æons *compared with the* Sephiroths. XX. *The Origine of the Error of the* Cabbaliſts. XXI. *Their common principles concerning the Nature and Revolutions of Souls.* XXII. *Concerning the Sun.* XXIII. *Concerning the Cauſe of Evil.* XXIV. *The Difference between the* Gnoſticks *and* Cabbaliſts. XXV. *The Apology of theſe Hereticks.* XXVI. *The Defects of their Method.*

I. THE firſt part of the *Cabbala* gave riſe to the reſt: For when a Man is perſuaded, that the Holy Pen-men concluded ſome great Myſteries under their Expreſſions, and that there are ſome profound Truths conceal'd under the ſimpleſt Words and Letters, he takes the ſame liberty as they; and as *Origen* made uſe of St. *Paul*'s Authority, to turn the whole Scripture into Allegory, the *Jews* and *Hereticks* conceited with their *Cabbala*, thought that they might conceal the Creation of the World, and the Redemption of Mankind under ſome particular Words, whoſe meaning was only underſtood, by Perſons that were initiated, or more enlightned than others; and therefore they gave themſelves the Name of *Underſtanders*, or *Gnoſticks*.

II. All this while, this Contagion was derived from *Ægypt*; for as *Philo* and the *Therapeutes* had there particularly ſtudied the Allegories of Scripture, and *Origen* in Chriſtianity, had carried this Study to the greateſt extreme; ſo it was this Country that produced the *Baſilidians* and *Valentinians*, thoſe famous *Cabbaliſts* of the firſt Centuries. *Baſilides*, the Founder of one of theſe Sects, was an *Ægyptian* Born; and there it was that he ſpread his Errors in the Reign of *Adrian*. St. *Epiphanius* ſays, that it was unknown in his Days, of what Country *Valentinus* was; he only gueſs'd that he was a *Phrebonite*. There is a corruption in the Text, which *Petau* has judiciouſly Corrected. *Valentinus* was of *Pharbæbita*, an Epiſcopal City of *Ægypt*, whereof *Arbelion* the Biſhop ſubſcribed to the Council of *Nice*. This City was ſituated in the ſecond *Auguſtamnick*, which Name was given to the Province, becauſe it ran along the *Nile*, as far as *Arabia Petræa*. So that *Valentinus* was born in *Ægypt* on the *Peluſian* Coaſt. He left his Country early, to go Study at *Alexandria*; where, as there were abundance of *Jews*, *Philo*'s Admirers, who had carried the Study of the *Cabbala* to a great heighth; he borrowed a part of their Principles, which he afterwards ſucceſsfully diſperſed through all *Ægypt*. He boaſted of being the Diſciple of *Theudas*, St. *Paul*'s Friend. This *Theudas* might be a *Jew*, who had made a compound of Chriſtianity and his Old Religion, as was Cuſtomary enough at that time; and pretended to have taken from St. *Paul* his myſtical Explications of Scripture.

III. 'Tis ſo true that the *Hereticks* derived their *Cabbala* from the *Jews*, and *Ægypt*, that St. *Ignatius* ſpeaking of the Antient *Gnoſticks*, gave them a *Jewiſh* Origine. This Father [a] exhorts the *Chriſtians* not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by ſtrange Doctrines, and uſeleſs Fables; *for if we live ſtill according to the Law and Manner of the* Jews [b] *we own that we have not received Grace.* He imputes the invention of Fables and ſtrange Doctrines to the *Jews*, which ought to be avoided to preſerve our Chriſtianity. He afterwards ſhews what theſe Fables were, which were exactly thoſe of the *Valentinians*, who made the *word to proceed from ſilence.* Believe them, ſaid he, that there is but one God who manifeſted himſelf by *Jeſus Chriſt*, *who is the word Eternal*; *who did not proceed from Silence.* This Paſſage is hard to be underſtood; and ſome chuſe rather to make this Author ſay a ſilly thing, than to own that he alluded to the ſilence and *Sige* of the *Valentinians* [c]. But now would not this be an handſome alluſion of this Doctor of the Church, if he ſaid, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is the word Eternal? but he did not proceed from ſilence, as common Speech, which is never heard, but when ſilence is broken.

Quid [d] *me alta ſilentia cogis*
Rumpere, & obductum verbis vulgare dolorem?

They introduce other Authors, that have made as inſipid Alluſions, and rob *Valentinus* of the invention of his Hereſies, to father them upon others. Laſtly, they go ſo far as to ſay, that this Paſſage is Surreptitious. In the mean time, ſince *Valentinus* made the Word to proceed from *ſilence*, and that nothing is more notorious in the Sect than the *Sige*, it ſtands to reaſon that *Ignatius* alluded to this Error; and they could not avoid ſeeing it, were not they ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Epiſtles that go under this antient Doctor's Name.

IV. It is of little moment, whether theſe Epiſtles be real, or fictitious; ſince it will ſtill be true that they were written by an antient Author, who knew the Extraction of the *Valentinians*, and informs us that they had drawn their *ſtrange Doctrines*, *uſeleſs Fables*, *and their Generation of* Æons, *from the* Jews. And indeed the ſame Author elſewhere repeating the ſame things, adds to them the *infinite Generations*, and the *Jewiſh pride*; for theſe later words are ſtill read in ſome Copies, tho' they are expunged from many: And not to examine what Hand writ them, it evidently appears that the deſign of theſe Writers was to confound the *Valentinians* with the *Jews*; becauſe the *Cabbala* of the one, was the Off-ſpring of the *Cabbala* of the other. St. *Ireneus* [e] who had ſtudied theſe antient Hereſies, aſſerts alſo, that *Baſilides* only exalted this God of the *Jews*, or their Prince above all the reſt, in order to pleaſe his Brethren, and give the preference to the *Jewiſh* Nation, before all the reſt of the World. *Ireneus* therefore believed *Baſilides* to be a *Jew*, or that he aſſociated with them in their Doctrines.

V. 'Tis ſo plain, that the Chriſtian *Cabbaliſts* derived their Myſteries from the *Jews*, that we find ſome *Hebrew* words inſerted in them. *Abbot Fabretti* [f] explaining ſome antient Inſcriptions, has produced an *Amulet* of theſe Hereticks, wherein we ſee a Myſterious Figure. Under the Feet of this Symbol are the Moon and Stars. A Serpent biting his Tail ſurrounds the Medal, and round about are theſe words.

Ιαὼ ἀδωναὶ ελωαὶ Αβραξας.

with ſome other terms that ſeem to be barbarous. Upon the Reverſe is an *Anubis*, with a kind of St. *Andrew*'s Croſs upon his Breaſt. His Head is incircled with Rays. He holds a Serpent in his Right Hand, having a Ring hanging on his Left with the Letter T. There are alſo many words, none of which are decipher'd beſides *Abracapei*.

VI. There's not a ſingle word in theſe Figures, but is pregnant with ſome Myſtery; but it would be loſs of time to attempt to fathom them, and we ſhould always make random gueſſes, ſince theſe Symbols depended on the wit and fancy of the Inventer, who endeavour'd to diſguiſe under them the Myſteries of his Sect. The deſign here was to repreſent the Creation of the World, the Supremacy of God, who commands the Stars, and his Eternity ſignify'd by the Serpent biting his Tail. But not to dive farther into this Myſtery, let it be obſerved, that theſe antient Hereticks borrowed the Names they beſtowed on God, of the *Jews*; and to render them more barbarous and unintelligible to the People, wrote theſe *Hebrew* Names in *Greek* Characters, which indeed are thoſe of *Jehovah*, *Adonai*, and *Ælohim*, the common Scripture Appellatives of God, *the eternal*, *the Lord*, *our God*. The *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* fancied, that the Name of God was more apt to produce certain miraculous Effects: And therefore not daring to conteſt the Miracles of our Lord, they ſaid he ſtole the ineffable Name of God, which

[a] Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magnes. c. 8. p. 19.

[b] *This paſſage is confuſed: It is in the* Greek κατὰ νόμον Ιυδαισμὸν. *Some correct it* Ιυδαικὸν; *others entirely leave out the Word, becauſe it was added by thoſe that thought Judaiſm would not be underſtood by the word* Law. *Others will have it read* νόμον Ιυδαισμῦ, *the Law of Judaiſm. But may not we correct the paſſage thus,* νόμον καὶ Ιυδαισμὸν, according to the Law and Judaiſm. *For there was a difference between the Law, and the manner of the* Jews *living in* Ignatius's *Time, or rather of the Hereticks, who mingled Judaiſm with the Chriſtian Religion.*

[c] Pearſon Vindic. Ign. c. 4. p. 355.

[d] Virg.

[e] Iren. l. 1. c. 23. p. 119.

[f] Fabretti Inſcript. Antiquar. Explicatio Romæ. An. 1699. p. 536.

was choicely preſerved in the Temple. Beſides, they annex'd to the *Hebrew* Tongue an Efficacy and Vertue, which all others wanted: And, therefore, the *Baſilidians* imitated them, and introduced the Names of God into their Emblems. They inſerted likewiſe the Names of Angels, after the manner of the *Jews*, who aſcrib'd a great Power to celeſtial Intelligences, and imagined different Titles to diſtinguiſh them. The barbarous Terms of Hereticks, commonly make the Readers ſtare; but they were commonly borrowed from the *Hebrew* Tongue, which is a confirmation of our Aſſertion, that the one is tranſcribed from the other. 'Tis true, that they ſometimes intermix'd ſome *Ægyptian* Terms, and ſometimes corrupted the *Hebrew*; but this but ſeldom happen'd.

VII. But not to dwell upon theſe Reflexions; let us obſerve the correſpondence of Opinions, and Method of the *Valentinians* and *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts*. In order to make this more evident, we'll firſt give a general Idea of their Deſign, and afterwards enter into a nicer Explication of Particulars. As we are upon an obſcure and difficult Subject, we muſt leave nothing unobſerv'd, not only to explain it, but to make it intelligible to thoſe who are not initiated in theſe Myſteries, and who have often read *Irenæus* and *Epiphanius*, without diſcovering the tendency of the Errors, which they have mention'd, and confuted.

The general purport of the *Cabbaliſts* and *Gnoſticks*, was myſtically to repreſent the manner of God's creating the Univerſe: but theſe latter went farther; explaining alſo the Work of the Redemption, of which the others had hardly any Idea, tho' moſt expreſly manifeſted to them.

VIII. The *Gnoſticks* conceived the ſupreme Being as an *inacceſſible* Majeſty, which no body could ſound or fathom; which therefore they ſtyl'd the [r] *Profundity*. And, indeed, it is an Abyſs which totally abſorbs a Man that attempts to dive into it. This ſupreme Being forms his Deſigns in a ſecret and hidden manner, *who has aſcended into Heaven, and who has been the Counſellor of the Almighty.* And this was what they expreſs'd by [s] Silence, which was the ſecond of the *Æons*.

IX. God having reſolved the Creation of the World, formed the Idea of it; He drew the Plan in his Mind, which he afterwards executed: but *as the [s] Picture can never come up to the Original, the World, that was faſhion'd by the firſt Model of God, was inferior to Underſtanding and Truth.* Theſe two *Æons* therefore ſignified the Plan and Project which God had form'd in his Mind for the creation of the Univerſe.

X. From Underſtanding and Truth, proceeded *the Word and Life.* By which they meaned, that God created the World, and gave Being, Life, and Motion, to the Creatures, by his Word: And hence proceeded a fourth Marriage between Man and the Church. They therefore comprehended the Creation of the World under theſe Terms, *Profundity, Silence, Underſtanding, Truth, Word, Life, Man, and the Church.* They meant, that God inhabits an inacceſſible Light, that he had drawn the Plan of the World in his Mind, which he executed by the Word, for the ſake of Man and the Church. This is the Explication of the eight firſt *Æons*, whereof they made four Couples, or Marriages; as we have ſeen the *Cabbaliſts* give Wives to the *Little*, and *Long Face.*

XI. Afterwards they were more particular in their Accounts of the production of the Creatures. *Wiſdom* was very deſirous to ſee her Father; but approaching too near him, ſhe narrowly eſcaped being abſorb'd by his Luſtre: By good fortune, *Horus* ſtrip'd her by the way, and diverted her Deſign. By which they intimated, that we muſt not attempt to pry into the Deity, nor carry our Curioſity out of the bounds preſcribed by him. The raſhneſs of the Angels occaſioned their downfall, and had lamentable Effects. But indeed, *Wiſdom* being impregnated, or puniſh'd for her deſire of ſeeing her Father, brought forth as ſhapeleſs lumpiſh Matter, full of ignorance, which they term *Achamoth*; a Word corrupted from the *Hebrew.* This wretched Woman gave her ſelf up to Tears and Grief; but for all that, contributed to the production of the World. *Matter* and *Earth* were the reſult of her Tremblings, and *Water* was the product of her Fear and Tears. *Chriſt* coming to comfort her, gave birth to the Soul of the World; ſhe laugh'd, and from her Laughter iſſued Light, and from Light proceeded three ſorts of Subſtances. The *ſpiritual*, which are good, exempt from Sin; the *animal*, which are capable of Good and Evil, of Happineſs and Miſery; and laſtly, the *material.* In the mean time, that the ſame Misfortune which happen'd to *Wiſdom* might not fall upon the other *Æons*, God ſent *Chriſt* to them, to teach them, that they ought not to penetrate too far into the Nature of God, but keep modeſtly within the bounds of their Duty. It farther appears by theſe myſtical Expreſſions, that they deſign'd to explain how the Matter of Water and Earth were produced, and that they diſtinguiſh'd in Man the Body which is material, the Animal Spirits, and the Soul. They imagin'd a Soul of the World, which govern'd it, after it had produced it. But this Soul was called *Achamoth*, that is, the *Wiſdom* of God, becauſe 'tis this *Wiſdom* indeed, which governs the Univerſe.

XII. Laſtly, The *Valentinians* multiplied theſe *Æons* up to thirty; but 'tis eaſie to obſerve, that the ſecond Claſs, conſiſting of Ten, contains the Perfections and Powers of God; *his Self exiſtence, his Unity, his Immutability, his Beatitude*; and the reſt reſpect Man, *as Faith, Hope, Charity, Wiſdom and Felicity.*

XIII. The *Æons* of the *Gnoſticks* ſignified the Perfections and Attributes of the Deity, which were derived from one another. The *Cabbaliſts* gave them another Name; but at the bottom, they were the ſame Attributes which they call'd *Splendors*, or *Sephiroths.* It would be hard to conjecture the reaſon of the *Gnoſticks* preferring the Title of *Æons*, or Ages, to all others: I can only ſay, that this Word was *à la mode*, at the time that theſe Hereticks appear'd. For *Sanchoniathan* affirms, *that* Colpia *and his Wife begat* Æon, *or the Age*, who taught others to ſeek their Suſtenance in Trees. *Æon* therefore was reputed the firſt Product of the Deity; and as this Term was common among the *Phœnicians* and *Ægyptians*, 'tis no wonder that the Hereticks of this Country ſhould make uſe of it. Indeed, every body is now ſatisfied, that this Work of *Sanchoniathon* is ſpurious. [u] *Cyril* of *Alexandria* imagin'd, that *Joſephus* was the Author of the *Greek* Verſion he had read; but he is palpably miſtaken. He miſtook *Joſephus* for *Philo*, and *Philo* the *Jew* for *Philo Biblius:* And the truth is, it was this laſt Writer who put *Sanchoniathon*'s Name to his Piece, and compoſed it at the end of the firſt Century, or beginning of the ſecond of the Chriſtian Church; ſo that the *Gnoſticks* might have borrowed their *Æons* from it. They prefer'd alſo the Number Thirty before Ten, as believing it the

[r] Bythos. [s] Siege. [s] Valentinus apud Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 4. p. 509.
[u] Cyrill. contra Julian. l. 6. t. 6. p. 205.

more perfect; and therefore they maintain'd, that the Moon perform'd her courſe in thirty Days. And they divided the Hour into thirty Parts, to equal them with the Number of their *Æons*. We ſee alſo by ſome Inſcriptions, that the *Romans* divided their Hours into many Scruples:

VIXIT H. IV. SCRUPULOS VII.

but they reckon'd but Twenty four. Beſides, the *Gnoſticks* by multiplying their *Æons* to thirty, more eaſily comprehended in this Number the Perfections and Attributes of the Deity, than in the ten *Sephiroths*.

XIV. The *Gnoſticks* made the *Æons* ſo many emanations of God, and then turn'd them into Perſons. The *Cabbaliſts* did the like with their *Sephiroths*. Hence the *Chriſtians* commonly find in the *Sephiroths* the Perſons of the Trinity, which the *Cabbaliſts* never thought of; and the others juſtifie themſelves by the Authority of the holy Writers, who have given Hands and Feet to God. By this means, the obſcurity of both their Writings is increas'd: for as they attribute to the Perfections of God, the Power of Creating, Acting, Speaking, 'tis commonly forgotten that this is only metaphorical, and nothing is meant but the Divine Mercy, Wiſdom, or Power. *Tertullian* was ſo ſenſibly miſled by it, as to accuſe *Valentinus* of owning many Gods, though he worſhip'd but one: for he took the greateſt part of the *Æons*, who were made the Authors of ſo extraordinary things, for ſo many Gods.

XV. However, it muſt be own'd, that *Tertullian*'s Error was ſo much the more natural, becauſe, altho' the *Gnoſticks* conſider'd their *Æons* as the Perfections of the Deity, yet they made them ſo many emanations from it; which ſeems neceſſarily to import a real Exiſtence diſtinct from the ſupreme Being; but they had [x] borrowed this Idea from the *Cabbaliſts*, who diſpute ſtill, at this day, concerning the manner of the emanations and ſubſiſtence of the *Sephiroths*. Indeed, ſome follow the Opinion of *Avicenna*, who taught, that the Power of God is added to his Eſſence, and ſubſiſts out of it, which all the *Syrian Mahometans* have eſpouſed. Some diſtinguiſh the *Sephiroths* from the Divine Eſſence; but yet look upon them as emanations ſtrictly united to it; almoſt as the Rays are to the Sun, the Flame to the Coal, or the laſt point of a Line to the firſt. But others make theſe ſame *Sephiroths* to be *Platonical* Ideas. Laſtly, Some ſay with *Pythagoras*, that the *Æons* are Powers diſtinct from God, like the Angels, which are pair'd together. We find the ſame difference of Opinions among the *Gnoſticks*: for ſome of them will have their *Æons* to be the Model which God form'd of all the Creatures, which he deſign'd to produce; and others aſcribe to them, ſome Motions and Actions that ſeem to import a real Exiſtence; or conſider them as Emanations, proceeding from the firſt point of the Deity. A learned Man [y] is of opinion, that they borrowed their *Æons* from *Pythagoras*, who conſider'd them as Powers like unto our Angels.

XVI. 'Twas farther a common Principle with the *Hereticks* and *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts*, to match their *Æons* and *Sephiroths* by pairs, in a kind of Marriage: The *Malcouth*, or *Kingdom*, is the laſt of the ten *Sephiroths*; and this Kingdom is the Church, which, [z] *in the effuſion of Dew*, cloaths her ſelf with the Vertues of the Saints, and dreſſes her ſelf up with them, like a Bride: And thus adorn'd, ſhe goes to ſollicit her Husband *Tiphereth*, to pour his Influences upon her. Here you have a Marriage between the *Tiphereth* and the *Malcouth*; and the ſame Author aſſerts farther, that the *Sephiroth* of *Malcouth* is the *Congregation of Iſrael*; *good Works, ſpiritual Intentions and Prayers, aſcend to this Sephiroth, who decking her ſelf up with them, preſents her ſelf to her Husband Tiphereth. Philo Biblius*, of *Phenician* Extraction, who took from the *Cabbaliſts* rather than *Moſes*, what he has ſaid of the *Jews*, and the Creation of the World, and who writ in *Adrian*'s Reign; coupled the different Beings that had contributed to the Creation of the World: For the *Æon*, before-mention'd, was the Off-ſpring of the Wind *Colpia*, and of his Wife *Baau*. The *Bohu*, whom the *Cabbaliſts* had made the Wife of the Wind, was the *Chaos*, upon which the Wind had blown; the Wind, her Husband, denoted the Holy Spirit, which had brooded over the Waters, to make them fruitful. For the ſame Word that *Moſes* employed to ſignifie the Spirit, ſignifies alſo the Wind. No wonder then, that the *Valentinian* Doctors followed theſe Ideas, that were at that time very common, and thus match'd their *Æons*.

XVII. What is more ſurpriſing, is, that the *Chriſtians* have imitated this Language. The truth is, *Syneſius* has come very near the *Valentinians*; and if his words are to be taken literally, he muſt be reckon'd amongſt Hereticks inſtead of the Doctors of the Church. 1. His myſtical Wit conſiders God as an [a] *ineffable Profundity*. Here we find the *Valentinian Bythos* well expreſs'd. 2. He ſeems to make many Gods, which theſe Hereticks are accuſed of; for he ſays, it is not lawful even *for* [b] *the Gods* to behold the Deity: He adds, in praiſe of the Father, that *he is above the Gods, and that they received their Being from him*. What are theſe Gods, unleſs they be the Son and Holy Ghoſt? 3. Whereas the *Valentinians* married their *Æons*; *Syneſius* makes God *Male and Female, Fœmina & Mas*. *Orpheus* had the ſame Notion, which *Lactantius* upbraids him with, as one of the greateſt Abſurdities that was ever ſpoken: "To whom would you "[c] have God united, ſince he was alone? Did he, "who is Omnipotent, want the Society of any "other, to create? Shall we be obliged to ſay "with *Orpheus*, that God was *Male and Female*, "becauſe he could not generate, unleſs he had both "Sexes." 4. *Syneſius* conſiders *Wiſdom* as the *Creatrix* and *Midwife* of all [d] things: 'Tis ſhe that begets the Son as well as other Creatures. Laſtly, He calls this *Wiſdom, the fruitful Counſel, the middle Principle, the center of the Father, the center of the Son: She* [e] *is the Mother, and Siſter, and Daughter, and Midwife: The Father willing to diffuſe himſelf in the Son, the Effuſion met with the* Semen, *and kept the middle*.

We find in the Verſes of this *Chriſtian* Poet, not only the Terms of the *Valentinians*, *Wiſdom*, dreſs'd up into a Woman, and a Midwife; but the Deity, *Male and Female*. I don't think, that he dealt with theſe Hereticks, but having been an *Heathen*, and living in *Ægypt*, where the *Cabbaliſtick* Language was ſtill in great Repute, he borrowed theſe myſtical Expreſſions, which are erroneous, when literally taken. But to return to the other *Cabbaliſts*.

XVIII. Their Correſpondence becomes more perſpicuous, as we enter farther into the Particulars of their Opinions. The Profundity, or *Bythos* of the *Valentinians*, is the ſame with the *Or* and *Enſoph* of the *Cabbaliſts*; which they ſo call'd from being

[x] V. Menaſſes de Creat. Prob. 28. p. 105.
[z] A Cabbaliſtick Book, *ſo called*.
[b] *He ſpeaks alſo of* Hyle, v. 264. Εἰς ζόφον ὕλας. In tenebris Hylæ, idem, v. 164. Ἐπεχεῖνα θεῶν. Superans Deos, idem, ver. 169. Ὀχεύσῃ δὲ θεῶν. Originem præbens Diis. idem. ver. 187. Θῆλυ καὶ ἄῤῥεν. Fœmina & mas.
[c] Lactant. Inſtit. l. 4. c. 8. p. 370.
[y] Gale's *Court of the Gentiles*, p. 2. l. 2. c. 8. p. 188.
[a] Syneſ. Hym. 3. Ver. 190. Βυθὸν ἀῤῥῆτον. Profunditatem ineffabilem.
[d] Syneſ. ibid. p. 323.
[e] Id. Hom. 4. v. 97. *to the* 111. p. 334, *and* 335.

a profound impenetrable Light. It is *infinite*, and *inconceivable*; or as *Syneſius*, tho' a *Chriſtian*, ſaid, the Gods themſelves can't behold *theſe Torches*, and *theſe Fires*.

Ἄγνευε· θέμις ἐστὶν ἀθρεῖν
Ἐπὶ σοὶς πυρσοῖς
Θείμις ἐσθλὴ Θεοῖς.

XIX. The *Valentinians* ſaid, that Man was made by the Model of [e] another Man. They aſſerted, that *Adam* having been form'd by the Image of a Prototype, made the Angels tremble by it; who, out of jealouſie and fear, ſpeedily deſtroyed their own Work. 'Tis eaſie to perceive here, the *Adam Kadmon* of the *Cabbaliſts*. This firſt *Adam* is the Prototype of the ſecond. The celeſtial *Adam* is a great World, and the firſt of all Beings; as the terreſtrial *Adam* is a little World, and the firſt of humane Race. That *Dunamis*, or Power, to which the *Gnoſticks* aſcribed ſo great Effects, is *Might*, one of the ten *Sephiroths*, which would have conſumed the Univerſe; becauſe ſhe is joined with *Juſtice*; had not *Magnificence*, or *Mercy*, which is on the other hand, prevented it. By which they meant, that all would go to ruine, if God only exerciſed his Power and Juſtice; but that *Mercy* temperates his Acts, which would deſtroy Mankind. Laſtly, The Church concludes the firſt Claſs of the *Gnoſtick Æons*; and the Kingdom, which is the *Congregation of Iſrael*, is the laſt of the *Sephiroths*, becauſe it is for the ſake of Man, and the Church, that God created all things.

XX. The *Hereticks* and *Cabbaliſts* bogled all at the ſame Difficulty. Neither of them could comprehend, how God, who is at ſuch an infinite diſtance from Man, ſhould create him immediately himſelf: And, therefore, they fancied [h] many Emanations of the Deity ſtill deſcending one below another; and it was to theſe Intelligences, that they aſcribed the Creation of this lower World. We have already intimated, that the *Valentinians* affirm'd, that Man was form'd by the Angels, and ſome particular Vertues. Thus the *Cabbaliſts* made a ſucceſſion of *Sephiroths*, or Emanations inferior to one another, till they came down to a Principle that made the World. The *Gnoſticks* ſtyl'd it their *Demiourgos*, a Word employ'd alſo by *Syneſius*, to expreſs the Author of the World. The *Cabbaliſts* call it their *Sandolphon*, which is the Soul of the World. *More*, who was ſo well verſed in this Science, thought that the Soul of Nature was called *Metatron:* but he underſtood afterwards, that this latter was the Prince of Angels, and that the other is truly the Soul of Nature.

XXI. The *Gnoſticks* were accuſed of imagining three ſorts of Men; one whereof was Animal, that he might reſemble the *Demiourgos* that created him. He was afterwards cloath'd with a Body, as with a Garment; and afterwards, *Wiſdom* gave him ſome grains of her Light, which made him ſpiritual. This ſeems to be St. *Paul*'s Doctrine a little diſguiſed; for he ſpeaks of the Body, Mind and Soul, which ought to be preſerved pure. [i] St. *Ireneus* relates the thing a little otherwiſe: for, according to him, the Angels bethought themſelves of making Man in their Similitude; but when he was made, they could not give him power to ſtand upright and walk; and therefore he crauled like a Worm: but a ſuperior Vertue, pitying his Weakneſs, gave him a ſpark of Life.

The *Cabbaliſts* alſo introduce Angels in the production of Man. They diſtinguiſh three ſorts of [k] Souls. One is purely ſpiritual and divine. The ſecond participates of Body and Divinity, that it may not have the horror of remaining in Priſon. There is another, which is, as it were, the *Scale* of the Body, which cauſes Diſorder and Death. If the one believe the Tranſmigration of Souls, the others have their Revolutions; of which, we ſhall treat in the ſequel.

XXII. The *Ægyptians* worſhip'd the Sun, as their great Deity: The *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* did not make a God of him, but they gave him high Encomiums. They look'd upon him as the Father of Nature, and attributed the Products of the Univerſe to his Influences. *Baſilides*, who ſet up a School at *Alexandria*, ſpoke alſo very magnificently of the Sun, and therefore his Diſciples afterwards adopted the *Ægyptian Harpocrates*; for we ſometimes find him on their *Amulets*, with his Finger on his Mouth, his Head crown'd with Rays, a Star above, and the Creſcent of the Moon on the ſide. He holds a Whip in his Hand, like a Coach-man driving a Chariot; and he is ſeated on a *Lotus*. All this ſerv'd to repreſent the Sun.

Hoc ſidus currum rapidaſque agitare quadrigas
Commenti & radios capitis, & verbera dextrâ.

The [l] *Baſilidians* did not worſhip the Sun; but reſpected him as a beneficent Star, an auguſt Symbol of the Deity: and being accuſtom'd with the *Ægyptian* and *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts*, to aſcribe great Influences to him, they did not ſcruple to repreſent him as the *Ægyptians* had done long before.

Laſtly, As the *Ægyptian* and *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* gave a great Empire to the Moon, the *Baſilidians* eſpouſed the Symbol of *Iſis*, and brought it into their *Amulets*, inſerting the Name of Angels, and God, or that of *Abraxas*, by which they expreſs'd him.

XXIII. The *Ægyptians*, *Jews*, and *Baſilidians*, were almoſt equally at a loſs concerning the Origine of Evil, and believed that this fault proceeded from Matter. *Baſilides* is accuſed of having taught before *Manes*, that there were two coeternal Principles, Enemies to each other. A learned [m] *Roman* has publiſh'd the Diſpute of *Archelaus*, wherein this Biſhop aſſerts, that *Baſilides* went into *Perſia* a little after the Apoſtle's time, to vent the Doctrine of two Principles, which were Light and Darkneſs. *Baſilides* added, that theſe two Principles acted at firſt as they pleaſed; each did what he had a mind to; but approaching to each other, Darkneſs envied the happineſs of Light, and declared War upon him. Here we have more myſtical Language; and, as *Archelaus* learnt this only from Tradition, we can't be certified of its truth.

Anothor [n] Author, who has aſſum'd *Origen*'s Name, repreſents *Valentinus* thus: Obſerving a Man guilty of a great many extravagant Vices, carrying his Revenge beyond his Enemies Death, and raking up his Carcaſs to throw it to the Dogs, was ſtartled at theſe ſtrange Objects, and ſtop'd a while to meditate upon the ſource of ſo terrible a Corruption. He conſider'd all the ways by which *Evil* could enter into the Heart of Man; and not being able to conceive, that God was the Author of it, ſince he would not puniſh it ſo ſeverely if he had produced it, he concluded that our Depravation came from Matter. He doubted not, but that Matter was coeternal and coexiſtent with God: but the ſupreme Being reſolving to extract from it all

[e] Syneſ. Hym. 3. v. 124. [g] Valentini Fragm. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. p. 375. [h] Irenæus, l. 1. c. 22. p. 118.
[i] Iren. ibid. [k] Nethama, Ruah, Nephes. [l] V. Cuperi Harpoor, p. 7. [m] Zacagnius Monumenta vetera, p. 101.
[n] Origenis Dial. contra Marcionit.

that

that was good; and throw aſide all that was naught in it; from this refuſe of Mud and Clay which God threw away, all our Evils were produced. I queſtion whether the *Valentinians* reaſon'd thus; for I have taken it from a Dialogue againſt the *Marcionites*, and tho' *Valentinus* is one of the Interlocutors, yet it is a Stranger, and an Orthodox Perſon that reaſons and repreſents the Senſe of the *Hereticks*. But not to examine this at preſent, which we ſhall have occaſion to do elſewhere, the *Gnoſticks* could not digeſt the difficulties that occurr'd about the Origine and cauſe of Evil. This was common to them with the *Manichees*, and even with abundance of *Chriſtians*, who have believed, and ſtill are perſuaded that they can't be reſolved [o]. And the *Cabbaliſts* are put to the ſame ſtand. Hence they have form'd ſo many different Opinions about the Creation and Falls of the Devils; hence they vilify Beings in proportion to their partaking of Matter which thickens, and becomes liable to a thouſand imperfections, proportionably to its removal and diſtance from the [p] Deity. The *Valentinians* called Evils and Sins the *Appendix's* of the Soul [q] becauſe there are certain Spirits affix'd to a reaſonable Soul, by a mixture made at the beginning, which cauſe commotion and trouble. The *Cabbaliſts* called theſe Spirits *Rinds*, becauſe they are the loweſt ſort, who ſeeing ſome Men aſpiring towards Heaven, envy them this Advantage, and endeavour to reduce them [r] under their Empire. They differ in Words, and even in things; but at bottom they agree that the Diſturbances of the Soul are cauſed by I know not what Spirits that envy our Happineſs, ſtick to our Souls, and are of a more impure and material Rank than the reſt.

XXIV. The *Gnoſticks* have not always followed the *Cabbaliſts* ſtep by ſtep: They borrowed their general Ideas of them; but at the ſame time they diverſifyed them, that they might be thought Originals; and even the Heads of this Sect, which ſpread it ſelf into ſo many Branches, did not always agree with one another. 'Tis certain, that whether Ideas multiply, and Men add to the diſcoveries of their Maſters to improve them, or whether the ſhame of Tranſcribing, obliges the Scholars to recede from their Maſters, and diſguiſe their Notions, we never find a perfect conformity betwixt them. We muſt not wonder then to find ſome difference between the *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts*, and the *Gnoſticks*. But it appears from what we have ſaid, that the *Cabbala* is the Fountain of the moſt antient *Hereticks*; an evident proof that it was known in thoſe early times.

XXV. Hereby likewiſe we learn to cure our prejudices againſt antient *Hereticks*. They have been odious to the higheſt degree; and the Fathers have upbraided them, as perhaps the impurity of their Lives deſerved. But farther, 'tis imagin'd that theſe Heretical Doctors had no Principle; and that contented to dazzle the ignorant with barbarous Terms, they conceal'd nothing under their Jargon. They are generally abandon'd to their Barbariſms, and the Reader curſorily turns over *Irenæus*, who ſpeaks often of the *Æons*, and Principles of theſe *Hereticks*; becauſe he does not underſtand them, and thinks, that there is nothing real or conſiderable in them. In the mean time, to do Juſtice to one and the other, *Cabbaliſt*, or *Heretick*, we muſt grant two things. 1. That under theſe *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* words, which they often confound, they explain'd the Attributes of God, the Perfections of the Supreme Being, and his manner of creating the World. They lock'd up in the ſame way ſome other Truths of Religion, and ſpoke honourably of the Soul of the Meſſiah, and its Production. Beſides, we muſt not impute to them all the groſs Errors that ſeem to flow from their Principles and Expreſſions. In ſuch a vaſt diſtance of Ages, and the incapacity we are under of knowing them, eſpecially ſince the Writings of theſe antient Divines are loſt, it is hard to penetrate into their real Sentiments; but it would be uncharitable to ſuſpect every thing of theirs to be Criminal, that is obſcure. Their Expreſſions being capable of very different Senſes, and the reading their remaining Fragments, manifeſtly proving that they annex'd ſome uncommon Ideas and Significations to theſe Terms, we muſt not abſolutely condemn them upon Suſpicions, that may be ill grounded. They would not perhaps have explain'd their Notion in a very different way from ours; and if ever we are obliged to admit the explication of a Man in his Defence, 'tis when the Expreſſions he employed were Figurative, Metaphorical, and capable of ſeveral Meanings. How many diſputes have riſen about the Senſe of *Janſenius*, who ſpoke without a Figure? Can they who believe, that neither the Popes, nor the Church, have underſtood a Modern Writer, who explains another, and expreſſes himſelf plainly and clearly, be aſſured, that they ſufficiently underſtand the antient *Gnoſticks*, to condemn them without Mercy?

XXVI. This we ſay only by the by; and to encourage equitable Perſons to think, that we ſhall obſerve a juſt Moderation, in writing the Hiſtory of the *antient Hereſies*, which will follow this. If we don't beforehand condemn theſe Doctors, neither do we excuſe them for the method they have taken: For the *Cabbala*, and obſcure Expreſſions, which make the Soul of this Science, are the apteſt in the World to cauſe invincible difficulties, to render Notions unintelligible, to give Advantage to thoſe that but lightly examine them; and infinitely to weary thoſe that would comprehend them. It muſt alſo be confeſs'd, that by running after theſe Expreſſions, which captivate by their Charms, we commonly fall into Error; our Ideas grow perplex'd, and more obſcure. This degree of voluntary obſcurity, added to the natural depth of Myſteries, carries them perfectly out of ſight. Men feed themſelves with words and crude Imaginations, whilſt they let go the Subſtance of the Myſtery: And thoſe that are thus dazled, ſtill exceed their Predeceſſors, tacking one Imagination to another, till they have entirely loſt the end they aim'd at. Which is the grand imperfection of the *Cabbala*.

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[o] V. King, Epiſcop. Derenſis de Origine mali. Lond. 1702. c. 2. p. 37, *&c.*
[p] *See our* IV^th^ *Book, Chap. of the Creation of the World.*
[q] Apud. Clem. Stromat. p. 408.
[r] Pneumat. Cabbaliſt. Diſſ. 1. c. 4. p. 213, 214.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Uſe that may be made of the Cabbala.

I. *THE deſign of this Chapter.* II. *The* Cabbala *inſignificant to the underſtanding of Scripture.* III. *Arguments taken from theſe words: Jeſus Chriſt is God bleſſed for ever with his Father.* IV. *The Trinity proved by the* Cabbala. V. *The falſity of this Argument: The uſe that may be made of it.* VI. *Converſions by ſuch ſort of Arguments uncertain.* VII. *The Jew expoſed by the* Cabbala *to the Arguments of his Adverſaries.*

I. WE have two Reaſons for our enlarging upon this ſubject; one is, that it is rarely treated in our Language; the other, that there are ſtill ſome conceited People that think, that ſome important Truths may be diſcovered or illuſtrated by the uſe of the *Cabbala*. Their Cure would be very difficult, and therefore I ſhall not undertake it: Beſides, if when this Science is expoſed in its natural colours before their Eyes, they don't perceive its emptineſs and vanity, and ſee how little Myſtery is hid under words obſcure, and often unintelligible, to thoſe that uſe them; all the Arguments we could offer, would not be able to convince them.

II. This Science is not very proper for the underſtanding of Scripture, or the Works and Perfections of God. For will a Man of good Senſe, who ſhall have throughly ſtudied the *Sephiroths*, the *Crown* that denotes Perfection, Wiſdom, or Magnificence, better underſtand for this, that God is a Being infinitely perfect, and the Creator of the World? On the other hand, he muſt Study a great deal before he advances ſo far. He muſt read the *Cabbaliſts*; hear the different explications they give of the *Splendors*; follow them in the Conſequences they draw, and conſider whether they are juſt. After all, he muſt recur to *Moſes*; and why ſhould he not go to him directly at firſt, ſince he is the Maſter to be depended on, and the *Cabbaliſt* goes aſtray as ſoon as he leaves this Guide. All that is gain'd by this Art, is to be able to perplex our Ideas, and pompouſly to ſet off ſome unintelligible things, under the ſhade of certain dark Expreſſions. The *Sephiroths* are like the Schoolmens diſtinctions, ſo many Ramparts, behind which, a Man of exact reaſoning can never make Impreſſion on a Fool, who is Maſter of his Gibberiſh. This is the great uſe of the *Cabbala*, it ſerves to obſcure the cleareſt Truths; whereas we ought to uſe our utmoſt Efforts to explain them; for it requires a great deal of pains to do it.

III. The Sacred Writers have ſpoken like wiſe and judicious Men, who deſiring to manifeſt ſublime Truths, make uſe of words that are clear and evident. They ought neceſſarily to have fix'd their own; and the Readers thought, unleſs they meant to lead us into endleſs Labyrinths, and dangerous Errors. If it be allowed to make God ſay, whatever he might ſay, whilſt neither the Words he has imployed, nor the connexion of the Diſcourſe determine the preciſe and literal Senſe, we can never agree about any thing. The Syſtems of Religion will vary in proportion to the fruitfulneſs of the fancies of thoſe, that read the Scripture; and whilſt one ſhall be buſied in ſeeking the future Events, and the fate of the Church in the ſimpleſt Expreſſions, another will eaſily find in them the groſſeſt Errors. Theſe words of St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of *Jeſus Chriſt, God bleſſed for ever with his Father*, ſeem to be expreſs for the Divinity and Eternity of the Sun; but making theſe words ſignify all that they can ſignify, and giving them all the Senſes they are capable of, I ſhall find that *Jeſus Chriſt* is God; that is, a *Magiſtrate*, an Hero, a Man of diſtinction: For the Scripture calls Kings, Gods: The Goſpel ſays of *Herod Agrippa*, *The Voice of God*; and with the *Greeks* this Title was common to Heroes. This God was *bleſſed*, by alluſion to the firſt Born, who received by their Fathers Benediction, a right to the Covenant, and to the Inheritance of their Father. He was bleſſed *for ever*, as the Law was to laſt *for ever*; and as the Reign of *David* and his Family was eſtabliſh'd for ever; becauſe it was of very long continuance. He is bleſſed with his *Father* as the reſt of the Saints; for God is the Father of Mankind, and the Saints are particularly his Children, deſign'd to the poſſeſſion of his Glory. How many ſuch paſſages may be wreſted from the Orthodox? In order to prevent this, we muſt as much as poſſible ſtick to the literal Senſe of Scripture, and never recur to the figurative, but when the words and deſign of the holy Penman neceſſarily requires it.

IV. But however, ſince the *Jews*, whom we are obliged to impugn and convert, are wedded to this Science, would it not be advantageous to make uſe of it, the eaſier to convince them? What a Gain and Glory would it be to us, to find a Trinity of Perſons by the *Cabbala*, which is the Bugbear the *Jew* ſo much dreads and boggles at: What a Pleaſure and Satisfaction, to diſcover all the Myſteries in a Science, which ſeems made for nothing but to Eclipſe them? A modern Author goes ſtill farther; for having diſcover'd *Ariſtotle*'s Logick and Philoſophy in the *Cabbaliſtick* Principles, and his Predicaments in the *Sephiroths*, he maintains that we may uſe the ſame Artifices againſt the *Jews*, as they employ againſt us, and baffle their Sophiſtry with Sophiſtry; *Cum vulpe nonnulli vulpinantur*; *& cum Sophiſtis σοφιςικῶς congrediendum.* But is it any great Honour or Advantage to cheat Men into Truth? And is this Method ſuitable to the ſimplicity of Chriſtianity [a].

V. Firſt, 'tis playing the *Hypocrite* to pretend, that *Chriſtianity* is included in the *Sephiroths*; ſince this was not the deſign of the inventers of them. If they diſcover our Myſteries in them to expoſe the folly and weakneſs of this Method, 'tis well enough; but *More*, and the other *Chriſtian Cabbaliſts*, enter the Liſts with an Air of Seriouſneſs, which puts one out of Countenance, becauſe it ſhews that they deſign to prove what they advance, and are convinc'd that all the Chriſtian Religion is to be found in the *Cabbala*. They inſult thoſe that have a mind to Laugh, and pretend 'tis only ignorance that breeds thoſe contemptuous Smiles.

We may employ this Science againſt the *Rabbins* that doat upon it, in order to ſhock their infidelity by Arguments fetch'd from themſelves, and fight them with their own Weapons: But we muſt take care to preſerve our diſcretion in the midſt of the Combat, and not to be elevated with the glory of a Victory ſo cheaply won, or to puſh it on too far. We ought to remember the Vanity of theſe Imaginations and Principles, and not lay the ſtreſs of our ſolid *Chriſtian* Truths upon

[a] Jonas conradus Schrammius Introductio in Dialecticam Cabbalæorum methodo parepateticorum potiſſimum confirmata. Brunſvigæ. 1703. in 8°.

them;

them; otherwiſe we ſhould incur two palpable faults.

VI. For indeed the *Jew* converted by *Cabbaliſtick* Arguments, can never have a true Faith; but it will waver the very moment his Reaſon diſcovers the Vanity of this Art; and his Chriſtianity, if it only bottoms on the *Cabbala*, will fall with his good Opinion of this Science. And though his deception ſhould continue to his Death, would there be much got by it? You have introduced a Man into the Chriſtian Church, whoſe Faith is only built upon Reeds. Can ſo imaginary a Knowledge produce any real Vertues? But moreover, the Proſelyte diſengaged from the Prejudices of his Nation, and the Authority of his Maſters and their Science, will by degrees loſe his eſteem for it, and begin to doubt, you'll hardly bring him back; becauſe he will miſtruſt his Maſters that began with a fraudulent inſtruction; and if his Intereſt prevents his return to *Judaiſm*, he'll continue without Piety and Religion.

You do a greater miſchief to the *Chriſtians*, and the Prophane, who ſeeing the Chriſtian Religion diſcover'd in the *Cabbala*, where undoubtedly 'tis not, queſtion whether it be in the Scripture, where ſome have attempted to ſhew it to them.

VII. The *Jew* fancies perhaps, that it is of great Advantage to him; but how is that poſſible, when it is a Magazine that ſerves every ones turn. The *Cabbaliſt* lies open on all ſides, to the *Heathen*, *Mahometan*, and *Chriſtian*, and as ſoon as he is fix'd in his Principles, he muſt be expos'd to the Attacks of his Enemy; we find the Meſſiah's Reign in the firſt *Cabbaliſtick* Table; by beginning at the fourth *Sephiroth*, which is *greatneſs* and applying theſe words of *Baruch*, *O* Iſrael, *how great is the Houſe of thy God*, we plainly ſee the Meſſiah's Reign, ſignified by greatneſs, which is the fourth *Sephiroth*. *A Man muſt be blind not to ſee this Greatneſs*, ſo clearly expreſs'd. And they that ſay that theſe are nothing but *the words and dreams of waking people*, are themſelves aſleep, when they are awake.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Rabbins.

The different Titles they give themſelves. The Functions of their Office.

I. THE Rabbins *the laſt Order of the Doctors*, II. *The fondneſs men have for Titles.* III. *The great Men among the* Jews *took none.* IV. *The* Phariſees *affected the Title of* Rabbi: *An uncommon explication of* Rabboni. V. *Our Lord's cenſure of the* Phariſees, *concerning Titles, explain'd.* VI. *The Doctors of* Babylon *aſſumed the Name of* Mor, *Lord.* VII. *An Explication of the Title* Maran: *From whence came* Maranatha. VIII. *The Titles given the* Jews *of* Jeruſalem. IX. *An Explication of the Title* Sage, *given to the* Spaniards. X. *The reaſon of the Name* Marbitſitorah, *given to thoſe that give reſt to the Law.* XI. *Of the Title* Dom *which they have taken in* Spain. XII. *The Qualification to be ſtyled* Rabbins. XIII. *This Employ dangerous: The cauſe of the ſuddain Death of* Joſeph *the Patriarch.* XIV. *The Offices of the* Rabbins: *What* binding and looſing *ſignifies with them,* XV. *Their Ordination.* XVI. *The Authority they take upon them:* Jochanan *kills his Diſciple by a look.* XVII. *They are not damned: The Example of* R. Acher. XVIII. *Their love of Antiquity: Forged Pieces.* XIX. *The* Midraſhim, *or Commentaries ſuppoſititious.* XX. *Hiſtorical Reflections upon the* Midraſhim Rabbot. XXI. *The Sentences of the Fathers, or* Pirke Abbot: *A falſe Antiquity aſcribed to them.* XXII. *The Language uſed by the* Rabbins.

I. THE *Rabbins* conſtitute the Ninth Order of the *Jewiſh* Doctors; for they firſt reckon the LXX. Elders which *Moſes* appointed to judge the People, and diſcharge him from that oppreſſive burden. From thence they come to the Prophets, who make the ſecond Claſs; to the Doctors of the great Synagogue the Excellents, the *Cabbaliſts*, and ſo come down to the *Rabbins*. We have ſpoken ſufficiently of theſe different Orders of Teachers; let us now deſcend to the *Rabbins*.

II. If Titles were infallible Badges of Honour and Vertue, it would be a diſgrace to be without them, and that earneſt contention for them would be blameleſs; but theſe at preſent are Appellatives dictated by Flattery or Vanity. Thoſe Elogies that were beſtowed on Vertue and Heroes, are inſenſibly degenerated: They are ſquander'd at random, or become Titles of Office, common to *Poltroons*, as well as Heroes; to the ignorant Wretch, whom the *Cabbala* places in the Chair, as well as to the Man of Learning, whoſe Merit has raiſed him to it. However, the Diſtemper is of long ſtanding: The *Romans* had their faſtuous and ſwelling Titles Engraved in Braſs and Marble: *Mark Antony* reduc'd to Extremity in the *Parthian* War, took freſh Courage, upon hearing the Soldiers and Officers call him Imperator. The *Grecian* Emperors run into a greater Extravagance than the *Latins*; and the Titles which *Juſtinian* gives himſelf at the beginning of his Edicts, want an Apology for ſuch as diſcover their Falſhood.

Doctors are as weak as Princes; whilſt they ſhould be content to tranſmit their Name to Poſterity naked, and unincumber'd with the Title of an Office, which does them no Honour, when they are poſſeſs'd of a real Merit; they omit nothing that may ſerve to magnify them in the Eyes of the People. They fancy their worth is heighten'd and extended, when they are never named without a pompous heap of Titles, or a Name that ſignifies their Authority. What a ſtrange fallacy and deception is this for ſuch as profeſs themſelves only lovers of Vertue, and Diſciples of the Maſter of Humility?

III. The *Jews* have judiciouſly obſerved, that no Title was given the Prophets, nor the five Preſidents of the *Sanhedrim*, that lived before *Jeſus Chriſt*, whereof *Joſhua* the Son of *Perachia* was [a] the firſt, becauſe theſe great Men were Superiour to all the Titles that could be given them: And thus Divine Inſpiration raiſing the Prophets above the reſt of the World, they wanted no other diſtinction beſides the Title of *Seer, or Prophet*. This Obſervation is very juſt; for it teaches us that when Men have a real Merit, they

[a] V. Otho. Hiſt. Doctor Miſnicor. Joſhua, *the Son of* Perachia, *was Preſident in the Year*, 3560. *with* Nathan *his Vice-Preſident*. Simeon *with* Judah *in* 3621. Schemaiah *with* Abtalion *in* 3722. *The Sons of* Bethiracame *afterwards, and at laſt* Hillel *and* Schammai *in the Year* 3728.

need nothing more. There is no farther neceſſity of heightning it by additional Appellatives and Titles. *In the Ages paſs'd*, ſaid *R. Nathan, when Men had an extraordinary Merit, there was no need of diſtinguiſhing them by the Titles of* Rabbi *or* Rab. *Their bare Name was ſufficient to make them known.*

IV. When Knowledge and Vertue ſunk in this Nation, it fell into the ſame Diſtemper, and carried its Vanity farther than its Neighbours. The *Phariſees*, in our Saviour's time, having corrupted Religion with their Traditions, would be ſtyled *Rabbi* [b] and *Rabboni*, becauſe this Title diſtinguiſh'd them from the ignorant Vulgar, *which did not underſtand the Law.* An ingenious [c] Critick has obſerved, that their Pride roſe higher than is commonly believed, becauſe *Rabboni* not only ſignifies Doctor, but a Maſter inveſted with an abſolute Authority. There is ſomething more in it; for when the *Thalmudiſts* would expreſs the Power of God, they are contented to call him [d] *Rabboni.* Hence *Mary Magdalene* wondring at our Lord's riſing from the Grave by his own Power, call'd him *Rabboni*, a Name that was never applied to him before, before his Death; becauſe he had never given ſo glorious an inſtance of his Power. Laſtly, The *Jews* expreſs'd by this Term, the ſame thing that the *Syrians* meant by *Marim*, or *Lord*, which they beſtowed on Kings, and God Almighty. There is this difference between the Titles of *Rabboni*, and *Marim*, that one is much more gracious than the other. By the one, we conſider God as a *Father*, and our ſelves as *his Children*; but by *Rabboni*, we repreſent him as a Maſter, inveſted with a deſpotick Power, and our ſelves as his *Slaves.*

V. According to this conjecture, *Jeſus Chriſt* did not cenſure the *Phariſees* for affecting a pompous Title, to diſtinguiſh them from the People; but for a piece of Pride abounding with Blaſphemy, ſince they conſider'd themſelves as abſolute Maſters and Gods of the Nation. We ought not to diſpute here about Words; for *Moſes*, *David*, and [e] *Micah*, frequently call God *Ribbon*, when they meant to expreſs his Power over all the Univerſe; and the alteration of a Vowel, cauſes none in the ſignification of a Word; for the *Hebrews*, that lived before the Conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, pronounced it *Ribbon:* but after their mixture with the *Syrians*, they often changed the I into A. And thus *Miriam*, *Moſes*'s Siſter, was called *Mary*, according to the *Syrian* Dialect. And *Migdal*, a City of *Syria*, bears the Name of *Magdal*, for the ſame reaſon.

'Tis then true, that they gave God the Title of *Rabboni*; and *Mary Magdalene*, upon ſeeing ſomething ſupernatural and divine in our Saviour's Reſurrection, gave him the ſame Style: but ſhall we hence conclude, that the *Phariſees* had the Pride to conſider themſeves as the *Maſters and Gods of the People.* This is the harder to believe, becauſe Infallibility was not yet in faſhion, and the *Sanhedrim* did not it ſelf pretend to it. They might aſſume a Title that belong'd to God, without joining his Power with it. And indeed, *Jeſus Chriſt* does not cenſure the *Phariſees* as Blaſphemers, but only condemns their fondneſſes for Reſpects, Titles, and other Marks of Honour, which they required from the People. Laſtly, He does not tell his Diſciples, that there is only one God in Heaven, whom they are obliged to obey; but he propoſes himſelf, inſtead of the *Phariſees*, *to inſtruct and govern them.* The conjecture therefore is abſurd; and would be better founded upon the following Verſe, where *Jeſus Chriſt* forbids them to call any other Father, except him that is in Heaven. For, indeed, the Title of Father was affected by ſuch of the *Phariſees* as were grown old in the Sect, and pretended to a greater Authority by their Age, and their conſummate Experience in the Law; for they *call Abba* [f] *Father, the Sages, when grown old.*

VI. They have ſince turn'd the Title of *Rabbin*, and traveſted it every manner of way, to find a new degree of Honour in it; and at laſt they have given it up to the Learned in general, to take others ſuitable to the Taſte and Genius of the Nation wherein they have lived.

The *Eaſtern* Captives at *Babylon*, took the Title of *Rabba* and *Raf*, or [g] *Rou*, becauſe they pronounc'd the *Kamets*, or the A like an O. This Title ſeems peculiar to the *Babylonian* Doctors, whilſt thoſe at *Jeruſalem* were called *Ribbi:* But the Orientals changed afterwards, and uſurp'd the Title of *Lord*, [h] *Mor.* They did it, becauſe the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians* uſed it to Princes, and thoſe that poſſeſs'd the ſupreme Authority. They had the ſame cuſtom at *Alexandria*; and therefore the Inhabitants of this City, who always loved Raillery, by way of inſult to *Agrippa*, call'd the Mad-man, *Marim*, whom they led about under *Agrippa*'s Name.

[i] *Buxtorf* ſays, that this Name came from *Babylon*; and 'tis certain that *Daniel* uſes it, to expreſs the Deity. 'Tis read alſo in the Book of *Job*, who lived in the *Eaſt:* but ſince it is ſometimes found in the *Pſalms* and *Exodus*, there ſeems to be no reaſon to derive it from the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians*, as if they had help'd the *Jews* to it. However it be, the Chiefs of the Nation at *Babylon*, and the [k] Heads of the Academy at *Sora*, appropriated this Title to themſelves, which exalted them in the Peoples Opinion, and ſeem'd to give them a ſupreme Authority.

VII. There is another almoſt like it, which is *Maran*, from whence is derived the *Maranatha* in the Goſpel, ſignifying the great Excommunication: *Let him be Anathema Maranatha.* This Word is compounded of *Maran Atha*, that is, *the Lord comes*; becauſe the Sentence of Excommunication begun with theſe two Words. The *Thalmudiſts* call'd their Excommunication *Scammata*, according to the ſame method; for this ſignifies, *the Name comes*; and they expreſs themſelves in this manner, becauſe they ſubſtitute *Name* inſtead of the Word *Jehovah*, which is ineffable. *Schammata* ſignifies God comes, as well as *Maran.*

The Title of *Maran* was nobler than that of *Mor*, as *Rabban* is more than *Rabbi*; and therefore, it is denied the generality of Doctors, and reſerved for the Maſters, *that teach and judge the reſt.* Notwithſtanding, it is now grown very common, and particularly in *Italy.* They call the Doctors *Morenu*; that is, *our Doctor*, our Maſter, and our Lord.

VIII. The Doctors of *Judæa* were commonly called *Ribbi*, or *Rabbi. Hillel*, who had ſo great a Reputation there, received the Title of *Rabban.* It is given alſo to *Simeon*; but, is it not a miſtake to add, that this was the ſame Saint that received *Jeſus Chriſt* into his Arms, and expreſly determined him to be the *Meſſiah* ſo long expected? They that boaſted of their Deſcent from the Houſe of *David*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the Name of *Rabbana.* We can't omit noting all theſe Differences; becauſe we deſign to treat here concerning the Doctors, and the knowing theſe things is neceſſary to thoſe that deſign to ſtudy them.

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[b] Matth. xxiii. 7. [c] Caninius Diſquiſitiones in locos aliquor. N. T. c. v. Crit. t. 9. p. 3700.
[d] רבוני של עלם Rabboni Schal gnolam: *The Maſter of the Age.* [e] Exod. xxiii. 27. Pſ. xii. 5. Mic. iv. 13.
[f] Rabbi Nathan. [g] Rab רַב or *Rau.* [h] *'Tis properly* Mar, מָר *but as we have ſaid, the* Syrians *pronounced the* Kamets, *or* A, *like* O.
[i] V. Buxt. Lex. Thalm. [k] Roſh, רוש *Caput.*

IX. The *Spaniards* took the Title of *Wiſe*; but 'tis a queſtion whether this Name was very honourable. For *Elias* the Levite, who lived to the ſeventeenth Century, ſays, that it was given to thoſe who had not received the Impoſition of Hands; becauſe Doctors were created by this Ceremony only in the Holy Land. There was therefore this Difference between *Rabbin* and *Wiſe*, that the former had received Ordination in all the forms required by the ancient Maſters; whereas Impoſition of Hands was wanting to the latter. But 'tis obſerved on the contrary, that the Prophet *Jeremiah* has advanced the Wiſe above the High Prieſt, when he declares, *that the Law ſhall not periſh from the Prieſt, nor Counſel from the Wiſe, nor the Word from the Prophet.* *Jeremiah*, ſay they, has obſerved their reſpective Dignities, and placed the Wiſe in the middle betwixt the Prophet and the Prieſt. But St. *Paul* ſeems better to have underſtood *Jeremiah*, and the cuſtoms of his Nation, than the modern Interpreters: for when he asks the *Corinthians*, whether there be no Wiſe Man among them to judge, he teaches, that the Wiſe Men were Judges of the Nation, choſen in the Synogogues to ſtate Caſes of Conſcience, and determine Controverſial Queſtions. The *Jews* ſtill retain theſe Judges in all their rich and numerous Synagogues; and as the Civil Affairs are decided by the Political and Ceremonial Law, which ſtill ſubſiſts among them, theſe Judges were the Doctors. *Jeremiah* inſinuates plainly enough, that this was his Notion, ſince he attributes Counſel or Determination to the Wiſe, whilſt the Law inhabits among the Prieſts, and the Word, or Oracles, proceed from the Mouth of the Prophet. Whereas the *Heathen* Philoſophers were contented to tell the People, that they were lovers of *Wiſdom*; the *Jewiſh* Doctors would have them believe that they were truly *Wiſe*.

X. They imagin'd another Title much more faſtuous, calling themſelves *Marbitſi Tora*. This Word is derived from [l] *Rabats*, which ſignifies to *lye down*. They hereby deſign'd to teach Two Things: Firſt, That the fugitive, and baniſh'd Law of *Jewry*, found a Bed and Reſting-place in *Spain*: Secondly, That the Law reſts in the Boſom of the Doctors that teach it others: for to give repoſe to the Law, is to teach it. *Elias* the [m] Levite, appropriates this Title to the Heads of the Academies, and gives the others only that of *Wiſe* and *Rabbin*.

Laſtly, The *Spaniſh Jews*, who would needs imitate the State and Pride of the Country where they lived, took the Title of *Dom*. The Style of Lord belong'd to God, but Men thought they might uſurp it, only by retrenching a [n] Letter.

Cœleſtem Dominum, terreſtrem dicito Domnum.

This Name was at firſt given to Kings, becauſe they were an Image of the Deity, and had a Sovereign Power. It was tranſlated from Earth to Heaven; and the Saints were call'd *Dommus*, becauſe they were eſteem'd very potent Men. In purſuance of this Language, it was not long ſince that the Votaries ſaid, *My Lord Saint* Peter, *and my Lord Saint* Martin. From thence it deſcended to the Biſhops and Abbots, who were like ſo many Sovereigns in their Dioceſes.

Raban obſerves, that this Title was grown peculiar to the Kings of *France*. This might be in his time; but it was given to the Sons and Daughters of *Spain*. [o] *Fortunatus* exalting the good Fortune of *Germany*, who had produc'd Queen *Brunehaut*, cry'd out,

Quis crederet autem
Hiſpanam tibimet Domnam Germania naſci.

The *Spaniards* abridged this term, and only gave the Title of *Dom* to great Lords and Princes. The *Jews*, who commonly made themſelves conſiderable in this Country by their great Employs, uſurped it; and we ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, many of theſe circumcis'd *Doms*.

XII. [p] *Serrarius* thought, that none were called *Rabbins*, but ſuch as were advanc'd in Years, and had received Impoſition of Hands, and taught ſome Diſciples. But though he was well read in this Subject, yet he was miſtaken: for *Nachmanides* was ſtyled *Rabbi* at eighteen Years old, becauſe he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf at this green Age, and began to teach. Beſides, the Impoſition of Hands is not a neceſſary qualification for this Title; it being given in the *Weſt* to thoſe that have no Diſciples, when they preach in a Synagogue, or have the Government of it.

XIII. Indeed, the *Rabbinat* often ſignifies the Office of Judges and Magiſtrates. The *Thalmudiſts* ask, why *Joſeph* died before his Brethren, and anſwer, *becauſe he had exerciſed the* [q] *Rabbinat*; that is, had been a Miniſter of State in *Ægypt*. They are perſuaded, that grand Employs overwhelm the Poſſeſſors, and ſhorten their Lives, by the Pains and Cares that inſeparably attend them. They obſerve, that there was no Prophet but out-lived four Kings, to ſhew the danger of this Dignity; and that whilſt Prophecy prolongs Life, Royalty ſhortens it. *Woe to* [r] *the Power that buries its Maſters.* Laſtly, it was one of *Schemaiah*'s Precepts to his Diſciples, *My Son, love labour, and ſhun the* Rabbinat; that is, the Magiſtrates or Profeſſor's Office, according to *Fagius*'s Interpretation. Theſe are wiſe and judicious Precepts, which are heard and admired, but not practiſed.

XIV. The *Rabbins* Office conſiſts: 1. In preaching in the [s] Synagogues, ſaying Prayers, explaining the Law, reſolving all Caſes of Conſcience, about which they are conſulted, and inſtructing Youth. 2. They have the power of *binding and looſing*. The Controvertiſts have compiled great Volumes on occaſion of this Word; but if they had remark'd its true ſignification with the *Jews*, from whom our Saviour borrowed it, the Diſpute would be at an end, or rather it would never have begun. For they mean by it, that the *Rabbin* had the power of declaring what is allowed or forbidden. He binds, when he forbids the uſe of a thing that defiles; and he looſes, when he determines it to be lawful. 3. When the Synagogue is poor and ſmall, it has but one *Rabbin*, who diſcharges at once the Functions of Judge and Doctor. 'Tis he that has the care of the Synagogue of the Poor, and of deciding Differences. But when the *Jews* are numerous enough in a place, they appoint three Paſtors, and an Houſe of Judgment, where all the Deciſions are made: and the Inſtruction only is reſerved for the *Rabbin*, if it be not thought fit to bring him into the Counſel for his Advice, and then he takes the chiefeſt Place.

XV. They have alſo Authority to create new Doctors. This permiſſion was formerly to be obtain'd of the Head of the Captivity, eſpecially in the *Eaſt*. They ſay, that before *Hillel*, private Doctors ordain'd their Diſciples; but they laid aſide this Authority in favour of this great Maſter: but

[l] רבץ Rabats cubare, *to give repoſe to the Law; that is, to teach.* [m] Elias Levita in Thisbi.
[n] *They ſaid* Dominus, *ſpeaking of God; and* Domnus, *ſpeaking of Men.* [o] Lib. 6. [p] Serrarius de Rabbinis, c. 4.
[q] Thalmud in Sota. [r] Ibid. in Paſachim, fol. 87. V. Buxtorfii Lex. Thalmudicum.
[s] V. Selden. de Syned. l. 1. c. 14. Vitringa de Synagoga, l. 2. c. 10. p. 569, &c.

now,

now, after a great many Ages, they are content to make up a Congregation of ſome Doctors, who conſent to the inſtallation of a new *Rabbin*. This is the moſt ſolemn Ordination; but as it cannot be always obſerved, the *Rabbins* lay hands on their Diſciples. Some [t] think, that the Impoſition of Hands, which came from *Moſes*, can't be practiſed, ſave in the Holy Land; and 'tis to avoid violating this Law, that the *Rabbins*, particularly in *Germany*, create Doctors, only by Word of Mouth. In creating them, they often confine their Power to particular Things. To one, they give only the Authority of explaining the Law, or even ſome Queſtions of it; on another, they confer the power of Judging; and they can only exerciſe thoſe Functions to which they are appointed; nor muſt they do that in their Maſter's Preſence. Some maintain, that the Maſter ought to be dead before the Diſciple teaches: Others, leſs vigorous, require ſome Leagues diſtance, to avoid Jealouſie betwixt theſe two Perſons; but ordinarily, 'tis enough to have obtain'd Licenſe of exerciſing their Functions, and to be confirm'd by the *Houſe of Judgment*.

XVI. The *Rabbins* are often deſpiſed by the People; however, they omit nothing to ſet off their Office, and to inforce their Authority. This Pride is of old ſtanding in the Synagogue, ſince it was cenſured by our Lord; and thoſe that have lived in Baniſhment and Miſery, have reſerved the conſolation of talking magnificently of themſelves, and imprinting Fear and Dread on thoſe that are under them: Men naturally love to be fear'd and honour'd; and our Submiſſions to them are more acceptable, the more exceſſive they are. The *Rabbins* aſſert, that a Man can't break their Laws without incurring Death; and they alledge ſome terrible Examples of this. For *Jochanan*, by a ſingle look, reduc'd one of his Diſciples to *an heap of Bones*, who refuſed to believe what this *Rabbin* ſaid, that the Gates of *Jeruſalem* ſhould one day be Carbuncles, till he ſaw an Angel cut the Stones of the ſame bigneſs, repreſented by his Maſter. Here we ought to have recourſe to the Figurative Language, and not reproach the *Jews* with believing, that their Maſters carried a Virtue in their Eyes, capable of murthering Men by a ſingle look. They are not ſo ſtupid as this comes to; but they make *Jochanan* the Author of a Miracle, like that which St. *Peter* wrought upon *Sapphira*; and the deſign of this Romantick Story, is to eſtabliſh an implicit Obedience upon the exemplary Death of an incredulous and impenitent Diſciple. How many *Chriſtians* laugh at theſe *Rabbinical* Tales, who afterwards preach, as the neceſſity of a blind Obedience, and the dreadful effects of Excommunication, pronounc'd againſt thoſe that conteſt it?

XVII. But the *Rabbins* don't ſtop here; but plainly declare, that they ſhall not be damned like the reſt of the World. *R. Acher* was equally famous for his adherence to the Law, and for his Sins. He is accuſed of many Crimes. 1. *He had cut the tops of the Branches of Trees.* By this they mean, [u] that he had attack'd the Power of the ſupreme Being; like an inſolent Wretch that enters a Garden, and breaks and ſpoils all that is Beautiful in it. In a word, he was ſuſpected of holding the Error of Two Principles. 2. He had blaſphem'd againſt the Angel *Metatron*; imagining, that God alone had a right to ſit in *Paradice*. He could not conceive, that this Angel had a Stool there; and this was the ground of his Belief of two ſupreme Principles. 3. He beſtrid his Horſe on the *Sabbath-day*, which is forbidden; becauſe a Man can't meaſure the number of Steps he may make upon this Day; and it often happens, that he plucks a Twig from a Tree to whip his Horſe, which is a Crime. 4. Laſtly, He met with a lewd Woman, and had a mind to be dealing with her. He was conducted to the School, and the Child ſaying his Leſſon, pronounc'd theſe Words: *There is no Peace to the Wicked.* He paſs'd from that School to twelve others, where all the Children that were repeating their Leſſons, pronounced ſome *Anathema*; which ſo violently provok'd him, that he caught the thirteenth Scholar, tore him in pieces, and ſent the Parts of his mangled Body to thirteen Synagogues, as the Levite ſent thoſe of his Concubines to the Tribes. 'Tis impoſſible to vilifie a Doctor by more unlucky Paſſages, than theſe we have noted. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that the Gate of Repentance was ſhut againſt him, becauſe the Angel *Metatron* having received many Laſhes on his account, he was debar'd from future Grace. Notwithſtanding all this, he had the good luck to eſcape Damnation. At his Death, the Doctors, who determine the Deſtiny of their Brethren, durſt not judge. They could not condemn him to Hell, becauſe *he had taught the Law*; nor durſt they ſeat him in Heaven, becauſe of his Sins. *R. Meir*, who had been his Diſciple, and paſſionately loved him, found an expedient to condemn him, and to ſave him afterwards. He [x] promiſed, that when he died, he would cauſe the Smoke to aſcend from *Acher*'s Tomb: the thing happen'd as he had foretold, and afterwards ceaſed; which was an Evidence, that *Meir* had reſcued *Acher*'s Soul from Hell. The *Jaylor of Hell*, ſaid the *Panegyriſt*, or the *Weeper*, that made *Meir*'s Funeral Oration, *could not ſtand before our Maſter.*

XVIII. Their Writings are in high Eſteem: but the *Jews* are as much prejudiced for Antiquity as the *Chriſtians*; and Men became venerable to them, in proportion to the remoteneſs of the Age they lived in. Time is commonly more conſider'd than Merit: And therefore, thoſe that would be reverenced by the People, have father'd their Writings on the ancient Doctors, or like the *Chriſtians*, have aſcrib'd new Works to the old Maſters, in order to give them more Authority than they would have, if they had appear'd with the true Name of their Authors.

XIX. They have, for Example, in the Synagogues, ſome *Commentaries* upon Scripture, call'd [y] *Midraſchim*, to which they aſcribe a great Antiquity. The *Mechilta* ought to have been compoſed by the *Rabbins*, that were cotemporary with *Juda* the Saint. And yet the [z] *Gemara* is cited in it, to prove a cuſtom invented by the *Rabbins* for ſtoning. 'Tis there ſaid, that the Criminal was placed upon a little Precipice, and that the Witneſſes threw him down. If he died of the Fall, they did no more; but if he retain'd any thing of Life, the Witneſs threw a Stone, and the People threw more upon him *till he died:* This cuſtom, which they derive from *Exodus*, is not to be found there. Neither *Philo* the *Jew*, nor *Joſephus*, knew it: but 'tis ſufficient that it is taken from the *Gemara*, to prove that the Authors of this *Commentary* upon *Exodus*, were not the Cotemporaries, or immediate Succeſſors of *Juda* the Saint. We ought to pardon them what they ſay of the *Jews* Deſcent into *Ægypt*, in the Reign of *Trajan*, who maſſacred them there. This is not exact, but yet it can't be denied, but they loſt a great deal of Blood in their Inſurrection againſt this Prince. But the Story in the ſame Book,

[t] V. Morin. de Ordin. p. 3. Exerc. 7. c. 4. [u] Excerpta Gemaræ apud Hottinger. p. 101, &c. [x] Ibid. p. 110.
[y] מדרש Midraſh *ſignifies* Commentary, *from a Root*, דרש Daraſh, quæſivit, *becauſe the* Commentator *ſought the ſenſe of Scripture.* [z] Ganz. Tſemach. David, p. 109. Morin ex Bibl. l. 2. Ex. 11. c. 1.

concerning God's retarding the march of the *Iſraelites*; becauſe ſome, who had before attempted to paſs into the Holy Land, were killed by the *Philiſtines*; and that God was willing to have their Carcaſſes conſumed, leſt the People ſeeing them in the Wilderneſs, ſhould be diſheartned, and deſirous of returning, is taken from the *Thalmudiſts*. How then can we allow this Book ſo venerable an Antiquity, tho' in reality, it is the ancienteſt of all their Books?

XX. [a] They have moreover in their Synagogues, ſome *Great Commentaries*, *Midraſchim Rabbot*, which are ſaid to be *Nachmanides*'s, who ought to have lived in the end of the third Century. And yet they make mention of *Diocleſian*'s Empire; and *Julian*'s attempt to rebuild the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and in general, ſtill call the *Roman Empire* the *Empire* of *Edom*; which ſhews, that this Work was not compoſed till after *Conſtantine*, under whom the *Chriſtians* became Maſters of the Empire. They pretend indeed, that *Italy* was peopled by the Children of *Edom*: But yet they never gave this Name to the Empire, nor imagin'd this Fable, till after it came into the hands of the *Chriſtians*, whom they call *Edomites*. Laſtly, They tell a Story, [b] that *Trajan*'s Son being born on one of the *Jew*'s Faſting Days, and dying on the Day they celebrated the Dedication of the Temple, the Empreſs perſuaded her Husband, that this Nation mourn'd for his Proſperity, and rejoiced for his Affliction. *Trajan* being enraged, immediately embark'd; and by the favour of an extraordinary Gale, arrived at *Alexandria* in five Days: At that very moment, the *Jews* were reading theſe Words of *Deuteronomy*, [c] *The Lord ſhall bring a Nation againſt thee, as ſwift as* [d] *the Eagle flies.* *Trajan* applied theſe Words to himſelf, appear'd to the *Jews* as that *Eagle* that had flown, and come to tear his Prey. For the Legions murder'd the *Jews*, whoſe Blood flowed in ſuch Streams into the Sea, as to die it red as far as the Banks of the Iſle of *Cyprus*. The Hyperbole is hideous, and the Ignorance barbarous: for the Iſle of *Cyprus* is at ſo great a diſtance from *Ægypt*, that to give ſome little probability to the Story, they have been forced to change it into a River of the ſame Name, which is imaginary, and never heard of. What is more: *Alexander* the [d] *Macedonian*, muſt have headed this Expedition. Either then the Title of *Macedonian* muſt be ſtruck out, or a new *Alexander* found, who was General of *Trajan*'s Troops with *Adrian*, and might perhaps come from *Macedonia*. The *Thalmudiſts* have made this Blunder; and from whom, this ſo ill contrived Fable is borrowed: But this ſerves only more indiſputably to prove, that theſe *Commentaries* of the *Rabbins* are not ſo ancient as is pretended; which Reflexions is the more neceſſary, ſince ſome *Chriſtians* eſteem, and often cite them, becauſe they fancy from hence, to ſtrengthen our Religion, and draw ſome helps for the Explication of the Scripture.

XXI. In the laſt [e] place, They have publiſh'd the Sentences of the Fathers, *Pirke Abbot*. They have publiſh'd others under the Name of *R. Eliezer*, who muſt have lived in the time of *Gamaliel* II. ſince he was his Brother-in-Law. Nevertheleſs, the Impoſtor is ſo ill diſguiſed, that he quotes *Akiba* as one of the ancient Fathers, who muſt have been the Diſciple of the great *Eliezer*. The Fault is ſtill more manifeſt, to quote *Juda* the Prince, the Son of *Gamaliel*, who was not born till *Akiba* was dead. He ſpeaks of the Kingdom of the *Arabians*, which was not erected till *Mahomet*. We muſt excuſe him for all the Stories which he tells, *viz.* That the Tempting-Serpent was as big as a *Camel*; and that *Adam* uſed him for a Pad: That God cloath'd the firſt Man with a precious Robe, and a cloud of Glory; but after his Sin, dreſs'd him in the Serpent's Skin. However, his firſt Robe was preſerved in *Noah*'s Ark; *Cham*, who ſeiz'd upon it, gave it *Nimrod*, who wearing it, ſaw all the Beaſts of the Earth, and the Fowls of the Air, come and worſhip him, as their Lord and King. This is deducible from Scripture, which ſays, That *Nimrod was a mighty Hunter before the Lord.*

It muſt be confeſs'd, that Veneration for Antiquity is not peculiar to the *Jews*; the *Chriſtians* being ſeiſed with the ſame Diſtemper: They have father'd, as well as they, Writings upon the ancient Doctors of the Church; and when they quote a Teſtimony in their favour, they often aſcribe the Book to an Author of the firſt Centuries, though ſuch Impertinences are found in it, as are unworthy of thoſe great Names, under which they would have them paſs.

XXII. The *Rabbins* commonly imitate the Scripture *Hebrew*; their pronunciation, particularly in *Germany* and *Poland*, differs more from the Ancients than their Style. As they have written upon divers Subjects, not handled by the Prophets, they have been obliged to invent ſome new Words: for the Scripture wanting Terms, relating to *Phyſick*, *Natural Philoſophy*, *Aſtrology*, and even *Divinity*, as it has been treated for ſome Ages, they have been forced to coin Words according to the Analogy of their Language; ſuch as *Non-exiſtence*, *Efficient Cauſe*, *Reaſonable Creature*, *Center*, *Zodiac*, *Heretick*, *Apoſtate*, and *Academy*: but there is no Tongue but is ſubject to theſe Innovations. They muſt neceſſarily increaſe, as People improve in Learning and Converſe with other Nations.

[a] Ganz Tſemach David, p. 114. Morin. ibid. [b] In Midraſh, Eſther & Midraſh, ſup. Lament. Jerem. c. 4. ver. 19.
[c] Deut. 28. 29. [d] Ganz Tſemach, p. 104.
[e] Pirke R. Eliezer, hoc eſt, *the Chapters or Sentences. This Book has been Tranſlated by* Vorſtius, *and printed at* Leiden, *in* 1644. Pirke, c. 17. p. 38. c. 28. p. 63. c. 24. p. 54.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Jewiſh *Prieſts.*

Of the Ten Otioſi *of the Synagogue. Diſputes about this Matter.*

I. *THe Functions of the Prieſts.* II. *The Examination of theſe Prieſts raiſes the jealouſie of* Severus. III. *Their Genealogy.* IV. *Of the Arch-Prieſts.* V. *Of the Ten* Otioſi. Lightfoot's *Opinion.* VI. *This Opinion confuted. A ſecond Hypotheſis upon this Subject.* VII. *A third Opinion different from the foregoing.* VIII. *The* Otioſi *unknown in the* Old Teſtament. IX. *An Obſcure Paſſage of* Joſephus *concerning the* Otioſi, *explain'd.* X. *Whether the* Thalmudiſts *have ſpoken of them.* XI. *The Idlers of* Benjamin *of* Tudela, *examin'd.* XII. *Remarks upon* Benjamin, *and the* Academies *of* Babylon. XIII. *A different Notion of the* Otioſi, *given by* Jarchi, *and his Oppoſition to* R. Niſum. XIV. *A Method of reconciling all theſe Authors.* XV. *An Abſtract of the preceding Reflexions.* XVI. *Weak Reaſons of the* Number Ten. XVII. *The Abrogation of the* Otioſi.

I. THE *Samaritans* alone, have retain'd the liberty of Sacrificing. But though the modern *Jews* have neither Temples, nor Altars, nor Sacrifices, yet they have Sacrificers and Prieſts. But whereas the principal Function of their Office has ceas'd for a great many Ages, 'tis eaſie to conceive, that they are much degenerated.

However, the Firſt-born are ranſom'd of them; but as the *Jews* are ſeldom poſſeſſors of Lands, and Flocks, they very rarely pay them Tythes.

Secondly, They have the precedence in reading the Law in the Synagogues: The [a] Prieſt always reads firſt, the *Levite* next; and, laſtly, the *Iſraelites* read, upon the Prieſt's failure, or after them. They are ſometimes ſo ignorant, that they can't read; but when they can, the wiſeſt and learnedſt of the *Iſraelites* is obliged to yield them that Honour. They alſo give the Bleſſing to the People, at the end of the Service; which ſhews, that they ſtill retain ſome reſpect for the Office, whoſe Succeſſion is ſo uncertain.

II. 'Tis probable, that they are ſometimes choſen to be Doctors, and that they may pretend to any Office of the Synagogue when they are capable of diſcharging it. [b] *Lampridius* relates, That *Alexander Severus* could not bear that the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* ſhould make any publick Scrutinies into the Lives and Manners of their Prieſts, and that the ſame thing ſhould be omitted in the Empire for the choice of Governors of Provinces, on whom the Peace and Happineſs of the People depended. It appears by this, that the Prieſts were then admitted to the publick Offices, but not without a rigorous Examination of their Life. Laſtly, The Imperial Laws ſpeak often of theſe [c] Prieſts, as of conſiderable Perſons in the *Jewiſh* Nation.

III. [d] Mr. *Petit* maintains, that theſe Prieſts don't deſcend from the Race of *Aaron*; and that they have this Title only from their ſucceeding into the Functions of the Prieſts, in interpreting the Law, and teaching the People. 'Tis eaſie to conceive, that he is in the wrong, and yet in the right. He is in the wrong, if he ſays, theſe Prieſts don't pretend to be of the Race of *Aaron*: for 'tis the reſpect that is preſerved for that Family, which gives them a ſort of diſtinction among the People. But theſe muſt be an unſpeakable confuſion in Genealogies, after ſo many Ages, and ſo long Succeſſions; ſo that 'tis impoſſible, at preſent, to diſtinguiſh the true Off-ſpring of *Aaron*, and the Tribe of *Levi*. As this is only done by a Family-Tradition, it muſt needs be uncertain, fraudelent, or falſe.

IV. They ſay likewiſe, that there is an Arch-Prieſt in every Synagogue: And indeed, [e] *Benjamin* of *Tudela* obſerves, That in the Twelfth Century, *the Head of the* Levites *was Preſident of the Second Council.* And, *Lampridius* had ſaid long before, that the *Ægyptians* inſulting *Alexander Severus*, becauſe he was born in *Syria*, call'd him Head of the Synagogue, and Arch-Prieſt. But a [f] Critick, equally judicious and well-vers'd in theſe Matters, affirms with greater Reaſon, that theſe Arch-Prieſts were unknown in the Synagogues; and that *Lampridius* has ſignified but one and the ſame Office under different Names: for he evidently ſpoke of the Head of the Synagogue.

V. Laſtly, 'Tis aſſerted, that there are [g] ten *Otioſi* in the Synagogue: Whereas the modern Criticks have thought it incumbent upon them, to explain the Functions of this Office, and have fancied, that they did a great Service to Religion, and the Republick of Learning, by diſcovering it. We can't wave giving an Idea of it, and relating what they have ſaid, that is moſt material.

Criticks have given three different Opinions upon this Queſtion. [h] *Lightfoot*, who had principally ſpent his time in the ſtudy of the *Thalmudiſts* and *Rabbins*, who have obſerved, that the ten *Otioſi* are neceſſary to compoſe a conſiderable Synagogue, thought them to be Men of Learning, imployed in the inſtruction of the People, and buſineſs of the Synagogue.

At the Head of theſe *Otioſi*, he ranks the three Magiſtrates, that judge of Civil Affairs; the fourth is the *Chazan*, or the ordinary Miniſter of the Synagogue, whom he conſiders as the *Biſhop* and *Angel* of the Church. He does not read the Law, but makes choice of thoſe that are to read it; and, as an Inſpector, examines whether they change either the Words or Letters of the Law. Hence, we are told the *Chriſtian* Biſhops came. For the Holy Ghoſt [i] has preſerved the Titles of Angels and Biſhops, and introduced their Functions into the *Chriſtian* Church: 'Tis for this Reaſon, perhaps, that the ancient Biſhops of *Rome* never preached, but only elected thoſe that were to have the Inſtruction of the People.

Each Synagogue has three *Parnaſſim*, which are Deacons; whoſe Province it is, to collect the Alms, and diſtribute them to the People. Theſe three Miniſters increaſed the number of the *Otioſi*. The eighth is the Interpreter. This Office became neceſſary at the return from the Captivity; becauſe the People having loſt the perfect uſe of the *Hebrew* Tongue, *Eſdras* was forced to interpret, line by line, all the Chapters that were read in the Temple.

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[a] *Or* Chaiim, Tr. 135. §. 3. & 4.
[b] Lamprid. in Alex. Severo, c. 45.
[c] Hieres.
[d] Petiti Var. Lect. c. 24. Crit. t. 9.
[e] Benjam. Itiner. p. 70.
[f] Vitringa de Syn. l. 2. paſſim.
[g] Barlanim, Otioſi.
[h] Lightfoot, in Matth. 4. ver. 23. t. 1. p. 279.
[i] Vitringa de Synagog. l. 3. p. 2. c. 3. p. 909. Rhenferdius Diſſ. Philol. de Decem Otioſis. Diſſ. 1. p. 82.

They

They are at a great loss to find two [k] other Persons to make up the number ten: But *Lightfoot* adds a Doctor of Divinity to teach in the Schools, and his Interpreter, or Usher, to make the Repetitions.

VI. This first Hypothesis is subject to great inconveniences; not only because the number of ten Persons is not easily found in it; but also because those which are reckon'd for *Otiosi*, are not so. Indeed the Judges or *Jewish* Magistrates ought not to labour in publick, if they obey the Precept of their Masters. For *R. Hunna* says, *that he that has the command of a City, ought not to labour before three Persons*, for fear of cheapning his Dignity: But however, they have their liberty to work at home, when they are alone, or before two Witnesses. Besides, these Rules are not rigorously observed, otherwise the Judge *should not eat or drink in publick*, nor exercise his Office, unless he was rich enough to keep a *Servant*. The Judges therefore can't be rank'd among the *Otiosi*. *Lightfoot*, though very well versed in these Matters, has overthrown the whole Ecclesiastical Polity of the *Jews*; for he makes a Bishop and Angel of the Church, of the *Chazan* who is the Porter of the *Synagogue*. But farther [m], he has metamorphosed the *Parnassim* into Deacons; whereas these are the Doctors and Heads of the *Synagogue*, that judge and instruct it. The Doctor of Divinity and his Interpreter teach in the Academy, and don't belong to the *Synagogue*. Besides, these Doctors had commonly a Trade which they followed, as St. *Paul* was a Tentmaker. And therefore others maintain [n], that the three Heads of the *Synagogue* [o] are to be reckon'd the first of the *Otiosi*, and the number ten is to be filled up with seven Readers, who are obliged to read the Law every *Saturday*.

VII. Others have afterwards [p] invented a third System, very different from the two foregoing. 'Tis the Notion of the *Jews*, that God is provoked, when he does not find ten Persons in the *Synagogues* at Divine Service. To this they apply the words of *Isaiah* [q], when he introduces God complaining; *Wherefore when I came was there no Man? when I call'd was there none to answer.* In order to prevent an abuse, that incurs the Wrath of God, they resolved to chuse ten Persons of eminent Piety, who should have no other business, but to attend on the *Synagogue*, that the number of the Petitioners might be always full. They are to go to Church at Sun rising, the time that Prayers begin, and not to depart till ten of Clock. They were obliged to return half an hour after four, the time of the Afternoon Service; and as the Evening Prayer immediately succeeded, they continued in the *Synagogue* till Sun setting. For this purpose they were disengaged from all Civil Affairs, and had Sallaries assign'd them. They have all the same Rank in the Church, and they don't leave it till the time specified for the Service is over. This Opinion is built upon the Authority of *Jarchi*, who has left an exact definition of these *Otiosi*.

VIII. This Question is of no great moment, and tis better to leave it to the Reader's Judgment, than warmly to dispute it. 'Tis certain, these ten *Otiosi* are not known under the Old Testament, when the *Jewish* Republick being in the most flourishing condition, they ought to have assign'd Sallaries to these Votaries in all the *Synagogues*. The *Jewish* Doctors insinuate, that they must have flourish'd in the most prosperous State of *Judæa*, since by this Character they distinguish great Cities from little ones. Nevertheless, we find not the least track of their Institution, either in the Writings of the Prophets, or the History of the *Maccabees*, or of the *Herods* that succeeded them. Besides, this Office is long since abolish'd, and those that have mention'd it, have done it very obscurely. So that it seems to be pursuing a Phantom, to hunt after this idle Company unknown to the Antients.

IX. *Josephus* is suspected to have hinted them, in relating *John*'s Capitulation with *Titus*. This Prince besieged *Giscala*, and fearing that if he took it by Storm, the Inhabitants would be put to the Sword, he offer'd to admit them to conditions. *John* the Head of the Robbers and Profligates who commanded in the place, intreated *Titus* to give him the respite of the *Sabbath day*, during which it was not lawful for the Besieged to Capitulate, or defend themselves. He politickly made use of this delay, and fled in the Night. He [r] carried with him not only the Soldiers; *but many idle people with their Family, which he conveyed to* Jerusalem. This passage of the Historian has been thought very obscure [s]: It has been sifted, for the *Candidates* of *Giscala*, that is for the Magistrates. Afterwards they have discover'd in it, People in rapid haste, which was very necessary for flight; but by Misfortune there appears a great many Women and Children who are not so very fleet. They have at last pitch'd upon the *Otiosi*, by which they understand the Governors of the City *Giscala*. The famous *Arnaud d'Andilly* following *Rutinus*'s Version rather than the *Greek*, has Translated it, *some of the principle Inhabitants with their Family*. But why does this Passage seem so obscure? *Josephus* makes an Opposition betwixt those that kept the Day of *Rest*, and the Soldiers of *John* of *Giscala*, who labour'd and travel'd without scruple. Now [t] having related, that the *Jews* could not make War or Peace on the *Sabbath day*, because they were obliged to be *idle*, or to *rest*, there is no farther difficulty as to the idle Persons, he took with him in the Night; these being the very same, that had kept the idleness and rest of the *Seventh Day:* For which reason he expresly uses the same Term. 'Tis in vain then to look for the *Candidates*, or the *Otiosi*, since he only meant those that having more Religion than *John Giscala*'s Soldiers observed the rest of the *Sabbath*, and scrupled to violate it by a long Journey.

X. The ten *Otiosi* are not only unknown to the Sacred Writers, and to *Philo* and *Josephus*; but there is hardly any track of them in the *Talmud*. The *Gemarists* of *Babylon* and *Jerusalem* [u] speak sometimes of the Ten Idlers, but neither mention their Character, nor their Functions, nor the time of their Institution, unknown to all Antiquity. The distinction the *Talmudists* make betwixt a City and a Town, is chiefly insisted on. That is call'd a considerable *City* where there are ten *Otiosi*, and when there are less it is a Town: 'Tis added, that a *Synagogue* ought to be built in all places where there are ten *Otiosi*. But may we not understand hereby ten Persons of suffieiency to live upon their own incomes, without working? And must so indefinite an Expression be enough to Establish a new Office

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[k] *Three* Judges, *the* Bishop, *three* Deacons, *the* Interpreter, *the* Doctor in Divinity, *and the* Repeater, *are* Lightfoot's *Ten* Idles.
[l] Rhenferd. ibid. p. 28, 29.
[m] Buxtorf. Lex. Thalm. p. 1821. Vitringa de Syn. l. 3. p. 1. c. 2. p. 629.
[n] Vitring. de 10. Otiosis. c. 10. p. 237.
[o] *Parnassim* Id. de Syn. l. 2. c. 6. p. 533.
[p] Rhenferdius diffect. Philol. de decem. Otios.
[q] Isai. 50. 2.
[r] Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 4. c. 4. p. 869.
[s] Αργὸς, S. Albus; αργόλιθοι, Candidiores *or* Candidati, λευκείμονες, Latinis Albati. *The others understand* Veloces, celeres Vitr. Decem V. Otiosis. c. 12. p. 113.
[t] Ἀργὴ πάντων αὐτοῖς ἦν ἡ τῆς βρυμαίου θεοῦ. Josep. p. 869.
[u] Vitringa. ibid. c. 2. p. 13, 14.

upon

upon a Society of Men of Learning or Devotion, who muſt be hired by the *Synagogue* to fill up its vacuities. Indeed the time is ſpecified in the *Miſnah*, wherein theſe *Otioſi* were obliged to diſcharge the Conjugal Duty, and they were ſuch as had no painful Office or Employment [x].

XI. We muſt deſcend as low as the twelfth Century of the Chriſtian Church, before we can hear of theſe *Otioſi*; but then the word had very different ſignifications. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* [y] ſays this Title was given ten Perſons at *Bagded*, *becauſe they had no other buſineſs than to apply themſelves to the Affairs of the People.* They judged the Caſes all the Week, except the ſecond Day, at which Time they Aſſembled at the Head of the great Council's Houſe; and theſe ten *Otioſi*, *in Conjunction with him, determin'd all the Actions that were brought before them.*

XII. Theſe ſeem to be *Lightfoot*'s *Otioſi*, who were wholly taken up with the publick Good, and the Controverſies of the People. And therefore thoſe that oppoſe this Opinion, invalidate *Benjamin*'s Authority, by obſerving, that this Traveller has related a great many things, wherein he is miſtaken; becauſe he was not an Eye witneſs of them as he pretended to be. This Reflexion is well grounded; but I queſtion whether it be juſtly applied; for *Benjamin* had travell'd to *Bagded*. He does not exceſſively extol the Glory of his Nation in this Country, ſince he reckons but a thouſand Inhabitants of his Religion: In fine, he names the *Otioſi* he ſpeaks of one after another. He ſets *Samuel* at the Head of them, who was alſo called *Jacob*, becauſe of the Eminence of his Poſt: He mentions an *Eleazar*, who deduced his Genealogy from the Prophet *Samuel*: Has he then forged all theſe Names, and imagin'd a Chimerical Government of the *Jews* at *Babylon*?

They ſay, that 'tis improbable there ſhould be ten Academies at *Babylon*, and that in all appearance there was but one, wherein *Samuel* Taught, who was its Head and Profeſſor, and nine Colleges wherein the Sub Præceptors made the Scholars repeat the Leſſons, and explain'd to them at large what the Maſter had determin'd in few words. As there is but one Academy at *Amſterdam*, and many Claſſes wherein they repeat their Lectures, I don't know how they come to compare the Univerſity of *Babylon* with that of *Amſterdam*: But ſince *Benjamin* gives all [z] the Profeſſors the ſame Title, why muſt the Heads of the Academy be chang'd into Sub-Regents, that only made Repetitions. Is it not more natural to ſay, that what *Benjamin* calls Academies, were ſo many different Schools, in which each Profeſſor handled certain Subjects? We may methinks, without weakning or rejecting this Teſtimony, obſerve that the *Otioſi* are not thoſe of *Lightfoot*, ſince there are neither Deacons, nor Biſhop, nor Interpreter of the *Synagogues* amongſt them. They were ſo many Profeſſors, which could not conſtitute a College of *Otioſi*, except at *Bagded*, ſince none but this City had ten Academies, and ten Profeſſors that explain'd the Law. So that *Benjamin*'s Teſtimony is of no Conſequence for other Cities, and the Service of the *Synagogues*.

XIII. *Solomon Jarchi* was *Benjamin*'s cotemporary, who grew acquainted with him when he went through *Lunel*: And yet he had a very different notion of the *Otioſi*, during the twelfth Century; for this *Rabbin*, who was the Honour of his Nation in *Languedock*, affirms, that the *Otioſi* were diſingaged *from all Affairs, and maintain'd at the publick expence, that they might be preſent in the* Synagogue *at the time of Prayer.*

It can't be alledged againſt *Jarchi*, that he was a lover of Fables, and that he is commonly miſtaken in the Matters he has related; for this is almoſt a general prejudice againſt the *Rabbins*. Beſides, if theſe common place Reflexions of the Criticks weaken an Author's Authority, they don't abſolutely deſtroy it; ſince he may be miſtaken in many things, and be in the right in that, which is conteſted. The ſtrongeſt Allegation againſt the *Lunel Doctor* is, that *R. Niſſim*, that celebrated Man, who was conſulted from all parts upon Caſes of Conſcience [a], and Rules of Diſcipline, aſſerts, that *Jarchi* is miſtaken, and that the *Otioſi* who fill'd the *Synagogue*, had no Stipend: *That is not neceſſary*, ſays he [b] *but they are call'd* Otioſi, *who leave their work, and are conſtant at the* Synagogue *at the hours of Prayer, for that ſuffices.* Thus you ſee a third Opinion among the *Jewiſh Doctors*. For here is nothing ſaid of an Office, or a Commiſſion given to certain People with Wages, or an honourable Penſion; but of the voluntary Devotion of ſome Perſons, who were more exact in frequenting publick Aſſemblies; which Opinion is the more probable; for as much as *Maimonides*, who ſpeaks of theſe *Otioſi*, and lived in *Jarchi*'s, and *Benjamin de Tudela*'s Time, aſſigns them no Penſion.

XIV. However, we may reconcile all theſe Authors, inſtead of making them contradictory, and guilty of groſs Miſtakes. For indeed, as the Rites of the *Synagogue* have been different according to Time and Place, we may ſay, 1. That as there was at *Babylon* ten Heads of the Academies, they gave theſe Poſſeſſors the Title of *Otioſi*; becauſe they were only employed upon national Affairs. But this uſage was peculiar to *Bagded*; becauſe this City was the only one that had ſo many Academies and Profeſſors. *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, and *Lightfoot* after him had reaſon to conſider theſe *Otioſi* as Men of Letters, but they ſhould not confine them only to that particular Uſe; for in reality, there was another at *Lunel* in the ſame Age: For as Devotion flouriſh'd there, and they had a Notion, that God was diſpleas'd, when there were not ten Perſons in the *Synagogue* at Prayers, they Elected ten Votaries to be always there preſent. Charity ſo prevailed in this City, that the Profeſſors took upon them [c] *to Feed and Cloath all thoſe that came to ſtudy the Law there.* No wonder then that thoſe who were ſo bountiful to Strangers, ſhould allow ſome Penſion to ſuch as daily frequented the *Synagogues*, as *Jarchi* affirms, and *Benjamin* ſo far from contradicting him, ſeems to ſtrengthen this Opinion by the Encomium he beſtows on the Charity of *Jarchi* and his Collegues. 3. But whereas all the *Synagogues* had not an equal Devotion, nor the ſame Charity, they were contented to leave every one at their Liberty of going to the *Synagogues*: Some frequented them conſtantly as a point of Devotion, without the Recompence of a Salary; and this was practiſed in *R. Niſſim*'s Time in the fourteenth Century.

XV. From the foregoing Reflexions we may collect four things. Firſt, the ten *Otioſi* were not known during the Proſperity of the *Jewiſh* Church, before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, tho' it was then in a capacity to maintain them. Thoſe therefore that imagine as *Capel* and *Hottinger*, that this is a very antient uſage, and that the *Talmudiſts*, who have mention'd it, have only followed the Tradition of the Fathers, are evidently miſtaken. Would the

[x] Miſnah Tit. Cetuvoth כתובות de Dore c. v. § 6. t. 3. p. 74.

[y] Benj. Tudel. Iter. p. 71.

[z] *He calls them all* Hajeſchibah. הישיבה ראש *Caput Academiæ.* Benjamin, ibid. p. 70.

[a] *There are many celebrated* Rabbins *of this Name; one the Head of the Academies of* Babylon, *compoſed the Prayer, that is repeated on the day of Expiations in the* Spaniſh Synagogues. *Another has made ſome Sermons. This here has Commented,* R. Alphez. *He lived according to* Ganz, *in the Year* 120. *of the* VI^th Millen, *that is, in* 1360.

[b] Apud Rhenferd. Diſſ. Phil. 2. c. 14 n. 10. p. 292.

[c] Benj. Iter. p. 6.

City

City of *Jeruſalem* have maintain'd three or four hundred Drones, to fill up the numerous *Synagogues* it contain'd within its Walls? And if there had been ſo many mercenary Votaries in the Church's pay, is it poſſible that they ſhould be never mention'd, and that no track of them ſhould be found in the Authors that are left us? We muſt therefore give the *Talmudiſts* the Glory of this Invention.

Secondly, the Word *Otioſi* has often changed its Signification. The Doctors that require ten *Otioſi* to make a conſiderable City, or would have a *Synagogue* built in places where Perſons of this Character are found, mean by it, Men of Subſtance, that could attend the Service of God: But afterwards the Name was given to the Heads of the Academies, to the Votaries that were paid for their Aſſiduity in the *Synagogue*; and laſtly, to thoſe that were voluntarily devout; becauſe they anſwer'd the Original Idea of this Term, which was the renouncing a Man's own Affairs, to attend upon thoſe of God and the Church?

XVI. Thirdly, we muſt not ſearch for a Reaſon of the number ten aſſigned to theſe *Otioſi*; for indeed 'tis a meer Superſtition of the *Jews*, who are ſcrupulouſly devoted to this number. They tell, that *Joſeph*'s Brothers, when they had ſold him, ſwore with Imprecations not to reveal it to *Jacob*; but that *Juda* perceiv'd that the *Anathema* became Null by *Reuben*'s abſence, becauſe they were only nine; ſo that to fill up the number ten, they aſſociated God to them, to make him a party to their Oath. This is Stuff: They maintain, that they ought not to repeat the [d] *Schema*, lift up their Hands, and give the Benediction in the *Synagogue*, but when there are ten Perſons; and when the number is leſs, they muſt ſtay till it is compleat, alledging for a Reaſon, that God complaining of the ten Spies that made the People murmur, cries, *How long will this wicked Congregation murmur?* There were then but ten Men that conſtituted this Aſſembly [e]; for *Joſhua* and *Caleb* did not murmur. Since God calls ten Perſons a Congregation, there muſt be preciſely this number to form a *Synagogue*, and praiſe God in the Aſſembly. The Reaſon is very weak; and yet *Maimonides* reports it as the Foundation of this Practice. We muſt not therefore enquire for a rational Original of this Cuſtom, nor ask why they reckon ten *Idlers*.

XVII. Laſtly, the ten *Idlers* continued but a ſhort time, and in particular places; and therefore the Doctors ſpeak with ſo much obſcurity and diſagreement about them. 'Tis an Error to believe them eſſential to the *Synagogues*, ſince they were not known in the flouriſhing State of them, and are now perfectly aboliſh'd: For as Potent as is the *Synagogue* of *Amſterdam*, it does not maintain ten *Otioſi*, to fill up the gaps of the Aſſembly.

We have ſaid enough of the different Orders of Doctors, and Heads of the *Jews*; let us now give an Abſtract of their Doctrines, and afterwards of their Ceremonies.

[d] ברכת שמע Benedictio Schemah. *'Tis a form of Prayer repeated Evening and Morning; the* Schemah *properly contains three periods. The firſt is taken from* Deut. 6. 4. 9. *Hear, O* Iſrael! *whence comes the Name* Schema, *that is given it; the ſecond is taken from* Deut. 11. 19, 21. *and the laſt from* Numb. c. 15. 37. 41. *They add to it ſeveral Benedictions.* V. Vitring. de Syn. l. 3. p. 1. c. 15. p. 1052.

[e] Apud. Vitrin. Decem. Otioſi. c. 26. p. 183.

28 E 58

The end of the third Book, *and ſecond* Tome.

THE Hiſtory and Religion OF THE JEWS. BEING, A CONTINUATION OF JOSEPHUS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BOOK IV.

Containing the *Tenets* of the *Jews*; their Confeſſion of *Faith*; *Variations* and *Hiſtory* of their *Religion* from the Deſtruction of the *Temple* to this time.

CHAP. I.

The Confeſſion of Faith of the Jews, *with their* Fundamental Articles.

THE *Jews* commonly reckon but thirteen Articles of their Faith. *Maimonides* reduc'd them to this number when he drew their Confeſſion about the end of the Eleventh Century of the Chriſtian Æra: And it was generally receiv'd. All the *Jews* are obliged to live and die in the Profeſſion of theſe Thirteen Articles. A Commentary hath been ſince added to them to explain ſome places that are too ſhort. We will inſert here this Confeſſion of Faith, and add ſome of the Explications that are tack'd to it in the Commentary of the Bible of *Bomberghen*, that we may thereby have a general Notion of all the *Jewiſh* Religion.

I.

I believe with a firm and perfect Faith, that God is the Creator of all things; that he guides, and ſupports all Creatures; that he hath done every thing; and that he ſtill acts, and ſhall act during the whole Eternity. The Commentary adds, that *whatſoever he hath created ſhall return into its primitive Nothing by his good Pleaſure; but that his Eſſence ſhall no ways be alter'd.*

II.

God is one. There is no Unity like his. He alone hath been, is, and ſhall be eternally our God. The Commentator adds, *that he is not a Being, which comprehends any different Genus's under it, as a Being, that may be divided into different Parts, or as a Body capable of addition or diminution. His Unity is abſolute and perfect; and no other Eſſence can be compared to it.*

III.

God is not corporeal; he cannot have any material Properties; and no corporeal Eſſence can be compared with him. The Commentator ſays upon this Article, *that God can neither go, nor ſtop, nor ſpeak, &c. and that the Scripture only aſcribes to him theſe corporeal Actions to comply with the mean Capacity of Mankind.* This is worth notice; becauſe ſome Chriſtians lay another Opinion to their Charge.

IV.

God is the Beginning and End of all Things, and ſhall eternally ſubſiſt. The Commentator adds, *that the God*, Kadmon, *is eternal; and that all other Principles have had a beginning, and Being in time.*

V.

God alone ought to be worſhip'd, and none but him is to be ador'd. The Commentary obſerves, *that to remove Idolatry, which is condemn'd by the Law, and all the Scripture, neither Angel, nor Saint, nor Planet, nor any Creature ought to be worſhipp'd; and that no Mediators, or Sollicitors between God and Man ought to be ſet up.*

VI.

Whatever has been taught by the Prophets is true.

VII.

The Doctrine and Propheſy of *Moſes*, are true. He is the Father and Head of all the Cotemporary Doctors, that liv'd before or after, or ſhall live after him.

VIII.

The Law, that we have, was given by *Moſes*. The Commentator adds *the Oral Law to that writ by* Moſes.

IX.

This Law ſhall never be alter'd, and God will give no other. The Commentator forbids adding, or taking away any one point of it.

X.

God knows all the Thoughts and Actions of Men.

XI.

God will regard the Works of all thoſe, who have perform'd what he commands; and puniſh thoſe who have tranſgreſs'd his Laws. The Commentator places this Reward in Heaven, or *in eternal Life*, and the Puniſhments in Hell.

XII.

The Meſſiah is to come, and although he ſtays a long time, I will ſtill wait for him till he comes. The Commentator adds two things; one, that whoſoever doubts of the coming of the Meſſiah, accuſes the whole *Law of Lies and Falſhood*; the other, *that the time of his coming ought not to be look'd for in Scripture: And therefore the Sages were mightily in the right to ſay, may he be burſt, who reckons the times of the Meſſiah.*

XIII.

The Reſurrection of the Dead ſhall happen when God ſhall think fit. Bleſſed and Glorify'd eternally be the Name of the Creator. *Amen.*

The Commentator concludes with theſe Remarks, that whoſoever embraces theſe Fundamental Articles of Faith, ought to be look'd upon as a *Jew*, and to be belov'd and pitty'd; that if he is guilty of thoſe Sins which flow from natural Corruption or the Impetuoſity of the Paſſions, God will puniſh him in this World, but yet that he ſhall obtain eternal Life; and that whoever rejects any of theſe fundamental Articles, plucks up what God hath planted, and deſerves to be caſt out of the Congregation, and abhorr'd as an Epicurean.

I will not make here any Reflections upon this Confeſſion of Faith. For I am not obliged either to confute it or to ſhew how it ſhocks the Chriſtian Religion, againſt which it was drawn in order to ſettle the Reſpect they always had for *Moſes*. But we ſhall come to the particular Tenets of the *Jews*, after we have given a ſhort view of their Religion.

CHAP. II.

The Notion, which the Jews *have of the Deity.*

I. *God, a ſpiritual and perfect Being.* II. *The Attributes of the Deity explain'd to the King of* Cozar. III. *Some Expreſſions of the Doctors, that ſeem impious, explain'd. Why* God weeps. IV. *The roaring of God, which makes* Cæſar *tremble, and the* Roman *Women miſcarry.* V. *God's Walks in the Terreſtrial Paradiſe.* VI. *Some Rabbinical Expreſſions, which degrade the Deity, cenſur'd.*

THE Unity of God is one of the fundamental Tenets as well of the modern as of the antient *Jews*. They equally differ from the Heathens, who believe the plurality of Gods, and from the Chriſtians, who admit three divine Perſons in one Eſſence.

The Rabbins own, that had God a Body, he ſhou'd be a finite Being. So that although they often ſpeak of God as of a Man; yet they look upon him as a Being purely Spiritual. They aſcribe to this infinite Eſſence all the Perfections that can be thought of; and free it from all the defects inherent to human Nature, or other Creatures. They chiefly acknowledge in it an uncontrolable and unlimited Power, whereby it governs the Univerſe.

II. The *Jew* that converted the King of *Cozar* was Orthodox in his Explanation of the Attributes of the Deity to this Prince. He ſays, that altho God is call'd *Merciful*, yet he never feels any yearnings of Bowels, or any motions of the Heart; which are Weakneſſes in Man: But what is meant thereby, is, that the Supream Being doth good to ſome body: That he is compar'd to a Judge, who condemns to, or abſolves from Death, thoſe, that are brought before him, without altering his Nature. He aſſerts, * that God muſt be called *Light*; but we ought not to fancy, that he is a real Light, or like that which inlightens us; becauſe was he really Light, he ſhou'd be corporeal. But that Name is given him becauſe it is fear'd leſt he ſhou'd be conceiv'd as being *Dark*; and as this notion wou'd be too mean, we muſt remove it, and conceive God under that of a reſplendant and inacceſſible Light. He affirms, that altho Creatures alone are ſuſceptible of Life and Death, yet it is ſaid that God *lives*, that he is *the Life*; but it is thereby underſtood that he exiſts from all Eternity, and not deſign'd to reduce him to the State of mortal Beings. All theſe Explications are good, and agree with the Account, which the Scripture gives of God

III. It is certain, that we often find in the Writings of the Rabbins ſome bold Expreſſions, and Actions aſcrib'd to the Deity, which ſcandalize thoſe who do not dive into the meaning of them, and is the reaſon that they charge theſe Doctors with Blaſphemies and Impieties, whereof they are not guilty. And indeed a good meaning † may be given to theſe Expreſſions, altho they ſeem impious to ſome, and ridiculous to others. When they introduce God weeping during the three Watches of the Night and crying, *Wo to me, who have deſtroy'd my Houſe, and diſperſ'd my People among the Nations of the Earth*, they only mean, that it was with reluctancy, that God puniſh'd his People. Notwithſtanding that this Expreſſion is bold, yet ſome like it are found in the Prophets. However, it muſt be acknowledg'd that they carry things too far, when they add, that they have often heard this lugubrous Voice of the Deity, when they go over the Ruins of the Temple: For this is a downright Falſhood. They trifle in a ſerious Matter, when they add, that two of the Tears of the Deity, who weeps for the deſtruction of his Houſe, fall into the Sea, and make it very tempeſtuous; or when fond of their *Tephilim*, they place ſome round the Head of God, whilſt he prays, that *his Juſtice may*

* Coſri Pars 2. §. 2. *p.* 77. † *See alſo* Maimonides, More Nevochim, *p.* 1. *c.* 46, 47, 48, *where he explains the Expreſſions of Scripture, and the Chapt.* 59. 60. *p.* 99. 103.

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at laſt give way to his Mercy. If they have a Mind to recommend thereby the neceſſity of the *Tephelim*, they ſhou'd not do it by degrading the Deity, which they draw to the Vulgar in a ridiculous Dreſs.

IV. They only deſign to repreſent the Effects of the unbounded Power of God, when they ſay, that he is a Lion, whoſe roaring makes a dreadful noiſe; and relate, that *Cæſar* having a Mind to ſee God, *Rabbi Joſhuah* begg'd of him to give ſome ſenſible marks of his Preſence. At this Requeſt the Deity remov'd 400 Leagues from *Rome*, and roar'd, and the noiſe of this roaring was ſo terrible, that the Walls of the City fell down, and all the big-belly'd Women miſcarry'd.——God comming a hundred Leagues nearer, and roaring after the ſame manner, *Cæſar* frightened by the noiſe, fell from his Throne, and all the *Romans* that were then alive loſt their Check-Teeth.

V, They intend to expreſs his Preſence in the terreſtrial Paradice, when they make him walk there as a Man. Tney inſinuate that the Souls come ignorant into the World, and with much ado, learn the Wonders of Paradiſe, when they repreſent the ſame God as a School-maſter, who teaches the new Comers into Heaven; and they mean to ſet forth the Excellency of the Synagogue, when they ſay, *That it is the Mother, the Wife, and Daughter of God.* They deduce the Title of Mother from a Place of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, wherein God ſays, † *Give ear unto me, O my Nation*, becauſe by altering the Vowels of this laſt Word, they make it *my Mother*; and thence conclude that the Synagogue is the Mother of God. Laſtly, they ſay || two things of moment in their own Vindication. The Firſt, that they are obliged to ſpeak of God as if he had a Body, to make the Vulgar conceive, that he is a real Being, becauſe the Crowd apprehend no real Exiſtence but what is material and ſenſible. The Second, that they aſcribe no Actions to God but what are noble and denote ſome Perfection, as that of Moving and Acting: And therefore they never ſay, that God eats or drinks.

VI. However, it muſt be confeſs'd, that theſe Divines are neither exact, nor ſincere enough in their Expreſſions. For they make God weep. Beſides, why will they oblige People to put themſelves to the rack to reach their meaning? Is it a clearer way of explaining the ineffable Nature of God, to add ſome new Shaddows to thoſe, which his Greatneſs already ſpreads over our Minds? What is impenetrable they ſhou'd endeavour to unfold, inſtead of ſpinning a new Veil, which makes it more inacceſſible to our Sight. All Nations, and the generality of Mankind are inclin'd to frame a Notion of a corporeal God. If the Rabbins have not had the ſame Conceptions as the Vulgar, they have affected to ſpeak like them; and they thereby leſſen the Reſpect due to the Deity. Whereas we muſt always have noble and ſublime Ideas of the Deity; and inculcate theſe Notions into the Minds of the Multitude, who are but too prone to vilify them. Why then do the Rabbins ſo often repeat things, which are only fit to make the Vulgar look upon God as a material Being? Theſe Doctors can't be altogether juſtify'd. For what do they mean, when they affirm, that God could not reveal to *Jacob* that his Son *Joſeph* was Sold, becauſe his Brothers had oblig'd God to ſwear with them, that this Secret ſhou'd be kept upon Pain of Excommunication? Or when they aſſert that God being ſorry that he had created Man, comforted himſelf that he had not fram'd him out of a Celeſtial Matter; ſince Man had then involv'd all the Inhabitants of Paradiſe into his Rebellion. What wou'd they be at, when they relate that God plays with the *Leviathan*, and that he hath kill'd the Female of this Monſter, becauſe it was not decent, that God ſhould play with a Female? The far fetch'd Myſteries drawn from thence muſt be very coarſe, and always unworthy of the Deity: And if thoſe, that ſtudy them are puzz'led to find out their myſtical Senſe, and unable to unravel it, what ſhall the Croud think, to whom theſe Whims are preach'd?

† Iſai. 51. 4. || Maimon. More Nevochini, *p.* 1. *c.* 27. *p.* 32.

CHAP. III.

The Origine of the Tenet of the Trinity taught by the Patriarchs and Philoſophers. Cudworth's *Syſtem.*

I. *Different Methods to prove the Trinity to the* Jews. II. *Whether the Patriarchs, and the* Jews *are the firſt Authors of this Myſtery. The Advantages that are taken from this Opinion.* III. *The Method that ſhall be followed in this and the following Chapters.* IV. *Why God revealed the Trinity to the Patriarchs.* V. *This Myſtery found among the* Perſians, Egyptians *and* Samothracians. VI. Orpheus *taught it.* VII. *Arguments, that it was the Tenet of* Pythagoras. VIII. Plato *embrac'd it.* IX. *His Thought unfolded.* X. Plato *is Orthodox.* XI. *The Conformity of his Trinity with that of the Chriſtians.* XII. *Another Conformity.* XIII. *A third Conformity.* XIV. *The* Encomiums, *which the Fathers give him.* XV. *Theſe Philoſophers more excuſable than the Fathers. The Teſtimony of St* Auguſtin, *who ſays it.* XVII. *They own'd a Subordination between the* Hypoſtaſes. XVII. *The Fathers have done the ſame.* XVIII. *Some Variations among the Diſciples of* Plato. XIX. *What Uſe Dr* Cudworth *hath made of theſe Variations.*

THE ſecond Step that the Chriſtians make in Religion, is to ſeparate from the *Jews*; for after they have join'd together in the Adoration of a God, who is ſuperlatively perfect, they immediately find the abyſs of the Trinity, which ſets them at an infinite diſtance from one another. The *Jews* look upon three Perſons, as upon three Gods, and they abhor this Tritheiſm: But the Chriſtians, who believe the Unity of a God, will have this Title to be aſcrib'd at the ſame time to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe to be ador'd. It is impoſſible to reconcile ſo contrary Opinions; and yet ſome bold Divines have endeavour'd to do it. They think, the Method, which the generality of Divines follow to reconcile the *Jews* to this great Myſtery of Chriſtianity, to be uſeleſs and defective: That the Trinity is not clearly enough taught in the Old Teſtament to convince the *Jews* of it; that it wou'd be in vain to quote to them the New, becauſe they do not receive it. And, that Time is waſted in Diſputes about every Oracle, and whilſt Objections and Anſwers are

weigh'd, Life is ſpent, and, no progreſs made in their Converſion. So that they believe, that the *Jews* muſt be brought back to the Origine of this Tenet, which ſhocks them ſo much; and made ſenſible that we are obliged to them for this Myſtery, becauſe their Anceſtors taught it. *Rittangelius*, who follow'd this Method, affirms *, That a *Jew*, who had a long while diſputed with him, was at laſt convinc'd by a paſſage of the *Targum*; and cry'd out, *We are undone, if theſe Words will admit of no other Senſe; and your Religion is here mightily ſtrengthened.*

II. Two different ways are employ'd to prove to the *Jews*, that they are the firſt Authors of the Tenet of the Trinity. 1. The learned Dr *Cudworth* maintains, that they had ſpread this Tenet in *Caldea* and *Egypt* a long time before *Moſes* writ; and that it was from this Tradition, that it was preſerv'd in all the Places, thro which the *Iſraelites* paſs'd; and that the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Latins*, and *Samothracians* had pretty clear notions of it. 2 It is alſo pretended, that ſince the Writings of *Moſes* came out, this Tenet was receiv'd in the *Jewiſh* Nation; that it was clearly taught not only by the Prophets, but alſo by the Authors of the Apocryphal Books; and that it is found in the *Caldee* Paraphraſes, in *Philo*, and in all the Authors, who writ before Jeſus Chriſt. So that the *Jews* reject it only out of Malice and Spite.

It wou'd be a very great Advantage, cou'd the *Jews* be convinc'd, that their Anceſtors, and even the Patriarchs themſelves, have believ'd the Trinity; that the holy Scripture doth not only teach this Tenet, but alſo, that it was preſerv'd by Tradition from the beginning of the World down to *Moſes*; and that it is ſo comformable to right Reaſon, that the Heathens willingly receiv'd it, from the antient *Iſraelites*.

The *Unitarians* wou'd alſo be oblig'd to lay aſide their Syſtem, and ſubmit to ſo deciſive a Proof. They ought not to complain, that they are brought before the Synagogue, as if it was a proper Judge of Controverſies. For the Patriarchs and Authors that are quoted, living before the Publication of the Goſpel, cannot be ſuſpected. And indeed were it true, that the Doctrine of the Trinity had been believ'd in all times, and in all the Centuries of the *Jewiſh* Church; and that the Heathens receiv'd it as well as the *Jews*, it cou'd no longer be doubted, but this Tenet agrees with right Reaſon, and was taught by Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, who have ſpoken more plainly upon this Matter, than the Patriarchs, *Jewiſh* Doctors, or Heathens.

III. But without inſiſting upon the Advantages that ariſe from the two Syſtems we are going to repreſent, we cannot omit relating what the *Jews* have believed and do believe concerning this Myſtery, and diſtinguiſhing what is imputed to them, and what they teach, ſince we write the Hiſtory of the Tenets of the *Jews*. We are indiſpenſably obliged to aſcend to the Origine of this great Myſtery, and ſee, 1. Whether the Patriarchs and antient *Jews* taught it as ſoon as they were ſettled in *Caldea*, and *Egypt*; and whether it was conveyed among the Heathen Philoſophers through the Canal of Tradition, or Divine *Cabbala*. 2. We ſhall afterwards examine, whether it be true, that the *Jewiſh* Writers, who preceeded the Birth of the Meſſiah, have explain'd this Myſtery, which they took from the Writings of *Moſes*, as well as from Tradition. 3. Laſtly, we ſhall examine, whether it was a Hatred to Chriſtianity, which hath induc'd their modern Doctors to reject wholly this Tenet.

We ſhall begin with Dr *Cudworth*'s Syſtem, whoſe Book is full of extenſive and profound Learning. But ſince Truth ought to be preferr'd to whatſoever may ſeem moſt conducive to the Advancement of the Chriſtian Religion, we will always prefer it accordingly.

We ſhall now preſume to unravel ſome new Methods, and the Arguments that are alledg'd to ſupport them, and we ought to be allow'd the ſame liberty, which we give to others, either to reject, or follow them. It is enough for us to ſtate fairly what may inform and pleaſe without being forc'd blindly to receive it. The Chriſtians may make uſe of theſe Weapons, if they find them fit for their purpoſe; and the *Jews* may eaſily ſee, that we do not deſign to over-reach, or delude them.

IV. Mankind, according to Dr *Cudworth*, cou'd never attain to the Knowledge of the Myſtery * of the Trinity, by the help of Nature and Reaſon. God was oblig'd to reveal it: He inſtructed the Patriarchs with this Truth; and they ſpread it wherever they dwelt, but eſpecially in *Caldea* and *Egypt*, where they went often. This Tenet was conveyed by a Canal of divine Tradition, and *Cabbala* from the *Jews* to the Pagan Philoſophers, who taught it to their Diſciples. Thus God prepar'd Mankind to the full Manifeſtation of this great Myſtery, which was to be more perſpicuouſly unfolded by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and gave us thereby a good Argument againſt thoſe Wretches, who maintain, that this Myſtery is contrary to Reaſon. For if the Heathens without being conſtrain'd by a divine Authority receiv'd it; if they admitted the Tradition of the *Iſraelites*, and made it a part of their Philoſophical Syſtem, they muſt of neceſſity have believed it agreeable to their Principles, and natural Reaſon.

V. And indeed, ſome Footſteps of the Trinity are diſcover'd in the Myſteries, which the *Perſians* celebrated in honour of *Mithra*. Whether *Zoroaſter*, who reform'd the Religion of the old *Perſians*, had convers'd with the *Jews*, or read the Books of *Moſes*, he not only foretold the *Magi* the Birth of the Meſſiah, but alſo poſitively ſaid, that *the Father hath perfected all things, and given them to the ſecond Spirit, which all the World calls the Firſt.* Here is the Father and the Son; one Creator, and the other, who hath all things tranſferred to him, and is at the ſame time the Second and the Firſt.

Παντα γαρ ἐξετελεσε Πατηρ τῳ παρεδωκε
Δευτερῳ ὃν πρωτον καλιζεται πᾶν γενος ἀνθρων

Omnia † enim perfecit Pater, & menti tradidit
Secundæ, quam primam vocat omne genus.

The *Egyptians*, who had a Correſpondence with *Iſaac* and *Jacob* and their Poſterity, knew alſo this Myſtery. In a Word, it was ſpread among the *Samothracians*, ſince they ador'd a certain number of Gods under the *Hebrew* Name *Cabirm*, that is to ſay *Almighty*.

VI. The *Greeks* learn'd their Theology from *Orpheus*. This Father of the *Greek* Religion own'd a Trinity; *Phanus*, *Uranus*, and *Cronus*, were the three divine Perſons, which have been transform'd into three different Gods. *Pythagoras* inſtructed by *Aglaophe*, drew his Principles from thence; and *Plato*, who read the Writings of *Pythagoras* and *Orpheus*, follow'd thoſe Maſters. So that it muſt not be thought ſtrange, that the Myſtery of the Trinity, which *Orpheus*, by a divine Tradition receiv'd from the *Jews*, ſhou'd be known and acknowledged by the *Greeks*, and particularly by the Diſciples of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*.

VII. It can't be doubted, but that the Trinity was one of the great Myſteries of the *Pythagorean* School. For *Moderatus* aſſures us, that theſe Philoſophers admitted *a firſt Unity*, which is above all Beings whatſoever; that they alſo own'd *a ſecond Unity*, which was intelligent, and *the Idea of all things*; and that they acknowledg'd beſides a third Unity, which was Phyſical, the Soul of every thing, and which participated of the

* Rittangelius liber Jeſirah, *p.* 112. * Cudworth *the true Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe*, Book I. *c.* 4. *p.* 546, &c.
† V. Hyde de Relig. Perſar.

firſt

first and second Unity. Can any thing be more plain? Here are three Unities, which partake of one and the same Nature; a first Person above all Beings whatsoever; a second, which is the Understanding or *eternal Wisdom*; and a third, which is the Soul or *Spirit*. Farther, when *Plato* taught publickly this Tenet, he observ'd that it was not a new Opinion; but an old one, which he explain'd, because *Parmenides* had set it but in a very dim Light. As *Parmonides* was a *Pythagorean*, no doubt but it was one of the Tenets of his Sect.

VIII. But *Plato* hath handled this Subject much more clearly and fully, than all the Philosophers that writ before him; and is for that reason look'd upon as ỹ Father of that Tenet. *And indeed, he went into *Egypt*, as *Apuleius* says; and there learn'd of the Prophets this Mystery of the Trinity. It was he, that introduc'd it among the *Greeks*, who communicated it afterwards to the *Romans*. For *Minerva* was the *eternal Wisdom* of God. She was the *Pallas* of the *Athenians*, that came out of the Head of *Jupiter*, that is, she was begotten in a wonderful and supernatural way. *Aristotle*, who often forsook his Master's Principles, yet acknowledg'd that the number three was mysterious both in Nature and Religion, and was therefore us'd in Sacrifices, and Purifications.

The rest of *Plato*'s Disciples have done three things; 1. Some have explain'd his notions, and made them clearer. 2. Others have spoil'd them, because they attempeed to make this Theology agree with that of the Vulgar, which cou'd not endure that the Plurality of Gods shou'd be oppugn'd For this oblig'd them to fall into Thritheism, and call *three Gods* the Persons of the Trinity. 3. Lastly, Those who liv'd since the preaching of the Gospel, were forc'd to disguise and alter *Plato*'s Principles. that so they might the more easily keep out of the Christian Church wherein they cou'd not avoid entring, had they acknowledg'd the most sublime and incredible of all its Mysteries. However, this impenetrable Mystery did not hinder many from forsaking the School, and becoming Fathers of the Church. All these Observations are sufficient for Confirmation that *Plato* taught the Trinity.

IX. *Plato* † as well as the *Pythagoreans* distinguish'd two sorts of Gods; some were eternal, and intelligible *above the World*; others were begotten, sensible, and spread abroad in the World. He observ'd, in the first Order, three Hypostases, the *Being*, *the Word*, and *Spirit* or *Soul*. These were the three Persons.

X. Dr *Cudworth* observes, that the Trinity of this Philosopher agrees in three things with that of the Orthodox Christians. First, he kept a just medium between the Error of *Sabellius*, and that of the *Arians*. The first acknowledg'd only a Trinity of Names; and the other pretended that the second Person was drawn from Nothing; that there had been a time, when it had no Being. Whereas *Plato* ‖ ascrib'd to the Understanding an ineffable and eternal Generation. 1. He did not maintain a Trinity of Names or of Words, but acknowledged a real distinction between the Hypostases or Persons. 2. He asserted, that those Persons did necessarily exist· and were Infinite and Almighty. 3. Lastly, he call'd these three Persons one God. So that he came nearer the Orthodox than the *Unitarians* and *Arians*.

XI. First, *Plato* distinguish'd three different Principles: *The Grand-father*, *the Father*, *and the Grand-son*; but when he said, that the Second Hypostasis was *Reason*, we must not imagine, that he depriv'd the first of all manner of Knowledge so much, as that it should want Reason to guide it. Even *Proclus*, who said, that *this first Principle did not know it self*, did not make it a *blind Being*. The Reason why he argu'd at this rate was, because he was afraid lest the knowledge of the Understanding shou'd imply an Idea of Composition inconsistent with the Simplicity of the first Being. Yet for all that he ascrib'd to it a most sublime Light, from whence all others flow'd. He compar'd the Knowledge of the first Hypostasis to the Light of the Sun, and that the Word, or Reason to a Ray; One was the *inaccessible* Light, the other a shining Brightness of his Glory. St *Paul* made use of this Expression. As when the Christians call the Son, the *Word*, they do not thereby insinuate, that the Father was without Knowledge and Wisdom; because to divest him of that Perfection, wou'd be to destroy his Deity upon a pretence of glorifying him in his Son: We owe also the same Justice to the *Platonists* who when they distinguish'd Reason or Thought, as a different Principle, or Hypostasis, they did not deprive the first Being of its Knowledge. So that Philosophers had better notions of the Trinity than many Christians. For St *Augustin* reproch'd some of these, for maintaining, that the Word was the Wisdom; whereby the Father was enlighten'd and govern'd.

XII. Secondly, *Plato* maintain'd, that these three Hypostases were eternal *. They were *Universal*, *Infinite and Omnipotent* Beings. The first begot the second, and the second the third. He asserted, that they were of the same Nature. So that these † Philosophers anticipated the Decree of the Council of *Nicæa*, and were so far from occasioning the *Arian* Heresy, that they supply'd the Church with strong Arguments against it. *Plato* added likewise, that these three Hypostases necessarily existed; that the first cannot be without the second, nor the second without the third. Therefore *Plotin* confuted the *Gnosticks* of his time, who attempted to multiply these Persons. To encrease, or lessen the number of these intelligible Beings is, says he, to overset Order and Nature. For he that lessens them, is obliged to say, that the Soul, and the Understanding are one and the same thing, or that the Understanding is the first God. But these three Principles differ from one another. Let us now examine of what Nature these Hypostasis wou'd be, were there more than three.

Lastly, This Philosopher attributed to these three Hypostases the Creation of all things.

Thirdly, The Trinity of *Plato*, and that of the Christians agree, since this Philosopher own'd that those three Principles were one God. It can't be deny'd, but the *Platonists* often call'd these Hypostases † *three Natures*, *three Principles*, *three Causes*, *three Agents*, *three Gods*. But these were only their way of speaking; for they in the main acknowledg'd but one Deity. When *Plato* says that the World *is the Image of the eternal Gods*, he means thereby the three Hypostases, which have contributed to the Creation of the Universe. *Plotin* speaks often of that God, who is *All in All*, and fills the Universe. He affirms, that there is nothing between these Hypostases; and that they are only distinguish'd, because one is after another; and that one begot, and the other was begotten. Thus far their Trinity agreed with that of the Christians. And indeed they drew it from the Fountain head, since both received it from the *Jews*.

XIV. The Fathers of the Church have acknowledg'd this Truth, and commended * *Plato*, as one of the Masters, who hath unravell'd this grand Mystery. *Amelius* got some Admirers in the Church, because he had quoted, with some little Alterations, certain Verses of *St John*. *Justin Martyr* maintain'd that *Plato* gave

* Kidder. *Demonstration of the Messias*, T. 3. *p.* 278. † Θεοὶ αἰδιοι νοητοὶ ὑπερκοσμιοι, *and the Gods*, Θεοὶ γεννητοὶ ἀιδ ιοὶ κοσμιοὶ *Among the first Order he put* ἐν *which he also call'd* μοναϛ, *and* τωνδε ἀγαθον τῆϛ ψυχῆϛ. ‖ Ibid. *p.* 592. * Cudworth, ibid. *p.* 578. † *They call it* συγγενὴϛ, ὁμογενὴϛ, ὁμοειδὴϛ ibid. ‖ Ibid *p.* 588. 590. * Ibid. *p* 622.

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the ſecond place to the *Word*; *and the third to the Spirit that was ſpread over the Waters. Clemens Alexandrinus* † found the Trinity in a Letter, which *Plato* writ to *Dyoniſius. The Holy Trinity*, ſays he, *is taught in it*: For the third Principle is the Holy Ghoſt, and the Son is the ſecond. *Origen* || quoted *Plato* againſt *Celſus*, with all the aſſurance in the World. The Man, ſays he, who fancies that he knows every thing, and quotes his *Plato* ſo often, ought to explain what that Philoſopher ſaid of the Creator and Governour of the Univerſe, whom he looks upon as the Son of God. *Euſebius* * goes ſomething farther. For he affirms, that the *Platoniſts* follow'd *the Oracles of the Hebrews*, which confirms Dr *Cudworth*'s Thoughts, that they took this Tenet from the antient Tradition of the *Jews*, which was ſpread in the World.

Dr. *Cudworth* does not diſſemble, but fairly owns, that the *Platonick* Philoſophy is defective. The Philoſophers preſerv'd the Eſſence of the Myſtery; but err'd in ſome Circumſtances. As they had not the Torch, that is, the H. Scripture in their hands, and that the *Jewiſh Cabbala*, which was not written, had gone thro ſeveral Maſters, it became obſcure. Councils were not call'd to ſupply that defect. So that theſe Pagan Divines being wholly deſtitute of help and aſſiſtance, deviated a little from the Truth. But if we compare their Deviations with thoſe of the firſt Fathers of the Church, we ſhall not only find them very like one another, but alſo that the firſt were more excuſable than the Fathers, ſince theſe had better Helps and more Knowledge. St *Auguſtin* obſerv'd that difference. Philoſophers, ſays he, ſpeak very freely in Matters of Religion, and are not afraid to offend the Ears; but as for us, we are confin'd to a certain way of ſpeaking, leſt ſome terms being underſtood in their natural Signification might give birth to Impiety. We dare not in ſpeaking of God ſay, that there are *two*, *or three Principles*, *two or three Gods*, notwithſtanding we ſay, when we ſpeak of the Father, that he is God; and affirm the ſame thing of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

XVI. It is certain, that the *Platoniſts* did not expreſs themſelves clearly enough concerning the Unity of the divine Eſſence. Beſides, they acknowledg'd a Subordination, and dependance between theſe three Hypoſtaſes. They look'd upon the firſt as containing *virtually* all things in it ſelf; and this firſt Principle was *before All* *. They thought that Ideas begun to be unfolded in the ſecond Principle, and diſtinguiſh'd there: And therefore they call'd it Reaſon and Wiſdom, and ſaid that it was *All*. Laſtly, the third Hypoſtaſis gives Being to things, which were but virtually in the firſt, and begun to unfold themſelves in the ſecond; and therefore they ſaid that it was *One and All*. One was the infinite Power; the other, that Wiſdom, which gave an Idea of Productions; and the third really produc'd them. One was the fountain of Goodneſs; the other, which was in it one Nature, Wiſdom, had Goodneſs by participation; and the laſt, which was the Mover and principle of Motion, was Partaker of the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of the others. One was a ſimple Light, *above all Eſſence*, *and all Underſtanding*; to which Philoſophers endeavoured to be united by a contemplative Life; and they did it ſometimes with Succeſs. *Porphyry* boaſted, that he was arriv'd to the Enjoyment of the ſupream Light by contemplation, as well as the myſtical Votary's of Chriſtianity. The ſecond was Wiſdom and Reaſon, and the third was always acting and in motion. The firſt was *immovable*; as the King of all things ought to be, who commands without working himſelf. The ſecond, tho immovable in its Nature, yet had ſome Action ſince he fram'd the Plan of the World; and the third put it in Execution. It was this laſt Principle, which they call'd *Venus or Love*, becauſe from this Spring, which *empty'd it ſelf*, all manner of Goods and Creatures flow'd.

XVII. In the main, if the *Platoniſts* put ſome difference between their Hypoſtaſes, they are not more Heterodox than the Fathers who taught as they did, that the Father was the Spring and the Son the Rivulet; that the Father is the Sun, and the Son a Ray that darts from it. The Fathers, who liv'd before the Council of *Nicæa* having acknowledg'd ſome difference between the Perſons of the Trinity, how can Philoſophers, who have only done the ſame thing, be condemn'd? Beſides, this difference ſeems grounded upon right Reaſon, and doth not ſhock our Faith: for we muſt have another Idea of him, who is, as the primitive Eſſence, and Principle of Generation than of him who receiv'd it; and tho the Father and the Son have an equal Power over all Creatures; yet the Father had at leaſt a Power of begetting, which the Son had not.

XVIII. To conclude, Dr *Cudworth* makes and eſſential Remark to ſtrengthen his Syſtem, *viz.* that *Plato*'s Diſciples have alter'd the Doctrine of their Maſter, whence he concludes two things; one, that we ought not to think it ſtrange that we find the Tenets of the *Platoniſts* different from thoſe of Chriſtianity; the other that we muſt not lay any ſtreſs upon the Opinions of thoſe Diſciples of *Plato*, who have differ'd from us.

And indeed *Proclus*, *Simplicius* and other *Platoniſts* made ſome Beings flow out of theſe three Hypoſtaſes, which were like unto them, and became ſo many Gods. They thereby reſtored the Polytheiſm of the Heatheniſh Vulgar; and loaded their Myſtery of the Trinity with new Abſurdities.

They affirm'd, that from the firſt Principle which they call'd One, and entirely Good Sprung, I know not how many Unities and *Goodneſſes*, which they deify'd. For *theſe Goodneſſes being produced by the firſt Goodneſs*, *and having the ſame Nature as He*, *muſt have been God* †. But where can they find any Footſteps of theſe Unities in *Plato*? They were, no doubt, invented ſome time before *Proclus*, who finding that he cou'd not vindicate them, ſcreen'd them under ambiguous Terms, and maintain'd that theſe Unities were Ideas.

However it muſt be acknowledg'd, that moſt of them made many Intellects, or Ideas to flow from the ſecond Hypoſtaſis, which had the ſuperintendency of Souls, and became ſo many immutable and impeccable Gods as the firſt Intellect which had produced them.

There was only ſome Difference between thoſe who explain'd this Emanation. *Plotin* did not diſtinguiſh thoſe Ideas of the Soul. He looked on them rather as the Point or Head of Souls: and they ſay *Porphyry* ſeemed abſolutely to reject them.

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† *St* John *ſays*, ὁ γεγόνεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν; *but* Amelius *read* ἐν ᾧ τὸ γενομένον ζῶν ἦ ζωὴ, ἦν ὃν πεφυκεαὶ; *that is*, in whom whatever hath been made, is living and Life, and really exiſting. || Strom. l. 5. p. 598 *Orig. cont. Cels. l.* 6 *p.* 308. * *Euſeb. Prap. Ev.ang. l* 11 *c.* 20.

* *They call'd*

1. Ἓν πανῶν	1. Πάντα ἑνικῶς
2. Ἓν πάντα	2. Πάντα νοερῶς
3. Ἓν ἦ πάντα	3. Πάντα ψυχικῶς
1. One before all things.	1. All unitively
2. One All.	2. All Intellectually.
3. One and All.	3. All actively, or (Word for Word) after an Animal manner.

† *Id. p.* 569.

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They agreed better on the third Hypoſtaſis, which is *the Soul*; for they own'd that it animated the Univerſe, and was in this great World as the Soul is in Animals, which moves them, and cauſes them to act. Thus God became an odd Compound of created Things, corporeal and ſenſible, and, at the ſame time, of infinite Power; and by that means they fell again into the *Spinoſiſm* of the antient Philoſophers, after they had taken a great deal of pains to get out of it. *Numenius* the *Pythagorean* ſaid alſo very plainly that the *World was God*. To ſay that the World became God by Accident, by Reaſon of the Soul, which gave it its Force and Energy, is to elude the difficulty inſtead of removing it. Moreover, they maintained that out of this Soul came forth all the Souls of the World, which had the ſame Purity and Excellence, when they conſidered them quite naked, and diveſted of all things corporeal, which diſhonour them.

XIX. Dr. *Cudworth* was in the right in prepoſſeſſing his Readers againſt thoſe Notions of the *Platoniſts*; for it muſt be confeſs'd that they mightily disfigure their Syſtem of the Trinity. But I don't know whether we ought to diſtinguiſh the Diſciples that profeſs'd they follow'd their Maſter; or whether it be true that *Plato* had been more orthodox than they, or at leaſt that he believed the Trinity more orthodoxly than the *Unitarians* and the *Arians*, or that he receiv'd that Doctrine of the Antients by way of Tradition: That is what we ſhall undertake to examine in the following Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

The Trinity was not believed by the antient Jews, *nor known to the* Heathen. Platoniſm *unfolded. A Refutation of Dr.* Cudworth.

I. *The* Jews *had no Tradition about the Trinity.* II. *Whether* Plato *got it from* Moſes. *How he underſtood* the Voice of God. III. *The* Perſians *ignorant of the Trinity. The Oracles of* Zoroaſter *relating to the* Meſſiah. *The Myſtery of* Mithra. IV. Orpheus *did not believe the Trinity.* Uranus *and* Saturn *Kings of the* Gauls. V. Pallas *not J. Chriſt.* VI. *Whether the Diſciples of* Plato *have alter'd the Doctrine of their Maſter.* VII. *His Errors about Ideas.* VIII. Plato *by his eſtabliſhing three Hypoſtaſies, meant three Perfections in God.* IX. *He deſign'd rather to make a Ladder of the Creatures to God.* X. Timæus *of* Locri, *the Author of that Opinion.* XI. *The gloſs of* Marcilius Ficinus *upon this matter.* XII. *A Subordination among the Hypoſtaſies.* XIII. *The Expreſſions of the* Platoniſts *tho alike reſembling thoſe of the inſpir'd Writers, prove nothing.* XIV. *Explication of the firſt Hypoſtaſis, idle and weak.* XV. *It gives Birth to two others.* XVI. *The advantageous Idea of the ſecond Hypoſtaſis.* XVII. *Its Defects.* XVIII. *Of the Soul of the World.* XIX. *The Apology Dr.* Cudworth *makes for it.* XX. *The Encomiums the Fathers have given to* Plato. XXI. *Reaſons for the Exceſſes into which they fell.* XXII. *The Errors that have ſprung from them.* XXIII. *A Juſtification of his Doctrines.* XXIV. *If* Plato *were an Idolater.*

I. DR. *Cudworth* hath built upon three Suppoſitions that are very uncertain not to ſay falſe.

Firſt, He ſuppoſes that the Myſtery of the Trinity was known to the antient *Jews* by an antient and divine Tradition. But from whence does he know it ſince he has not any proof of it? We do not find in the Hiſtory of *Abraham, Iſaac*, and the other Saints that lived ſince the Deluge, that they had any clear Notions of that Doctrine. How have they tranſmitted to the Heathen World a Myſtery which they themſelves were ignorant of? How was that Tradition preſerved among the *Gentiles* ſo pure, that *Plato* has ſpoken of it more clearly than the Prophets, and is more Orthodox than a great many Chriſtians? We muſt not therefore ſuppoſe this *Cabal* or *Myſtery* to be *Divine*; and ſince it is the Source from whence the *Gentiles* have derived their Knowledge, they ought to have diſcovered it, and to lead us to it.

The Defenders of Tradition commonly ſay, that God and J. Chriſt thought fit to make uſe of this *Cabal*, and to give an Oral Law, becauſe they would conceal certain Opinions from the People and from Infidels. But there is not any Reaſon why God ſhou'd be obliged to commit to Tradition the Myſtery of the Trinity, ſeeing he was willing it ſhou'd be known to the Heathens and Idolaters in all Ages, and to ſhew by their own conſent that he perfectly concurs with Reaſon.

If God had been pleas'd to reveal this Myſtery to the *Jews* and the Heathen, why did he not engrave it in groſs and legible Characters in the Writings of *Moſes*, inſtead of leaving it to the uncertainty of Tradition which often varies? This was ſo much the more neceſſary, that the *ſecond Perſon* of the Trinity was ỳ Meſſiah, the Protector and Deliverer of the Church And yet *Moſes* ſays nothing of the Perſons concerned in the Creation but indirectly and curſorily, as he finds it in his way; whereas *Plato* explains the nature of thoſe three Principles, diſtinguiſhes their Rank and their Operations, and makes upon this matter a Syſtem conformable to that of the Chriſtians. 'Tis ill arguing to ſay, that the Myſtery of the Trinity cannot be known but by Revelation; The Heathen have taught that Myſtery, it muſt therefore follow, that it was known to them by ſome Revelation. But there is no written Revelation; therefore there was a Tradition among the *Jews*, which has paſs'd to the Heathen; for it may be ſaid on the contrary that ſeeing the Myſtery of the Trinity cannot be known but by Revelation, and that there is no ſuch thing among the Heathen, nor among the antient *Jews*, they have not therefore taught *that* Myſtery.

II. *Euſebius* ſays that *Plato* had drawn this Doctrine from *the Oracles of the* Hebrews; they add, that *that* Philoſopher, who had been in *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, where the Writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets were ſo well known, might have read them, and ſo much the more as there was an old *Greek* * Verſion before *Alexander* the Great. It † appears that he had read them, ſince he aſſures us that the Sovereign Good is the Author of *all that is very good and beautiful in the World*; for thoſe Words are borrowed from *Moſes*, who ſays in the beginning of Geneſis, *that God ſaw that all he had made was very good.*

But by taking this ſide, they leave Tradition and the Divine Cabal to have recourſe to the Sacred Scriptures. It is not neceſſary that that Philoſopher ſhould have read them, to ſay, that what is very good and beautiful comes from God; for Reaſon dictates it, and that flows naturally from *Plato*'s Principles. Moreover,

* *Th. Gale's Court of the Gentiles.* † *Le Moine's varia Sacra, p.* 1120.

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there is not found in all the Writings of *Moſes* ſo bright Ideas of the Trinity as thoſe that are attributed to that Philoſopher; ſo that it is not from thence he drew his Syſtem of the Trinity. The *Platoniſts* were ſo far from acknowledging themſelves to be Copyiſts from the *Jews* and their Cabal, that they publickly declared that *their Maſter had taught the Voice of God himſelf*; that is to ſay, that by Study and Meditation he had aſcended even to the Godhead, ſo as to know the Nature and Perfections of it. He had got ſo near to it, that he ſeemed to have heard its Voice and Anſwers; for this was the Idea of the Contemplative Philoſophers. To fancy that the *Platoniſts* underſtoood by the divine Voice, either the divine Cabal of the *Jews*, or the Writings of *Moſes*, that God had dictated, would be to aſcribe a Thought to them which never entred into their Heads; for they were not ſo well acquainted with the holy Scripture as to ſpeak of it with ſo much Reſpect; and in the time of *Plato* there was no mention either of the Oral Law, or divine Cabal, or Tradition about the Articles of Faith.

Since that is the foundation of Dr. *Cudworth*'s Opinion, he ought, before all things, to prove, that there was a conſtant Tradition of the Trinity among the *Jews*, and to ſhew us the Channels thro which it had ran from *Adam* to *Noah*, from *Noah* to *Abraham*, from the Patriarchs to *Moſes*, and the traces of it which have been preſerv'd pure in the Nation from *Moſes* to *Plato*; but yet he has not done it, which is a very great defect in his Syſtem.

III. Neither has he any better proved that the Heathen after they had got this Tenet from the *Jews*, did tranſmit it to *Plato*. In ſhort, this divine Tradition ſhould have been much more clear and pure among the *Perſians* and *Egyptians* than among other Nations. But thoſe who have more than ordinarily ſtudied the Religion of the antient and modern *Perſians*, aſſure us, that * keeping ſtrictly and religiouſly to the Precepts of *Zoroaſter*, they adore one only God, without ſpeaking of any Perſons. In a Word, the Author of their Sacred Book † entituled *Sad-der*, begins it in the Name of God, *of the Divine Eſſence, and of his Attributes, the Original Source of Fulneſs and Life*; in the Name of God who created the Soul and the Intellect; of that God who made the Body and the Soul; of that God who is the Maſter of our Exiſtence and Life; *of that* God who is the only One in the Univerſe.

We are aſſured likewiſe that the ſame *Zoroaſter* had inſtructed the Magi, that when they ſhou'd ſee a Star appear, wherein they ſhould obſerve the Image of a Virgin, they ſhou'd take the Road to the *Jews* Paradice, that is to ſay, to *Jeruſalem*. From whence they concluded that tho he acknowledged the Unity of a God, yet he was not without ſome faint glimpſe of the Birth of the Meſſiah, and having advertis'd the Magi of it, they profiting by his Inſtructions, went to *Jeruſelam* juſt at the time when J. Chriſt came into the World; but all the Oracles attributed to *Zoroaſter* concerning the Meſſiah and the Trinity, are evidently ſuppoſititious. They alſo || differ very much about this; for they make him ſay, that there are three Children to be born of a Virgin, the laſt of which ſhould eſtabliſh the true Religion. They make theſe Children to be begotten after an impure manner; and if the Chriſtian Interpreters are to be believed, thoſe three Children pointed out the three different Eſtates of J. Chriſt. But thoſe are very wild and fruitleſs Conjectures, ſeeing the Precepts and Oracles of *Zoroaſter* have been loſt many Ages ago, and even *Zoroaſter* himſelf is unknown.

To conclude, there was nothing in the Myſteries of *Mithra* that had any Relation to the Trinity; for they performed their Ceremonies in deep Caves and Places under Ground; ſome of them took it for the Image of the World, and others for a Symbol of the Deity, which they ſaw but obſcurely and in part; and all the Honours that were paid to *Mithra*, reſpected the Sun, or (if you pleaſe) referred to the Sovereign Maſter of the World; but there were not in it any Footſteps of the Trinity, ſuch as Chriſtians believe of it.

IV. We leave to *Orpheus* the Glory of having invented the *Grecian* Theology; but what Affinity had this *Muſician* with the *Jews* to borrow from them the Myſtery of the Trinity? Of all the Myſteries there is not any more incomprehenſible than that. The Chriſtians have much ado to receive it, notwithſtanding the Evidence of Revelation; how then ſhall we perſwade our ſelves that the Heathen had adopted it upa little thread of Tradition, which was ſcarce known to them? Becauſe *Orpheus* ſpoke of * three Gods, *Phanus*, *Uranus*, *Cronus*, can we therefore conclude from thence that he † taught the *Grecians* that there were three divine Perſons in one and the ſame Eſſence? Read the learned Treatiſe || lately publiſhed about *the Antiquity of the Celtes*, and you will there find, that thoſe Gods which they had for ſo long time adored, were the firſt Kings and Heroes of the antient *Gauls*. The firſt whom they call *Atmon*, Father of *Uranus*, carry'd his victorious Arms into *Cappadocia* and *Phrygia*, was there ſlain as he was hunting, and after his Death the People of that Country conſecrated to him Altars and Groves; offer'd Libations to him; put him into the Degree of the Gods, and gave him the title of *Moſt High*, as if he had been the greateſt of them all.

Uranus his Son, not contented with his Succeſſion to ſo great an Empire, puſh'd on his Conqueſts much farther. His Name, in the Language of the *Celtes*, ſignifies *a Man* * *of Heaven*, becauſe he had very much ſtudied the motions of it, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Aſtrology*, had foretold to his Subjects great and ſtrange Evènts. He had married his Siſter *Titæa*, which among the *Celtes*, ſignifies the *Earth*; whereof the Poets ſaid that Heaven had marry'd the Earth, and they have Philoſophiz'd upon that Marriage. However, *Uranus* paſſed the *Boſphorus*, ent'red into *Thrace*, which he brought to ſubmit to his Laws: From thence he went into *Greece* and the Iſle of *Candia*; The Government whereof he gave to one of his Brothers, who had ten Sons that were named *Curetes*. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that he went up to the fartheſt Parts of *Spain*, and into *Africa*. Theſe Conqueſts cauſed him to be known almoſt over all the World, and to be adored as a God, particularly among the *Grecians* who had owned his Empire.

Saturn his Son was called *Chronus* †, becauſe he was the firſt of the *Titan* Kings that wore a Crown. *Tertullian* obſerves || further, that he took great Delight to cover himſelf with a ſcarlet Cloak, becauſe

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* *Hyde de Relig. Perſar.* † Sad-der *Proem.* ibid. *c.* 33. *p.* 396. || *Abulpharag. Hiſt Dyn. D.* 5. *p.* 54. * *Dr* Cudworth, *p.* 547. † *See what we have ſaid of* Orpheus. *l* 3. *c.* 20 *t.* 2. *p.* 940. ||*Dom.* P. Perron, *Antiquity of the Nation and Language of the* Celtes, *p.* 50. * *In the Language of the* Celtes, Ur *is a Man. From thence came the* Vir *of the Latins.* En *ſignifies* Heaven; Titæa *is the Earth.* ibid. *p.* 60. † Chronus *ſeems to come from* Kroone, *which is the ſame as* Crown. Rhea *in the* Celtick *Language ſignifies* Lady, *as* Rhy *ſignifies Lord. In this ſame Language* Di Sadorne *ſignifies* Saturday, ibid. 72 73. || *Tertull. de Pallio. c* 4.

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in truth the Scarlet of *Phrygia* where he reigned, was the moſt beautiful of all Colours. He declared War againſt his Father, and puſhing him from Province to Province, at laſt did caſt him into Priſon, where he died with ſpight and vexation. or in ſome ſuch violent manner. After he had ſurmounted this firſt Obſtacle, he had a ſecond to overcome, becauſe *Titan* the eldeſt Son of *Uranus*, had the Right of Succeſſion; but *Saturn* being Commander of the Troops, thereby got the Empire. He marry'd his Siſter *Rhea*, which in the *Celtick* Language ſignifies *Lady*; and it was by the Artifices of that Princeſs that he eſcaped the Ambuſhes were laid againſt him, and thereby made himſelf Maſter of his Father's Kingdoms. His own extended from *Syria* even to the end of all *Spain*. He had alſo preſerv'd the *Mauritanians*, which his Son *Jupiter* had taken away from him with the reſt of the Kingdom. See now the Gods whom they wou'd have to be the Perſons of the *Chriſtian* Trinity, even when the *Celtes* never were deſcended from the *Titans*. What we read of the Lives of theſe Gods in the Antients, don't inſpire us with reſpect enough to make our B. Trinity of them.

V. We muſt be very deſirous indeed of finding out the Trinity to diſcover J. Chriſt in the *Pallas* of the *Greeks*, and *Minerva* of the *Latins*, which was made to come out of *Jupiter*'s Brain; and to put *Varro* in the Rank of Witneſſes to prove the Unity of a God; him, of whom St *Auguſtin* * ſaid, that at the ſame time he ſeemed to confeſs this Unity, he eſtabliſh'd a prodigious number of them, ſeeing that his God was divided into two Parts, *viz.* Heaven and Earth; Heaven was divided into two other Portions, and thoſe four parts brought forth a World of Spirits which were all adored. It is not ſufficient then to ſuppoſe, that the Heathen taught the Trinity after *Zoroaſter*, *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, and *Orpheus* down to *Plato*; or to alledge for a full proof, certain doubtful and glaring Expreſſions. We muſt look into the Syſtem of theſe Authors, examine their Thoughts and their Doctrine, ſee the Connection theſe thoughts have the one with the other. Whereas Dr. *Cudworth* ſlightly paſſes over all this, as if what he ſuppoſes, *viz.* that the Heathen who preceeded *Plato*, believed and taught the Trinity, was a thing certain and too clear to be proved.

He has been very large on the *Platonick* Syſtem. He has view'd it every way; he argues; he weighs what he finds to be good and what bad; but he does not fail making a third Suppoſition. To the end he might make *Plato* Orthodox, he has been forced to ſay, that the Diſciples had alter'd the Doctrines of their Maſter, and the antient Interpreters had not rightly underſtood him. This had need of Proofs; for are we ſure that we are able to penetrate the Sence of *Plato*'s metaphorical Expreſſions better than *Plotin*, *Porphyry*, *Proclus*, *Numenius*, and thoſe other Profeſſors of the antient *Platonick* Philoſophy, whoſe Study it was almoſt all their Lives long?

Firſt † *Plato* owns, that he wrapt up what he ſaid under Enigmaes, which add to the depth or obſcurity of the matters he treated about, *rendered him impenetrable, and often ridiculous to thoſe who were not well initiated, and uſed to him.* He was afraid of explaining himſelf, and having one day wrote ſomething upon this matter, he deſired *Dyoniſius* to whom he addreſſed his Letter, not to return an Anſwer to him. He trembled for fear leſt his Letter ſhou'd be loſt either by Sea or Land, and gave I know not how many Aſſurances that he never would touch this matter again, for fear of expoſing himſelf. In ſhort, his Diſciples did not begin to underſtand and believe what he ſaid, till after thirty years Study about it. All which proves that it is very difficult to penetrate into the Thought of *Plato*; and beſides, that we have need of Men well inſtructed to be our Interpreters, to underſtand this Philoſopher aright. But where ſhall we find better Interpreters than thoſe who have profeſs'd blindly to follow him, and to ſpread his Doctrine thro all the World? *Chriſtianity* did not keep thoſe Perſons from following their Maſter; for on the contrary there was not any Sect more fit to maintain Paganiſm than that was, which purifyed it with a vaſt number of falſe Ideas. Moreover, they were not afraid of being ſomewhat conformable to that Religion, ſeeing they have cited the beginning of the Goſpel of *St John*, and were willing to have the firſt Words of it engraven in Characters of Gold. We will not ſeparate therefore the Diſciples from the Maſter, ſince they afford us Succours and Light, the better to underſtand him.

Secondly, the Alterations imagined to be in *Plato*'s Theology, are ill proved. The Diſciples ſaid, that from the firſt Being, which was One and All Good, came the Unities and all the Goodneſſes. That queſtionleſs was *Plato*'s Principle, who had got it from *Pythagoras*. It was a neceſſary conſequence from his Principles; for if the Ideas ſprang from the Intellect, he muſt ſay by the ſame Reaſon, that the *Unities* proceeded from the *One*, and the *Goodneſſes* from what is *all Good*. He ſaid alſo, that All that is beautiful and good came from the firſt Being.

VII. All the World agrees that *Plato* call'd Ideas *inviſible Subſtances, divine, eternal and immaterial*, as *Tertullian* charged him with. But beſides, he attributed to thoſe Subſtances eſſential Operations, becauſe he looks upon them as the *phyſical Cauſes of every thing that is done*. In ſhort, he has made Gods of thoſe Ideas, and conſequently has looked on them as Beings that are real, living and acting with a great Authority in the Univerſe. He has brought in again *Polytheiſm* under another form; he has deified Ideas inſtead of Heroes who were adored out of pious Gratitude; he has, in a word, made to come out of the *Soul* a World of *Souls*; he has ſaid in formal and expreſs terms, that the World was a *God*. We ought not therefore to ſeparate him any longer from his Interpreters, and as we do not find either in the Intellect, the true Son whom we ſeek, or in the Soul the holy Spirit; we are not to make of him one of the Doctors of the *Chriſtian* Trinity. Theſe are but general Remarks, but that we may have a clearer light of this matter, we will add hereto ſomething more particular.

VIII. *Plato* may have had two different Views in eſtabliſhing three Principles cloſely united. Firſt, he had not perhaps any other deſign than to explain the three Perfections of the Deity, which are neceſſary for the production and preſervation of the Univerſe. Thoſe three Perfections are his *Goodneſs* which induced God to create the World; his *Wiſdom*, which form'd to him the Plan of it, and his *Power*, which enabled him to execute it. He made of theſe Perfections ſo many different Principles, and of thoſe Principles as many Perſons as we worſhip and adore; whether it was becauſe he had a mind to ſuit himſelf to the humour and taſt of the People, that were ſtiff Maintainers of a plurality of Gods, and had but newly before put *Socrates* to death for denying it; or rather that he thonght it was a means to give a more pure Idea of thoſe Perfections and Principles, to form them into Perſons, and to diſtinguiſh their Operations, as if they were ſo many Beings that really and diſtinctly exiſted. There is nothing ſurpriſing in that; the *Cabaliſtical Jews* have followed the ſame method; and have faſhioned the Attributes of God into Perſons; and how many Doctors in the Church, in their frequent ſaying that J. Chriſt is the eternal Wiſdom of the Farher, have changed that

* *Auguſt, de Civit. Dei. l. 7. c. 5.* † Plato Ep. 2 ad Dionyſ. *p.* 707.

Perfection of God into a Perſon, and have believed it to be the Son of God? What means *Clemens Alexandrinus* *, when he aſſures us, that the word of the Father is not *that* which we preach, *but the wonderful Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God.* *St Athanaſius* † apologiz'd for one of his Predeceſſors, who maintain'd that the *Lord was the Wiſdom, that there was no other Wiſdom which had produced it.* That Word made *Sabellius* triumph, and did not hurt the *Arians*; for if there be not in God any other eternal Wiſdom beſides his Son, that Son is an Attribute of God which we call Wiſdom. *Alphonſius* || deſiring to convert the *Jews* whom he had quitted, fell into the ſame Error by endeavouring to prove to them the Trinity; for he obſerved that there was in God *one Subſtance, one Wiſdom that deliberates and purpoſes, and one Will that executes.* It would not have been a matter of wonder if *Plato* had ſpoken of Goodneſs, Wiſdom, and Power, as different Perſons, ſince both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* have done it ſo often. It ſeems alſo that Dr *Cudworth* was forced to confeſs as much; for deſigning to prove that *Arius* was no *Platoniſt*, he obſerves that if *that* Philoſopher had ſpoken of the Intellect, as *Arius* did of the Son, he would have * deprived the Wiſdom of God of his Eternity, *ſince the ſecond Hypoſtaſis was nothing eſſentially but the Wiſdom; that Wiſdom by which God is wiſe.* It was then but one of the Perfections of God which made *Plato*'s ſecond Hypoſtaſis, and which he cauſed to be adored by the People inſtead of Heroes: And thus his Trinity was but a Trinity of Names.

IX. But tho this Opinion be ſupported by ſome learned Men, yet *Plato* might alſo have a Deſign of making a gradation of the Sovereign Being to us, or, if you had rather, a Scale or Ladder for us to aſcend up to God.

Indeed moſt Men conſidering that Abyſs which is betwixt God and us, and not knowing how to fill it up, have endeavoured to leſſen thoſe great and vaſt ſpaces that ſeparate us. To this end they have imagin'd that between the Sovereign Being and us, there are Intelligences, intermediate Gods, Angels, Saints; a Soul of the World, *Mens agitat molem*; a plaſtick Virtue, a vital Spirit; and God makes uſe of all theſe Beings more perfect than our own, to bring himſelf nearer to the Creatures, and to communicate his Vertue to them, by acting either in way of Production or Preſervation.

Plato has had this deſign as well as other Men, conceiving God to be a ſimple Being, without any compoſition; he could not conceive that this Being ſhould encloſe in his own Simplicity, ſuch a prodigious number of Ideas as ought to go towards the making of the World; wherefore he has cauſed a ſecond Being to flow from, and be dependant on the firſt; which lodg'd within it ſelf all theſe Ideas, and that is what he calls the Intellect.

He conſidered likewiſe this firſt Being as enjoying a perfect Repoſe, and which ought neither to move it ſelf, nor to ruffle its own Tranquility, by the Actions that muſt neceſſarily attend the formation of the Univerſe; wherefore he conceived to himſelf a third Principle. acting and animating the Creatures, as the Soul does the Man and all other Animals; whence it came to paſs, that he gave it the Name of the *Soul*, and by that means the diſtance was made leſs, and the Commerce with the Creature more eaſy.

From the Intellect (or underſtanding) iſſued forth a Crowd of Ideas which were ſo many Spirits and petty Gods, rais'd above the Soul of the World; and the Souls that came from thence, and thoſe Ideas made a new Channel of Communication. The Souls that the Soul of the World produced, were alſo noble, great, and rais'd above the matter to which they were faſtened. Some there are that add Nature as an eternal Principle, from whence came out all the material Beings, which form the Univerſe; but they pretend that this matter was purely paſſive; and that it is the Soul which has impreſs'd on it the motion it had need of. From Matter they aſcend again to the Soul of the World, from the Soul to the Intellect, and from the Intellect to the Being *One and Good:* Thus is the Ladder form'd by which the Creatures are united to the Creator, and ſo aſcend up again to him. This Syſtem is fixed; but here is nothing in common with the *Chriſtian* Trinity.

X. *Plato* had copied *Timæus* of *Locri*, who * thus explain'd the Production of all things. He maintain'd that there was one firſt and good Being, which having ſeen abundance of Matter in motion, and taking up different ſhapes and forms without Order and Digeſtion, reſolved to confine it within certain bounds, and to give it a regular form. To effect this, he made a model of what he was going to produce, and called it *the intellectual Idea and World*, In ſhort, he reſolved to give a Soul to the World, that it might govern and animate it. Here now are four very different Principles or beginnings of the Perſons of the Trinity whom the *Chriſtians* adore.

XI. *Marcilius Ficinus* † will not ſuffer us to doubt but that this was *Plato*'s true Sentiment; for he obſerves, 1ſt, that *that* Philoſopher eſtabliſhed a firſt Principle, which was the Father of all things. He did not deſign to ſay, that the firſt Effects ought to be carryed up to God, for fear leſt it ſhould be thought that they are only thoſe that depend upon him; but he makes him the Author of all, becauſe he is the Father of them. He is called *One* becauſe of his Simplicity, and *Good* becauſe of his *Goodneſs* whereby he made all things. This was the firſt Principle; but this Principle which gave Exiſtence to Matter, did not finiſh the Work: 'Twas the Intellect that gave it the Form and Soul that moves it.

2. He gives of this Subordination the ſame reaſon as we do, becauſe the diverſity of Creatures, their Matter, their Vileneſs, not agreeing with the Excellence and Simplicity of the Sovereign Being, he cauſed another Intellectual World to proceed from him, which ſhuts up again all the Ideas that are in it; and that is what is called *the Intellect. That is not the Being, but the Son of the Good: To mean with the Chriſtians that this ſecond Being is of the ſame Subſtance with the firſt, this is what is proclaimed by the whole School of* Plato.

In a Word, *Marcilius Ficinus* explains this Subordination, by comparing it to the Sun and its Effects. He counts ſix things to be in that great Luminary, *viz. Subſtance, its eſſential Light, that which comes from it, Splendour or Brightneſs, Heat, and the generation which that Heat produces.* The two firſt are the Unity and Goodneſs of the Sovereign Being; the Light which proceeds from that Light, is the Intellect (or Underſtanding) from whence come forth the Ideas, as ſo many Rays from the Light; after this Architype of the World follows the Soul of the World, which is as the Brightneſs that ſhoots and darts from the Light; and the World comes up in the rear. They ſee there a Climax or Gradation, ſuch as we ſuppoſe it, by which the Sovereign Being approaches his Creatures, and the Creatures mount up again to him. He affirms this was the Opinion of *Plato* and of his School.

* *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 547.* † *Athanaſ. de Sent. Dionyſ. p. 567.* || *Alphonſi Dialogi Bibl. Max. pat. t. 21.*
* *Cudw. ibid p. 575.* † *Timæus Locrus de animâ Mundi apud Platon. p. 554.* || *Marcil. Ficin. in Timæum Platonis. c. 8, 9, 10. in Oper. Plat. p. 814.*

XII. *Plato* was obliged to make a Subordination among his Hypoſtaſies, ſince he made them as ſo many ſteps or degrees to come up to the Being that is the *One* and the *Good*. Tho he gave to them an ineffable Generation which was nothing like to thoſe of Nature, becauſe it was Eternal; yet he did not forbear to ſay, that the moſt perfect *begat the leſs*; that the Intellect look'd up to the firſt Being, and *had need of him*; whereas the Sovereign Being had no need of any thing. The Soul looked up to the Intellect *as its Father*. They were productive one of the other, as when a Stone falling into the Water forms there I know not how many Circles which are begotten one of anothet; for all the Circles depend on the firſt point. They ſaid, that the Intellect was the Echo of the divine Voice; his Image; that it bore his Character; but at the ſame time they acknowledged a Subordination. The firſt Hypoſtaſis was greater than the ſecond, and the ſecond was ſuperior to the third, and the third commanded Matter, or Nature which was purely paſſive, and which they called a God created. The Principle of every thing, ſaid *Plotin*, ought to be more ſimple than the thing it ſelf. Wherefore the ſenſible World ought to have been made by the World intellectual, or by the Intellect. And there muſt have been ſomething above this Intellect that is more ſimple to produce it; and, in effect, it has proceeded from Unity. Thus by gradation we mount from the ſenſible to the Intellectual World, and from the intellectual World to the Being, that is, * Sovereignly *Simple* and *One*.

XIII. Thoſe who love to find a Conformity between the Stile of J. Chriſt and that of the Heathen, and who run after thoſe manifeſt Alluſions, may content themſelves here; for the *Platoniſts* ſaid, that there was but *One ſole Good*, as J. Chriſt alſo teaches us in his holy Goſpel. If J. Chriſt has openly declared that the Father is greater than he, the *Platoniſts* have ſaid the ſame thing of the Intellect † which has proceeded from him. *He was before all things; he contains all things.* If St *Paul* calls the Son the *Brightneſs* of his Father's Glory; ſo there is nothing more common among the Philoſophers than that term to expreſs the ſecond Hypoſtaſis and its Generation, ſeeing it proceeded from the firſt Being, as a Beam from the Sun. If the ſame Apoſtle ſays that the Son is the expreſs Character and Image of his Father, the *Platoniſts* affirm the ſame thing of the Intellect, for they did often make uſe of the Compariſon of the Wax, on which they impreſs his Seal, his Arms, and his Image. To conclude, if the ſame Apoſtle ſaid that we now behold his Face *as in a Glaſs*; the *Platoniſts* ſaid likewiſe, that they ſaw the Sovereign being in the ſecond Hypoſtaſis as *in a Mirroir*; but they multiplied thoſe Mirroirs, for they would needs have it, that the third Hypoſtaſis was the Image of that Image reflected in a ſecond Mirroir. That teaches us, that we ought not to ſuffer our ſelves to be impoſed on by ſuch like Expreſſions: We are mightily pleas'd when we have diſcovered them; we think we do good Service to J. Chriſt and his Diſciples, and even to the *Chriſtian* Religion it ſelf, to find out thoſe weak traces of reſemblance with Paganiſm. But inſtead of ſtaying at the Bark of theſe terms, we ſhould endeavour to penetrate into the Sence of them, and find out the depth of the Tenets; for then we ſhall obſerve, that there is a great deal of difference between our Theology and that of *Plato*'s.

XIV. To the end therefore that we may ſet this Truth in a clearer Light, let us now examine what thoſe Philoſophers ſaid on each Hypoſtaſis. We ſhall wonder perhaps at our enlargement on this matter, which reſpects the *Jews* moſt; but ſeeing that upon their Account we have begun to diſplay this Syſtem, 'tis beſt for us to make an end of it. And moreover as the Fathers ſuffered *Platoniſm* to paſs in the *Chriſtian* Church, from whence ſprang up a fruitful Harveſt *of Errors* and Hereſies, it is but juſt that we ſhould here unfold them, as the Occaſion preſents it ſelf naturally, and to unveil a Philoſophy about which Men have been ſo often deceived.

Firſt, They endeavouring to give their firſt Being an over-great Simplicity, made ſuch another God of him as was that of *Epicurus*. A ſluggiſh lumpy King ſitting on his Throne, who neither medled nor made with any thing; Immoveable, that contented himſelf with communicating Motion. He was idle and lazy, every thing was done for him, and he made all things to be manag'd by Reaſon and the Soul of the World. Very fortunately they did not diſpute his Knowledge, or at leaſt they left him an I know not what bright-ſhining Light which ſupplyed the defect of that Knowledge; but it cannot be denyed but that they gave him for his ſhare, Immoveableneſs and Sloth, for fear of troubling his Repoſe and Simplicity.

XV. This firſt Principle *ought to have created* two others. *Macrobius* ſays in expreſs terms || that He who is *the firſt Cauſe, the Prince and Source of all things, hath created the Intellect from the ſuperabundant fulneſs of his Majeſty. This Intellect exactly reſembles his Father on the ſide where he beholds him; but on the other ſide he hath created the Soul, and that Soul deſpoiled of Matter degenerates, and enters into the Fabrick of the Body.* I own this *Creation* is conteſted. *Abelard* * maintain'd long ſince, that *Plato* underſtood by that term, what *came out from the Deity* In ſhort, *Plotin* cryed out, *let us baniſh all Temporal Generation, ſeeing we ſpeak of eternal Beings. We will give to them a Generation of Cauſe and Order, but not of Time,* To conclude, Dr. *Cudworth* † obſerves very judiciouſly, that the *Platoniſts* not having had of the Creation ſo juſt an Idea as the *Chriſtians*, it is not to be imagined that they could have believed that the Intellect ſhould have been derived from nothing; ; or as *Arius* ſaid, that *the Word had been made of ſomething that had not exiſted before.* The *Platoniſts* underſtood by that, an Emanation of the Deity, as the Rays that come from the Sun, and as the ſmall ſtreams that run from a Spring-head. *Macrobius* inſinuates this when he ſays, that the Intellect had been brought forth *from the overflowing fulneſs of the Majeſty of the firſt Being.* Yet they did not believe that the Intellect was exactly of the ſame Nature as the firſt Being. *Cyril* || of *Alexandria*, blamed *Numenius*, ỳ when he had called thoſe three Principles, *one God*, he afterwards divided them, and made three different Gods of them. He cites *Plotin* as another Witneſs for what he advances In ſhort, he ſays * very elegantly, that *God is more excellent than Reaſon, than the Soul and Sentiments, ſeeing it is He who gives all theſe things, and He is All. Maximus* † of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, a great *Platonick* Philoſopher, ſaid likewiſe, that *there is a God, Father and King of all things, and ſeveral Gods that are his Children command with him.* We have obſerved that the ſecond Principle depends on the firſt, and conſequently that it was ſubaltern and inferior to that which gave the title to it. In a Word, the firſt God was ſimple, and immoveable; every thing was made for him. It is almoſt impoſſible for the human Mind to know him; but the ſecond is a World Intellectual, which includes the Plan of all that can be produced.

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* Plotin. Enead. 5 *l.* 1 *c.* 6 *p.* 518 *de Introd. ad Theol. l.* 1 *c.* 17 *p.* 1013. Ennead. 5 *l.* 1 *c.* 6. *p.* 512. and 518. *Tyr. Or.* 1 *p.* 5.

† Plotin. Enead. 5 *l.* 1 *c.* 6. *p.* 513. † Cudw. *Syſt. Intell. c.* 4 *p.* 576.

|| Macrob. *in ſomn Scip l.* 1 *.c.* 14. || Cyril. *contra* Julian. *l.* 8. *p.* 272.

* Abel. * Plotin.

† Θεὸς εἷς πάντων βασιλεύς, καὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ θεῶν παῖδες συνάρχοντες θεῷ *Max.*

XVI. There have been great Eulogies given to this *eternal Intellect*. *Porphyry* * quite stunned *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and made him believe that he had been ſpeaking of the eternal Generation of J. Chriſt, when he had ſaid, "that the firſt Principle had produced an "Intellect inconceivable to Man, that ſubſiſts by him-"ſelf; in whom are all things; who came out from "the Deity, who ſhone forth before all Ages; who "begot himſelf; who is his proper Father; who is E-"ternal before all time; for there was no time when he "firſt appeared. It was not by any Command, or "even by any Act of the Will that the Deity brought "him forth; but by a neceſſary Emanation. It ſeems "nothing can be ſaid greater or ſtronger for the Ge-"neration and Divinity of this ſecond Principle.

XVII. Yet it is avowed, that He was much leſs perfect than the firſt Being; and when we enter into the Examination of his Nature, We find it only the collection and aſſembling of all the Ideas of things that were to be brought forth, *Philo* †, who was imbued with *Platonick* Principles, very handſomely explains how this was done. The Deity deſigning to bring forth a ſenſible and material World, reſolv'd to make the Plan of it, and to this end to produce an intelligible World, wherein ſhould be found all the Images of the Creatures he had a mind to create. This intelligible World was *Plato*'s Intellect; for he frequently called it by that Name. Thus the ſecond Perſon was an *amaſs* of Ideas, of which that Philoſopher afterwards made ſo many Gods, and the Intellect thereby became an aſſemblage of many Gods; a Being compos'd of almoſt an infinite number of Divinities. Let it not be thought that we give the Philoſophers too groſs a Sentiment, that ſo we may make 'em odious: This naturally flows from their Principles; for the firſt Being not being able to act by himſelf, proceeds by degrees. He frames to himſelf a Plan of the viſible World, and to render it more juſt, he paints out all the Ideas of it in the intellectual World, and of that intellectual World he has made a God under the Title of *Word* and *Intellect*, and after this they have made Ideas which they transform into ſo many Eternal Gods. *The Intellect*, ſays *Plotin* || having been begotten *by the firſt God, he begat with him all the Entities; the beauty of Ideas, which are all as ſo many intellectual Gods.* *Apuleius* affirms likewiſe that *Plato* look'd on the *Ideas as ſo many true, ſpiritual, eternal Gods, without beginning and without ending.* From thence alſo it happens, that *Proclus*, that great Diſciple of *Plato*, ſaid, that there was no Idea of Evil, becauſe all the *Ideas being God, Evil would be God.* In fine, *Julian* the *Apoſtate* reduced the Gods whom the Heathen World adored, to theſe Ideas, *Apollo* was the Idea of a ſenſible Sun, and *Diana* that of the Moon. This Syſtem appears yet more ridiculous when we weigh their Expreſſions nicely, and as we ſay with rigour, and obſerve that they call thoſe Ideas *diſtinct Subſtances*, and *animal* Gods, as *Apuleius* ſpoke; for then how can we look upon this ſecond God, begotten from all Eternity, as an Aſſemblage of different Subſtances and Animals, which are all re-united in him. Dr. *Cudworth* maintains, * that *Plato* had only a deſign to oppoſe Ideas to periſhable Accidents, and that it is in this Sence he has called them neceſſary Subſtances, and that he has given them alſo the Title of *Animals*, to ſhew that they were not dead Figures, like to thoſe sketch'd upon Canvaſs nor immovable Statues. There is ſomething true in this Conjecture. The deſign of *Plato* was to give an advantageous Idea of *theſe Ideas*. He would not have them really looked upon as being ſimple Accidents which periſh without the Subſtances being deſtroyed to which they are attached: But it is alſo moſt certain, that to render theſe Ideas more perfect, he changed them into real Subſtances and into Perſons. As he has done with the Intellect and intellectual World; that is to ſay, with the *Univerſal Idea*, One *Perſon* and One eternal Being, that he might make it more intelligible, he has been forced to make of the particular Ideas, of which this intellectual World was compos'd, ſo many ſubſtances and different perſons. This ſeem'd ſo much the more rational and ſenſible, as it gave them the power of producing all things: Thus did they believe that the Souls of Men were ſo many real Beings, and Parties detach'd from the World, *divinæ particula auræ*. They had perſonaliz'd this Soul of the World, as they had made a Perſon of the Intellect; and they made of the Souls detach'd from the Soul of the World ſo many diſtinct Beings, as they made of the Ideas ſo many real and living Subſtances.

Now to make the Syſtem of the *Platoniſts* juſt, we muſt of neceſſity take one of theſe two ways, either to ſay, that thoſe Philoſophers acknowledging but one ſole principle, look'd on its Intellect, or the wiſdom which had made the Plan of the Univerſe, as one of his Attributes, and then it is no more than a Trinity of Names. As the Philoſophers, who diſtinguiſh the Subſtance of the Soul, the Intellect and the Will, do not make three diſtinct Souls; they conſider only the Soul in it ſelf as far as it thinks and wills. *Plato* by giving to the Deity a Wiſdom and an Underſtanding (or Intellect) which has ſupplyed the Ideas of this lower World, and a power to execute what the Intellect had conceived; he hath no farther eſtabliſhed a Trinity of Perſons.

Or elſe, we ought to ſay, that he hath made of the Intellect as well as of the Soul of the World, different Perſons; and then alſo he muſt have believed that the Ideas, wherewith that Intellect was filled, were ſo many different Beings of the Intellect, as the Intellect and intellectual World is different from the firſt Principle. Not only the connection of his Syſtem carries us to this; but we have good ground to believe it from his own words, and from the modeſt reflections that *Ariſtotle* made on his Maſter upon that detachment of Ideas. But which way ſoever we turn our ſelves, *Plato*'s Trinity we find quite different from that of the *Chriſtians*, ſeeing that the ſecond Perſon is an aſſemblage of different Ideas, and that his Ideas are ſo many Subſtances and real Beings; and, (if I may ſo ſpeak) ſo many Animals that have Life, Breath and Sence.

XVIII. Neither is there leſs trouble and difficulty about the third principle, which is, *the Soul of the World*. *Origen* † ſaid, that God was *as the Soul of the World*. He compared this Univerſe to a great Animal, which was governed by the power of God as by a Soul, becauſe it is he who by his Power communicates to all Creatures the Life and Motion they enjoy. The *Platoniſts* maintain the ſame thing of that Soul which made up the third principle. As *Moſes* aſſures us, that the *Spirit of God moving upon the face of the Waters* communicated to them that fruitfulneſs which was neceſſary to produce all things; ſo the *Platoniſts* affirmed that it was *the Soul* had brought forth all things, wherefore they called it the *Framer and Author of the Univerſe*. But at the ſame time they ſubjoyn three things that are incompatible with the third perſon in the Trinity.

Firſt, They object || againſt *Julian* the *Apoſtate* ſome paſſages of the *Platonick* Philoſophers, which made the third principle inferior to the ſecond in or-

* Porphyr. *Hiſtor. Philoſ. l.* 4. *apud* Cyril. *contr.* Jul. *lib.* 1. *p.* 32. 46 + Philo *de Opific. Mundi. p* 3. || Plotin. *Enne.* 5. *l.* 1. *c.* 7. * Cud. *Syſt. Intell. c.* 4. *p.* 563. † *Orig.* Περὶ ἀρχῶν. || Cyril *contr.* Jul. *l* 3. *p.* 97.

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der and Nature. Secondly, this Soul of the World was fouud wrapt up, and as it were buryed in the Creatures to which it was united: It did there the ſame offices that the Soul does in human Bodies, where it is clogged with heavy matter, and even ſwallowed up by the infirmities of the Body; and as the Soul united to the Body makes the Man, ſo the Soul of the World united to the Univerſe, made *the Third God*. The *Platoniſts* made no ſcruple of ſpeaking after this manner, and to confeſs that the World was *the third God*. For which reaſon *Philo* the *Jew*, who had follow.d *Plato* till then, found himſelf obliged to leave him. He had very favourably receiv'd the Word, the Wiſdom, the God intelligible, who made the ſecond Perſon of the *Platoniſts*; but he would not look upon the World as the third God, becauſe that ruined the foundations of his Religion. In fine, the *Platoniſts*, jealous of the Glory of their Soul, affirmed that it was of the ſame Nature and Species with *the Soul of the World*. This firſt Soul was only the elder Siſter of the reſt of them, which were of the ſame Eſſence with it; they called it *Omouſios*, as the Fathers of the Council of *Nice* have ſaid it of the Son with the Father.

XIX. This Sentiment has ſhocked Dr *Cudworth*, who was a zealous Defender of the *Platonick* Trinity; wherefore he endeavours to juſtify it by the help of the diſtinction of two Souls of the World owned by the *Platoniſts*. They called One the *Celeſtial Venus*. *Saturn*, was the Father of that Daughter, but ſhe had not any Mother; ſhe was born pure of a pure Beiug; ſhe continued always in Heaven, without being able either to come down here below, or be ſubmerged by the Creatures: She was diſengaged of Matter, wherefore they might look on her as a Divinity; and they imagined there was another *inferior Venus*, that was not ſeparated from the other, always cloſely united to her; but which however fail'd not to come down into the Creatures. This was that ſecond Soul, or ſecond Love, which was born with the World, and which animated it by uniting it ſelf to it; as the Soul is with the Body, whilſt the firſt eternal Soul continued in Heaven.

'Tis true, *Plotin* has ſpoken of this firſt *Venus*; but that ſtile is particular to him, and even the fourth Soul of the World, which moves all things, which is united to the third, and which yet ceaſes not to be looſened from it, makes another Gradation very obſcure and puzzling to People that deſire to have diſtinct Ideas. All *Platoniſts* did acknowledge but One Soul of the World, which they called *Venus*, or *Love*, and which was the Power that God had diſplayed for the Production of the Univerſe: But by making a Perſon of this third Principle, they did not for all that ſet up and eſtabliſh a true Trinity, ſeeing that after they had believed this Soul of the World to be Eternal, they gave it at the ſame time baſe Functions that were unworthy the Divinity. In following their Principles we muſt acknowledge the Souls to be as ſo many portions of the Deity; but according to all appearances that third Perſon was only the Power of the Sovereign Being, which they cloathed into a Perſon.

XX. It is plain and eaſy to ſee what it was that ſo blinded the Fathers, that they were very near making *Plato* a Chriſtian, before ever the Goſpel had been publiſhed; *that* Plato *comes forth and appears here*, cry'd a Divine of the 5th Age*; 'tis a wonderful thing 'that ſo many Ages before the lying in of the Virgin 'and the Incarnation of a God; long before the Tri 'nity of Perſons in one ſole Eſſence had been preach'd 'to the Nations, he had by a bold ſtep by a happy 'Genius, and an inimitable ſtile, *ſpoken of God the Father, of the Word of the Father, who was his Council, and the Love of both the one and the other, that he made One ſole Deity, that was undivided, eternal and Sovereign.* That Love, of which he made the third Principle, was the Soul of the World, the Love, or *Venus* of the *Platoniſts*. There was diſcovered among the Philoſophers a Sovereign Being, an eternal Wiſdom, to which they gave the ſame name of *Word*, or *Reaſon*, which St *John* hath applyed to the Son of God. To conclude, they owned a Spirit, a Soul of the World. Behold what ways they made uſe of to blind the Simple who do not throughly penetrate into a Syſtem to diſcover all the parts of it.

XXI. The *antient* and *modern Chriſtians* are fallen into five different Exceſſes by the Philoſophy of *Plato*. 1ſt, The Fathers of the firſt Ages that ent'red into the Church, after they had ſtudied this Philoſopohy which obtained at that time in the Schools, would not have loſt their time, nor the Fruit of their Labours. They extravagantly boaſted of the Principles of their Philoſophy, and endeavoured to introduce them into the *Chriſtian* Theology. As the Scholaſticks have been vainly proud ſince the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, and have raiſed him up to ſo high a Veneration, that it was reckon'd a kind of Hereſy to contradict any Opinions of his; in ſo much that *Ramus* became a Martyr upon the account of his *Animadverſions* againſt them: So theſe firſt Fathers were extravagantly tranſported with *Plato* and his Principles, and by that means they often wander'd from the truth they were in ſearch of only in the Goſpel, without ever being aſhamed to diſguiſe it, and to cover it under the Livery of human Philoſophy. It was from this Principle that *Gobar*, of whom *Photius* has given † the Extracts, maintains with the *Platoniſts*, that *the Soul proceeds from the divine Subſtance*. But he was not the only Man of this Opinion. *Juſtinian* || condemn'd the *Origeniſts* for holding that Souls had the ſame Subſtance, the ſame Nature, and the ſame Light as the *Word*; and they had taken up this Opinion from their Maſter, one of the moſt zealous *Platoniſts*.

Secondly, they conceived that by adopting this Philoſphy, they opened the door of *Chriſtianity* to the *Platoniſts*, and ſo made their Converſion the more eaſy. Their Intention was good. They flattered themſelves that they could no more attack the Doctrine of the Trinity on its weakeſt ſide, which is that of Reaſon, if they ſtrengthened it upon an antient Authority, and which at that time was moſt of all reſpected. Inſtead of diſplaying all the Syſtem which might have appear'd monſtrous by the Perſonality of Ideas, or would have furniſhed but a Trinity of Names, they principally applyed themſelves to that which was more dazeling, the number of three, as to what they call'd Perſons, and ſhut their Eyes hard upon what was different and contrary to that Doctrine, as we have made it appear. Now was not there a little Inſincerity in the Hearts of thoſe who cry'd up *Platoniſm* at ſo high a rate? It was not altogether real; for we find but too many Divines whoſe Heads are this way turn'd and over heated, being deceived in their Underſtandings by a Shadow of truth found among their Enemies, and particularly among the Heathen. They make a ſmall glimmering to paſs for a glorious divine Light; they are over-joyed in having diſcovered this Light in the midſt of Darkneſs; they exult and triumph, and oftentimes lay a great ſtreſs on their Faith, without ever minding whether that Truth which is imperfect, ſophiſticated, covered with Fables and lying Stories, be of any great Support and Comfort to them. They may make uſe of it as an Ornament in their Diſcourſes to diſplay their

* Claud. Mamert de *ſtatu. Animæ l.* 2 *c.* 7. *Bibl. max. Patr. t.* 6 *p.* 1062. † *Phot Cod* 32. || Juſtin. *Ep. ad V. ſynod apud Cedren.*

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Learning, or to form a Judgment in the Minds of the People; but they are almoſt always perverting and wreſting things with a deſign to find Treaſures in the Dunghil where there is very little Gold, and *Chriſtianity* in Principles that are Erroneous and full of Contradictions.

XXII. But they do not ſtop there; for the Fathers being accuſtomed to argue Philoſophically about the Ideas of *Plato*, who had eſtabliſhed a ſort of Trinity, gave themſelves the ſame Liberty abont the Divine Eſſence, and from thence ſprang a World of Errors, and ſtrange and unavoidable Tenets, when they digged deep into that Myſtery. I * determine not whether *Arius*, or St. *Athanaſius* were *Platoniſts*, I chooſe rather to ſay that neither the Head of the *Hereticks*, nor that of the *Orthodox*, exactly followed the Principles of that Philoſopher; but by arguing too much in imitation of the *Platoniſts*, they brought forth a vaſt number of Heterodoxies. Revelation alone teaches us this Myſtery, and we ought to believe it not only becauſe it is God that ſpeaks; but we ought to believe of it what God, the Sovereign Wiſdom hath dictacted concerning it. The Scripture ſpeaks of it with abundance of ſimplicity, and gives no occaſion for the Queſtions that are Diſputed in the Schools. 'Twas only Philoſophy that ſtarted them and multiplied them. In ſeeking after thoſe Foreign Succours, they have weakened their Faith inſtead of confirming it. What does it concern me that *Plato* believed a Trinity of Names, or Perſons, which are not thoſe whom I adore? And if I take but a few of his Principles, whileſt I reject the others as being full of groſs Errors? I confeſs this Myſtery is above Reaſon, and yet I'll maintain that Reaſon diſcover'd it before Revelation: I own 'tis God which lays upon me the neceſſity of believing it; and after having hearkned to God, I have recourſe to *Plato*, as to a Guide that will open me the way, and lead me farther than the Holy Spirit; now is not this a down right Abſurdity and Contradiction? We ought not to wonder therefore if we do go aſtray by following ſuch a Guide. From thence doubtleſs it happened that *Theophilus* of *Antioch* ſaid, as *Plato* had done, that God deſigning to make the World, had begot the *Word* to ſerve him as his Miniſter; from whence it came that others have made the Son inferior to the Father, and acknowledged a Subordination between the Perſons of the Trinity; and ſaid, that the Holy Ghoſt was inferiour both to the Father and the Son, as the *Platoniſts* ſaid, that the Soul of the *World* was inferiour to the *Word*.

XXIII. They have gone ſo far that they have done all they could to juſtifie *Plato*. They will not have him to be in an Error, becauſe ſome of the Fathers have conceived the Son, as he conceived the Wiſdom, which made his Second God. They have Collected out of the Writings of the firſt Fathers whatſoever they have ſaid that was odd about the Trinity, that ſo they might protect *Plato* under the ſhelter of that Authority; as if the Errors of the one would make void thoſe of the other; or rather that we ought not to look on the Platonick Philoſophy, as the true Source from whence thoſe Errors had flowed. By the favour of a begging Orthodoxy, they have not failed ſometimes to open Paradice to *Plato* and his Diſciples.

XXIV. They pretend * at leaſt that they were not Idolaters, ſeeing that inſtead of Creatures, they Adore, and cauſe to be Adored the Perfections of God. But did not thoſe Philoſophers at the ſame time Adore the Creatures as ſenſible Images of the Intellectual World; and did not *Plato* in his *Timæus* recommend the Worſhip of falſe Gods, and the ſame Sacrifices as the People offered to their Idols? They clear him of the Charge of his Diſciples, and maintain that his Theology was much more Sound than that of his Followers, who have corrupted it ſince *Chriſtianity* came into the World, for fear leſt the nearneſs of their Tenets ſhould occaſion their Sect to be loſt; but on the contrary *Amelius* gained great Honour to himſelf in finding out the λόγος, *the Word of his Maſter* in the Goſpel of St. *John*. *Chriſtianity* Triumphant has often done them Honour, and as the *Chriſtians* gained ſome Reputation by having met with a Trinity in a Philoſopher, ſo the *Platoniſts* in their turn obtained another in ſeeing *Chriſtians* to adopt their Principles.

* Petau *ſays ſo of* Arius, *and Dr.* Cudworth *does the like of St.* Athanaſius. * Abælard. *Introd. ad Theol.* l. 1. Cudworth's *Intellect. Syſt. c.* 4.

CHAP. V.

Examination of this Queſtion, *Whether the* Jews *in the Days of* JESUS CHRIST *believed the* Trinity?

I. *The deſign of this Chapter.* II. *Paſſages of Scripture Explained.* III. *A Continuation.* IV. *Diſtinction of Perſons proved.* V. *The Teſtimony of* Philo. VI. *Of the* Targums. VII. *Of the* Cabbaliſts. VIII. *General Reflection on theſe Proofs.* IX. *The Teſtimony of* Philo. X. *The Myſtery of the Apparition of Angels.* XI. *The Myſtick Theologie Taught by* Philo. XII. *Contrary to the Trinity.* XIII. Philo *a Copier of* Plato. XIV. *God could not be Created.* XV. *The Inferiour Word Created.* XVI. *The Soul of the World rejected, and why.* XVII. *The Union of the Soul with God explained.* XVIII. *Proofs drawn from the* Chaldee *Paraphraſes.* XIX. *Scruples about the Holy Ghoſt.* XX. *Proofs of the Cabala.* XXI. *The ranging of the* Sephiroths.

I. WE cannot take from the *Jews* thoſe Footſteps of the Trinity which the Holy Spirit has ſowed in the Scriptures. 'Twas there that God prepared the Mind to receive that incomprehenſible Myſtery. But yet it conducted People ſlowly, ſtep by ſtep, and the Knowledge of that great Truth was proportion'd to an Oeconomy covered over with their Shadows and Figures. If notwithſtanding all the Light that the Goſpel has ſcatter'd abroad, and the accompliſhment of the Propheſies, which of all the Commentaries is the moſt clear and ſenſible, we are hard put to it to find the Trinity in the Old Teſtament; we may preſume that the *Jews* gave but little attention to it, and that notwithſtanding all the Application wherewith they ſet themſelves about it, they had but a very dark and obſcure perception of it. However one of the Learned of the Age has thought that the Rabbies coming to the Succour of the *Chriſtians*, would have helped to Convert the Anti-Trinitarians; and riſing up in Judgment againſt their own Nation, they would have engaged them to the belief of a Doctrine

Doctrine which is indeed the principal Obſtacle to their Converſion. This Argument would draw mighty conſequences after it. It ought to make a great impreſſion on the *Jews*, ſeeing it is forced from the Confeſſion of their Maſters. Beſides, theſe are diſintereſſed Judges who pronounce againſt the Anti-Trinitarians, who prove the Succeſſion of the Doctrine, and a Tradition ſprang up before there were any Thoughts of diſputing about the Matter. But it is to be feared that People who did nor ſee the Trinity in the New Teſtament, wherein it is clearly expreſſed, would be much more puzzled to find it in the Old, where one can have but very obſcure traces of it. Will the Rabbies be believed, who have ſpoken of this Myſtery after an ambiguous manner, preferably to the *Chriſtians* who ſet it out with all the Light they can? When they have withſtood the ſolid and weighty Proofs of the latter, can it be thought they'll ſubmit to the Authority of the others? 'Tis true, the *Chriſtians* ſeem at this day to be concerned in point of Intereſt to maintain and ſupport this Doctrine; but the Intereſt they have in it, and which ſprings but from their Perſuaſion that God hath revealed it; does this, I ſay, form a Prejudice ſufficient to reject all their Errors? Be it how it will, the Book of that learned Gentleman contains in it ſuch profound and compleat Erudition, that his Proofs deſerve to be related, for they cannot be read by many Perſons, becauſe they are wrote in a Language which few will give themſelves the trouble to learn, tho' it were high worth the while for the great number of excellent * Works that have been compoſed in it.

II. *Moſes* ſays, that the *Gods created* Heaven and Earth. That Legiſlator, who was intereſſed to bring back to the Unity of One God a People accuſtomed to worſhip a Plurality, becauſe they had lived in *Egypt* with Idolaters, would not have expreſſed himſelf in a manner as ſhould eſtabliſh a Number of Gods, if he had not meant to inſinuate that there were ſeveral Perſons in One ſole Eſſence.

The other Sacred Writers † have followed *Moſes* his Style: For *Joſuah* praiſes the *holy Gods*. *Samuel* ſpeaks of the *living Gods*, and *David* ſings of the *righteous Gods*, or *Judges* of the Earth, Theſe Prophets had no Affection for the Polytheiſm of the Heathen. They adored but One only God. Wherefore did they ſo often mention *the Gods that created*, *the righteous*, *holy and living Gods*, if it were not becauſe they knew there was a Plurality of Perſons. The R. *Simeon Jochaides* has made no difficulty or ſcruple to confeſs it: *Come and ſee*, ſays he, the Myſtery of the Name *Elohim*, *Gods: There are three Degrees, and every Degree ſubſiſts by it ſelf:* and yet they are all but One; they are alſo ſo united that they never ſeparate, the other *Jews* have ſo well felt the force of this Expreſſion, that they are obliged to have recourſe to a violent and wreſted Explication of it, maintaining that *Moſes* pointed at the Attributes of God, as his Power, and that infinite Wiſdom by which he created the World. 'Tis a kind of Confeſſion that the *Jews* make when they lie under the weight of this Difficulty that is objected againſt them: For when (for inſtance) a Man acts alone and makes a Book, we never will ſay that *Men* made that Book becauſe of the ſolid Judgment and Learning which is to be found in it. That is not therefore the true reaſon which obliged *Moſes* to ſay in his Book, that *the Gods created the Heavens and the Earth.*

III. *Moſes* often introduces God ſaying thus, *Let us make Man after our own Image*. To what God ſpoke he, and after what Image could he have been created, if not after God's? *Let us go down*, cries God, when he was reſolved to make out his Proceſs againſt the *Sodomites*; all theſe terms, couched in the Plural, denote the Intention *Moſes* had to ſhew a Plurality of Perſons. The Hiſtorian of *Tobit* *, who lived a long time after in *Chaldea*, being filled with the ſame Notion, and convinced that the Expreſſion was juſt, has put it where it was not: for he brings in God ſaying, *let us make unto* Adam *an Aid like unto himſelf*; and this is ſo much the more ſurpriſing as the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt has ſaid conformable to the Original †, *I will make to* Adam *an help like to him ſelf*. The LXX. Interpreters have || imitated *Tobit*'s Hiſtorian. The *Jews* affirm that the LXX. had changed thoſe Expreſſions, for fear of diſpleaſing King *Ptolomy*. But that conjecture is falſe; for on the one hand they took care to eſtabliſh the Unity of One God againſt the Sentiments and Religion of that Idolatrous Prince, and on the other hand they did not fear that the Heathen who ſhould Study their Law, would abuſe thoſe Paſſages where they make God to ſpeak in a Plural term. The *Modern Jews* have not ſtrictly followed the Tradition of their Anceſtors; yet however they have ſo lively a ſence of the Impreſſion which thoſe terms have wrought upon them, that it is enough only to read their Anſwers to be convinced hereof. They ſay * that *Moſes*, to whom the Holy Spirit dictated, even to the very words, was afraid when he was about writing thoſe words, *Let us make man after our own Image*, and withdrew his hand, repreſenting to God that he ſhould do wrong to his Unity. *Moſes* foreſaw, as the Doctors will have it, that this would be the way to ſet up and eſtabliſh two Principles, the One good, and the Other evil, and to ſtrengthen a pernicious Doctrine upon his Authority: But God aſſured him again and again, by telling him that he muſt write what he dictated, without troubling himſelf about thoſe that were reſolved to err. The Others add, that God deſigned to give us an Example of Humility and Charity, by conſulting with his Subjects and Inferiours, in imitation of Kings who frequently admit them into their Councils. But who were thoſe Subjects that God could aſſociate with himſelf in the Creation of Man? For the Creature cannot create nor intervene as a partial Cauſe in a Work which requires an infinite Power. In fine, the *Jews* are ſtill more unreaſonable, when they repreſent God entertaining himſelf with the Works of every Day; for he muſt needs have a mighty mind to ſpeak, that will talk with inanimate Creatures. Take it which way you will, it appears by theſe Anſwers, that the *Modern Jews* do acknowledge there is a Plurality, tho' they will not avow it openly 'Tis no wonder then if the *Antient Jews*, as *Tobit*'s Hiſtorian and the LXX. Interpreters, who had not the ſame Prejudices, nor the ſame Intereſt to oppoſe the Trinity, have ſeen that in it, which cannot keep it ſelf from being ſeen at this day.

IV. The *Jews*, not ſatisfied with acknowledging a *Plurality*, have ent'red into a greater detail. The Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* indicates a God the Father: *I called*, ſays he *, *upon the Lord*, *the Father of my Lord*, *that he would not leave me in the days of my trouble*. *David* ſpeaks not more elegantly in the Hundred and Tenth Pſalm, when he ſays, *the Lord ſaid unto my Lord*. And J. CHRIST makes uſe of the

* *Judgment of the Jewiſh Church againſt the Unitarians*. Lond. 1699. *in* 8vo. † Joſ. 24. 19. Sam. 26. 36. Jerem. 10. 10. Pſal. 58. 12. R. S. Jochaides *in* Zohar *in* Levit. *fol.* 29. apud Majum. *p.* 31. * Tob 8. 6. Gen 2. 18 † Ver. LXX Gen. 1. 26. 2. 18. || Thalmud. Cod. Megilla. *c.* 1. * Manaſſ. Conciliator. Geneſ. Q. VI. *p.* 11, &c. * Eccleſ. 51. 10.

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ſame Paſſage to prove to the *Jews* his Divinity, and how he was diſtinguiſhed from the Father. *Judith* * in her Song of Thankſgiving which ſhe makes to be reſounded to the Glory of God, who had delivered her Nation, ſhews plainly to us the holy Spirit : *O God*, cried ſhe, *let all Creatures ſerve Thee; for Thou ſpakeſt, and they were made; Thou didſt ſend forth thy Spirit, and it created them.* Theſe Paſſages, taken from *Tobit*, *Judith* and *Eccleſiaſticus*, tho' they be Apocryphal, yet fail not to prove a continuance of Tradition, which kept it ſelf up among the *Jews* ſince the Gift of Prophecy was extinguiſhed.

V. *Philo* † has followed this ſame Tradition; at leaſt we are aſſured that he acknowledged, beſides *the Being that exiſts*, two other Principles, one whereof was called *God*, and the other *Lord*. According to *Philo* thoſe two Principles were Uncreated, Eternal, Infinite, and Incomprehenſible. It ſeems then that we cannot better define the Perſons of the Trinity. He had already ſaid that God appearing to *Sarah*, accompanied with thoſe two Sovereign Powers, *Empire and Goodneſs failed not, tho' he was one alone, to operate three figures, or three appearances in the Soul of* Abraham : And as this Truth is incomprehenſible to Men, he judiciouſly remarks that it was a very great Myſtery not to be revealed to all the World. In ſhort, *Sarah* had put *the Cakes upon the hearth*, to know the Myſteries that ought to be concealed, and to bury them in Silence, inſtead of divulging them.

VI. The ſame thing is to be || obſerved in the Paraphraſes, or the Targum; for in all the places, where were found the Names of *Jehovah*, and *Elohim*, *Onkelos*, the Author of the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe upon the *Pentateuch*, whom the *Jews* look upon as a Man inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt, and the *Chriſtians* as a very nice and exact Interpreter, diſtinguiſhes Jehovah, *the Word* of Jehovah, and the *Sheckinah*. The Number of thoſe Paſſages is ſo great, as is enough to make a Volume. Wherefore did they diſtinguiſh ſo often Jehovah, the Word, or the *Mimrah* of Jehovah, and the *Sheckinah*, if they are not different Perſons. Let the *Jews* underſtand, if they will do ſo *, the holy Spirit, or the Son, by the *Sheckinah*, that is of no importance. If *Philo* and ſome other *Jews* believed that *Moſes* ſpake of the Wind, when he ſaid, *that the Spirit of God moved on the Waters*; Others have underſtood by that Spirit that was to reſt on the Meſſiah; and one of them has affirmed, that at the very moment of the Creation, the Throne of God was in the midſt of the Air, which *was inflamed by the Spirit of the goodneſs of God bleſſed for evermore*; and this Spirit of the goodneſs of God is the Third Perſon of the Trinity.

VII. The *Cabaliſts* † have yet much leſs Authority than the *Paraphraſts*, becauſe they are a great deal more Modern. It muſt be confeſſed alſo, that exactneſs is almoſt always wanting in their way of Reaſoning and Argumentation. Yet as this Science began in the time of *Philo*, and thoſe Doctors may have preſerved the Tradition of their Fathers, tho' they prove it ill‖, we muſt not refuſe to hear what they ſay upon ſo important a Matter. But we ſhould never have done, if we went to relate every thing they have ſaid upon this Subject. They diſtinguiſh the Perſons of the Trinity, and fix the number of them to three; they mark their perſonal Character, and their different Actions; they will alſo have the Second Perſon to proceed by emanation from the Firſt, and ſo the Third to proceed from the Second. And that ſo nothing may be wanting to compoſe a Syſtem wholy *Chriſtian*, they add, that it is a Myſtery *incomprehenſible* to human Reaſon.

It will ſuffice if we caſt our eyes upon their *Sephiroths*, and the order in which they range them, to be convinced of this. The Firſt of the *Sephiroths* is unknown to all Creatures, and is called *Crown*, which repreſents the Father. The Second is that *Wiſdom* by which the Temple of *Jeruſalem* was built, the World created, and by which all the Events of this lower Univerſe are directed. The Third is *Prudence* or *Underſtanding*, which we may look on as the Holy Ghoſt, ſeeing they teach at the ſame time that this third *Sephiroth* proceeds from the two former, which for that reaſon they have called his Father and Mother.

In a word, a Phyſitian of *Florence*, who after he was converted himſelf, laboured the Converſion of his Children and other *Jews* about the middle of the Sixteenth Century, maintained againſt them, that there was not any Controverſy between the Synagogue and the Church about the Trinity, ſeeing the Cabaliſts, who are *Maſters of Truth*, have ſaid the ſame Things as we Teach. 1. One of their Excellent Men affirmed, that there were three Lights; *the antient Light*; *the pure Light*, and *the purified Light*, which yet are but One God. 2. *Moſes Nachmanides* advanced three *Sephiroths* above all the reſt; *they have never been ſeen by any one*; *there is not any defect in them, nor any diſunion.* "If any one ſhould "add another to them, he would deſerve Death. "There is therefore nothing but a Diſpute about "words: You call three Lights, what *Chriſtians* "call the Father, Son and Holy-Ghoſt. That firſt "Eternal Number is the Father; the Wiſdom by "which *God created the Heavens*, is the Son; and "Prudence, or Underſtanding, which makes the "third number of the Cabaliſts, is the *Chriſtians* "Holy-Ghoſt. 3. The Cabaliſts have a word *Agla* ‖, "which is very much uſed among them, wherein "they find the Trinity. L'A. and L. make the "Name of God אל Æl. The G. is the Number of "Three, as the A. denotes the Unity; from whence "you muſt conclude *that there are three of them "which make but one God.* In ſhort, the Maſters "apply † thoſe words, *He ſhall be lifted up*, to the "Meſſiah, whom God ſhall raiſe above *Abraham*, "above *Moſes*, above the Angels, and by conſe-"quence he ſhall be God: for there is no Middle "between the Angels and the Deity. This converted *Jew* puſhed a great deal further his Cabaliſtical Proofs againſt his Children and Brethren, to whom they might be of uſe, ſince they are Proofs fetched from their own Principles.

VIII. We have related thoſe Proofs of the *Jews* belief concerning the Trinity without prepoſſeſſing the Reader, that ſo he may judge of them by his own Light. If it were permitted us to diſcover their Sentiments, we think two things ought to be diſtinguiſh'd. The Proofs that are drawn from the Scriptures and Apocryphal Books, and thoſe that are found in *Philo* and among the *Rabbies*. The firſt are ſufficient to give to the *Antient Jews* a belief of the Trinity, conformed to the Oeconomy under which they have lived. There were in the Writings of the Old Teſtament ſome footſteps or traces of the diſtinction of the Perſons; but thoſe traces were not full and evident, nor ſenſible enough; wherefore the generality of the *Jews*, gave no great attention to them, or at leaſt would not diſcover they did. If they knew but very imperfectly the Meſſiah promiſed by ſo many Propheſies, and which did ſo ſenſibly concern their Faith by the expectation and hopes of

* Jud. 16. 14. † Philo de Abrah. *p.* 287. De vita Moſis. 517. Quod Deus ſit immutabilis, 238. De Planta Noe, 176. De Sacrif. Abel. *p.* 168. ‖ V. *Judgment of the Jewiſh Church*, c. 10. p. 149. & Rittangelius ad Jezirah, *p.* 81. * Eliab. † Id. cap. 11. ‖ אבל Agla. † Ludov. Carretus Judæus Converſus, *p.* 608.

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a glorious Deliverance; they yet knew leſs of the moſt impenetrable of all Myſteries, of the Trinity which was not ſo clearly revealed. Happily let them ſeek the Veſtiges of this Truth in the Old Teſtament, and not neglect the Succour that may be had there for their ſtrength'ning and confirmation. God hath long ſince prepared us for that great Myſtery, by ſcattering up and down in his Writings certain Expreſſions and Propoſitions which cannot be underſtood nor explained but by this means. They were the Foundation-Stones that contributed to the Perfection of the Building, and which diſcover that it is the ſame Architect that formed the firſt deſign, and brought it to a happy effect when the fulneſs of time was come. But we are not too much to overrate the belief that the *Antient Jews* had of it, ſince they ſaw not the whole extent of that deſign; and being taken up with conſidering thoſe Foundation-Stones, they did not carry their View to the uſe that was to be made of them, and the end which they anſwered in due proceſs of time. God not exacting from the Antient Fathers any more than a Faith proportioned to the Evidence and Degrees of his Revelation, they were not culpable when they had only a very implicite Faith of that Myſtery of the Trinity, and of the diſtinction of Perſons; and with ſuch an obſcure Faith they could not give of that Truth clear and evident Proofs, and ſuch as were capable of convincing even the Anti-Trinitarians.

IX. The Teſtimonies of *Philo* the *Jew* are much ſuſpected by a great many People, becauſe that Writer by his abundance of Allegories has made himſelf obſcure, and he Argues too ſubtilely to make impreſſions upon a Mind that is not prepoſſeſs'd, and much leſs on a Mind that is prejudiced to the contrary. There are found in *Philo* * ſome Expreſſions, or rather looſe Periods, which perhaps may dazle, but when one comes thoroughly to examine his meaning, and ſee how it will bear, we do not underſtand what he would be at by his words, or elſe that he had not any meaning at all in his Explication of the Trinity. What means he, for Example, when in one of the Paſſages cited, he "aſſures us, "That the two Powers which he u-"nites to God, are infinite, but the Goodneſs is "the Meaſure of the Good, and the *Power* (they "have ill tranſlated it the Emperor) is the Mea-"ſure of Subjects, and that the Emperor is the "Meaſure of all the Beings as well Material as Spi-"ritual? that thoſe Powers have the place both of "Rule and Precept; that it is good that theſe three "Meaſures do ferment and mingle together in the "Soul, that being fully convinced *that there is a God* "*Supreme and Sovereign who is above thoſe Powers*, "who appears ſometimes without them, and ſome-"times with them, it may receive the Character "of his Power and Goodneſs, and be initiated in-"to the Myſteries. If *Philo* deſigned to ſhew by thoſe Powers two Perſons diſtinct from the Father, it is evident he makes them inferiour to God, and that he owns but One Sovereign Being that the Soul ought to Adore, that it may participate of his Favours. He explains perhaps his Thoughts more clearly, when he ſpeaks of the appearance of God and the Angels that attended him. Let us ſee the Myſteries he finds there.

X. "When * the Soul is Illuminated with God, "as in full Mid-day, ſhe ſees three Images of one "and the ſame thing, and the others are the two "ſhadows that follow her. We ought not howe-"ver to take theſe *Shadows* according to the Letter, "for there is none in God; but God the Father "Father of all things is in the midſt, and on each ſide "of him march thoſe two Powers the neareſt and "moſt Antient; whereof One is called *Creatreſs*, "and the Other *Royal*; the One is called *God*, the "Other *Lord*. Behold here the Trinity finely explained; but in following this Myſtical Divine, we learn, "That God diſcovers to the Soul three "Images, and ſometimes he lets her ſee but two. "The Soul perceives but One when it is entirely "diſengaged or purified; ſhe raiſes up her ſelf not "only above a multitude of Number, but alſo above "the number of Two, and aſcends up to that ſimple, "ſincere Idea, which is One, and which has no need "of any other. But the Soul is left to ſee Three, when ſhe cannot raiſe her ſelf ſo high, as to comprehend that Being: ſo it would be an imperfection and defect in Faith only to know two Perſons of the Trinity, and to go to the Father by the Son and Holy Spirit; and in proportion as the Soul initiates it ſelf in the Myſteries of Faith, ſhe neglects thoſe two Powers, and adores only *Him that is*.

Philo, the more cleverly to explain his Thoughts, remarks, that "*He who is, keeps in the middle*: the "Image that follows is at his Right Hand, always "doing good, and is called God; the other is at "his Left Hand, and is a Royal Power, and is called "Lord. Thoſe who live uprightly and purely *adore* "*only Him who is*, and are not drawn aſide by any "other Object, for they tend always to the Wor-"ſhip of One. The others make themſelves known "to the Sovereign Father, and are recommended to "him ſometimes by the *Beneficent* Power, and ſome-"times by the Power *Royal*.

XI. What means all this? It ſeems they are finding there that Myſtical Theology, which has made ſuch a Noiſe in *France* and at *Rome* for theſe late Years. Thoſe Souls that live uprightly, and *adore only Him who is*, according to *Philo*, are perhaps thoſe that love God, without having any reſpect either to Reward or Puniſhment. God prefers them before all others, becauſe they Honour Him only for his own ſake. "Yet as he will not reject any One, ſo he "admits thoſe who come to him by the Beneficent "Power, *that is to ſay, thoſe who ſerve him in hopes* "*of Reward*; for tho' their Love be Mercenary, "and their Religion inſincere, yet they do not de-"part from the Temple, nor run after ſtrange Gods. "In ſhort, God doth not refuſe to receive thoſe that come to him by the *Power Royal*, or who are con-"verted and turn to him through fear of Puniſh-"ment, becauſe he is ſure that thoſe People will "not go from bad to worſe, but on the contrary, "will make ſome Progreſs in Piety.

XII. This Explication would ruin all, and by clearing what was obſcure in the firſt Expreſſions, it ſhews that the two Powers, which are taken for two Perſons, are the Attributes of God, his Power and his Goodneſs, whereby he draws Men to him. Wherefore, inſtead of making them real Beings, he compares them to Shadows and Figures; but let us penetrate farther into this Syſtem.

XIII. *Philo* has been accuſed for having Copied *Plato*; thus after they had overthrown the Trinity of that Philoſopher, that of *Philo's* would neceſſarily fall to the Ground. Wherefore they deny the Fact, and inſtead of making that *Jew* a Plagiary of a Heathen Philoſopher, they make him either the Original, or an exact Diſciple of *Moſes*. Father *Petau* undertakes to prove that Conformity of Style to be falſe, which has cauſed the ſaying that *Plato* Philoſophiſed and *Philo* Platoniſed, and he reduces himſelf to a Conformity of Principles and Maxims between thoſe two Authors: but now they ſay the *Jew* had

* Philo Sacrif. Abc. *p.* 108. Ἐξουσία. † Lat. Imperator. * Id. de Abraham. *p.* 287. *to* 288.

never Read Greek, and that he was perfectly Ignorant of *Plato*'s Sentiments, and had taken his own from the Books of *Moſes*. We will not enter into this Critical Diſcuſſion; but will endeavour to diſplay and clear *Philo*'s Sentiments; and the better to ſucceed therein, two things ought to be diſtinguiſh'd in *Philo*. The manner how the Creator or Sovereign being abaſed and united himſelf to a Creature; and the Steps by which the Creature raiſes and unites it ſelf to the Sovereign Being. This diſtinction will clear up the Paſſages we have already cited, and the Sentiments of *Plato*.

XIV. Firſt, He could not conceive how the World ſhould be made by the Patron of the Divinity, nor how there ſhould be any reſemblance between the Sovereign Being and *That* it is productive of. He found too infinite a diſtance between the Creature and the Creator, the one to humble himſelf to the other; he thought it beneath a Sovereign God to ſet his Hand immediately to the Work, to make it. *Euſebius*, being wont to commend *Philo* *, as one of the Doctors who had Taught the Exiſtence of the Word, to prove it cites the place of a Book now loſt that demonſtrates it. *Nothing that is Mortal can be made after the Image of the Father of the Univerſe and of all therein; but it may have the Image of the Second God, which is the Word.* This Sovereign Being, which is before the Word and Reaſon, *and which is above it, being in an infinite diſtance from all Creatures, it is impoſſible for a Creature to bear, or even to aſpire at his Image.* When God therefore ſaid, *Let us make Man after our own Image*, He ſpake of that of the Word, and not of his own. The Difficulty which grew from that vaſt diſproportion which is between God and the Created World, is, what obliged *Plato* to imagine a Second God, and a Word.

XV. *Philo* † who framed to himſelf the Idea of a Word, ſaid, "That God was the Paſtor and King "ſitting upon his Throne, who governed there all "things with a Sovereign Juſtice, and that he had "eſtabliſhed the Word, his firſt-born Son, over "whom there is nothing more excellent, to be the "King's Lieutenant, and to govern that Flock; "becauſe the World and Matter, not having ſtrength "enough to ſupport it ſelf, he had eſtabliſhed the "Word to be the Stay of the Univerſe, to keep "the Parts compact together, and to be the indiſ-"ſolvable Bond of it. Behold here the Son and "Word inferior to the Father; One is the King, "the other the Lieutenant; and it is by this Lieu-"tenant that he Governs the World, and after the "Image of whom all Things were to be made, be-"cauſe no Creature can bear the Image of the So-"vereign Being.

XVI. There remains no more then but to find out the Soul of the World, which made the Third Divinity of the *Platoniſts*. 'Tis that part of their Syſtem that *Philo* has rejected, becauſe it was too openly to ſhock the Principles of his Religion, to make a World Animated and Inſpired by God, and which by that means becomes an Object of Adoration, as the Heathen ſaid. But yet he eſtabliſhed with the *Platoniſts* two Attributes of God, which he ſometimes changed into Perſons. 'Twas the *Power Creator and the Power Royal*. To conclude in a word, he made of the Second God an intelligible World, which was *an Emanation of the Divinity*, as the Plan of a Houſe is an Emanation of the Underſtanding of an Architect. The intelligible World, ſaid he *, is the Word of God, preparing himſelf to Create the World, as an intelligible City is the reaſoning of an Architect, who thinks to build a City according to the deſign he has formed of it.

XVII. He followed alſo the Syſtem of the *Platoniſts*, when he endeavoured to make the Creature reaſcend to God; for he raiſed it by degrees to the top of the Scale, or Ladder, that is to ſay, to the Sovereign Being. There were three ſorts of Souls, or rather of degrees, by which we aſcended to God. The loweſt Souls ſaw *the Divinity in the midſt of his two Angels*, or his two Powers: *They had Three Images* inſtead of One which is ſufficient for purified Spirits. What did he mean by that Myſtical Jargon? He could only intend by it that the generality of Mankind contemplated God in his Works, in that Wiſdom which governs the Univerſe, and in that Power which Created it, above which he owned there was a third Superior Being. The ſecond Order of Souls which went to God, was no doubt compoſed of thoſe that conſidered the intellectual World, or the Word; and laſtly, the Contemplative raiſed themſelves above *Numbers* till they came to the Unity, that is to ſay, even to the Sovereign Being that made all things. In this manner did *Porphyry* eſtabliſh a Union of the Soul with the Deity, to which he boaſted once he had been arrived: Thus that Contemplation ſo much admired, which makes the intimate Union of the Soul with the Deity, comes Originally from the Heathen, and from them it paſſed among the *Jews*. *Philo* found out this Myſtery in the appearance of Angels, in the midſt of whom God appear'd to *Abraham*; from whence 'tis eaſie to conclude, that whether he cauſed the Creature to aſcend, or the Creator was pleaſed to deſcend and come near to us, he only meant the Attributes of God; he made but a Trinity of Names, and by changing thoſe Names into Perſons, he ſpake an Abſurdity which the *Modern Chriſtians* ought not to adopt, tho' the Old Ones did it frequently.

XVII. The antient *Chaldee* Paraphraſes ſeem much more formal than *Philo*'s; for without examining here what regards the *Word*, of which we ſhall ſpeak when we come to treat of the particular Queſtion relating to the Meſſiah; there is nothing more known among the *Jews* than the *Sheckinah*, which points out the Holy Ghoſt, the third Perſon in the Trinity. An * Anti-Trinitarian affirms, that by that is underſtood the *Glory of God*; wherefore the Paraphraſts have ſubſtituted the *Sheckinah* in all the places of Scripture where the *Glory of God* is mentioned; but the Fact is falſe. In ſhort, we find in the Targums, *Jehovah, the Word and the Sheckinah* often diſtinguiſhed, which proves that when they were compoſed, they acknowledged three different Perſons in the Divine Eſſence. My deſign is not to take away from the Learned the Glory of their Triumph over the *Socinians*; we are concerned to maintain this Truth againſt them, inſtead of oppoſing it. They become odious to the Zealots, when they leſſen the Proofs that have ſeemed to carry it againſt them. The miſchief would be here ſo much the more terrible as we ſhould do wrong *both to the Jew and the Greek*; for if we could perſuade the *Jew* as well as the *Anti-Trinitarian*, that the Synagogue has always believed the Trinity, their Converſion would be ſo much the eaſier. And yet without hearkening to either Side or Intereſt, we may be ſuffered to propoſe their Scruples, the better to remove them, and that there may remain the leſs obſcurity about the matter.

XIX. Is there not reaſon then to ſet the Goſpel in oppoſition to the *Chaldee* Paraphraſes? In Reading the Goſpel, we do not perceive the *Jews* have had Notions of the Trinity ſo diſtinct as to take notice of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt. The *Jews* believed the

* Philo Quæſt. & Solut. apud Euſeb. præp. Ev. *l.* 7. *c*, 13. *p.* 323. † Ibid. * Philo de Mundi opificio † Rittangelius. *l.* 16. Jeſirah. *p.* 116.

Unity

Unity of God, made void by the *Blaſphemy of* J. CHRIST, *who calls himſelf his Son*, and they knew ſo little of the Holy Ghoſt, that *they knew not even after the Baptiſm of* John, *that there had been ſuch an one*. The Knowledge the Paraphraſts had of the Holy Ghoſt, was it loſt in the Nation after the production of their Work? And if it remained in their Writings, which were Read as Authentick Explications of the Scripture; How Ignorant were they at the time of J. CHRIST, of what they had taught ſo clearly but a little time before?.

I ſhall not here obſerve that the *Jews* renvers'd the order of the Perſons, by moſt commonly placing the *Sheckinah* in the ſecond Rank, and reſerving the *Word* for the laſt: This Fault would be pardonable to People who did but imperfectly know this Myſtery; but wherefore have they expreſſed the Holy Ghoſt by the word *Sheckinah?* That Spirit had his Name among the *Jews* as well as among the *Chriſtians*. The Paraphraſts uſed the term *of the Spirit of God*, in explaining thoſe words in *Geneſis* *, *the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters*. They alſo ſet him in a place where he ought not to be; for *Moſes* ſaying that *the Spirit of* Jacob *their Father began to revive*, when he ſaw the Chariots his Son had ſent for him, they have put, *that the Holy Spirit began to revive in him*. The Rabbies, explaining the manner how the Chief Prieſt conſulted God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, ſay, that *He hearkened to the Holy Spirit*. *Maimonides* believes that the Chief Prieſt ſaw in the Stones of the *Ephod* certain Letters which ſignified the Will of God; but he does not forbear ſaying alſo, that he ſpake by the *Holy Ghoſt*. In ſhort, *Kimky* affirms, that *Moſes* anſwered by the *Holy Ghoſt*, *or Spirit*, to the Enquiries of the People. This ſhews that the *Holy Ghoſt was well known to the* Jews. *Wherefore then do we ſeek it in the* Sheckinah? Wherefore have the Paraphraſts and Rabbies ſubſtituted this term in the room of that of the Holy Spirit, which was ſo familiar to them before? Unleſs it was becauſe they did not conceive either the *Holy Ghoſt* or the *Sheckinah*, as a Perſon in the Trinity; but as different degrees of the Preſence of God; the firſt degree of that Preſence being that which animated the Prophets. They placed their Holy Spirit, ſpeaking of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, in the ſecond Rank: and as they loſt thoſe two advantages to the ruin of the firſt Temple, they ſubſtituted two others inferiour to them; the one was the *Sheckinah*, and the other the *Daughter of the Voice*.

'Tis certain, if we examine the true ſence of the * *Jewiſh* Doctors, we ſhall eaſily find by that *Sheckinah*, ſo famous in their Writings, they did not underſtand one Perſon diſtinct from God; but his Preſence in a certain place, or upon certain Perſons. 'Tis in this Senſe they aſſure us, *that the* Sheckinah *reſts upon the Meek and the Humble, but it takes its Wings and flies away from the Furious and Cholerick Perſon*. They exhort to Hoſpitality, and to keep an open Table to all Comers, that ſo the *Sheckinah* may dwell with the Man that is Charitable. They maintain that the *Sheckinah* is every where, wherever there are two or three Perſons met together to Study the Law. It ſeems that J. CHRIST borrowed his Promiſe from thence, *that wherever two or three were gathered together in his Name, he would be in the midſt of them*. They ſay further, *that he who evil entreats his Maſter, is the cauſe that the* Sheckinah *departs from* Iſrael; *that is to ſay, that God leaves him*. I confeſs they very groſly explain this Preſence of the Deity, in imagining that it caſt forth in his Temple, where the *Sheckinah* reſided, a ſecret vertue, which drove away the Princes of the Air, and filled that Houſe with an unſpeakable Holineſs; but the *Chriſtians* have frequently had as groſs Notions. An Antient ſaid, that the Church was the Houſe of God; and if he was not ſeen there himſelf, yet he failed not to be preſent there by his Holy Spirit.

XX. The Proofs drawn from the *Cabaliſts* are poor and weak; for there is no reliance upon thoſe Doctors, who have no regular Syſtem, who ſeek and find in the Sacred Authors all that their heated imagination furniſhes them with, without ever troubling themſelves whether what they ſay agrees with the Notions of the Deity, or not. Beſides, the *Cabaliſts* having appeared but ſince the Goſpel was publiſhed to the World, we muſt ſuppoſe that they fell into an inconceivable Blindneſs; if they favoured the *Chriſtian* Religion, and laboured to prove its Myſteries the moſt impenetrable, but that is not evident. † In ſhort, when *Jacob* the Son of *Amram* in a MS. Work of his, Intituled, *The Gate of Truth*, laughs at the *Chriſtians*, who fetch Proofs from the *Cabala* in favour of the Trinity: For the *Cabaliſts* include under the Bark of the Letter Myſteries which the common People do not diſcover. The deſign of thoſe Divines is to teach them the Unity of one God cloathed with his Attributes, but to keep them in Ignorance of finding out the Trinity among them. Perhaps ſome expreſſion, ſome bold dazling ſtroke might eſcape the Doctors who lived before J. CHRIST; but the *Cabaliſts* that lived ſince, have been always upon their Guard againſt their Capital Enemy. They could have no deſign themſelves to prove Truths which the *Chriſtians* took ſo much pains to prove to the Hereticks: or elſe it muſt be ſaid that the Myſtery of the Trinity is one of thoſe Truths ſo agreeable to reaſon, and ſo impreſſed upon the Soul, that we know them and teach them, when we don't ſo much as think on't; nay, when our deſign is to oppoſe it: but on the other hand, the Trinity is a monſtrous Tenet to the *Jews* who believe that the Unity of a God is deſtroyed by it. Reaſon does not teach us this Myſtery, 'tis God alone that has revealed it, and Reaſon ſubmits not to its Revelation but with a great deal of Reluctancy.

XXI. I confeſs theſe are only Conjectures and Critical Obſervations, which cannot be oppoſed to Facts; but we have ſufficiently proved that the three firſt *Sephiroths*, or Splendours, are not the three Perſons in the Trinity.

* Geneſ. 1. 2. † Geneſ. 45. 27. * V. Braun. de Veſtitu Sacerd. *l.* 2. *c.* 20. *p.* 781. Gregorie's *Notes upon ſome paſſages* c. 31. p. 139. † Kidder's *Demonſtration of the* Meſſiah. p. 111. c. 4. p. 196.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Creation of the World.

The different Theologie of the Jews *about this Matter.*

I. *Different Opinions of the* Jews *about the Creation.* II. *Diſpute about the Eternity of the World.* III. Maimonides *his Apologie upon that Article.* IV. *His Arguments againſt* Plato, *Weak.* V. *The Condemnation of* Sarza *to be burnt Alive for having maintained the Generation of the World.* VI. *Two Worlds proved from* Geneſis. VII. *Seven Things created before the Univerſe.* VIII. *The Sentiments of* Eliezer *oppoſed. Diſputes in the Schools of* Hillel *about the order of the Creation.* IX. *The World created in an inſtant. The Sentiments of* Maimonides *proved by that of Chriſtians who have ſaid it.* X. *Allegories in the Creation.* XI. *That the World ſhall never be Deſtroyed.*

I. THE *Jews* have had four Opinions about the Creation of the World. Some, who indeed make up a great Number, follow *Moſes* and the Hiſtory of *Geneſis*. Others have conceived that there had been a World before this of ours, which God had deſtroyed, or put an end to, becauſe every World was to laſt but Seven thouſand Years. The Third have invented *Spinoſiſm*; and the laſt imagine that all Creatures came forth from God by way of Emanation; but they alſo load this Syſtem with divers Abſurdities.

II. The generality of the *Jews* believe the World was created by God, as *Moſes* ſays; and they put into the Number *of Hereticks, driven out of the boſome of Iſrael*, or excommunicated, all thoſe who ſay that matter was Coeternal with the Supreme Being.

However, there aroſe in * *Maimonides*'s Time in the XIIth Century, a Controverſy about the Antiquity of the World. They imagined the World to be Eternal. Some bewitch'd with *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, which was in great Vogue at that time, followed his Opinion about the Eternity of the World; wherefore *Maimonides* † was obliged to confute him ſtoutly. Others pretended that Matter was Eternal. God was the Principle and the Cauſe of its exiſtence; he drew out the different Forms from it, as the Potter draws his Figures out of the Clay, and the Smith from the Iron which he ſhapes on his Anvile; *but God never exiſted without this Matter, as the Matter never exiſted without God.* All that he did as to the Creation, was to regulate his Movement which was before irregular, and to put all its Parts into that beautiful order in which we now ſee them. In a word, there have been People, who not being able to conceive that God, like to ordinary Workmen, could exiſt before his Work, or that he could be in Heaven without acting, maintained that he had created the World from all time, or rather, to ſpeak better, from all Eternity.

III. Thoſe who in the Synagogues will maintain the Eternity of the World, endeavour to protect themſelves from Cenſure by the Authority of *Maimonides*, becauſe they pretend that that great Rabbi has not put the Creation among the fundamental Articles of Faith. But it is eaſy to vindicate that Dr. for we read theſe words in the Confeſſion of Faith which he hath made; || *If the World be created, then there is a Creator; for none can create himſelf; there is therefore a God.* He adds, *that God alone is Eternal, and that all things have had a Beginning.* Moreover, he confutes the Opinion of the Philoſophers, and thoſe who, treading in their Steps, would have the World to be Eternal, becauſe that Opinion *deſtroys the foundations of the Law*, and there ariſes from it a vaſt number of Abſurdities againſt the Deity. In ſhort *, he declares that the Creation is one of the Foundations of that Faith which they are obliged to believe, and from which they ought never to be removed, but upon ſuch a Demonſtration as they will never be able to find.

IV. 'Tis true, ſometimes that Rabbi * argues but very poorly on the matter. If he diſputes againſt the Opinion of *Ariſtotle*, who maintain'd alſo the Eternity of the World, the generation and corruption in Heaven, he finds that of *Plato* convenient enough, becauſe it does not overthrow Miracles, and it may be reconciled to the Scripture. Indeed it appeared to him ſtrengthned upon ſolid Reaſons, tho' they were not demonſtrative. He added, that it would be as eaſy for thoſe who aſſerted the Eternity of the World, to explain all thoſe places of Scripture, wherein the Creation is mentioned, as to put a good ſence upon thoſe, where the ſame Scripture atrributes Arms and Hands to God. It ſeems alſo that he had not determined himſelf but purely out of intereſt on the ſide of the Creation preferably to the Eternity of the World; becauſe if the World was Eternal, and Men had created themſelves independantly on God, the glorious preference which the *Jewiſh* Nation has had over other Nations, would become Chymerical. But after what manner ſoever *Maimonides* † had argued, an impartial Reader cannot accuſe him of having believed the Eternity of the World, ſeeing he has rejected it entirely, and made *Solomon*'s Apology, which the Hereticks cited as one of their Witneſſes.

V. They began again to revive the Queſtion of the Eternity of the World in the XVth Century. *Samuel Sarza*, who lived at that time, deſigned to conciliate the Heathen Philoſophers to *Moſes*, and to that end maintained that the World had not been deduced from nothing; but that it was made by a Succeſſive generation of ſeveral Days, as we read it in the Hiſtory of *Geneſis*; but *Sarza* having been ſentenced to Death by the Judges of his Nation, was condemned to be burnt Alive. *Caparton*, a *Spaniſh* Rabbi, *who had ſomething that look'd like Divine in his Phyſiognomy*, very ſtrenuouſly ſolicited for his Condemnation, and was ſeconded and back'd by a great number of the Rabbies of that time. This is a good Demonſtration of the Zeal they had in thoſe days for the right Faith; for in ſhort, we don't underſtand how they could condemn a *Jew* to be burnt Alive in *Spain*, without remitting him to the *Chriſtians* to inflict the Puniſhment.

VI. But if the Doctors are generally Orthodox about the Article of the Creation, yet we muſt needs own, that they did almoſt preſently divide from *Moſes*. We have obſerved that in the Synagogue they tolerated the Divines who affirmed that there was a World before this in which we live; becauſe *Moſes* began the Hiſtory of *Geneſis* by a *B.* ב which denotes two. It was indifferent to that Legiſlator to begin his Book by an א and to ſay, אלהים ברא

* Maimonides More Nevochim. *p.* 2. *c.* 14. 15. 16. 223, &c. † Ibid. *c* 13. || Act. 1. & 4. * Maimon. More Nevoch. *p.* 2. *c.* 23. *p.* 251. *c.* 27. *p.* 260. † Ibid. *c.* 25. *p.* 257. || Id. *c.* 28. *p.* 262. * Menaſſ. de Creation. Probl. 3. *p.* 9.

God

God created; but he inverted its Conſtruction, and began his Work by a *B.* that he might inſtruct his Noviciates that this was the Second World, and that the firſt was ended in the Seventh Millenary, according to the order that God eſtabliſhed in the Revolutions that ſhould be made.

VII. But this is not the only place in which they renounce *Moſes*, and yet believe they follow him ſtep by ſtep. R. *Eliezer* *, an antient and renowned Doctor, maintains, that God had created ſeven things before the Univerſe. *The Law*; for it was that *Solomon* ſpeaks of under the title of *Wiſdom*, when he ſays, *the Lord hath poſſeſſed me from the beginning*: Hell; Paradice; *for God planted Paradice towards the Eaſt*, and the Hebrew word מקדם *Mikkedem* may ſignifie *before*. The four other things that God had created before the World, were the Throne of his Glory, the Sanctuary, the Name of the Meſſiah, *which is before* † *the Sun*, and Repentance, without which the World could not be upheld. For God who had made the World, perceived that it tottered, becauſe Repentance was wanting; || *as a Palace that could not ſubſiſt*, if the King *built it without laying a Foundation.*

He demands afterwards of what the Heavens were created, and anſwers that it is *from the Light of the Garment of God*; for the Pſalmiſt ſays, *he* * *covereth himſelf with light as with a Garment, and ſtretcheth out the Heavens like a Curtain.* The Earth hath been formed out of the Snow, † *which was under the Throne of the glory of God*; for God ſaid *to the Snow, be thou on the Earth*, or rather *be thou the Earth.*

VIII. *Maimonides* ||, ſurpriſed with theſe Interpretations, ſuſpects that *Eliezer* believed, *that the Light and the Throne of glory*, which he mentions, had not been created; and that *that* antient Rabbi had adopted the Opinion of *Plato*, concerning the Creation of the World. He owns he never read the like in all the other Doctors. But is that to be thought much more ſtrange than the great Diſpute that was raiſed between the two Schools of *Hillel* and *Schammai*; One would have it that the Heaven was firſt created, becauſe 'tis requiſite that the *Throne ſhould be made before the footſtool: The Heaven is his Throne, and the Earth is his footſtool.* *Hillel* maintained the contrary, that the Earth was created firſt, becauſe the *Floor ought to be laid before the Roof.* What *R. Abhu* ſaid, that God had made ſeveral Worlds, and had deſtroy'd them, was it leſs ſtrange and *aſtoniſhing?*

IX. *Maimonides* (*a*), tho' he was more exact and judicious, yet had he any reaſon to teach that the World was not made in Six days, but in an inſtant, becauſe *Moſes* has not ſaid in a divided ſence, that *God created the Heaven and the Earth?* or at leaſt it may be tranſlated that *God created the Heaven with the Earth*, according as we learn from (*b*) *Iſaiah*, when *he calleth to the Heaven and the Earth, they ſtand up together*; as the Husbandman throweth in at one and the ſame time all his Seed; but the Corn ſprings up afterwards very differently, ſo God produced all things in a Moment; but they took their Situation and Order inſenſibly; and thus we are to underſtand what the Antients have ſaid, that *God had not ſet the two great Lights in the Firmament till the fourth day, tho' he had created them the firſt.* He ſaid, God being inveſted with an infinite Wiſdom and Power, ought to do all things in an inſtant. Moreover, the Schools of *Hillel* and *Schammai*, after they had for a long while bandied about this Matter, they at laſt ended it with this Deciſion, that the World was made in a Moment. The Sages had already anſwered the ſame thing to *Alexander* the *Great*, who asked o them *which was made firſt, the Heaven or the Earth* In ſhort, *Philo* treated thoſe as ignorant Men and Blockheads who followed the other Opinion. Theſe Arguments, ſupported by the Name of *Maimonides*, have made a ſtrong impreſſion on many of the Rabbies. When they are preſſed with the Authority of *Moſes*, they juſtifie themſelves by the Example of thoſe *Chriſtians* who have done the ſame thing. St. *Auguſtin* ſaid, that the ſix Days pointed out ſix Degrees of Angelical Light; and Cardinal *Cajetan*, among the Modern Interpreters, affirms, that God deſigned by this term to manifeſt the Dependance, and ſhew the Bounds he has ſet to the different Creatures. Beſides, they ſay that among the *Jews* as well as among the *Chriſtians*, the ſoundeſt part keep to *Moſes* his account, which is Simple. In a word, ſhould it be ſo that Light and Darkneſs had been together; that *Adam* and *Eve* had been formed the ſame Moment, and that God had reſted from the firſt hour, ſeeing his Work had been finiſhed: Yet *Moſes* aſſures us (*c*) to the contrary.

X. *Maimonides* holds it for a Maxim, that the literal Sence of the Hiſtory of the Creation gives us odd and untoward Notions of God. And therefore he would have us often to have recourſe to Allegorical Interpretations, and that will open a Door to let us ſee abundance of Myſteries in the Production of the Univerſe, and in the Temptation of the Serpent, upon which *Samaël* was mounted; that is to ſay, the ſame Demon that ſaid to *Abraham*, *Thou art a fool, and thou doteſt in thy Old Age to be willing to ſacrifice thy Son*; and which at the ſame time made *Iſaac* riſe up againſt his Father, to withſtand his binding him upon the Altar.

XI. To conclude, he (*d*) maintains openly that *the World ſhall not be deſtroyed.* He owns it is not the Opinion of the greateſt number of the Doctors; but he believes that there is not one ſingle Paſſage in the Scripture which proves the total Deſtruction of the Univerſe. 'Tis true, the Scripture often makes mention of the falling of the Stars; it ſays that the Heaven and the Earth ſhall be ſhaken, and that the Sun ſhall not give its light; but we are to underſtand theſe Prophecies as relating to the Downfall of the Enemies of the Church, as the *Aſſyrians* and *Idumeans*, on whom God threat'ned to inflict exemplary Puniſhmeut. He pretends there is not a more juſt Notion; for thoſe Men, who ſhined with Luſtre upon Earth *as the Stars in the Firmament*, who imagined themſelves to be more firm and ſtable than Heaven and Earth, ſhall periſh in an inſtant; they ſhall be found in moſt diſmal Darkneſs bewailing themſelves without remedy. 'Tis alſo eaſy there to prove that this was the meaning of the Prophets; ſeeing that when they ſpeak of the reſt and proſperity *Iſrael* was to enjoy after the Death of *Sennacherib*, they ſaid that *the light of the Sun and of the Moon ſhall be encreaſed*; as they had ſaid that the Sun ſhould be turned into Darkneſs, and the Moon ſhould not give her Light, when they ſpake of Affliction. 'Tis in this manner likewiſe that we are to underſtand of that *great and terrible day* which *Joel* mentions, *Ch.* 2. *v.* 11. for he ſpeaks of the defeat of *Sennacherib*, near to *Jeruſalem*, or of the Victory which the Meſſiah ſhould gain over *Gog* and *Magog*, near to the ſame City. In a word, he affirms that *David* and *Jonathan* ſpeak plainly of the Eternity of the World. Thus the principal *Jewiſh* Doctors repreſent the Origine and Fate of the Univerſe. We had not ſo far enlarged our ſelves, but becauſe we thought it neceſſary to give an Idea of the different ways they took about this matter.

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* Eliezer, Pirke. *c.* 3. *p.* 3. † Pſ. 72. 87. || Ibid. *p* 5. * Pſ. 104. 2. † Job 37. || Maimon. More Nevoch. *c.* 26. *p.* 259. (*a*) Ibid. *c.* 30. *p.* 275. (*b*) Iſai. 48. 13. (*c*) Men. ibid. *p.* 43. (*d*) Maimon. ibid. *c.* 29. *p* 270.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Third Opinion about the Creation.

The true Origine of Spinoſiſm. *If this Axiom*, Nothing can be made of Nothing, *be true. It's Explication.*

I. Spinoſiſm *antient among the* Jews. II. *The firſt Principle of* Spinoſa, Nothing is made of Nothing. III. *Common to Philoſophers.* IV. *The Second Principle*, One only Subſtance. V. *Common with the* Cabaliſts *who make it to be Spiritual.* VI. *The* Cabaliſts *their Agreement with* Spinoſa. VII. *How the Spiritual Subſtance is condenſed, and the Material Subſtance ſpiritualized.* VIII. *The Explication and Compariſons of the* Cabaliſts. IX. *Spirits always united to God.* X. *How they are leſſened and how increaſed.* XI. *The Difficulty of this Syſtem.* XII. *Compared with that of* Spinoſa. XIII. *He has invented but one word* new. XIV. *Proofs of this Fact.* XV. *In what ſence it is true, that* Nothing can be made of Nothing. XVI. *That this Axiom is falſe in a certain ſence.* XVII. *The Operations of God explained.*

I. THERE is among the *Jews* a third Opinion about the Creation, which *Spinoſa* has reduced to a Syſtem. In truth that *Jew* had borrow'd the foundation of his Iniquity from the Rabbies of his Nation, who were known to him, rather than the *Chineſes*, or the Heathen Philoſophers. He has never cited the *Cabaliſts* as his Vouchers, becauſe that Man was ſo extreamly jealous of the Immortality of his Name, that he deſigned to paſs for an Original, and an Inventer of his Opinions. The *Cabaliſts*, no leſs greedy of glory than *Spinoſa*, might have claimed a Diſcovery which belonged to them, and gloried in that which has made *Spinoſa* immortal; but his Name was become too odious to enter into a Society of Atheiſm with him. In ſhort, the *Jews* roſe up againſt him. *Orobio* *, who lived at that time wrote againſt his Syſtem, which was full of Impiety. But they did not think writing enough, they Excommunicated him, and a zealous *Jew* gave him a cut with a Knife as he was going out of the Synagogue. 'Tis true, the *Cabaliſts* are tolerated in the Synagogue; but there is nothing ſo common as ſuch partiality of Judgments in Societies. They ſpare ſome, who have acquired the Privilege to Sin with Impunity, whileſt they are devouring others at a Morſel. The *Cabaliſts* for this long time have been as it were allow'd and authorized to throw about their Extravagances, and make themſelves to be admired by ſome Perſons who love to run after ſhadows and trifles, things of nought: But this comes about by their having the Art and Dexterity to veil themſelves under a Myſtical Language. They produce their Dreams and Viſions as Explications of Scripture, and ſpiritual Conjectures rather than as deciſions of Faith. *Spinoſa*, on the contrary, has made a Syſtem, and has endeavoured to prove it. He has kept very well to part of the obſcure and Myſtical Language of the *Cabaliſts*; and therefore thoſe who confute him are often accuſed of not underſtanding him; and his Diſciples affirm, that all thoſe who have attacked him, have not throughly comprehended his true thoughts. I know not, whether ſtruck with the abſurdity of the Conſequences which they draw from them, they dare not avow them; but they never unveil them, but leave that Myſtery always impenetrable, tho' they make their brags of having been initiated into them. He thought his Principles were as ſo many Demonſtrations. Beſides, he went farther than the *Cabaliſts*; for in explaining the Miracles of the Old Teſtament, and the manner how the Prophets ſpake, he deſtroyed the Miracles and divine Inſpiration, which by no means agreed with his Principles. In a word, he has undermined the Foundation of the *Jewiſh* Religion. It need not then be wondered at, that thoſe who profeſs it, are riſen up againſt him at the ſame time that they have the *Cabaliſts* in veneration, whoſe outward forms are infinitely more taking, and who keep themſelves in much ſtricter Bounds. In ſhort, the Synagogue of *Amſterdam* offered to tolerate him, provided he would diſſemble, and obſerve the outward forms in the exerciſe of Religion; but he would break out, become Maſter, and ſo by degrees left the Synagogue. It muſt then be no longer objected to us the toleration we had for the *Cabaliſts*, and not for *Spinoſa*, tho' he was but their Diſciple, and had ſuck'd his Principles out of their Writings. We will prove the thing independantly on all thoſe Circumſtances.

II. *Spinoſa* teaches that there is in the World but One only Subſtance; that God is that Subſtance, and that all the other exiſtent Beings are but Modifications.

This Syſtem is grounded firſt upon this Maxim, that one Subſtance cannot beget another Subſtance, *and that Nothing cannot be created out of Nothing.* It implies a Contradiction that *God works upon nothing.* It is impoſſible for *Nothing to be the Subject*, and the Matter on which God hath wrought. It is therefore impoſſible and contradictory that the World could hnve been created.

This firſt Principle is borrowed from the *Cabaliſts*, who affirm that this Maxim, *Nothing cannot be created from nothing*, is a fixed and ſenſible truth. Thoſe who maintain the contrary, according to them, ſhock not only the Reaſon, but the Wiſdom and Power of God: And as it is an evident Contradiction to ſay, *that a thing is, and is not*, ſo is it one alſo to maintain that it exiſts, and that *it has been made out of nothing* †.

III. I muſt confeſs they were not *Cabaliſts* who invented this firſt Principle. That difficulty which preſents it ſelf often enough to reaſon, had already ſhock'd Philoſophers. *Epicurus* had brought it againſt *Heraclitus* and the *Stoicks*. In ſhort, theſe laſt thought that the firſt matter ſubſiſted from all Eternity; but they forbore not to ſay, that the different Modifications, which they looked on as ſo many Beings different from Matter, had been produced from nothing by the Sovereign Being. They repreſented this Sovereign Being as a Fire operating in the Creatures that formed a more groſs Modification, more ſenſible in Plants and Animals, and which acted more ſubtilly in the Sun and Stars, the Modifications coming from a Principle quite foreign to, and dif-

* Iſhak Orobio certamen Philoſophicum adverſ. Joh. Bredenb. Principia. Amſtæl. 1703. in 12. vid. *Dr.* Cudworth.

† Henrici Mori Fundamenta Cabalæ Ætopædomeliſſeæ. *This word is made up of three others; the firſt ſignifies an Eagle; the ſecond a Child; the third a Bee; becauſe it pretends that in a Dream it ſaw an Eagle metamorphoſed into a Child, and that Child to become a Bee.* Cabala denudata. *b.* 2. *p.* 293. & 310.

ferent

ferent from matter. *Epicurus* to overthrow this Syſtem, proved againſt them that *Nothing could not be made of Nothing.*

Principium hinc, cujus nobis exordia ſumet,*
Nullam rem è nihilo gigni *divinitus unquam.*

Quas ob res ubi viderimus Nil poſſe creari
De nihilo, *tum quod ſequimur, jam tutius indè*
Perſpiciemus, & unde queat res quæq; creari,
Et quo quæq; modo fiant operâ ſine Divûm.

As this Axiom is true in a certain ſence, ſo we deſign not to trouble our ſelves about ſhewing what is falſe in it. Accuſtomed as we are to let our ſelves be ſtruck by ſenſible and material Objects which beget themſelves, and produce one another, we can ſcarce be perſuaded that the thing ſhould be done otherwiſe, and we make Matter on which God hath wrought to pre exiſt. Thus has *Plutarch* compared God to a Carpenter that built a Palace out of the Materials that he had before gathered and laid up ready for him; and to a Taylor that made a Suit of Clothes out of the Stuff that he had lying by him. We may nevertheleſs truly ſay, that this is the grand Foundation of all Impiety; for by depriving God of the Production of his firſt Work, we deſtroy the main proof of his Exiſtence. By taking away the Creation of the World from God, we take God from the World, or at leaſt we cannot help falling into great Abſurdities. It is true therefore that the Philoſophers have underſtood in a different manner this Axiom, that *Nothing is made of Nothing*; for ſome believe only that there is no new Subſtance made by Generation. There is nothing but Modifications, Accidents and Forms, that come from the Matter which had always pre exiſted: But others again underſtand by this Axiom, that it is impoſſible for ſome thing to come out of nothing, and for God to frame a World from it. This latter Explication was much more common than the other; for the Philoſophers were ſtruck with the ſame difficulty, which alſo at this day ſtrikes abundance of People, that Nothing cannot produce Nothing, and that it is impoſſible that God ſhould have made the World of Nothing. 'Tis alſo this latter Explication that *Spinoſa* follows.

IV. The ſecond Principle of *Spinoſa*, is, that there is but *One Alone* or *Simple Subſtance*, becauſe that cannot be called Subſtance, which is *Eternal, Independant on any Superiour Cauſe, which always exiſts by it ſelf, and neceſſarily.* As none but God exiſts from all Eternity, by himſelf, independantly on any other Cauſe: It muſt be acknowledged that if the Definition be good, there is no Subſtance in the Univerſe beſides God. It muſt not be objected to *Spinoſa*, that there are Subſtances which do not neceſſarily exiſt, as Beaſts and Men, and all the parts which compoſe the Univerſe; for he declares that it is indifferent to Man *either to exiſt or not exiſt.* But the Subſtance is not deſtroyed, there is but a different modification, as we ſhall obſerve in the third Principle.

V. The *Cabaliſts* ſay, as he does, that it is the common ſort of Philoſophers and Divines, who have imagined a Material World compoſed of different Subſtances, and diſtinguiſhed from God; for it is all one as to ſay, *that God hath produced Darkneſs, Sin and Death*, it is to maintain that God hath Created ſenſible and material Subſtances, different from his Nature and Eſſence; for Matter is but a privation of the Spirituality, as Darkneſs is a privation of Light; as Sin is a privation of Holineſs, and Death an extinction of Life. The *Cabaliſts* alſo agree with *Spinoſa* in acknowledging but One ſole and ſimple Subſtance; but that Wretch makes this Subſtance Material, to the end he might make a God Corporeal, and ſo deſtroy the Spirituality of that Being which he hardly conceives, and which abundance of Perſons have rejected before him.

Præter† inane & corpora, tertia per ſe,
Nulla poteſt rerum numero Natura relinqui.

The *Cabaliſts*, on the contrary, make this Subſtance *Spiritual*, and maintain that it could not have Created a thing ſo vile and fragile as matter. Wherefore they look on what they call *Materiality* as the greateſt of all Hereſies, and as down-right Atheiſm: But at the bottom the difference will quickly come to nothing and vaniſh.

VI. In ſhort, after all their fallings out and dividings they come together again, and unite of neceſſity; for it is not enough to ſay that there is a Simple, One, *Material* Subſtance, as *Spinoſa* terms it, or *Spiritual*, according to the *Cabaliſts*; but we ought to know the nature of the Objects which touch us, and which we know, our Bodies and Souls. *Spinoſa* ſays, that the One Simple Subſtance being inveſted with an infinite number of Artributes and Perfections, modifies it ſelf in a very different manner. The Bodies, which fill up a ſpace and a place, are the modifications of this Subſtance, *ſo far as it is extended*; and the Souls are the modifications of that ſame Subſtance, *ſo far as it thinks.* Thus all the parts of the Univerſe, the Bodies and Souls, are but different modifications of this ſame Subſtance, which exiſts from all Eternity, neceſſarily and independantly on any Cauſe.

The *Cabaliſts* alſo ſay, that all Creatures are as ſo many Emanations of the infinite Being, that the Attributes of that Eſſence being infinite, are able to produce an Infinity of effects. It can enlarge or contract it ſelf. It is ſaid‖ to extend it ſelf, when this Subſtance is in the Souls where it thinks; but it contracts it ſelf when it forms matter. The terms are different, but in the main they are only the modifications of *Spinoſa*. Indeed the *Cabaliſt* aſſerts, that the *Subſtance Eternal and Spiritual* ſhuts it ſelf up to compoſe the Air, the Rains, the Grains of Sand, Stones and Rocks, which are always *Particles of the Eternal Subſtance*; and by following theſe Principles, the Grain ſhutting it ſelf up *may become a Marble*; *the Marble be changed into a Plant*; *the Plant animated to a Beaſt, and the Beaſt become a Man, an Angel, a God.* On the other hand, *the Eternal Subſtance becomes an Angel, a drowſie Spirit, a Man, a Beaſt, a Plant, Marble, Stone, and Grain of Sand, becauſe they are only different Modifications.* Is not this all over *Spinoſiſm*?

VII. Perhaps it may be ſomewhat difficult to conceive how the Spiritual Eſſence contracts it ſelf, and becomes Matter. But is it leſs trouble for us to conceive how the Material Subſtance of *Spinoſa* is Spiritualized, or modifies it ſelf into Spirit, and forms a Thought? The one is as liable to the ſame Abſurdities as the other, and I can no more conceive how Matter thinks, than how a Spirit can contract it ſelf and be condenſed; or if there be any leſs difficulty in *Spinoſa*'s Syſtem, becauſe it is eaſie to conceive a material God, whereas we have not any clear and diſtinct Notion of an Infinite Mind, or Spirit; at leaſt it muſt be confeſs'd, that the Abſurdities of *Materiality* and *Spinoſiſm*, are more great and ſenſible than thoſe which flow from the *Cabaliſtical* Theology. But without entring into that detail, we will ſee how they do explain Condenſation.

* Lucretius. † Lucret. ‖ Morus Fund. Cabalæ. Fund. 10. 11.

All

All Spirits come forth by the Emanation of the Deity which is the One only Subſtance; but ſome Spirits fall into a State of Fainting, Languiſhing and Sleepineſs. Theſe Unities of Lazie, Feeble, or Sleepy Spirits unite themſelves one with the other, and form by their Union what we call Matter. Thoſe Spirits come out of the Divine Eſſence as the Thought ariſes from the Soul; as the World depends on Subſtance; as the Effect comes from the moving Cauſe. There was a neceſſity in God to produce them, as there is in the Soul to produce Thoughts, tho at the ſame time it does it voluntarily; they are Co-eternal, and Co-exiſtent with the Deity. There is no difference of time betwixt them; but of *Order and Nature*. It happens to them only to thicken, grow big, and by their Union and Coalition to compoſe what we call Matter.

But notwithſtanding this mixing with one another, which makes the Matter more vile, *it yet* * *radically remains a Spirit, and this Matter is only a certain, accidental modification of a Spiritual, Eternal Subſtance.*

VIII. They add, that foraſmuch as this Particle of the Eternal Subſtance is debaſed by this means, it loſes for ſome time its Excellence and Felicity; it falls into a ſort of Lethargick Reſt and inſenſibility which much degrades it; but it will one Day reaſſume its former Excellency and Felicity.

In ſhort, they compare the Spiritual and Eternal Subſtance, when it acts Nobly and with Vivacity and Sprightlineſs, to a Man newly wakened, becauſe the Actions of ſuch a One are more Vigorous and Noble; and they compare the ſame Subſtance, when it acts Corporeally and in an imperfect manner, to the Condition of a Man faſt aſleep; but as a Man whether awake or aſleep, is ſtill the ſame, it is only his Modification that changes; ſo the Eternal Subſtance is always the ſame in the Bodies and Spirits, but it is differently modified in them; and if I miſtake not, this is what *Spinoſa* has dreſt up more to the Mode and Taſte of the refined Wits, who would not be indebted for their Syſtem to the *Cabaliſts*, becauſe they look upon them as the weakeſt Wits in the World.

IX. They demand of the *Cabaliſts*, if the Spirits that admit remiſſion and Sleep, are ſeparated from the Deity, or whether they are always united to it: for if ſeparated, then the One only Subſtance muſt be diviſible; and if they are not ſeparated, then that Subſtance becomes Material. They anſwer, that they will not make any attempts on the Unity of God which always ſubſiſts inviolably; that he is the Father and Author of all Spirits that are gone out from him by Emanation, and that *he is all in them*; and that the Matter is always *radically in him*. In ſhort, tho thoſe Spirits by leſſening themſelves are loos'd from God by degrees, they however will have it to be true, that the Divine Eſſence is neither diviſible, nor divided. They uſe the Compariſon of a running Brook whoſe pure Waters are continually paſſing, yet ceaſe not to be always the ſame, tho there may be in its Bed ſome Gravel, and Particles of Earth, which increaſe and grow bigger inſenſibly, and make at laſt a weighty Maſs. The Eſſence of God is always the ſame, whether it thinks in the Body or not; and thoſe ſo different Effects are but different Modifications of one and the ſame Spiritual Subſtance, which enlarges, or contracts and condenſes it ſelf; or elſe thoſe Spirits are as the Subtle Exhalations, which condenſe, and ſo form drops of Water.

X. In fine, all thoſe Spirits without number have a Power almoſt without bounds, *indefinitus eſt enim Spiritus*; but they weaken and looſen themſelves proportionably as they looſe their Knowledge, till ſuch time as they paſs from Sleep into the laſt degree of abaſement which they call Death. But then alſo there are as many degrees of Elevation, by which thoſe Spirits that were become groſs, purifie and ſpiritualize themſelves, remount to their firſt heighth, and re-unite themſelves to the Divine Eſſence, and they are always radically therein. The World is compoſed of theſe dead or ſleeping Spirits, which by that means are become Material. And this is what they call the Creation.

Spinoſa does not admit of this Detachment of Spirits which come from the Divine Eſſence. But I don't know whether the difference is not more in the Terms than in the Subſtance of the Tenet; for thoſe ſeveral States of Heavineſs, of Sleep and Death, are Metaphorical Terms, whereby they deſign to explain the nature of Bodies and their Production, without having any juſt Notion of it; for at the ſame time that thoſe Spirits are looſed, and (as I may ſay) detach'd from the Divine Eſſence, they maintain that it is indiviſible, and conceive it like a River, the Gravel and Stones whereof make a part as well as the Water that flows, tho the Gravel is more groſs and material than the Water.

XI. But by this means they run themſelves mightily on ground, for they aſcribe to the Spirits flowing from the Deity a conſiderable change, ſeeing they grow big and thick by ſleeping. But is not *Spinoſa* forced to adopt the ſame variation into the Subſtance which he calls God? 'Tis in vain for him to cry out that he acknowledges the Immutability of God? For 'tis ſtill alike true, that the parts of the Divine Subſtance change, ſeeing they take a different Form. As we commonly ſay, a Man is very much changed, when from a Lean Scrag, he becomes a Well-ſpread and Fat Man; and when his Joy is turned into Sadneſs: As Wood is turned to Aſhes when it is burnt. It muſt be confeſs'd that the Eternal Subſtance, which endures all theſe changes, is not immutable, unleſs the common Stile of Men be changed, and Annihilation and Change be confounded: but theſe two things are very different; for as it is moſt true that Subſtance never falls into nothing; ſo is it likewiſe falſe to ſay, that it does not often change, and the divine Subſtance has its thickning, its Sleep and its Death, in the Syſtem of *Spinoſa* as well as in that of the *Cabaliſts*. At leaſt they do not make God do mean, vile and criminal Actions: for if there is but one Subſtance, that thinks and is extended, which differently is modified in Bodies and Souls, 'tis the ſame Subſtance then that pronounces Blaſphemies in Wicked Men; that commits Murders, or other deeds of the Body, which Modeſty will not allow us to Name: whereas the *Cabaliſts* do a little qualifie and ſweeten this harſh and unpleaſant Notion, by looſening Minds in ſome manner from their firſt Subſtance, and by giving Matter and Senſations to them proportionably as they are weakened, or made drowſie, and deſcend into a kind of Death.

However it be, we find the grounds of *Spinoſiſm* in the Theologie of the *Cabaliſts*; that *Spinoſa* has only cloathed it with what *Carthuſianiſm* cou'd furniſh him, to prop up a ſinking building that threat'ned the ruin of the whole. Both confeſs that there is but One only Subſtance, which is Eternal and Independant. Both ſay that this Subſtance did not Create the World, becauſe *Nothing cannot be made of Nothing*; but that it is only modified after a different manner in Bodies and Souls, or Spirits; and theſe three Principles which are common with them, make up the Character of *Spinoſiſm*.

* Ibid. *p.* 310.

XII. We

XII. We agree with *Spinoſa* that there is but One only Subſtance which ſubſiſts by it ſelf from all Eternity, Independantly on any other Cauſe. We will add with the *Cabaliſts*, who reaſon as to this point better than *Spinoſa*, that this Independant Subſtance is Spiritual; for Matter is too vile and changeable to make a God of. But can any one conceive that there is no other Subſtance but That which is Infinite, Eternal and Independant? If only Angels and Souls were in the Univerſe, it might be ſaid, as ſome of the Antient Philoſophers have done, that Spirits are ſo many Particles of the Deity? But how is it conceivable that the Machine of the World ſhould be a part of that Eternal Subſtance we call God, or that God ſhould be Material and Corporeal, as Men are, and Mountains, and Rocks, and the Earth? On the other ſide, how can it be ſaid, that this Spiritual Subſtance ſhould let Spirits come out of his Boſom that have eternally co-exiſted with him, which grow thick by an I know not what kind of Sleep, and compoſe the Univerſe? Becauſe Philoſophers have defin'd Matter to be a *Subſtance ſubſiſting by it ſelf*, does it therefore follow, that this Subſtance muſt ſubſiſt Eternally and Independantly? But we ought at leaſt to hearken to the Authors of this definition, and ſince they declare ingenuouſly, that they mean two Subſtances, the one Created, the other Uncreated, and that they do not call the Created Subſtance a thing which *ſubſiſts by it ſelf*, but in oppoſition to the Accidents that can't ſubſiſt without a Subject, we ought therefore no longer to be abuſed by their definition, nor ſuffer it to be inſiſted on as a Maxim which muſt not further be diſputed.

XIII. If *Spinoſa* thinks the Philoſophers have been to blame for aſcribing the Title of Subſtance to Creatures, becauſe thereby they have confounded them with God, and that 'tis evident that they do not ſubſiſt by themſelves, but on the contrary are deſtroyed by ſtriking againſt other Bodies, or periſh by their own weakneſs, he would have ſome reaſon; but he ought to explain himſelf. Beſides, he would have loſt the ſingularity of his Syſtem; or that ſingularity would not at leaſt conſiſt but by the inventing of a new term, or rather by the new Sence he puts upon a term of Modification which had been invented long before his Days: And the Queſtion would yet have been very difficult to decide, if by calling Bodies Modifications, he had ſpoken more juſtly than the Philoſophers, who called them Subſtances. It is not alſo very likely that a Man ſhould give himſelf ſo much trouble for ſuch a trifle. He would have taken God away out of the World, by making a God of the World. He took all Creatures to be but Accidents of the Deity, which had in it ſelf their ſubject of Inheſion, as they ſpeak in the Schools.

XIV. This appears, 1. Becauſe he acknowledges but one ſole Subſtance. He never diſtinguiſhes two of them, the One Created, the Other Un-created; the One dependant on the Supreme Being, the Other independant on any Cauſe. He could not doubt but the Matter of which the Univerſe is compoſed, was a Subſtance; He muſt then have confounded it with the Eternal, Uncreated and Independant Subſtance. Why therefore do they maintain with ſo much heat that there is One only Eternal Subſtance, if there be two of them very different one from the other, and that *That* of which Bodies are formed, is not the ſame with That which is Eternal. 2. He could not but know what Modes and Modification ſignified. He could not take that Term but in the Sence of the Philoſophers, or ſome Modern Divines and Controvertiſts. Theſe laſt hold that there are Accidents that ſubſiſt without a Subject; But has *Spinoſa* ſpread this falſe Philoſophy without having any advantage by it himſelf? If he has done ſo, they are to blame who admire his Arguing and way of Philoſophizing. He is a worſe Philoſopher than the moſt bigotted furious Controvertiſts, who have no ſooner loſt out of ſight and beyond recovery their Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, for which thoſe Accidents without a Subject were invented, but they go back to their firſt Principles. Moreover, when ever thoſe Controvertiſts treat of that matter, they preſently ſecure themſelves under the ſhelter of a diſtinction between Phyſick and Theologie, Nature and Religion. 'Twas therefore impoſſible that *Spinoſa* ſhould have look'd on Men as Modes and Accidents that ſubſiſted without a Subject. He has follow'd the Principles of *Carthuſianiſm*, wherein he was very well vers'd, where the Modifications are of pure Accidents which ſtand in need of a Subſtance to ſupport them. There is no thinking without a Soul; there is no motion without a Body. Whiteneſs, roundneſs are attached to certain Subjects; deſtroy thoſe Objects, and bring them to nothing; the Accidents fall, and the Modification ceaſes. If Men and all Creatures are but Modifications of the One Subſtance, God is the Subject of Inheſion, in which all Creatures are inherent. * We may ſay that that Deity is round, is white; that it Walks; that it Argues; that it Changes, when there are white Objects, or round, Merchants, Diſputants, and that change ſhape and figure: As we ſay in common Philoſophy, that a Globe is round, that the Lilly is white, that Man is alter'd, when the Lineaments and Features of his Face are no more the ſame. 3. This appears yet more evidently, becauſe the great difficulty of *Spinoſa* and the *Cabaliſts* before him, was, that *Nothing could not be made of nothing*. That made them imagine an only Subſtance in the Univerſe, the thickning of Spirits, and different Modifications. If God hath Created Nothing and produced Nothing out of himſelf, then all the parts of the Univerſe muſt neceſſarily be parts of the One only Subſtance, differently modified, extended, or contracted, as we affirm.

XV. 'Tis granted to *Spinoſa* and his Maſters, that it is true, *Nothing cannot be made of Nothing*, and that there is, as we ſay, a formal oppoſition, and an infinite diſtance between Nothing and a Being, if we mean theſe three things; One that *Nothing and a Being ſubſiſt at the ſame time*. 'Tis certain this implies a contradiction as apparently, as to ſay that a Man is Blind, and yet he ſees; but as it is not impoſſible † that a Blind Man ſhould ceaſe from being ſo, and ſee Objects which were before hid from him; ſo neither is it impoſſible, that what did not exiſt, ſhould acquire an Exiſtence, and become a Being. Secondly, 'tis true, that Nothing cannot concur, or be the Cauſe of a Being. It ſeems they look upon nothing as a Subject upon which God works, much like the Ground which God made uſe of in the Creation of Man; now as that Subject exiſts not, becauſe it is Nothing, they may reaſonably ſay, that God could not bring Nothing out of Nothing. It would be ridiculous to ſay, that God brought Light out of Darkneſs, if we mean by that, that Darkneſs produced Light; but nothing hinders the Day from ſucceeding to Night; and that an infinite Power may produce Creatures, and give a Being to what had none before. Nothing has neither been the Subject, nor the Matter, nor the Inſtrument, nor the Cauſe of the Beings which God hath made. One would think this Remark ſhould be needleſs, becauſe no Body looks upon Nothing as a Fund on which God wrought, or which co-operated with him. However 'tis in this Sence *Spinoſa* diſputes againſt the Creation's

* V. Bayle's Dict. Crit. *p.* 2767, &c.

† Menaſſ de Creat. *probl*, 5. *p.* 22.

being made out of Nothing. He very inſultingly demands, *if any can conceive that Life ſhould proceed from Death. To ſay that, would be to look on Privations as the Cauſes of an infinite number of Effects. 'Tis the ſame thing as if one ſaid, that Nothing and the privation and want of Being, is the Cauſe of Being. Spinoſa* ||, and his Aſſociates are in the right; the Privation of a thing is not the Cauſe of it. 'Tis not Darkneſs that produces Light, nor Death that begets Life. God does not command Nothing as a Slave that is obliged to act and ſubmit to his Orders; as he does not command Darkneſs nor Death to beget him Light or Life. Nothing is always Nothing; Death and Darkneſs are only Privations incapable of acting; but as God was able to produce Light which ſhould diſſipate Darkneſs, and to reſuſcitate a Body; the ſame God hath alſo been able to create Beings which never exiſted before, and to annihilate Nothing it ſelf, or at leaſt to diminiſh it by producing a mighty number of Creatures. Now as Death does not concur to the Reſurrection, and Darkneſs is not the Subject on which God works to derive Light from it; ſo Nothing does not co-operate with God, and is not the Cauſe of any Being, nor the Canvas on which God hath wrought, to bring forth ſo great a number of them. Here then we fight a Phantoſm, and change the Sentiment of Orthodox *Chriſtians*, that ſo we may turn it the more eaſily into ridicule. In a word, 'tis true, *Nothing is not made of Nothing*, or by Nothing, that is to ſay, without a Cauſe that pre-exiſts. As for Example, it would be impoſſible for the World to make it ſelf. There muſt be a Cauſe ſuperlatively powerful to produce it. The Maxim therefore, that *Nothing is not made of Nothing*, is true in theſe three Senſes.

XVI. But it is demanded, if God, whoſe Power is infinite, or, if you had rather, that independant Subſtance on every other Cauſe, can act independantly on Matter, and give Being to what was not before, according to *Spinoſa*, It muſt be decided that God cannot command Matter, to be. If he cannot, his Power is limited, or otherwiſe we muſt ſay, that the Exiſtence of Matter, by an Act of the Divine Power, implies a Contradiction. But how does this Exiſtence of Matter, produced by the Power of God, imply a Contradiction? and this ſame Exiſtence of Matter which exiſts from all Eternity, that is to ſay, which produc'd it ſelf, and which conſequently was derived from Nothing, does not this imply a Contradiction? Let us lay aſide the Ideas of Nothing, and the Maxim, *Nothing is not made of Nothing*, which perplexes it; and let us reduce it to its true ſenſe, and enquire whether the World was made of a pre-exiſtent Matter, or without Matter: For that is the meaning of thoſe words, *the World was made of Nothing, the Univerſe proceeded from Nothing*. 'Tis certain they do not mean that what is call'd Nothing, *Nihilum*, was the Subject, or the place from whence God brought out the Univerſe; but only that there was nothing before Matter was formed. I maintain it to be much harder to conceive that there was an Eternal matter which made it ſelf; weak, imperfect, as we beheld it, than to conceive that God by his infinite Power made the Matter which did not exiſt as yet. The reaſon hereof is plain, that the greateſt of all Perfections being that of giving Being to it ſelf, or of exiſting from all Eternity. I can't conceive that the firſt matter, vile, without form, and corruptible, ſhould be poſſeſſed with ſuch a Perfection, nor that it ſhould come from Nothing without any pre-exiſtent Cauſe. At leaſt I comprehend more eaſily that it began to exiſt, when God was pleaſed it ſhould. I can't conceive that my Soul was from all Eternity the ſame. Yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that God gives it an Exiſtence it had not before, or rather that it exiſts from all Eternity by it ſelf. It is no leſs difficult a matter to produce a rational Soul from a Subſtance that does not exiſt, than to produce a Body without Matter which has pre-exiſted. I know what I think; I know likewiſe that Matter can't produce Thought. To wiſh that Matter had this power, is to give it the faculty of producing a thing, which is much more perfect than it; and at the ſame time that they ſhould deny to God the power of creating what did not exiſt; they aſcribe to Matter the power of producing Thoughts which are far above it. If Thoughts, infinitely more noble and excellent than Atoms, or a heavy lump, cannot come out of Matter; and if the Intellect is not the effect of a corporeal Subſtance, then God muſt produce Thoughts, or the Soul which begets them, and a thing which did not exiſt before, begins to be. And now we require them to tell us, why God ſhou'd not have the ſame power to create Matter as to produce Souls? To conclude, I know better the nature of Matter which is ſenſible and circumſcribed, than I know the extent of the Power of God who is an infinite Spirit: preſs'd with two Difficulties which ariſe from the Creation of the World, I will rather throw my ſelf on the ſide of the Power of God, whoſe daily and inconteſtable Effects very far ſurpaſs my ſhallow reaſon and capacity, and ſhall more eaſily comprehend that it was able to produce Matter that exiſted not, than believe that Matter created it ſelf, or that it is a Principle ſubſiſting from all Eternity.

XVII. The operation of God is explain'd by the example of Creatures, and the different Modifications of which they are capable; the Soul produces Thoughts, Bodies give motion to other Bodies; the Sun ſcatters his Rays and his Light; the Object is painted in the Mirroir which reflects it back. 'Tis * ſaid that theſe are as many Creations; and in ſhort ſome Philoſophers do maintain, that God muſt needs diſplay an infinite Vertue and Power, of which the Creature is not capable, in making the Arms to move, and that he creates the Action which they produce, and which is communicated to the Boule in throwing it. But not to carry theſe Principles too far, we may ſafely conclude, that if the Creature, or God, produce indiſputable and ſenſible Effects, without our being able to conceive the manner how they are done, if he gives Exiſtence to things that were not before, beyond our reach to comprehend how they are brought to paſs; he was able alſo to give unto Matter an Exiſtence that it had not. My deſign is not to refute *Spinoſa*'s Syſtem, which the *Cabaliſts* had brought forth before him, and of which a † Learned Gentleman has admirably well ſhewn the Abſurdities and horrible Conſequences, whilſt others have ſapp'd the Foundations and firſt Principles of it.

XVIII. We will only obſerve || that St. *Jerome* Attributes a ſort of *Spinoſiſm* to *Origen*; for he condemns him for having ſaid that all rational Creatures were but one and the ſame Subſtance united to the Deity; and whilſt he was in ſuſpence whether he ſhould own that the Son was begotten of the Father, and of the ſame Eſſence with him, becauſe he was afraid leſt he ſhould ſplit the Deity in two; he ſtoutly ſtood up and maintained, that the Creatures and God were but one ſole and ſame Subſtance: but I know not whether we ought to give an entire Credit to St. *Jerome*, who was *Origen*'s declared Enemy; for whatever pains we may take to find the words upon which he grounds his Accuſation, they are not to be found in *Origen*. The

|| Orobio Certamen Philoſ. *p.* 85. ad Avitum. * Cudw. Syſt. Intellect. *Book* 1. *c.* 4. 747. † Bayle, ibid. || Hieron.

Moderns

Moderns ſay, that *Ruſin* has retrenched them in his Verſion. But why don't they ſay rather that St. *Jerome* imputed them to *Origen*, that ſo he might have a pretence to accuſe him? We are ſo much the rather inclined to believe this, becauſe tho' *Origen* explains all along the manner how *God ſhall be all in all to all Eternity*, yet he never ſpeaks of the Souls coming back into the Eſſence of God, of which they would have been apart, if he had taught what St. *Jerome* imputes to him. At leaſt that Father avows that *Origen* had qualified his Thought with a *Quodam Modo*, maintaining that the Creatures *were in ſome ſort* the Subſtance of God: But there are found at this Day * ſome Modern Hiſtorians who aſcribe this Sentiment † to *Origen*, without Reſtriction and without Proof.

* Doucin. *Hiſt. of Origeniſm. l.* 5. *p.* 359. † Orig. Περὶ ἀρχῶν. *l.* 3. *c.* 6. *p.* 829.

CHAP. VIII.

The Creation of the World by way of Emanation.

Different Worlds explained.

I. *Fourth Opinion of the* Jews *about the Creation.* II. *Source of Difficulties and Errors.* III. *Reaſons that obliged God to create.* IV. *Why God began his Work ſo late.* V. *Different Voyages of the Letter* Jod. *His wearineſs.* VI. *Two Obſtacles in the Creation of the World.* VII. *Deſcription of* Adam Kadmon. *His Ears; his Brain.* VIII. *Its Explication.* IX. *The* Aziluthique *World.* X. *Of the* Briathique *World.* XI. *Of the Creation of Angels.* XII. *Creation of Bodies.* XIII. *Other diſtinction of Worlds.* XIV. *Apologie for the Sentiment, and Expreſſions of the* Cabaliſts *by the* Chriſtians. XV. *Confutation of their Apologie by the* Jewiſh *Doctors.* XVI. *Errors obſerved therein.* XVII. *Extravagances in the* Seir Anpin. XVIII. *If that Opinion be found in the* Targum *of* Jeruſalem. XIX. *The antient Sphere with its Circles.* XX. *The Planets thought to be animated.* XXI. *Fathers of the Church who have maintained it.* XXII. Origen's *weak Apologie.*

I. THE *Cabaliſts* have another Syſtem far leſs intelligible than the foregoing one. They ſay indeed that Angels and this Sublunary World were framed out of Nothing; but at the ſame time hold that there are ſeveral Worlds, and that thoſe Worlds came from God by way of Emanation. They are compoſed of Light. That divine Light was very ſubtile and thin in its firſt Riſe, but it grew thicker and thicker by degrees, in Proportion as it was farther removed from the Supreme Being, to which it was originally attached. It is * explained by the example of Manna, which was a dew from Heaven congealed by the heavenly Light. 'Tis certain *Akiba* affirms, that Manna was engend'red by that light, which was condenſed, and ſo became material. *R. Iſmaël* finds great fault with this, becauſe Manna was *the bread of Angels*, and thoſe Intelligences are not nouriſhed by a light become material, but by the *Light of God*. Now to avoid this Inconvenience, they make two States of Saints in Heaven, the One ſhall not come to perfection there, and therefore their Souls ſhall be nouriſhed by this condenſed Light, like the Children of *Iſrael* who did eat it in the Wilderneſs; but the others ſhall be fortify'd with the *pure Light*. Be it how it will, thoſe Doctors agree about the condenſation of the Celeſtial and Divine Light. Manna was nothing but a ſort of congealment of that Light; and the other Creatures, which have ſome degree of Excellency, have been made of this Light as well as Manna. 'Tis this laſt Syſtem about the Creation which we are going to unravel as much as we ſhall be able.

II. Without doubt abundance of Abſurdities will be met with in it; but they all ariſe from a difficulty that mightily puzzles the Divines. Moſt of them finding an infinite diſtance between material, vile Bodies, and the Sovereign Deity, have not been able to comprehend that God created them immediately. To take away this Scandal, they have imagined two things. A certain Gradation of Creatures, the moſt Noble and Excellent of whom had produced Others; or rather they have made Principles to intervene between God and us, who diſcending by degrees, and, as I may ſo ſay, approaching nearer to our Nature, were enabled to produce it by the Power they had received from the Deity. We have already obſerved that it was this difficulty that perplexed *Plato*, and which drove him to the device of his word and intelligences between God and Man. Did not *Ariſtotle* make a kind of Idol *of Nature?* he looked upon her as a ſort of Intelligent being, which regulated all things with great Order and Wiſdom. She was the Center, and held a Middle, between God and the Creatures; and the Deity having made her the depoſitary of his Orders and Motions, reſted it ſelf, and committed to her all things which were to happen in the ſenſible World. And there are likewiſe too many *Chriſtians*, that can't endure to have this Idol wreſted out of their hands †. They alſo aſcribe to *Nature* an infinite number of Operations; they never ſpeak of her but with their Heads uncovered; they ſtand in awe of her; and give her a thouſand flattering Encomiums. What a horrid Crime was this for the new Philoſophers, who attempted to efface and anihilate *a Name which had been ſo Sacred to all Antiquity!* This Prejudice is ſo extremely violent, that even thoſe who keep themſelves moſt from popular Errours, ſubſtitute New Conceits in room of the Old. They diſpute ſtrongly even || at this day about the * Vital Spirit, and certain † Plaſtick Natures which thoſe Philoſophers and Divines have imagined, and to which is entruſted the Care of making the Productions of Nature. Theſe are ſo many Channels thro' which God, inſtead of acting immediately, leſſens the infinite diſtance that is between him and the Creatures. The *Cabaliſts*, their Heads being heated with ſo general a Prejudice, have taken a quite different Road, but it tends however to the ſame end.

III. They || believe that God was obliged to cre-

* Apud. Buxtorf. de Manna. *c.* 2. *p.* 351 † Vide Schelammeri Profeſs. Kilonienſis Naturæ vindicatæ vindicatio, & Boyle de ipſa Natura. || Bayle's *Continuation* des Penſees diverſes. *t.* 1. *p.* 91. Le Clerc Bibliotheque Choiſie. *t.* V. VII.
* *Dr.* Grew. † *Dr.* Cudw. *True Syſt. Intell.* || R. Jiſchak Lorienſis. Tract. 1. Libri Druſchim, ſive Introduct. Metaphyſica ad Cabalam. Cabala denudata. *t.* 2. *p.* 28. Anonymi Queſt. in librum Druſchim. Mori Diſquiſit. in amica Reſp. cont. ibid. *p.* 187.

being made out of Nothing. He very inſultingly demands, *if any can conceive that Life ſhould proceed from Death. To ſay that, would be to look on Privations as the Cauſes of an infinite number of Effects. 'Tis the ſame thing as if one ſaid, that Nothing and the privation and want of Being, is the Cauſe of Being.* *Spinoſa* ||, and his Aſſociates are in the right; the Privation of a thing is not the Cauſe of it. 'Tis not Darkneſs that produces Light, nor Death that begets Life. God does not command Nothing as a Slave that is obliged to act and ſubmit to his Orders; as he does not command Darkneſs nor Death to beget him Light or Life. Nothing is always Nothing; Death and Darkneſs are only Privations incapable of acting; but as God was able to produce Light which ſhould diſſipate Darkneſs, and to reſuſcitate a Body; the ſame God hath alſo been able to create Beings which never exiſted before, and to annihilate Nothing it ſelf, or at leaſt to diminiſh it by producing a mighty number of Creatures. Now as Death does not concur to the Reſurrection, and Darkneſs is not the Subject on which God works to derive Light from it; ſo Nothing does not co-operate with God, and is not the Cauſe of any Being, nor the Canvas on which God hath wrought, to bring forth ſo great a number of them. Here then we fight a Phantoſm, and change the Sentiment of Orthodox *Chriſtians*, that ſo we may turn it the more eaſily into ridicule. In a word, 'tis true, *Nothing is not made of Nothing*, or by Nothing, that is to ſay, without a Cauſe that pre-exiſts. As for Example, it would be impoſſible for the World to make it ſelf. There muſt be a Cauſe ſuperlatively powerful to produce it. The Maxim therefore, that *Nothing is not made of Nothing*, is true in theſe three Senſes.

XVI. But it is demanded, if God, whoſe Power is infinite, or, if you had rather, that independant Subſtance on every other Cauſe, can act independantly on Matter, and give Being to what was not before, according to *Spinoſa*, It muſt be decided that God cannot command Matter, to be. If he cannot, his Power is limited, or otherwiſe we muſt ſay, that the Exiſtence of Matter, by an Act of the Divine Power, implies a Contradiction. But how does this Exiſtence of Matter, produced by the Power of God, imply a Contradiction? and this ſame Exiſtence of Matter which exiſts from all Eternity, that is to ſay, which produc'd it ſelf, and which conſequently was derived from Nothing, does not this imply a Contradiction? Let us lay aſide the Ideas of Nothing, and the Maxim, *Nothing is not made of Nothing*, which perplexes it; and let us reduce it to its true ſenſe, and enquire whether the World was made of a pre-exiſtent Matter, or without Matter: For that is the meaning of thoſe words, *the World was made of Nothing, the Univerſe proceeded from Nothing*. 'Tis certain they do not mean that what is call'd Nothing, *Nihilum*, was the Subject, or the place from whence God brought out the Univerſe; but only that there was nothing before Matter was formed. I maintain it to be much harder to conceive that there was an Eternal matter which made it ſelf; weak, imperfect, as we beheld it, than to conceive that God by his infinite Power made the Matter which did not exiſt as yet. The reaſon hereof is plain, that the greateſt of all Perfections being that of giving Being to it ſelf, or of exiſting from all Eternity. I can't conceive that the firſt matter, vile, without form, and corruptible, ſhould be poſſeſſed with ſuch a Perfection, nor that it ſhould come from Nothing without any pre-exiſtent Cauſe. At leaſt I comprehend more eaſily that it began to exiſt, when God was pleaſed it ſhould. I can't conceive that my Soul was from all Eternity the ſame. Yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that God gives it an Exiſtence it had not before, or rather that it exiſts from all Eternity by it ſelf. It is no leſs difficult a matter to produce a rational Soul from a Subſtance that does not exiſt, than to produce a Body without Matter which has pre-exiſted. I know what I think; I know likewiſe that Matter can't produce Thought. To wiſh that Matter had this power, is to give it the faculty of producing a thing, which is much more perfect than it; and at the ſame time that they ſhould deny to God the power of creating what did not exiſt; they aſcribe to Matter the power of producing Thoughts which are far above it. If Thoughts, infinitely more noble and excellent than Atoms, or a heavy lump, cannot come out of Matter; and if the Intellect is not the effect of a corporeal Subſtance, then God muſt produce Thoughts, or the Soul which begets them, and a thing which did not exiſt before, begins to be. And now we require them to tell us, why God ſhou'd not have the ſame power to create Matter as to produce Souls? To conclude, I know better the nature of Matter which is ſenſible and circumſcribed, than I know the extent of the Power of God who is an infinite Spirit: preſs'd with two Difficulties which ariſe from the Creation of the World, I will rather throw my ſelf on the ſide of the Power of God, whoſe daily and inconteſtable Effects very far ſurpaſs my ſhallow reaſon and capacity, and ſhall more eaſily comprehend that it was able to produce Matter that exiſted not, than believe that Matter created it ſelf, or that it is a Principle ſubſiſting from all Eternity.

XVII. The operation of God is explain'd by the example of Creatures, and the different Modifications of which they are capable; the Soul produces Thoughts, Bodies give motion to other Bodies; the Sun ſcatters his Rays and his Light; the Object is painted in the Mirroir which reflects it back. 'Tis * ſaid that theſe are as many Creations; and in ſhort ſome Philoſophers do maintain, that God muſt needs diſplay an infinite Vertue and Power, of which the Creature is not capable, in making the Arms to move, and that he creates the Action which they produce, and which is communicated to the Boule in throwing it. But not to carry theſe Principles too far, we may ſafely conclude, that if the Creature, or God, produce indiſputable and ſenſible Effects, without our being able to conceive the manner how they are done, if he gives Exiſtence to things that were not before, beyond our reach to comprehend how they are brought to paſs; he was able alſo to give unto Matter an Exiſtence that it had not. My deſign is not to refute *Spinoſa*'s Syſtem, which the *Cabaliſts* had brought forth before him, and of which a † Learned Gentleman has admirably well ſhewn the Abſurdities and horrible Conſequences, whilſt others have ſapp'd the Foundations and firſt Principles of it.

XVIII. We will only obſerve || that St. *Jerome* Attributes a ſort of *Spinoſiſm* to *Origen*; for he condemns him for having ſaid that all rational Creatures were but one and the ſame Subſtance united to the Deity; and whilſt he was in ſuſpence whether he ſhould own that the Son was begotten of the Father, and of the ſame Eſſence with him, becauſe he was afraid leſt he ſhould ſplit the Deity in two; he ſtoutly ſtood up and maintained, that the Creatures and God were but one ſole and ſame Subſtance: but I know not whether we ought to give an entire Credit to St. *Jerome*, who was *Origen*'s declared Enemy; for whatever pains we may take to find the words upon which he grounds his Accuſation, they are not to be found in *Origen*. The

|| Orobio Certamen Philoſ. *p.* 85. * Cudw. Syſt. Intellect. *Book* 1. *c.* 4. 747. † Bayle, ibid. || Hieron. ad Avitum.

Moderns

Moderns ſay, that *Ruſin* has retrenched them in his Verſion. But why don't they ſay rather that St. *Jerome* imputed them to *Origen*, that ſo he might have a pretence to accuſe him? We are ſo much the rather inclined to believe this, becauſe tho' *Origen* explains all along the manner how *God ſhall be all in all to all Eternity*, yet he never ſpeaks of the Souls coming back into the Eſſence of God, of which they would have been apart, if he had taught what St. *Jerome* imputes to him. At leaſt that Father avows that *Origen* had qualified his Thought with a *Quodam Modo*, maintaining that the Creatures *were in ſome ſort* the Subſtance of God: But there are found at this Day * ſome Modern Hiſtorians who aſcribe this Sentiment † to *Origen*, without Reſtriction and without Proof.

* Doucin. *Hiſt. of Origeniſm. l.* 5. *p.* 359. † Orig. Περὶ ἀρχῶν. *l.* 3. *c.* 6. *p.* 829.

CHAP. VIII.

The Creation of the World by way of Emanation.

Different Worlds explained.

I. *Fourth Opinion of the* Jews *about the Creation.* II. *Source of Difficulties and Errors.* III. *Reaſons that obliged God to create.* IV. *Why God began his Work ſo late.* V. *Different Voyages of the Letter* Jod. *His wearineſs.* VI. *Two Obſtacles in the Creation of the World.* VII. *Deſcription of* Adam Kadmon. *His Ears; his Brain.* VIII. *Its Explication.* IX. *The* Aziluthique *World.* X. *Of the* Briathique *World.* XI. *Of the Creation of Angels.* XII. *Creation of Bodies.* XIII. *Other diſtinction of Worlds.* XIV. *Apologie for the Sentiment, and Expreſſions of the* Cabaliſts *by the* Chriſtians. XV. *Confutation of their Apologie by the* Jewiſh *Doctors.* XVI. *Errors obſerved therein.* XVII. *Extravagances in the* Seir Anpin. XVIII. *If that Opinion be found in the* Targum *of* Jeruſalem. XIX. *The antient Sphere with its Circles.* XX. *The Planets thought to be animated.* XXI. *Fathers of the Church who have maintained it.* XXII. Origen's *weak Apologie.*

I. THE *Cabaliſts* have another Syſtem far leſs intelligible than the foregoing one. They ſay indeed that Angels and this Sublunary World were framed out of Nothing; but at the ſame time hold that there are ſeveral Worlds, and that thoſe Worlds came from God by way of Emanation. They are compoſed of Light. That divine Light was very ſubtile and thin in its firſt Riſe, but it grew thicker and thicker by degrees, in Proportion as it was farther removed from the Supreme Being, to which it was originally attached. It is * explained by the example of Manna, which was a dew from Heaven congealed by the heavenly Light. 'Tis certain *Akiba* affirms, that Manna was engend'red by that light, which was condenſed, and ſo became material. *R. Iſmaël* finds great fault with this, becauſe Manna was *the bread of Angels*, and thoſe Intelligences are not nouriſhed by a light become material, but by the *Light of God*. Now to avoid this Inconvenience, they make two States of Saints in Heaven, the One ſhall not come to perfection there, and therefore their Souls ſhall be nouriſhed by this condenſed Light, like the Children of *Iſrael* who did eat it in the Wilderneſs; but the others ſhall be fortify'd with the *pure Light*. Be it how it will, thoſe Doctors agree about the condenſation of the Celeſtial and Divine Light. Manna was nothing but a ſort of congealment of that Light; and the other Creatures, which have ſome degree of Excellency, have been made of this Light as well as Manna. 'Tis this laſt Syſtem about the Creation which we are going to unravel as much as we ſhall be able.

II. Without doubt abundance of Abſurdities will be met with in it; but they all ariſe from a difficulty that mightily puzzles the Divines. Moſt of them finding an infinite diſtance between material, vile Bodies, and the Sovereign Deity, have not been able to comprehend that God created them immediately. To take away this Scandal, they have imagined two things. A certain Gradation of Creatures, the moſt Noble and Excellent of whom had produced Others; or rather they have made Principles to intervene between God and us, who diſcending by degrees, and, as I may ſo ſay, approaching nearer to our Nature, were enabled to produce it by the Power they had received from the Deity. We have already obſerved that it was this difficulty that perplexed *Plato*, and which drove him to the device of his word and intelligences between God and Man. Did not *Ariſtotle* make a kind of Idol *of Nature?* he looked upon her as a ſort of Intelligent being, which regulated all things with great Order and Wiſdom. She was the Center, and held a Middle, between God and the Creatures; and the Deity having made her the depoſitary of his Orders and Motions, reſted it ſelf, and committed to her all things which were to happen in the ſenſible World. And there are likewiſe too many *Chriſtians*, that can't endure to have this Idol wreſted out of their hands †. They alſo aſcribe to *Nature* an infinite number of Operations; they never ſpeak of her but with their Heads uncovered; they ſtand in awe of her; and give her a thouſand flattering Encomiums. What a horrid Crime was this for the new Philoſophers, who attempted to efface and anihilate *a Name which had been ſo Sacred to all Antiquity!* This Prejudice is ſo extremely violent, that even thoſe who keep themſelves moſt from popular Errours, ſubſtitute New Conceits in room of the Old. They diſpute ſtrongly even || at this day about the * Vital Spirit, and certain † Plaſtick Natures which thoſe Philoſophers and Divines have imagined, and to which is entruſted the Care of making the Productions of Nature. Theſe are ſo many Channels thro' which God, inſtead of acting immediately, leſſens the infinite diſtance that is between him and the Creatures. The *Cabaliſts*, their Heads being heated with ſo general a Prejudice, have taken a quite different Road, but it tends however to the ſame end.

III. They || believe that God was obliged to cre-

* Apud. Buxtorf. de Manna. *c.* 2. *p.* 351 † Vide Schelammeri Profeſs. Kilonienſis Naturæ vindicatæ vindicatio, & Boyle de ipſa Natura. || Bayle's *Continuation* des Penſees diverſes. *t.* 1. *p.* 91. Le Clerc Bibliotheque Choiſie. *t.* V. VII.
* *Dr.* Grew. † *Dr.* Cudw. *True Syſt. Intell.* || R. Jiſchak Lorienſis. Tract. 1. Libri Druſchim, ſive Introduct. Metaphyſica ad Cabalam. Cabala denudata. *t.* 2. *p.* 28. Anonymi Queſt. in librum Druſchim. Mori Diſquiſit. in amica Reſp. cont. ibid. *p.* 187.

ate the Universe, because otherwise he would not have compleatly made out the Idea of the name *Jehovah* which he had given to himself, and which signifies that *he exists*; nor that of *Adonai*, which denotes his absolute Rule and Empire over Subjects. The World therefore must of necessity have had its Existence, and there likewise must have been Men subject to his Laws, to make him truly *a Lord*. As if God had from all Eternity given to himself the names of *Jehovah* and *Adonai*; and, as if he had of necessity been imposed to take them; or rather, as if he had not taken them but to the end he might make Men know his Eternal Existence, and his Authority over them.

IV. They examine into the reason why the World was not made before, and they find one for it in the manner of its Production. There first came forth an infinite Light which they called *Or Æn Soph*; It cannot be explained, nor conceived; it is *above all Comprehension*; it hath not had either beginning or time. Yet they own, at the same time that *it was made, formed, and created*, it is not Eternal, which implies a Contradiction. From this first Emanation flow'd a second great and resplendant Light which they call *Adam Kadmon*; *Adam, the first of all that was made in the beginning*. From this *Adam* have other Lights flowed, some whereof issued from his Brain, others from his Ears, and at last came *the World of Points* *; and from that World came forth four other Worlds, of which we shall speak hereafter. They affirm, that all these Emanations of Light succeeding one to another, it was not possible that God should create the World sooner, since there must be allowed time for his Emanations to beget, as I may say, and to succeed one to the other, which required without question several Revolutions of Ages.

V. The Letter † *Jod*, which is the name *Jehovah*, made several Voyages, and often descended to cast abroad a thicker Light, because that which subsisted before was too subtil and fluid to fix it self, and form the World. This Letter was considerably weakened with its first course, but borrowing fresh succours from the Letter || *H*, which is also in the name *Jehovah*, there appears *the Crown*, which is the first of all the *Sephiroths*, and virtually includes them all. This same *Jod* produced afterwards the other *Sephiroths*, proportionably as it descended and ascended, and thereby God opened the way for the Creation of the Universe.

VI. God designing to create the Universe, there were two great Difficulties to be overcome in it.

First, All was full; for the subtil and resplendant Light *, which came from the Divine Essence, had filled all things. He must therefore make a void space, wherein to place his Emanations and the Universe: For this end God press'd a little the Light that encompassed him, and that compressed Light gave back on each side, and left in the middle a huge empty Circle, in which the World might be placed. This is explained by the Comparison of a Man, who finding himself overburthen'd with too long a Garment, tucks it up. They alledge also the example of God, who changed his Form or manner of his Presence, both upon Mount *Sinai*, and when he *appeared in a flame of fire out of the midst of a Bush*; *Exod.* 3. v. 2. But all these Comparisons don't hinder, but that there remains an Idea of a sensible Substance in God. Nothing but Bodies can fill a place, and be compressed.

They add, that it was for the sake of the righteous and holy People that God made that Restriction or Condensation of his Light. They were not yet born; but however God had them in his Idea. That Idea rejoiced him; and they compare the Joy of God, which produced the Points, and afterwards the Letters of the Alphabet, and lastly Rewards and Punishments, to the motion of a Man that laughs with Joy.

The Light that came from the Divine Essence proved another Difficulty; for it was too full and subtil to form Creatures. Now to remove that, God drew a long Line, which descending into the lower parts, sometimes in a right manner, and sometimes with reflection, to make ten Circles, or ten *Sephiroths*, served as a Channel for the Light; It communicated it self in a less measure, and thickening proportionably the further it removed from its Center; and descending thro' the Channel, it became the fitter to form Spirits and Bodies.

VII. The first Emanation, more perfect than the rest, is called *Adam Kadmon, the first of all that was created in the beginning*. His name is taken from *Genesis*, where God said, *Let us make man, or* Adam, *in our Image, after our likeness*; and this Name was given him; because as the terrestrial *Adam* is a little World, so that from Heaven is a great World. As Man holds the first rank upon Earth, so the Celestial *Adam* enjoys it in Heaven; As it was for Man that God created all things, so *the Lord* † *possessed the other in the beginning of his way, before he made any of his Works, and from antient times*. In short, whereas by beginning with || Man, they ascend up by degrees to the Superiour Intelligences, even to God himself; so contrariwise, by beginning with the Celestial *Adam*, who is superlatively exalted above all, they descend even to the meanest and vilest of Creatures. They represent him as a Man that hath a Skull, a Brain, Eyes, and Hands, and each of his Parts contain profound Mysteries. Wisdom is the * Skull of the *first Adam*, and extends it self to the Ears; Understanding is his right Ear, and Prudence makes his left. His Feet are not lengthen'd beyond a certain inferiour World, for fear lest by stretching themselves to the utmost, they should reach even to infinity, and he himself become infinite. Upon his Diaphragm is a mass of Light which he has condensed there; but another Part is freed by the Eyes and Ears. The Line, which served for a Channel to the Light, hath imparted to him, besides Understanding and Goodness, the power of producing other Worlds. The World of the *first Adam* is greater than all the rest; they receive from it their Influences, and have their dependance on it. The Circles that dress up his Crown, denote his Life and Duration, which *Plotin* and the *Ægyptians* have represented by a Circle, or a Crown.

VIII. As all that has been said of this *first* † *Adam* seems to agree with a Person, some *Christian* Interpreters of the Cabala have thought that thereby was J. Christ, the Second Person of the Trinity. They are mistaken; for the *Cabalists* || give to this *Adam* a beginning. They have put a space between him and the Infinite, to denote that he was of a different Essence, and very far removed from the Perfection of the Cause which had produced it: And notwithstanding the Empire that is ascribed to him for the Production of other Worlds, yet he comes near to nothing, and is composed of other qualities. Be-

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* Olam Hanne Kudim. † Theses Cabalisticæ, Thes. 7. 15. Ibid. *p.* 151. V. Introduct. ad Librum Zohar. || ה
* Introduct. ad Librum Zohar. Sect. 1. Cab. denud. *t.* 3. † Prov. 8. 22. || Abrah. Cohen Iriræ Philosoph. Cabal. Diss. 6. *c.* 7 Ibid. 109. *p.* 112. * Appar. in Librum Zohar. Fig. 1. *p.* 195. † Henric. Morus Quest. in Quest. lib. Druschim. Cab. denud. *t.* 2. *p.* 63. || Abrah. Cohen. Iriræ Philosoph. Cabal. Diss. 6. *c.* 7. *p.* 112.

sides,

ſides, the *Jews*, who frequently give the title of Son to their *Seir Anpin*, do never attribute it to *Adam Kadmon*, whom they exalt much above him.

IX. They diſtinguiſh four Sorts of Worlds, and four manners of Creation.

Firſt, there is a Production *by way of Emanation*, and thoſe are the *Sephiroths* and great Lights which come out from God, and compoſe the *Aziluthique* World. That is the Name given to it. Thoſe Lights are come forth from the infinite Being, as heat comes from Fire, the light of the Sun, and the Effect of the Cauſe that produces it. Thoſe Emanations are always near to God, where they preſerve a more pure and ſubtil Light: for the Light condenſes, grows thicker and duller in Proportion as it is diſtant from the infinite Being. 'Tis not evident that the *Cabaliſts* underſtood by thoſe Emanations the Perſons in the Trinity, tho' there are ſeveral things that agree therewith. 'Tis much more probable that they have made groſs and ſullied the Perfections of God, and aſcribed to them a ſort of Exiſtence ſeparate from him, tho' ſtill in his Neighbourhood. This alſo appears ſo much the more probable, becauſe they ſometimes call *Aziluth* the Grace granted to the LXX. Old Men who receiv'd a Portion of the Prophetick Spirit of *Moſes*.

X. The ſecond World is called *Briathique*, from a term which ſignifies * *outward*, or *looſening* or *ſeparating*. By that is meant the World and the Creation of Souls, which have been looſed from the firſt Cauſe, that are farther off removed than the *Sephiroths*, and that conſequently are more groſs and tenebrous. That World is called *the Throne of Glory*, and the *Sephiroths* of the Superiour World pour down their influences upon it.

XI. The third Degree of the Creation reſpects Angels. They affirm † that they were brought out of nothing, with a deſign to be placed in Celeſtial Bodies, of Air, or Fire; and therefore their formation is called *Jetſirah*, becauſe thoſe pure Spirits have been formed for a Subſtance which was deſigned them. There were ten Troops of thoſe Angels; at their Head was a Chief, called *Metatron*, exalted above them all, continually beholding the face of God, *diſtributing to them every day bread convenient for them*. They derive from him their Lives, and all other Advantages and Comforts of 'em; and therefore all the Angelick Order has taken their name from thence.

XII. Laſtly, God created Bodies which do not ſubſiſt by themſelves as Souls do, nor in another Subject as the Angels. They are compoſed of matter diviſible and changing; they can be deſtroyed, and this Creation of the ſenſible World is called *Aſiah*. Now here is the Notion of the *Cabaliſts*, whereof their Opinion is, that God hath created Souls, Angels and Bodies in a different manner; for as for Emanations, or *Aziluthique* World, they are the Attributes of the Deity, which they cloath in created Perſons, or Lights that flow from the infinite Being.

XIII. They alſo diſtinguiſh the Creation in another manner; for ſometimes they reckon up five Worlds created by God. The Sublunary World in which we live; Man who is the little World; the World of *Spheres* which is Heaven; the World of Angels; and laſtly, a Superiour World; above this Superiour World are alſo Emanations, or *Aziluth*; and above the Emanations is God, in whom all things exiſt.

XIV. How odd and fantaſtical ſoever all theſe conceits are, yet care is taken to juſtify the Divines who delivered them; and there are *Chriſtians* who often take that trouble upon them to eaſe the *Jews* thereof.

'Tis ſaid that they have followed the Method of the Eaſtern Philoſophers, *Mercurius Treſmegiſtus*, *Plato*, and the inſpired Writers, who have given to the Deity feet and hands, that ſo they may more ſenſibly expreſs his Operations. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* has ſaid, that becauſe it is impoſſible to go up to Heaven, or to ſee the Angels, we muſt therefore make uſe of the Succours that ſenſible matter furniſhes us with, the better to explain their Nature. Why then ſhould we refuſe the *Jewiſh* Rabbies a Liberty which the *Chriſtians* have ſo often made bold with? In perſuing this Method the *Cabaliſts* have been able to unfold the Deſign and End God had in creating the Univerſe; or rather the Idea he framed to himſelf of that great Work under the figure of a mighty Man, who imparted Light to other Worlds, and gave exiſtence to them. In perſuing the ſame Method, they have ſpoke of their || *Arich Anpin*, or *the Man with a long Viſage*; for thereby they would have repreſented the infinite Being and Eſſence of God. They gave him three Viſages; that is to ſay, *the Crown, Wiſdom and Prudence*. The Crown ſets forth that the Deity is eternal, and comprehends all things. *Parmenides* alſo called the Deity *a burning and ſhining Crown*. 'Tis thought alſo that *Cicero*, who related that paſſage of *Parmenides*, alluded to the Crown ſo famous among the *Cabaliſts*. There was given to that ſame *Arich Anpin* Wiſdom, who is *the Eternal Son*; and Prudence, which is the *Holy Spirit*, and the Spirit the Creator of the *Platoniſts*. We are taught * by the *Seir Anpin*, or the little Viſage, that the World is finite and bounded, and that God hath a particular Care of his Church; for, according to ſome *Cabaliſts*, the little Viſage and the little World is the *Jewiſh* Church, which contains all that is fair and beautiful in the long Viſage, or little World, and which conſequently is the Object of Divine Love. Laſtly, they made every thing to intervene that was neceſſary for the compoſition of the Univerſe. There muſt be *Power* to produce it, there muſt be *Grandure*, Goodneſs and Imbelliſhment. To conclude, all the *Sephiroths* were engaged in this mighty Work.

XV. The *Chriſtians* are not the beſt Expoſitors of the *Cabala* of the *Jews*. They think always of the Divine Perſons in the Trinity. As if there were but that one Article, with which their heads are perplexed, they would never come to the Opinion of the true *Cabaliſts*, who had not that Idea of the *Chriſtians*. They by their Notion of the Trinity only teach us, that there is to be found every thing one can deſire in the *Sephiroths*, and in the obſcure Expreſſions of thoſe Divines. *Cohen Irira* † a *Portugueſe Cabaliſt*, who wrote towards the latter end of the laſt Century, helps us much better to the underſtanding of the meaning of the *Cabaliſts*, by affirming, 1ſt. That the Light which filled all things, was too ſubtil to form Bodies, or even Spirits; and that Light which came from God was to be condenſed. This is the firſt Errour, that the World proceeded from the Deity by way of Emanation, and that the Spirits came from the Light. 2dly, He obſerves that God, not deſigning immediately to create himſelf, produced a Being whom he inveſted with a Power ſufficient for that end, which they call the *firſt Adam*, or *Adam Kadmon*. Not that God could not immediately create; but he was pleaſed not to do it, to the end his Power might appear more bright and

* בְּרָא extra. † Philoſoph. Cabal. Diff. 1. *c.* 17. *p.* 92. Amica Reſponſio Cabal. denud. *t.* 2. *p.* 86. || Morus Ratio Nomin. & Sephirarum. *p.* 17. * Νῶς δημιεργὸς. † Abrah. Cohen. Irira Philoſ. Cab. Diff. 5. *c.* 8. Cab. Denud. *t.* 2. *p.* 100.

glorious,

glorious, and that the Creatures might become more perfect. 3dly, That first Principle which God produced, to the end he might make use of it for the Creation of the Universe, was finite, and bounded; *God gave him the Perfections that he has himself, and let him have some Imperfections which He hath not.* God is independent, and that first Principle depended on him: God is infinite, and the first Principle is circumscribed; He is immutable, and the first Cause was subject to Change.

XVI. It must be confessed then, that those Divines differ much from the Ordinary Ideas, and from those which *Moses* has given us about the Creation. They not only speak a barbarous Language; but they broach Errors, and conceal them under I know not what Figures. We plainly see by *Isaac Leria*, a *Jewish* Commentator, who step by step followed his Master, that they do not ascribe the Creation immediately to God. They also make his goodness to consist in having made an inferiour Principle to Himself with power to act. Now to find J. Christ in this Principle; is not only to remove them from their Notion, but to give a very false one of the Son of God, who is infinite, immutable and independant.

XVII. If we should descend into a farther *detail*, we should find it very hard not to be exceedingly offended at their *Seir Anpin*, who is both a Man and a Woman. *From this Mother, this Father, this Woman*, or *Nucba*, which they make to intervene; from this Light which they make to break forth from the Skull, the Eyes and Ears of the great *Anpin*; are such Metaphors very proper to give a just Idea of the Perfections of God, and of the manner how he created the World? There is something very low and creeping in those Figures, which are so far from making us *to distinguish what we are to fear, and what to love, or what ought to unite us to the Deity*, that they do shamefully debase him, and make him contemptible to the last degree in the eyes of Men.

XVIII. 'Tis affirm'd that this Sentiment is entered in the * *Targum* of *Jerusalem*, because those who composed it, have substituted in *Genesis* the word *Wisdom*, which is One of the Ten *Sephiroths*, for that of *Beginning*. 'Tis thought that those antient Paraphrasts, coming into all the Principles of the *Cabalists*, have admitted their *Sephiroths* and Emanations, by which the World was made: But the term in the Original should be changed to find Wisdom there: for the Paraphrast has put *Bekadmon*, which expresses either the Order, or time in which God created. The meaning here is, that God created the World first, and before all Things. *Manassah* maintains † that without thinking of the *Sephiroths*, the Paraphrast had only a design to mark *the Order* that God had observed in the Creation of the World. His Goodness push'd him on to do it, his Wisdom ordained it, and his Power executed it: And the Authors of the *Targum* met with those three things in the three first words of *Genesis*, *In the beginning* God created. The *Beginning* signifies *Wisdom*, *God* the *Power*, and *created* the *Goodness* which made Him to act.

XIX. To this is added a Sphere ||, which 'tis said the Patriarchs made use of to know the course of the Stars. They observed therein three Circles; about the largest were read these words, *the Heaven of Heavens*; the Second is simply called *Heaven*, and the Third is the *Extent*. 'Tis certain the Second of these Circles is environed with a vast many others; but Seven of them are more particularly taken notice of, on which is read the Names of the Seven Planets, beginning with *Saturn* which is the most distant from us. Those Circles were disposed with so much Art, that there were perfectly distinguish'd in them the Degrees and the Distances. In short, in the Center was a hollow bowl, which represented *the Earth*, and in the Overture were seen several Characters, and among others the Names of the ten *Sephiroths*, which proves that they were known to the Patriarchs, as having contributed to the Production of the Universe.

But this Sphere could not have served the Patriarchs, seeing the names of the Months, as it were engraven on the Circle of the Moon, are the same names which have been given them since the Captivity of *Babilon*, after the change that happened in the *Hebrew* Tongue by a mixture of the *Chaldaick*. All that can be concluded from thence, is, that the *Cabalists* ascribe the Creation of the Universe to the *Sephiroths*, and which they look upon as the immediate Causes of the Production of the World; and that is a sensible Error for which the *Christians* ought not to make any Apologie.

XX. There is another Mistake about the Creation, of which some Fathers of the Church are guilty, as well as the Doctors of the Synagogue. 'Tis certain that it is a notoriously common Opinion among these latter, that the Heaven and the Planets are animated, This Belief has been very antient among them; for *Philo* * had borrowed it from *Plato*, whom he made his principal Delight and Study. He plainly said that the Planets were intelligent Creatures, which had never done ill, and were incapable of doing any. He added, that they have a circular Motion, because it is the most perfect, and that which agrees best with Souls and intelligent Substances.

Maimonides †, who followed *Philo*, observed three Things. The one was, that it ought not to be imagined that the Soul of Heaven was that of a Man, but that there is necessarily an Intelligence which animates it, and makes it to move. Secondly, he gives to the Circles a knowledge inferiour indeed to that of Angels, but much more enlarged than that with which we Mortals are endowed. The Stars not only know *that* God that made them, but they likewise know themselves, and God is the Object of their Desires. In a word, as they are more perfect than Man, so they are always seen in Action and Motion, and their Actions too are always good and holy. *Manassah* ||, who flourished in the last Age, gave in to this Opinion.

XXI. The *Jews* as to this Article are no more guilty than many of the *Christians*. I don't know whether *Origen*, who wrote in *Egypt*, and where *Philo* had a greater reputation, copy'd the *Jewish* Doctor, or whether he had gone up to the very Source, and borrowed from *Plato* that Article of his Theologie; but it is not to be denied that he had adopted it, making thereto some little Alterations. *Origen* * believed that the Souls having been all created at one and the same time, some were come down into Human Bodies, and others placed in the Stars and Planets. He speaks of *the Soul of the Sun*; and 'tis in vain the pains the Interpreters take to conceal the Errour of that Father, by saying that it is *the Soul of Elias* which is in the Body; for it is evident that he means the Sun and other Creatures,

* V. Fagius Annot. in cap. 1. *v.* 1. Targum. † Mannas. Ben Israel de Creat. Probl. *l.* 3. *p.* 57. || Gaffarel's *Unheard of Curiosities*. c. 9. *p.* 201. * Philo de Mundi Opificio. de Gigant. de Somniis. † Maimonides More Nevochim. *p.* 2. *c.* 4. *p.* 194. & de Fundam. Legis. *c.* 3. §. 11. || Manass. Probl. 25. * Origen. *t.* 1. in Johan. *p.* 17. Ἥλιος. *He translates* Elias *instead of* the Sun.

which

which St. *Paul* aſſures us was made ſubject to Vanity. In ſhort, that Father thought that the Stars and Planets were at liberty to Sin, and in that he differed from *Philo* and the other *Jews*. He relyed upon the Text in *Job*, which ſays that *Behold even to the Moon and it ſhineth not, and the Stars are not pure in God's ſight*, Job. 25. 5. He will have it that not only Men, but the Heavens, the Sun, Moon and Stars ſhall at the Day of Judgment appear to receive there the Puniſhment due to their Crimes, or the Reward for their good Actions.

XX. The Apologiſts of *Origen*, both Antient and Modern, have done what they could to clear him by reaſon of the ſilence of the Scriptures, which don't deny that thoſe heavenly Bodies are animated. On the contrary, they exhort *the Sun and Moon, and all the Stars of light to praiſe the Lord*; but it is very much that *Origen*, who ran ſo often after Allegories, and found a figurative Senſe where there was none, ſhould not perceive that there was therein a figure of Rhetorick, very common to Poets as well as to Orators. He is moreover juſtified by the Authority of divers Fathers who have ſpoke as he has done. But theſe Authorities ſhew, that the Fathers of the Church may be deceived in the plaineſt Matters; but they do not at all vindicate either *Origen*, or the Fathers, or the *Jews*.

CHAP. IX.

Of ANGELS.

Of their Creation and Nature.

I. *The raſhneſs of Divines about Angels.* II. *The time of their Creation.* III. *Different Sentiments of the* Chriſtians. IV. *The Spirituality of Angels Taught.* V. Rabbies *who believe them Corporeal.* VI. *The Fathers of the Church have taught it.* VII. *The Celeſtial Hierarchy of the* Jews *and* Chriſtians. VIII. *Contradiction between* Job *and* David *about the Number of Angels raiſed.* IX. *Qualities of the Angel* Metatron. X. *Confutation of the* Chriſtians *who believe that it is* J. Chriſt. XI. *Conformity of the Angel* Michael *with* Metatron. XII. *If there be a Chief among the Angels.* XIII. *Tutelary Angels.* XIV. *The Heavenly Spheres are Angels.*

I. MEN ſeem to be moſt pleaſed when they are Arguing about things they leaſt underſtand. They know but little of the nature of Souls; they know yet leſs the nature of Angels; and their Creation and Exiſtence cannot be known but by Revelation. The Sacred Writers, whom God inſpired, were fearful and ſober about the Matter. What reaſon then is there that Man ſhould be ſilent, and that bounds ſhould be ſet to his raſhneſs? Yet there are very few Subjects about which Men have ſo much Argued, as about Angels. Curious People conſult their Doctors, and theſe will not have them ſuſpect that they are Ignorant of what paſſes in Heaven, or be ſtinted by the Lights that *Moſes* has left them. 'Twould be to degrade them from their Doctorſhips, and bring them down to the State of poor ſimple People that can read *Moſes*, and that only interrogate Divines about Matters which the Scripture ſays nothing of. To confeſs one's Ignorance in things that are obſcure and Myſtical, would be an act of Modeſty, which is allowed by no means to thoſe whoſe Province it is to inſtruct others. For default of Sacred Writers, they will find out a Viſionary or Fanciful Man, diſguiſed under the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, that extravagantly ſubtilizes upon the Hierarchy of Angels; and this *venerable* Name is enough to clear the Moderns of Temerity, and encourages them to treat on this Subject as confidently as if they had gone through their Courſe of Theology in Paradice. I confeſs the Moderns are not the only guilty Perſons; for * before this falſe *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, the Fathers had brought forth uncertain conjectures, and erroneous Opinions concerning Angels, and the *Jews* had begun before them. This is a conſtant Truth, that they wander in the dark wilfully, and as we ſay with open Eyes, ſeeing they will give to Angels Attributes and Perfections without knowing them, and without conſulting God that formed them. This is to be the Subject of this Chapter. We ſhall here ſpeak of the *Chriſtian* as well as of the *Jew*, becauſe there is a great deal of Conformity between the Errours of the one and the other.

II. Becauſe *Moſes* ſays nothing of the time when the Angels were Created, they ſupply his Silence with their own Conjectures. Some think that God formed the Angels the ſecond Day of the Creation. No ſooner were they Created, but he conſulted them about what he was further to do †. *Moſes* inſinuates as much when he brings in God deliberating with them, ſaying, *Let us make Man*; *let us go down* * *and confound their Language*. The Doctors ſay likewiſe that God is *never without his Houſe of Judgment*, and that he *does nothing without conſulting his Family* which is in Heaven. They allude to their Cuſtom of having *Houſes of Judgment*, or a Council, wherein they deliberate about Affairs of extraordinary conſequence to their Synagogue. *Maimonides* obſerves however that God makes no uſe of the Council of Angels, nor does he adviſe with them; for *God cannot be help'd by his Creatures*: But by that we muſt underſtand that there is no production made by the operation of Angels. Yet there are other Doctors that affirm, that they were ſummoned to the Council of God about the making of Man, and that they divided in their Opinions; ſome approved of his being Created, and others rejected it, becauſe they foreſaw that *Adam* would Sin thro' complaiſance to his Wife. But God ſilenced the Angels who were Enemies to Man, and Created him before ever they perceived it, which made their Murmurings inſignificant. He likewiſe notified to them that they would alſo Sin by falling in Love with the Children of Men.

Others maintain ‡ that the Angels were not Created till the Fifth Day. A third Party will have it that God brought 'em forth every Day, and that they came out of a River called *Dinor*. Some gave the Angels the Power to Create one another; and thus the Angel *Gabriel* was Created by *Michael*, who is ſuperiour to him. In ſhort, *Benj. Gerſon*, who denies the Exiſtence of Angels, and endeavours to e-

* Eliezer Pirke. *c.* 4. *p.* 6.
† Bereſchyt. Rabba Sect. 8. *p.* 10.
† Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 2. *c.* 6. *p.* 200.
* Geneſ. i. 8.

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lude all the Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, where *Moſes* ſpeaks of their appearings, is not without his Diſciples and his Partiſans.

III. The *Chriſtians* are alſo divided about the matter; for *Origen*, St *Gregory Nazianzen*, St *Ambroſe*, and ſeveral other Fathers both of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, have taught that the Angels were Created before the World. St *Baſil* had imagined a certain Eternal Place fit for intelligent Natures, wherein he believed God had put them. Interpreters have been labouring to ſoften and qualifie this Eternity of place which cannot be conceived; but they are not able to do it otherwiſe than by ſaying, that God the ſole Eternal Being, is that place. Will any ſay that the Angels were in God, or in his Word, after they were Created? *Theodore* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*, who had took notice of this Errour of St *Baſil*, has cenſured it as groſs and fooliſh. 'Tis certain that *Theodoret* and he were of another Sentiment. The Fathers are acquitted by means of the Churches Silence, which had not decided that Queſtion. We are only concerned for the Doctors, who lived after the Council of *Lateran*, which pronounced that *God at the beginning had jointly Created both the Spiritual and Material Nature*; becauſe after that deciſion the contrary Opinion became a Hereſie; But if that be ſo, then the *Jews* did not Sin in all their Conceits about the Creation of Angels, ſince the Synagogue had not decided it; and tho' ſhe had, it would have been as eaſie to have defeated her Condemnation, as they did that of the Council of *Lateran*. In ſhort, ſome Interpreters, who will not have the Moderns condemned as Hereticks, who have Preach'd up their Fancies about the Creation of Angels, ſeeing they have not condemned thoſe of the Antients, do elude the Authority of the Council of *Lateran*, or explain it, by maintaining that *jointly* ſignifies *equally*: But the Council ſays in expreſs terms that both Spirits and Bodies were Created in *the beginning of Time*, which decides the Queſtion, and takes off the double Sence or Equivocation that has been found out to elude the Hereſie. But the Errour does not depend on the deciſion of the Council. A Celebrated * Writer among the *Chriſtians* aſſerts, that the Angels were Created long before the World for two Reaſons; One is, becauſe 'tis not likely that God ſhould be without Miniſtring Spirits to Praiſe and Laud him; the other, becauſe the Devil was already fallen, for at the very beginning of the Univerſe he tempted Man. The former is a reaſon of *Bienſeance* and Ceremony; and the Second is of little avail, if you'll ſuppoſe a Fact that is very probable, *viz.* That Man fell not on the firſt Day of his Creation, but that he enjoyed for ſome time the fruits of his Innocence. We commonly abridge that time, becauſe *Moſes*, who wrote an abridged Hiſtory, did not think himſelf obliged to diſtinguiſh Time where it did not make any thing conſiderable.

IV. There can be no Hereſie laid to the Charge of the *Jews* in what they Teach about the nature of Angels. † The Learned and penetrating Rabbies own, that there are Subſtances purely Spiritual, entirely diſengaged of Matter; and they admit of a Figure in all the Paſſages of Holy Scripture, which repreſent them under Corporeal Ideas, becauſe Angels do often take upon them the figure of Fire, of a Man, or a Woman.

Zacharias || lifted up his Eyes, *and looked, and ſaw two Women, and the Wind was in their Wings*. Thoſe Women were Angels, which took ſometimes the figure of a Woman; but that came into the Imagination of the Prophet. *God placed* Cherubims *with a flaming Sword* to defend the entring into the Terreſtrial Paradice; that is to ſay, that Angels had taken upon them the figure of an exceeding bright Flame. There is * alſo given to them that of Animals and of Oxen, to teach us that God hath an Eſſence as much exalted above Angels, as Man is above Beaſts. Wings are aſcribed to them only to let us know the Rapidity of their Motion. Eor as the Bird flies away, and appears again in an inſtant, ſo do the Angels come to our Succour, and are gone without our ever perceiving it. 'Tis a Perfection to be able to flie, and therefore Man deſires it? Yet as none but Angels flie, for that Reaſon Wings are ne- " ver given to God; and when *David* repreſents " him upon a Cherubim that flies, we † muſt not " think it was God, But the Cherubim that did " ſtretch ont thoſe Wings, and did flie. It would " be to debaſe God, and to ſet him in compariſon " with the Angels, to make him flie as they do. All theſe Explications do let us ſee that in the Synagogue Angels are looked upon as Spiritual Intelligences.

V. However there are ſome Rabbies more groſs, who not being able to digeſt what the Scriptures ſays of Angels, which repreſents them under the ſhape of an Oxe, a Lyon, a fiery Chariot, or with Wings, teach us || that there is a ſecond Order of Angels, which are called *the Angels of the Miniſtry*, who have Bodies as ſubtil as Fire. From the moment that they are thus gone out of the common road, by making thoſe pure Spirits ſo many material Beings; they go on further, and charge them with ſeveral Imperfections. 1. They believe there is a difference of Sex among thoſe happy Spirits, *ſome whereof give, and others receive*, after the manner of Women. 'Twas to make this Figure ſenſible that God had given the Figure of a Man to one of the Cherubs that covered the Propitiatory, and the other had that of a Woman. R. * *Uriel* has made this Myſtery yet more plain and evident; for in Paraphraſing upon thoſe words of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, which repreſents the Seraphims *that cryed one unto another* (Iſai. 6. 3.) he makes him to ſay, *the One received of the Other*. The Paraphraſe is extremely wide from the Text; for the Prophet puts into the mouths of the Seraphims the Praiſes of God, *Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hoſts*. It is alſo unclean and filthy; yet it is cryed up, becauſe it diſcovers the Commerce the Angels have among themſelves, and which they think is grounded upon Revelation. 2. They are perſuaded that the Angels take upon them the reſemblance of thoſe whom they protect. 'Tis no wonder, that the Rabbies † ſaw not the Son of God in the wreſtling of *Jacob*; for the Deity or Godhead of the Son was not known to them. But where found they that *that* Angel was *Schamael*, the Protector of *Eſau*, and that *Jacob* knew him by the reſemblance of his Brother? He was hid from him by the favour of the Night; but he eaſily diſcovered the Shape and Lineaments of his Face as ſoon as ever the day appeared. The Angel deſigned to avoid his being known by retiring before the riſing of the Sun, but *Jacob* ſuffered him not. 3. They affirm alſo that the Angels are ignorant of one part of what the Law ordained concerning the Cities of Refuge. They underſtand not the *Chaldee* Language, and therefore they bear not to God the Prayers of thoſe that put them up in that Language to him. They are frequently deceived; they hold dangerous Errours; for the Angel of Death, who is charg'd to

* Hyde de Relig. vet. Perſar. *c.* 3. *p.* 82 † Maimon. de Fundam. Legis. *c.* 2. §. 4. Id. More Nevoch. *p.* 1. *c.* 49. R. Eliezer, Pirke. *p.* 6. || *Zach.* 5. 9. * Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 1. *c.* 49. *p.* 73. † 2 *Sam.* 22. 11. || Codex. Cholin. *c* 7. *p.* 91. & Machazor. *p.* 200, 526. Bibb. Rabb. *t.* 1, *p.* 258. *p.* 333, *&c.* * Manaſſ. Conciliator in Exod. Q. 30. *p.* 142. † Bartol. Bibbl. Rabb. *t.* 3.

cauſe

cauſe ſuch a Man to die, ſometimes takes another, which occaſions great Diſorders. Their Jealouſy is violent; for they ſtrenuouſly fought againſt the Enemies of thoſe whom God has committed to their keeping. Thus the Angel *Eſau* fought with *Jacob*; and the Patron of the *Egyptians* hotly perſued the *Iſraelites* when they were quitting the Country. And therefore *Moſes* ſays, *the Egyptians went away*, that is to ſay, the Chief of the *Egyptians*. They are charged to ſing before God the Song, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts*; but they perform not this office but once, in a Day, in a Week, in a Month, in a Year, in an Age, or in Eternity. The Angel that wreſtled with *Jacob*, preſſed him to let him go, when the day began to break, becauſe it was his turn to ſing the Song that day, which as then he had never done. All thoſe who protect Idolatrous Nations, will be one day judged and puniſhed. They will return into their firſt Eſtate, and n'er be more ſeen.

VI. *Chriſtians* are not gone this length; but yet it is a deplorable thing to conſider, that the moſt antient Divines of the Church have believed Angels to be corporeal. *Origen* maintained that none but God alone, excluſive of all Creatures, was entirely diſingaged of Matter. *Caſſianus* joined in the ſame Sentiment; and tho' he called *Angels and Souls ſpiritual Beings*, yet he would ſtill cover them with ſome Matter, tho' much more fine and ſubtil than ours. It would be endleſs to cite *Tertullian*, St. *Auguſtin*, St. *Baſil*, *Cyrril* of *Alexandria*, and divers other great and famous Doctors of the antient Church, who have all aſſerted that Angels were material. They gave to theſe Spirits Bodies of a celeſtial Nature indeed, and of a particular Beauty; but yet they had a form by which they might be diſtinguiſhed. This was the Opinion of the *Eaſtern* Church, if we may believe *Theodotus* *; and *Macarius* added, that *that* was the great reaſon that had prevailed with God to cloath our Nature, that we might be enabled to communicate with all thoſe material Beings. Thoſe antient Doctors thought that the Angels had Bodies ſo thin and ſubtil, that they could not forbear looking on them as Spirits, and that they were compoſed of Air, or Fire. *Juſtin Martyr* †, going from conſequence to conſequence, ſought for nouriſhment fitting and proper for the ſuſtenance of theſe material Beings, ſaid, that in Heaven they had a particular Food, ſuch as Manna, which is called *the bread of Angels*: And to make good his Opinion, he obſerved that of the three Angels who appeared to *Abraham*, there were but two of them that did eat, becauſe the third was *God, purely immaterial*.

As ſoon as ever Angels are allowed to have Matter and Parts, which may be ſeparated, or may have need of nouriſhment to repair what it has loſt thro' the evaporation of the Spirits by Motion, or by the juſtling of other Bodies, at the ſame time it may as juſtly be ſaid with the *Jews*, that Angels are mortal. In this reſpect they argued more ſyllogiſtically and conſequentially than the *Chriſtians* who have denied it; and after their having admitted of the corporality of thoſe Spirits, they for all that make 'em immortal.

Juſtin Martyr avowed likewiſe, that the Angels to whom God had committed the Government of the World, falling in love with the Daughters of Men, joined themſelves with them, and from that Union were born the Demons.

VII. The Rabbies have alſo their Speculations about the Hierarchy of Angels, *Eliezer* ||, one of the moſt celebrated of them, makes four Orders of theſe Intelligences, in the midſt of whom is God, having a Diadem on his Head; the ineffable Name is on his Forehead; his Eyes run through all the Univerſe; on his left Hand is Death, and Life on his right. He throws out his Lightening and his Snow; his Scepter is of Fire. A veil conceals him from the Angels of the Miniſtry who attend upon him. Others reckon even to ten Orders of Angels which they place very differently from the *Chriſtians*. But if we compare what they ſay of them with the Viſions of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* *, or that of the Jeſuit *Cellot* †, and ſeveral others, who have regulated the Precedence and Ceremoniale of the Angels, we ſhall find that neither of them have much cauſe to reproach each other.

VIII. The Number of Spirits is multiplied almoſt to infinity, and that makes a Contradiction between *Job* and *Daniel*; for the latter affirms, that being near the Throne on which || *the Antient of days was ſate*, he beheld *a fiery ſtream to iſſue, and come forth from before him; thouſand thouſands of Angels miniſtred unto him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him.* He limits therefore the number of Angels *to ten thouſand Millions, and a thouſand thouſand*; but *Job* *, ſpeaking of the Angels that ſerve God, cries out, *is there any Number of his Armies?* The *Gemariſts* anſwer †, 1. That the number of the Angels was indefinite, during all the time that the Tabernacle and the Temple continued. And therefore *Job*, who lived at that time, had reaſon to ſay, *who ſhall count his Armies?* Whereas, ſince the Deſtruction of the Temple the number of the Angels has conſiderably been diminiſhed; and therefore *Daniel* in his reckoning might reduce 'em to a fix'd number. This Anſwer is grounded on the Suppoſition that Angels are productive of one another; and as they are poſſible to be born, ſo likewiſe they may die. 2. 'Tis ſaid, that *Daniel* ſpeaks only of the Angels that were placed on the brink of the *fiery Stream*, which *came from the ſweat of Animals*, and was poured down on the heads of the Wicked. There were there a certain number of Spirits to execute the Orders of the Almighty, yet that does not hinder but that there may be others elſewhere, who cannot be numbred, as *Job* teaches. 3. Again, Angels are divided into ſeveral Troops, or Legions. 'Tis impoſſible to count the ſeveral Legions of thoſe Spirits, as *Job* ſpeaks, *who ſhall count his Armies?* But the number of one of thoſe Legions may be fixed, as *Daniel* did. It ſeems hereby that the Doctors look upon the number of the Angels as infinite, *who ſhall count them?* As the Names of the Angels have their Original from *Chaldea*, they retain thoſe they learned from *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*.

IX. Above all the Angels there is one Chief, whom the Rabbies call *Metatron*. He is made by them a kind of a God, and they aſcribe to him four Prerogatives. 1. This Angel *Michaël* is he that wraſtled with *Jacob*. God was troubled becauſe he had in that conteſt put the hollow of his Thigh out of joint, ſince that was a defect in a Prieſt that Sacrifices: The Angel reply'd, that *he was the High-Prieſt of the living God*: but God not being ſatisfied with that Anſwer, returns to him that *Jacob* was his *high Prieſt upon Earth*, and therefore made the Angel to go and heal the Patriarch, and ſet him over *over his houſe, and over all his Generations*. *Daniel* ſeems || to confirm this Suppoſal, ſeeing he affirms that *Michael is the Chief, or Head of Iſrael*. He calls him in another place a * *great Prince*, and Iſrael *a great People*. Let him come then Great, to conduct his Great one.

* Theodoti Excerpta apud Clem. Alex. † Juſtin. Apolog. 1. & 2 || Eliezer Capitula, *c.* 4. *p.* 7 * Dion. Areopag. Divin. Hierarch. † Cellot Hierarchia. || Dan. 7. 10. * Job 25. 3. † Excerpta Gemaræ de opere Currus apud Hottinger. *p.* 71. 73. || Dan 10 13. * Jalkut. *fol.* 2.

2. God ſaid to *Moſes*, † *my Preſence ſhall go before thee*; that is to ſay, *the Angel of the Covenant, in whom you ſhall ſee my face. My name is in him, and you ſhall have reſt; for he ſhall be clement and gentle; he ſhall not treat you with the ſeverity of Juſtice, but with great compaſſion and tenderneſs.* They add, that *Moſes* was not well pleaſed with this offer God made him to ſet that Angel, or half-God, at the head of the People, but that he ſaid boldly to God, *I deſire you would go your ſelf in perſon*; but *Joſhua* better inſtructed, accepted to march under the Conduct of the Prince of the Armies of the Lord, and worſhipped him. However it was, they owned him to be the Chief that governed the Armies of Old *Iſraël*, who fought their Enemies, and procured for them the Conqueſt of *Canaan*. And therefore *Buxtorf* aſſerts that the name of *Metatron* comes from that of *Metator*, becauſe that Angel marked out the Camps of the People in the Wilderneſs. In ſhort, this Angel *Metatron* performs in Heaven the Functions of a Mediator, *for by him alone it is that you can have acceſs to God.* He *writes down the merits of the* Jewiſh *People*, and from thence has his name of the *Great Scribe*. He alone has the right *to ſit* in Paradice, whileſt all the other Angels are ſtanding.

X. The *Chriſtians* have not fail'd making their advantage of ſo favourable a Syſtem as this. "This "exalted Angel above all Spirits, who is their Chief, "*The Great Prince, the Image of the Lord, that wraſtled with* Jacob; whom *Joſhua* adored; who led "him into the promiſed Land; who ſate down in a "Book the Merits of *Iſrael*; who alone has his Seat "in Heaven; and by whom alone we can have acceſs to God; is, according to the beſt Interpreters, the Meſſiah and J. Chriſt; *the Angel of the "Covenant, and the Mediator between God and Man, "who is ſate down on the Right hand of his Father.* This Angel is ſo much the more Excellent, as his Name is found in that of *his Maſter, or Father*; and this is done two ways: Firſt, becauſe the Name of || *Schaddai* which is God *All-ſufficient of himſelf*, and that of *Metatron*, contains the ſame Number, 314. Secondly, becauſe, according to ſome Rabbies, the ineffable name of *Jehovah* is in that Angel; and from this Aſſociation flows the Redemption and Salvation of Men. *J. Chriſt* * is the true *Metatron*, or *Metator* who is gone to prepare a place for his choſen in Heaven, and *there to draw out a Camp* for every faithful One to have his quarter in.

† *Nos quoq; ſub Ducibus Cælum metabimur illis,*
Ponemuſq; ſuos ad vaga ſigna dies.

The *Jews* call that Angel the *Great Scribe*, a title that agrees with the Meſſiah, who is *the Councellor*, and the Premier Secretary to God. I relate this Conjecture only to make the *Chriſtian* Criticks aſham'd of it. Is it then ſuch an honour to find J. Chriſt and our Religion in the Fables and ſhallow Conceits and Imaginations of the *Jews*, as to be at all that pains to place him therein with ſo much Induſtry. Do the Rabbies look on their firſt Angel as a God incarnate, who aſcended into Heaven, to draw a Line, and form a Camp there? The ſimple Alluſion of a Latin word *Metator*, with the *Hebrew* name of that Angel, is this enough to give ground for ſuch a Conjecture? The || Doctors make a thouſand inſults againſt that Chief of the Angels, when they bring in the other Spirits complaining of him, becauſe he has given birth to the Errour of the R. *Acher*, who ſeeing him Sitting in Heaven, believed him to be a Second Principle, equal to the Supreme God. The Angels asked *Metatron* why he did not riſe up, to undeceive *Acher*, and prevent his Errour; but whether his Anſwer ſhocked them inſtead of ſatisfying them, there were Sixty laſhes given him with *flaming Rods*. That cannot be the Meſſiah, unleſs they will ſay that *Jeſus Chriſt* was ſcourged by the Soldiers, becauſe he ſate down irreverently on the Right hand of his Father.

Theſe Stories about *Metatron* have not been invented but ſince *Chriſtianity*. 'Tis certain, the Latin name that is given him, and which the *Jews*, have brought over into their *Gemara*, is a full Indication, that they never adopted thoſe ſtrange terms, but ſince they were mixed with the *Romans* after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. The Rabbies had no deſign to favour the *Chriſtians*, nor to have in their view the Meſſiah whom they adore, unleſs you will inſinuate that God hath forced them whether they would or no, to interſert this great and weighty Truth among their Romantick Stories, which ſhocks all manner of likelyhood. The *Metatron* of the *Jews* is the Angel *Michael*, whoſe Titles and Dignity were raiſed by the Rabbies, becauſe they imagine that *that* Prince, whoſe name was only known ſince the Captivity, was the Leader of the Children of *Iſrael*.

XI. There is but one thing in which the *Jews* and ſome *Chriſtians* are agreed, And that is in this, that both of them often ſpeak of the Arch-angel *Michael* after an extravagant manner. They make a God of him, and affirm that that appears by his Name, which ſignifies, he is as God. They ſet him at the head of the Church as their Chief, becauſe the Prophet *Daniel* ſays, *that* Michael, * *that Great Prince, which ſtandeth for the Children of thy people, ſhall ſtand up.* In a word, He was ſeen fighting with the Devil for the Body of *Moſes*. In comparing the *Metatron* of the *Jews* with the Arch-angel *Michael* of the *Chriſtian* Interpreters, there will be found a ſenſible Conformity: But both of them are too laviſh in their Expreſſions.

XII. It cannot be thought very ſtrange that there ſhould be a Head or Chief among the Angels, ſince there is a Prince of the Devils, called *Beelzebub*. This Chief of the Angels by no means ought to be God, but is of the ſame Nature as the other created Spirits, and his name of *Michael* denotes only a cauſe or motive of admiration, *who is as God*. *Daniel* was ſo far from making a Deity of him, that he obſerves, that *the Prince of the Kingdom of* Perſia *having withſtood him one and twenty days*; *Lo*, Michael, ſays he, *One of the Chief Princes, came to help him* who ſpake to the Prophet, ſo that he remained in *Perſia*. Thoſe Chiefs are the Angels; for there is no multiplicity of Gods, nor of the Meſſiah. Moreover, they ſuppoſe that *J. Chriſt* ſpoke to *Daniel*. He therefore could not be the ſame *Michael*, one of the Chief Princes who came to help him; Thus the Prophet, far from making a God of *Michael*, is pleaſed to put him into

† Moſes Nachmanides in Exod. 34. 14.

Me	מטטרון	40
ta		9
t		9
r		200
o		6
n		50
		314

Scha	ש	300
d	ד	4
ai	י	10
		314

* Le Moyne Diſſ. ad loc. Jerem. 23. 6. *p.* 88.
* Daniel 12. 1.
† Ovid. Faſt. 1.
|| V. Excerpta Gemaræ apud Hottinger. *p.* 110.

the

the rank of Angels and Subaltern Spirits. He was likewiſe ſo Obedient to God, and under ſo great a dependance on him, that after he carried away the Body of *Moſes*, he *durſt not bring againſt him a railing accuſation* (Jude 9.) but only *ſaid, the Lord rebuke thee*; whereas the Son of God would have reproved him with Authority.

XIII. 'Tis certain the *Jews* continue their Agreement with the *Chriſtian* Doctors about the Miniſtry and Function of Angels. 1. The former obſerve, that there are four Angels never ſeen upon the Earth, becauſe they are always attending about the Throne of God. *Michael* is on the right hand, *Gabriel* on the left, *Uriel* is before God, and *Raphael* behind him. The *Chriſtians* alſo pretend that there are five Orders of Angels who go not out of Paradice; and the falſe *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* obſerves, that when *Iſaiah* ſpeaks of a *Seraphim*, who *flew unto him, having a live Coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the Altar, and laid it upon his lips*, that it is not to be imagined that *that* was a Spirit of the order of *Seraphims*, who never make uſe of Men; but that title was given to him only becauſe of the Function, wherewith God had entruſted him, as an Angel of the laſt Order. Iſai. 6. 6, 7.

2. It would be * in vain to relate the Paſſages of the *Chriſtian* Doctors, who have believed and ſaid, that every Nation and every Kingdom has its Angel, that preſides over it for its defence, and governance. Who knows not that moſt of the Antients, preferring the Verſion of the LXX. to the *Original Hebrew* which they did not underſtand, have made *Moſes* ſay, that God divided *the Nations according to the number of the Angels of God*, whereas it is expreſly ſaid, according to the *number of the Children of Iſrael*; and from that falſe Interpretation have concluded, that God had proportioned the number of the People to that of Angels whom he would make their Patrons. *Origen* went to determine even the number of thoſe Nations and Angels that † governed them; becauſe he had obſerved in the confuſion of Tongues, that there were LXXII. of them, he inferr'd from thence that there were ſo many tutelar Angels. To conclude, ſome Antients have believed, that as the Son of God, who led the People of *Iſrael*, had procured to himſelf the Knowledge of the Maſter of the Univerſe; ſo the Angels who had not the ſame Light, ſatisfied themſelves with turning the Eyes and Heart *of the Nations towards the Sun and Moon*, which they had adored. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſays alſo, that they were given to them as ſo many Gods, to prevent their falling into Atheiſm. Now if the Fathers of the *Chriſtian* Church have erred ſo groſsly, the *Jews* may very well be excuſed; and we ought therefore to relate with moderation what they have believed about this matter.

XIV. *Philo* the *Jew* had begun to give too much to Angels, by looking upon them as the Pillars on which this Univerſe was ſupported. He has been followed, and ſome have believed, not only that every Nation had her particular Angel, which was powerfully intereſted in her behalf; but that there were ſome of them which preſided || over every thing. *Azariel* preſides over the Water; *Gazardia* over the the Eaſt, to take care of the Sun's riſing, and *Nekid* over Bread and other Suſtenance. They have Angels that preſide over every Planet, over every Month of the Year, and over the Hours of the Day. The *Jews* likewiſe believe that every Man has two Angels; the One good which guards him, the Other bad which examines his Actions. If on the Sabbath Day the two Angels, returning from the Synagogue, find the Bed made, the Table furniſhed, the Candles lighted, the good Angel rejoyces at it, and ſays, *God grant that on the next Sabbath things may be found in as good order*; and the bad Angel is obliged, in ſpite of his Teeth, to anſwer, *Amen*. If there be any diſorder in the Houſe, the bad Angel in his turn wiſhes that the ſame may happen on the next Sabbath, and the good Angel anſwers, *Amen*. So likewiſe ſome *Chriſtians* give to every particular their tutelar Angels. This Miniſtry is ſufficiently known not to relate here all the Offices that are given to them.

The Theologie of the *Jews* ſtops not there. *Maimonides* who had very much ſtudied *Ariſtotle*, maintained, that *that* Philoſopher had ſaid nothing contrary to the Law, except his believing that the Intelligences were Eternal, and that God had not produced them. He alſo maintained that Axiom, *that the Sages of the Nations ſurpaſſed the Sages of Iſrael*, in their Meditations upon the courſe of the Stars, and the Government of the World. In following the Principles of the antient Philoſophers he * ſaid, that there is a Sphere ſuperiour to all others that communicates Motion to them. And therefore he compared it to the Heart of Man which he calls *the little World*; becauſe as the Heart is the principle of all the Motions that are made by the Body; the firſt Sphere, which is the Heart of the Univerſe, produces all the Motions that are obſerved in it; and the Univerſe would be deſtroyed if this firſt Sphere ſhould ſtop a moment, juſt as the little World dies when the Heart ceaſes to beat. He obſerves that ſeveral Doctors of his Nation believed with *Pythagoras*, that the Heavens and the Stars by their Motion formed an Harmonious Sound; which could not be underſtood by reaſon of the diſtance; but which could not be doubted of, ſeeing that our Bodies cannot be moved without making a noiſe, tho' they be much leſs than the Celeſtial Orbs. He ſeems to reject that Opinion. I know not whether he be not to blame to aſcribe it to the Doctors. 'Tis certain, the Rabbies ſay, *there are three things, the ſound whereof is carried from one end of the World to the other; the voice of the* Roman *people; that of the Sphere of the Sun, and of the Soul that leaves the World.* But theſe are Metaphors whereby they deſigned to ſignifie the mighty Power of the *Romans*, and the violent Agonies of the Soul when it is leaving this Life; for there is no ſuch thing as its crying.

But however it be, *Maimonides* † ſays not only that all thoſe Spheres are dumb, and governed by Angels; but he pretends that thoſe really and in truth are the Angels. He attributes to them Knowledge, and the will whereby they exerciſe their Operations. He obſerves that the title of Angel or Meſſenger ſignifies the ſame thing. It may be therefore ſaid that *the Intelligences, Spheres, and Elements*, which execute the Will of God, are *Angels*, and ought to bear that Name. To conclude, he gives the title of Angel to all the *Faculties*, and inſults the Sages who deny it; for, ſays he ||, if they are told that God will ſend his Angel *into the Womb of a Woman to form a Child there, they will believe that the Angel muſt firſt enter into the Womb of that Woman, without ever heeding what he teaches; that perhaps that Angel has a body of fire as large as the third part of the World.* "Would it not be much "better to believe, that God hath given to that "Woman a faculty to Breed, and that *that* fa"culty is an Angel? Watever *Maimonides* may ſay about it, certainly there would have been a great deal of Abſurdity in his Sentiment, if he had not given a very extenſive Signification to the title of Angel, which he takes for every thing that executes the Will and Orders of God.

* Deuter. 32. † Geneſ. 11. || V. Bibl. Rabb. 1. *p.* 206. * Maimon. More Nevoch. *P.* 1. *c.* 72 *p.* 141. & *P.* 2. *c.* 5. *p.* 200. † Id. *c.* 7. *p.* 203. || Ibid. *c.* 6. *p.* 201.

CHAP. X.

Whether the Jews *invoke Angels.*

I. Bartolocci *affirms it.* *Litanies discovered in the Vatican.* II. *Proofs which* Grisendi *has fetched from* Ghedalia. III. *Excommunication publish'd in the Name of the Angels.* IV. *Testimony of St.* Jerome *and* P. Simon V. *Miracle of an Angel that preserves a Soul from being damned.* VI. *Sermon of St.* Peter, *and the Testimony of* Origen *against the* Jews. VII. *Prayers to Saints over their Sepulchres.* VIII. *Proofs that the* Jews *do not worship Angels.* IX. *Reflections upon the Proofs of that Worship.* X. *It is not found in the* Talmud. XI. *The Doctors have rejected it.*

I. THE *Jewish Rabbies* have openly Protested that they neither worship Angels, nor any other Creature. *Bartollocci* * positively proves upon them that their Ancestors have done it, and that they had not left off that Worship but only to please the *German* Innovators who have abolished it in their Churches. And it must be confessed, that notwithstanding the Disclaimer of the *Jews* and of their constant practice, *Bartolocci* still produces such Proofs as they know not how to get over, they bear so hard upon them. First, He has got out of the *Vatican*-Library an *Hebrew* Manuscript, containing Litanies composed by a Poet, named R. *Eliezer Hakalir*, which are very like to those of the *Romish* Church. There is said in it to the Prince *Actariel*, *Deliver* Israel *out of all affliction, and sollicite speedily for her Redemption.* And the like favours are begg'd for *Barachiel*, *Wathiel*, *Tobiel*, *Chauriel*, *Lerael*, and other Princes, who are found placed there according to the situation of the Letters of the Alphabet, and under strange unknown Names. The Litany concludes with saying to *Michael*, *Prince of Mercy*, *pray for* Israel, *that it may rule with great exaltedness.*

II. Secondly, *Grisendi* † produces the Scholia's of *Ghedalia* upon *Joseph Albo*, where the *Jews* in one of their solemn Feasts say to the Angels, *I earnestly beseech you to implore the Majesty of God.* He confesses, this Prayer is not in the Ritual of the *Jews* at *Rome*, and he knows not whether this Litany be sung in the Synagogues that are out of *Italy*; but he says it has been received there. They do not here accuse the *Protestants* for having caused them to blot it out, Since None of those can be expected at *Rome*, where the Rabbies would make their Court by putting up Prayers to Angels.

That same Author quotes a long Passage out of *Ghedalia* which justifies the Worship his Nation gives to Angels, against those that accuse it for giving them too Large a Power. That Rabbi observes, that their Prayers are not addressed directly to Angels, but it is really God they invoke when they pray to them. They only go to them *as to the King by his Ministers*, and as one that presents his Petition to the first Officer of the Crown, yet still looks to the King as the Sourse and Spring of his Happiness and Favours that he has received. Those Scholia's which I have not seen, are so much the more surprizing, as *Joseph Albo*, upon whom they were made, *puts into the number of erring Persons, those who make mention of Angels in their Prayers*, and refutes them directly. *Grisendi* adds, that the Rabbies ascribe some Power to the Angels who are called *Mediators*. They observe, that *Jacob*, after he had directly apply'd himself to God, and begg'd of him both temporal and eternal Blessings for his two Sons, then addressed himself to the Angel to obtain of him that he would keep them from all Evil: From whence two things are concluded; the One is, that *Jacob* addressed his Prayer directly to the Angel; and the Opinion of *Abravanel*, who denies it, is false; the other is, that he gave to him the Power of preserving from Evil, whilest he left to God that of bestowing all good things: And it is in this very sense that another Doctor observes, that *Jacob* would have overset all, if he had begun by the Angel; but he had rightly kept the order, in putting God at the head of his Prayer, and in finishing it with the Angel. This perfectly agrees with the Principle of *Grisendi*, who is persuaded that if all *Jacob*'s Prayer was *implicitely* addressed to God, the first Source of all good things, he prayed *explicitely to the Angel.*

III. *Grisendi* further remarks, that the *Jews* give mighty degrees of Authority to Angels, seeing that they excommunicate at the name of *Actariel*; and that in explaining the Promise that God made to *Moses* of sending *his Angel before him*, and that *his Name should be with him*, they observe, that *that* Angel is called *Metatron*, and that *that* Name is like that of God, because in counting the Arithmetical Lettes of that word, they make the same || number as that of All-mighty.

IV. One might draw an Argument from what * St. *Jerome* says, in his explaining the reproach that our Saviour *Christ* cast upon the *Jews* for their Swearing by the Creatures; for he makes that that Redeemer of the World to say, that they *swore by the Angels, and that they honoured them.* The Authority of that Father has seduced even the *Protestants*, who have not taken heed that the Gospel-Text does not speak *of Angels*; but of the City of the Great King, and of the Gift that is upon the Altar. The worshipping of Angels would be very antient if *J. Christ* had so early † condemn'd it; but St. *Jerome* is grosly deceiv'd in a thing so plain and evident. So that now his Testimony can be no more alledged, because it is false: But *P. Simon* has given us a Prayer to the Guardian Angel, inwhich is said to him, *Be ye honoured and worshipped, Holy and Venerable Ministers of God; preserve me, and help me.*

V. The *Talmudists* ascribe to the Angels || miraculous Deliverances; for they tell us, that a Woman demanding some Charity of *Benjamin* the *Just*, Keeper of the Alms, he promised he would give her some, provided he could find Money in the Coffer which was entrusted to him. The Woman, who was afraid lest the Coffer should be empty, represented her Misery, and that of seven Children who were like to be famished. *Benjamin* thereupon pulled somewhat out of his Pocket, and therewith relieved her. Soon after he himself fell Sick unto Death; but the Angels of the Ministry representing to God that he had saved the Lives of eight Persons, the Sentence of Death was deferred, and his Life prolonged. Now some are fully persuaded that such a Miracle deserves adoration; and *Bartollocci* concludes from it, that in effect we may very well worship Spirits that can secure us from Death.

The *Jews* are also persuaded that all the Good that God doth to them, flows from the merits of the Pa-

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* Bartol. Bibl Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 193. † Francisc. Grisendus Jul. Bartol. *p.* 206. *t.* 1. Kippur. || *They make up* 314.
* Hieron. in Math. 5. *p.* 600. † Preface sur Leon. de Modene. || Bartol. *t.* III. *p.* 556.

triarchs,

triarchs, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; And that is the reaſon wherefore they pray to God to impute 'em to them. They tell us likewiſe that God, deſigning to puniſh the *Iſraelites* after the Sin of the *Golden Calf*, as he had done the Inhabitants of *Sodom*, he demanded of *Moſes* if there were ten righteous Perſons in all the Nation; upon this he named himſelf, with *Aaron*, *Eliezer* and *Ithamar*, his Nephews; and *Phineas*, *Joſuah*, and *Caleb*; but he could not find the Eighth; which obliged him to ask of God *if the Dead do not live*. God having anſwer'd him in the Affirmative, *Moſes* compleated the number of Ten righteous Perſons, by adding to them *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, at which God's Anger was appeaſed. From thence three things are concluded; the One, that the Merits of the Saints obtain Grace for Sinners; the other, that they pray for them, ſeeing that in this little Hiſtory they are united to *Moſes*, the Mediator of the People. In ſhort, 'tis evident by *that*, that according to the antient Rabbies, they invoked the Saints, and by conſequence the Angels.

VI. Since we are reporting * all that can be ſaid againſt the *Jews*, let us add that St. *Peter* has accuſed them of worſhipping *Angels*, *Arch-Angels*, *Months and the Moon*; and ſhall we not believe it when an Apoſtle has declared it? *Celſus* alſo maintained to *Origen*, that the *Jews worſhipped the Heavens and the Angels that were contained therein*: But theſe Proofs, tho' they be the moſt antient, yet are not the beſt; for the Sermon of St. *Peter* is forged; and if *Clement* of *Alexandria* has ſuffered himſelf to be deceived therein, we are not obliged to follow him. Beſides, the pretended St. *Peter* juſtifies the *Jews*; in ſaying, that they believe they worſhip God alone; but they worſhipped the Angels and *did not know it*, becauſe they gave too great a Power to thoſe Intelligences; and thus it is that he accuſes them of worſhipping *the Months and the Moon*, becauſe they overſcrupulouſly obſerve the courſe of that Planet, and Feaſt on the Firſt days of the Month. But that is not properly a Worſhipping. *Origen* takes notice likewiſe, that thoſe who obſerved the Law of *Moſes*, worſhipped only One God, *and not the Heavens with him*, becauſe that is contrary to the Law; ſo that at the time of thoſe Writers, the worſhip of the Creature was not known among the *Jews*.

VII. In fine, *Wagenſeil* obſerves, that † if the *Jews* don't invoke the Saints otherwiſe than over their Sepulchres, becauſe the Prayers that are made to them any where elſe ſignifie nothing, at leaſt they do it very near to their Graves and their Aſhes. 'Tis certain this, that when they began to venerate the Saints, they only did it on their Tombs, and in the places where their Reliques were depoſited. Thus St. *Baſil* || aſſures us, that thoſe who went to the Tomb of St. *Mamas*, had been healed there, and for that very Reaſon it was that they celebrated in his Church the Feaſt of forty Martyrs, becauſe they were interr'd there: Now if God be there *where two or three are gathered together in his Name*, by ſo much the ſtronger reaſon then is He in a place where there are Forty of them.

VIII. Tho' all theſe Proofs ſeem to be evident and poſitive, yet there are others that deſtroy the matter, and are full out as ſtrong. *P. Simon*, who gives us the Prayer that is made to the Guardian Angel, obſerves at the ſame time, that the *Jewiſh* Books *forbid 'em to worſhip them, or to ſerve them, as Mediators and Interceſſors*. This is not ſufficient perhaps, becauſe it is thought there is ſome ambiguity in the term *Mediator*, altho' the diſtinction of Mediator, Interceſſion and Saisfaction, invented for Neceſſity, was unknown to the *Jews*; but there is found in their Catechiſm an * *Anathema* pronounced againſt all that *ſhall petition for any thing to an Angel, or any other Celeſtial Power*. How then can it be ſaid to them, *preſerve me, and help me?* *Maimonides* † reckons as the Sixth Article of Faith, *That God alone is to be adored, magnified, celebrated and praiſed*. This heaping of Expreſſions denotes the Precaution with which he endeavours to take *from the Elements, the Stars and Angels*, all manner of Worſhip; for he excludes them utterly from it. Two other || *Sages* undermine and ſap the Foundations on which the *Modern Chriſtians* have upheld that Worſhip. One cenſures them for making God *Proud and Stately*, as if he would not receive Men, but forced them to addreſs their Prayers to Mediators, which he looks upon as *a ſource of Idolatry*. The other maintains not only that God hath forbidden all manner of Commerce with *Interceſſors* between Men and Himſelf, for that is *the firſt ſort of Idolatry*; But he hath moreover deſtroyed the Compariſon ſo often made uſe of to juſtify and authorize it. He introduces God ſpeaking and repreſenting that if the Mediation of Officers at Court be neceſſary for Subjects towards their Prince, that Neceſſity proceeds from the Kings, their often times refuſing Audience; but it is not ſo with God: "For "ſince You have ſeen, ſaith God, that I have ſpoken "from Heaven to You, do'nt uſe me in that man-"ner; do not introduce the Cuſtom of having ſuch "Interceſſors. Sacrifices are the true way to ob-"tain my favour; build me an Altar, put *only your* "*truſt in me, without relying upon any other Creature.*" They are ſenſible here of one Difficulty that is commonly made againſt them relating to Saints, and that is, that they do not underſtand the Prayers of their Votaries, and inſtead of refuting it, they approve of it. They cannot invoke *the Angels, nor their Chiefs, ſuch as* Gabriel *and* Michael, *&c.* ſaid the famous *Kimki*. Abraham *our father is long ſince dead. The Father knows not his Son but whileſt he is alive. God alone is that Father that lives for ever, and redeems us from all Miſery and Calamity.* I confeſs, I know not which way to reconcile the words of theſe Rabbies with what we have produced; for they blow up the worſhip of Saints and Angels from the Foundation; they look upon it as the firſt Species of Idolatry; they condemn as Straglers, and anathematize thoſe who practiſe it with their Litanies.

IX. I do not pretend to decide; yet I hope it will be permitted me to make three Reflections on the Proofs that have been alledged in favour of this Worſhip. 1. They draw it from their Writings by Conſequences, and thoſe Conſequences founded on certain Facts or Propoſitions which the Rabbies have deviſed. They aſcribe Miracles to Angels; they look upon *Abraham* as a Source of Bleſſings for them; but they do not from thence conclude that they muſt be adored. That is a Concluſion which ariſes from the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, where they adore the Inſtruments of the Grace and Benediction of God; but theſe two Notions may be ſeparated, and the *Jews* do it as well as the *Reformed*.

X. This ought to be found in the *Talmud*, which treats of the moſt minute Matters of Religion. But there is no mention of it there; No bounds are preſcribed to it; no Precepts and Rules are given for it. Thoſe Prayers to Angels are to be met with in ſome of their ſcattered Books, in a Manuſcript that

* Apud Clement. Alex. Strom. *l.* 6. *p.* 635. † Wagenſeil in Sota. *p.* 332. || Baſil. in 40. Mart. Hom. 20. *p.* 459.
* Catech. Jud. *t.* 5. † Maimon. Comment. ſup. Tract. Thalmud. Sanhedrim. *c.* 11. || Abarbanel de cap. Fidei. *c.* 12. Lent. Theol. Jud. *c.* 8. Manaſſ. Conciliator. P. 11. *pag.* 180. Kimki Comment in Eſ. *c.* 63. 13.

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is in the Vatican, in a private Ritual. They are not to be read in the *Jews* their common Books of Devotion at *Rome*, or in *Italy*; neither are they to be found in the formulary of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*. 'Tis plain then, that all theſe *Recherches* and ſtrict Examinations ſerve only to prove, that there are ſome ſuperſtitious *Jews* who have invoked their Guardian Angels, and at the ſame time have thought that *that* Invocation carried not along with it any ſtain or blemiſh of Idolatry.

XI. Laſtly, to theſe Proofs, moſt of which are ſecret and kept hid, they oppoſe the common Catechiſm of the *Jews*; the Anathemaes againſt thoſe who worſhip Angels, and have their Names come into their Prayers; they oppoſe the great Names of *Abravanel*, *Maimonides*, who ſpeak deciſively, tho' they lived long before the Reformation: In a word, they oppoſe *Manaſſé*, that famous Rabby of the laſt Age, who ought to underſtand his Religion, if any one ever did; and yet he plainly and avowedly decides againſt this pretended Adoration.

CHAP. XI.

Of DEMONS.

I. *Three Opinions about their Origine.* II. *Their Nature.* III. *Their Sex and Multiplication.* IV. *The manner how they act.* V. *Whether Choler be a Demon.* VI. *Whether Demons defile thoſe that Sleep.* VII. *Their Fall.* VIII. *Of the Chief of the Demons.* IX. *The Cauſe of their Fall, according to* Enoch. X. *Their Puniſhment.* XI. *Sentiment of the* Modern Jews. XII. *Adopted by the Fathers.* XIII. *St.* Jude *ſpeaks not of the impurity of Angels. Explication of that part of his Epiſtle.* XIV. *The Opinion of* Tertullian *and St.* Auguſtin *upon the Book of* Enoch. XV. *Proof that the Author of that Book was a* Jew. *The time in which he flouriſhed.* XVI. *The Knowledge he had of Paganiſm.* XVII. *Aerian Demons.* XVIII. *Whether they alter their Condition.*

I. THREE different beginnings are given to Demons. 1. Sometimes 'tis maintained, that God created them the ſame Day that he created Hell to be the place of their Habitation. He formed them Spiritual, becauſe he was not at leiſure to give them Bodies. The Feſtival of the Sabbath began the very moment of their * Creation, and God was forced to break off his Work, that ſo he might not violate the repoſe of the Feſtival. *Maimonides* †, a Man of great Authority in the Synagogue, who was aſhamed of a Doctrine that makes God commit evil, and makes him alſo ſcrupulous about the obſervation of the Sabbath, rejected it abſolutely. He cites alſo a Paſſage out of the ſame Book that we have juſt now mentioned *(vizt. Bereſchyt Rabba)* to prove that *Evil does not come from Heaven.* 2. Others imagine that *Adam* having been a long time without knowing his Wife, the Angel *Samael* being ſmitten with her Beauty, joined himſelf with her, and ſhe conceived and brought forth Demons. They likewiſe affirm that *Adam*, whom they make a ſort of a wicked Perſon, was the Father of evil Spirits. They reckon beſides, for there is hereupon a great diverſity of Opinions, four Mothers of Devils, one whereof was *Nahama*, Siſter to *Tubal Cain*, beautiful as the Angels, to whom ſhe reſigned her ſelf; ſhe ſtill lives, and ſubtilly gets into Mens beds when they are faſt aſleep, and then engages them to pollute themſelves with her. The other is *Lilit*, too famous a Woman not to have her Hiſtory reported in a few words. God had given her to *Adam* for his Wife, after he had made her of the Earth as well as him; but they did not very well agree together, becauſe ſhe would not be obedient to him. I know not whether *Adam* came to blowswith her or not, but ſhe flew away from him. Complaints hereof were carried to the Tribunal of God, who ſtrait ſent three Angels after *Lilit* with orders to bring her back to her Husband, and to threaten her that in caſe ſhe refuſed, a hundred of her Children ſhould die every day. The Angels found *Lilit* upon the Red Sea, juſt at the place where the *Egyptians* were afterwards overthrown, and periſhed. They deſign'd to have drowned her, becauſe ſhe refuſed to follow them; but they let her live becauſe ſhe repreſented to them that ſhe had not been created but only to make war on Children. All that the Angels could obtain of her, was, that ſhe could not kill any Young Child in thoſe places where ſhe ſhould find the Names of thoſe three Angels written; and thereupon they denounced the Curſe of God upon her, by vertue whereof there died every day a hundred Demons. This Story has made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Minds of the People, that when any Woman is brought to bed in *Germany*, they always place little bits of Paper at the four Corners of the Lying-in Chamber, with theſe words written on them, *Let* Adam *and* Eve *be here preſent, and* Lilith *be gone*; and upon the Door they put *Sennoi*, *Sanſennoi*, *Samangeloph*, which are the Names of the three Angels whom God ſent in perſuit of *Lilit*, and which they thought had Charms ſufficient to drive away the Demons. And they are not the Women alone that do this; but the Men in like manner write the Names of theſe Angels upon Parchment, which they wear cloſe next their Skin. They add to them divers Figures and other Words, which they fancy are able to keep *Lilit* and other Demons and Spectres from coming near 'em. Some Rabbies believe that *Lilith* is the Moon, which has borrowed that Name from *Lil*, לִיל which ſignifies *Night*, and whoſe Influences may be either Advantageous or very Unfortunate to New-born Children. The Full Moon, ſays *Abravanel*, is happy for Children; but if they be born in the Increaſe, or Waine, the horns of that Planet cauſe Death; or if they live, generally they are guilty of ſome enormous Crimes. The ſame Superſtition reigned among the Heathen People, and the Goddeſs *Lucina*, which they invoked in their times of Travel, was the Moon.

*Montium * cuſtos nemorumq; Virgo,*
Quæ laborantes utero Puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimiſq; Letho
* Horat. *Diva triformis.*

But on which ſide ſoever we turn our ſelves, we ſee a moſt ſenſible Superſtition. In ſhort, there are among

* V. Manaſſ. de Creat. Probl. 23. Bereſchyt. Rabba Sect. 7. *p.* 9. Col. 3. Jalkut Sect. Bereſchyt. *n.* 12. *p.* 11. Bartol. *p.* 289. † Maimon, More Nevochim. *p.* 111. *c.* 10. Lib. Zohar. *p.* 55. Ben Sirah. *p.* 23.

among the *Jews* ſome Divines, who believe that the Angels created in a State of Innocence, fell from it thro' a kind of Jealouſy for Man, and their revolt from God; which comes neareſt to, and agrees beſt with the Account *Moſes* has given of it.

II. Others tell us that after *Adam* was created, God cauſed two Angels to deſcend and follow him wherever he went, the One on his left hand, and the other on his right. After his Sin and Fall the Angel on his left hand begat other Spirits that peopled the Air, and who were imployed in * Scourging of Men: And indeed they believe that the Demons were created Male and Female, and from their conjunction proceeded Others. They ſay alſo, that the Souls of the Damned are for ſome time changed into Demons, to go and torment Men, viſit their Tombs, ſee the worms gnawing their dead Bodies, which afflicts them, and afterwards they return to Hell.

III. Theſe Demons have † three Advantages in common with the Angels. They have Wings like them; they fly as well as they from one end of the World to the other; and, in ſhort, they are knowing in matters of futurity. They have alſo three Imperfections in common with Men; for they are neceſſitated to eat and drink, they beget and multiply, and at laſt die as we do.

IV. 'Tis God who ſends them forth to Men; and to that end are they placed near his Throne on his left hand, whileſt the good Angels attend on his right. They ſtrengthen this conceit of theirs from a Paſſage in *Job*, which mentions a Dialogue between God and the Devil, that was held in the midſt of the Angels. They imagine very fooliſhly that *that* Dialogue was had here upon Earth, by the Miniſtry of ſome Angel, whom God ſent expreſs to carry his Orders, becauſe the Devils receive all their Knowledge by the Miniſtry of thoſe happy Spirits, that come to reveal to them what God hath ordained. The || Author of the Queſtions publiſhed under the Name of St. *Athanaſius*, and which is very antient, has adopted this Opinion. But why are they unwilling to have God, who is infinite, act immediately over Devils, either in giving them the knowledge of his Will, or in making them the Executioners of it? To what purpoſe ſerves the intervention of an Angel and a mediate Cauſe to go and tell the Devils in Hell, or upon Earth, what they are ignorant of? What *Job* ſaid of the Diſcourſe the Devil had with God, ought not to be taken literally, for it is a figure of Rhetorick under which God comprehends two certain Truths; the One, that the Devil is the Calumniator and Oppreſſor of the Saints; and the other, that notwithſtanding all his Hatred and Cruelty, he cannot act further than God commiſſions him. The *Jews* ſeem'd to have followed this Sentiment, when they put the Devils on the left hand of God's Throne, to receive his Orders.

V. We deceive our ſelves when we take literally what they ſay about God's ſending five Demons to puniſh the *Iſraelites*, whereof One was Choler, and the other the Scum of an inflamed Rage. Upon ſuch like occaſions as theſe we ought to help the *Cabaliſts*, in diſcovering their meaning, which was only to inform the *Jews*, that God being extremely incenſed againſt his People, was reſolved to chaſtiſe them; and that *Moſes* ſtopp'd the current of his Wrath; for Choler is not a Demon, and the Scum of Choler, or (what I call'd before) an inflamed rage cannot be looked upon as one of thoſe Evil Spirits.

VI. I know not whether we may not enforce their Conjectures yet further, and affirm, that there is ſome concealed Myſtery in what the *Jewiſh* Rabbies ſay, about the Soul's going out of the Body whileſt we are aſleep, and the Demons making uſe of that abſence, to ſully and defile it; and therefore we ought to be very careful to waſh our ſelves every Morning, that ſo we may be purified before we touch, or do any thing. There are for that reaſon Prayers * wherein Thanks are given to God for his reſtoring a Soul to its Body: *Bleſſed be thou, O Lord*, ſay the Jews, *for that thou reſtoreſt Souls to their dead Bodies*; and it is not meant there of the Reſurrection, but of a living Man who returns Thanks for himſelf. Thus they ſpeak, becauſe they look upon Sleep as a Death, and the Eſtate in which the Soul is, whileſt it is aſleep, as an Abſence: They explain their Prayers themſelves, by adding that *Sleep is compared to Death, and one of the Sixty ſorts of Death.* They reckon up Sixty ſorts of Death, whereof Sleep is the Second: In perſuing this Notion, they may very well ſay, that the Soul, which at that time ſhews no ſign of Reaſon, or of Life, is flown and is abſent, and that the Devil takes his advantage of this annihilation, to diſhonour the Body, and lead it to impurity, as it happens but too often in Dreams. I know not whether this be their meaning; but thus far they all agree, that Devils are buſyed every night in tormenting of Men.

VII. God holding on his diſcourſe with the Angels, perceived a great diſpute aroſe among 'em upon the account of Man. Jealouſy had ſeized them; they maintained before God that Man was only Vanity, and that it was quite wrong to give him ſo great an Empire. God juſtified the excellence of his Work by two Reaſons. The One, that Man would laud and praiſe him upon Earth, as the Angels glorified him in Heaven. Secondly, He asked thoſe proud and inſolent Angels, if they knew the Names of all the Creatures; they owned their Ignorance, which was ſo much the more ſhameful, becauſe *Adam*, who appeared preſently after, recited them all without miſtaking one. *Schamael*, who was the Preſident and Chief of that Celeſtial Aſſembly, loſt all Patience; he aroſe, went down to the Earth, and having obſerved that *the Serpent was more ſubtil than any beaſt of the field which the Lord God had made*, he made uſe of him to ſeduce *Eve*. In this manner do the *Jews* relate the fall of the Angels; and from their own Story it appears that there was one Chief among them before their Apoſtacy, and that *that* Chief was called *Schamael*. In the main, they differ not very much from the *Chriſtians*; for there is one party of the antient Doctors of this Church that have looked on the Devil before his Fall as the Prince of all the Angels. *Gregory* the *Great* aſſures us, that he was created the firſt of all: And therefore he ſays, that *Job* † calls the *Behemoth the Chief of the works of God*, and that he who commanded Angels, is become their Subject, and Obedient to their Power. *Tertullian*, *Lactantius* and *Cyril* of || *Jeruſalem*, who call him for *that* reaſon *an Arch-Angel*, have been of the ſame Sentiment.

VIII. 'Tis true, the *Jews* ſay, that *that* firſt Angel who fell and drew along with him into that Rebellion a great many others, was called *Schamael*, whereas the *Roman Catholicks* who pretend to be better inſtructed in this matter, affirm that he was called *Lucifer*. They oppoſe alſo the *Hereticks* by the conſent of the Fathers, who being perſuaded that *Lucifer*

* *They are called* verbera hominum. † Excerpta Gemaræ apud Hottinger. *p.* 124. || *Queſt.* 12. in Op. Athanaſ. Bartol. Bibl Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 303. * Machazor. Magnum Italic. ed. Bonon. *p.* 1. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 295. * Greg. I. Mor. in Job. *l.* IV. *c.* 13. 18. and 32. † Job. 40. 19. || Cyrill. Hieroſ. Catech. 2. Bart. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 309.

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is the Name of the Chief of the Demons, have applied the passages of *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel* to him. But it is not worth while to keep such a pother about a difference of Names. What need of all that heat, and why should Men be tax'd with Heresie about such a trifle? We know as little whether *Lucifer* be the true Name of the Devil, as whether *Schamael* be so. If they dispute it upon the Authority of the Fathers, why is he not called *Behemoth*, seeing that *Job* calls him so; and as able a *Pope* as any of them all, has decided, that it was the Devil which was the first of all the Works of God? If one would have a greater Authority than *that* of Fathers, why will they not submit to *that* of J. CHRIST, who says that *Beelzebub is the Prince of the Devils*? Are they certain that J. CHRIST was then in Jest when he called him so? In short, the passages in *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel* are without all doubt applied to the Kings of *Tyre* and *Babilon*. The Devil is not in the least to be found there, unless you'll have recourse to a Mystical and Allegorical Sence, which makes no proof at all. There are none but the *Latin* Fathers at most who have seen there plainly the true Name of the first Devil; for the *Greeks* never call him *Phosphore* nor *Eosphore*. Why then are their Brains puzzled about the Name of the Chief of the Demons, whether *Lucifer* rather than *Schamael*? And why do they say he is called *Schamael* rather than *Lucifer*? The *only* Essential difference which is observed between the *Jews* and the *Christians*, turns upon some circumstances concerning the fall of the Apostate Angels; but in the main they agree with the Fathers in the most important Matters, or rather the Fathers of the Church have borrowed from the *Jews* what they have delivered to us of the Fall of Angels thro' the Love of Women.

X. *Moses* said, *that the Sons of God seeing that the Daughters of Men were fair, took them Wives and defiled themselves with them. Philo* the *Jew* has substituted Angels in the room of the Sons of God, and observes that *Moses* has given the Title of Angels to those whom the Philosophers call *Genij*. *Enoch* has * related not only the Fall of Angels with the Women, but he has given all the circumstances of it. He names † the Twenty Angels that complotted to Marry, and bound themselves in that design by a Curse, that so all the Wrath of God should not fall upon their Chief *Semixas*, if he Married singly. They took Wives in the Year 1170. of the World, and from those Marriages were born the Giants. These Demons afterwards taught Men Arts and Sciences. *Azael* instructed Boys in the making of Arms, and Maids to Paint. *Semixas* taught them Rage and Fury. *Pharmarus* learn'd them Magick and Necromancy. These Lessons being with greediness receiv'd by both Sexes, caused a most dreadful disorder. I do not know whether God was asleep or no, but four Loyal Angels presented themselves before his Throne, and remonstrated to him the disorder that those Giants had caused; *the Spirits of the Souls of Dead Men cry; and their Sighs mount even to the Gate of Heaven, without being able to come up unto thee, because of the Injustice and Wickedness that is committed upon the Earth, thou seest that, and dost not tell us what is to be done.*

This remonstrance however had its effect. "God "commanded *Uriel* to go and acquaint the Son of "*Lamech*, who was *Noah*, that he should be secu- "red from *Death Eternally*. He ordered *Raphael* "to seize *Exael*, one of the Rebellious and Apo- "state Angels; to throw him *bound Hands and Feet* "*into utter Darkness*, to open the Desert which is "in another Desert, and to cast him there; to put "upon him sharp Stones, and to keep him from "ever seeing the Light, until he shall be cast in- "to the burning Lake at the Day of Judgment. The "Angel *Gabriel* was charged to set the Giants to- "gether by the Ears, that so they might kill one a- "nother; and *Michael* was to take *Semixas*, and "all the Marry'd Angels, that so when they had "seen the Gyants and all their Children destroyed, "they should be bound for Seventy Generations in "the Holes and Caverns of the Earth, until the Day "of the Accomplishment of all things, and of Judg- "ment, when they shall be thrown into an Abyss of "Fire and of Eternal Torments.

XI. The *Modern Jews* have been extravagant upon these Stories, for they have affirmed that *Schamael*, being mounted on a Serpent, seduced *Eve*, by whom she conceived, and brought forth *Cain*. What does *Moses* mean, (if we believe them) when he relates that *Adam* * knew *Eve*? If it be not to tell us in civil terms that the Devil had made him a Cuckold, and that he perceived his Wife to be big with Child. He knew very well by *Cain's* Countenance that he did not resemble Men, but Angels; And therefore *Eve* cryed out, and said, *I have gotten a Man from the Lord*.

Adam being highly incensed that *Cain* had killed *Abel*, who was really his Son, parted from his Wife for the space of a Hundred and Twenty Years. What have I to do to get Children, seeing others kill 'em, said he, in his Passion? Yet however two Female Spirits united themselves to him, and begat a Stock. The Demons, who were the Offspring of that mixture, are filthy and polluted; they are frequently found at Doors, in Pits, and in secret Places, where they haunt and cruelly treat Men.

In a word, we have already observed the Sin of the two Angels, *Schembazai* and *Azael*, who being deeply in Love with the Damsels whose Beauty had Charmed them, Marry'd them, had Children by them, taught the Women to Trick and Paint themselves, and obliged God to drown Mankind for the Corruption that had already overwhelmed them.

XII. The Fathers of the *Christian* Church have not blushed to Copy one part of these Fabulous Histories. In the Text of *Moses* they have substituted *Angels* in the room of the Sons of God, as *Philo* had done; they have asserted, that the Demons fell in Love with the Daughters of Men, and Giants were born of them. They have said likewise as well as the Rabbies, that the Demons had taught the Women to Paint, and set out themselves with false Beauties. *Tertullian* took care not to forget making use of this Argument against the Ornaments and Luxury that was grown already so great even in his time. 'Tis not a few singular Doctors that have followed this Opinion; their Number is great. They are Famous; they have caused this Matter to be set down in the very Petitions they have drawn up in favour of the *Christian* Religion; and to gain a higher Authority in the Minds of the People, and to speak with greater confidence; they have pretended that the Book of *Enoch* was Canonical, because *St. Jude* had cited it.

XIII. I will not enter with a *Modern Christian* into an examination of the Question, whether the Angels being of a different Species from Men, tho' even they should have fine and subtil Bodies, could beget a Progeny, as Mules that proceed from two Animals of different Species.

I would rather examine two other things; the one, whether *St Jude* has Authorized the Stories that are told about the Fall of the Angels, and their

* Enoch. Fragment. Græc. apud scaliger. in Not. ad Euseb. *p.* 144. † *Some* Jews *speak but of two Angels who offered their Service to God.* * Zohar in Bereschyt. *p.* 36. V. Bart. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 291.

Love

Love for Women; the other is, whether the fragment of *Enoch* be of ſufficient Authority to adopt them.

The firſt of theſe Queſtions is nice and delicate; for the Hiſtory of the Angels their impurity is true, tho it appears ridiculous to us; or the Epiſtle of *St Jude* is not Canonical. 'Tis certain, we ought not to receive any Book for Divine, in which Fabulous Stories are reported as if they were real Events, and which are to ſerve as a Bridle to Sinners. This muſt be of neceſſity, either that *St. Jude* has told us a Falſity, or that the Fact which he reports, is true. If he has told us a Falſity, God hath not inſpired him. 'Tis true, the Doctors are divided; ſome, as the Fathers whom we have cited, have believed, that the Angels ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by Women; Others, who have ſeen that it was a perfect Fable, have rejected the Epiſtle of *St. Jude*: But theſe two Sentiments labour under great difficulties, and therefore we are for taking a third and middle way, and are perſuaded that *St Jude* has not compared the Crime of the Angels to the Sin of *Sodom*, and that they have very ill tranſlated the words of that Apoſtle. In ſhort. *St Jude* ſays, that *God keeps in everlaſting Chains unto the Judgment of the Great Day, the Angels that kept not their Original State.* Here ends the Article concerning the Angels, whoſe Puniſhment is an excellent Leſſon for Sinners. He afterwards produces a ſecond example of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah, and the Cities about them, who in like manner had given themſelves to Fornication, and going after ſtrange Fleſh. St Jude* does not then ſpeak of the Angels, but of the Inhabitants of *Sodom* and the *Neighbouring Cities* * that had imitated her impurities. 'Tis certain, it cannot be ſaid of the Angels that they went after other Fleſh, ſeeing they are Spiritual Intelligences; but that was the Wickedneſs of the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Cities of *Sodom* that had a part in the Puniſhment. This Explication is ſo natural and conformable to the Text, that I can't conceive why they bring in there the Angels with the *Sodomites*, ſince the Cenſure falls upon the Cities that burn'd with *the Inhabitants* of *Sodom*, for having gone after other Fleſh. We ought not therefore to eſtabliſh this Fable upon the Authority of *St Jude* who ſays nothing of it.

XIV. As for the Book of *Enoch*, whereof ſome Fragments are ſtill extant, 'tis generally taken for a ſuppoſititious Work. I don't believe St. *Jude* would have cited a Book compoſed under the Name of that Patriarch; for he only hinted at ſome words of that Holy Man. *He ſaid*, and *St Jude* might have learnt the *words*, or Propheſie of *Enoch* by a Tradition preſerved among the *Jewiſh* People; and it is from the ſame Source and Fountain that he has drawn what he tells of *Michael* the *Arch-Angel* his *contending with the Devil, about the Body of* Moſes. *Tertullian* and *St Auguſtin* ſeem to have known that Book, ſeeing they both mention it. The firſt ſays, that *the Book of* Enoch *ought not to be rejected, ſince he has Propheſied of our Lord*; and the ſecond maintains the contrary, "That tho he has written ſomething "that is Divine, by reaſon of the Authority of *St Jude*, who ſays ſo; yet there was no reaſon how-"ever to put it in the Cannon, which was kept "in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and of which the "Prieſts had the Cuſtody.

The oppoſite Opinions of theſe two Fathers is very plain and evident; for one of them would needs have the Book of *Enoch* received as a thing that belongs to us; and the other affirms, that it has been with Juſtice all along rejected out of the Cannon. *Tertullian* had read that the Demons had taught the Women the Art of Painting and Beautifying themſelves, and *that* was enough for him to adopt that Book, becauſe he declaimed againſt Women, and oppoſed them with all his might: But he confeſſes, that *that* Book could not have been wrote but ſince the Deluge, or by *Eſdras*, which is a meer Chimera: And he falls a declaiming againſt the *Jews*, as if they had thro' Malice and in ſpight robbed us of every thing that relates to J. CHRIST. St. *Auſtin* mentions only what St. *Jude* has cited out of the Book of *Enoch*, and it is entirely upon his Authority that he ſpeaks of it. If it be true therefore, that St. *Jude* had not ſeen that Book of *Enoch*, and that he had given us the Propheſie of that Patriarch purely from Tradition, we have good ground to believe that St. *Auguſtin*, who ſends us back to St. *Jude*, had not ſeen it. Moſt certainly this Book was firſt compoſed by a *Jew*, and thoſe two Fathers have not forbore ſpeaking advantageouſly of it, becauſe they have followed the general prejudice, and built upon a falſe ſuppoſition, in imagining that St. *Jude* had *cited the Book of* Enoch, whereas he only gives us a ſingle paſſage, or a word, out of it.

XV. It cannot be denyed but that it was a *Jew* who pawn'd that Work upon the Patriarch *Enoch*; Nor is it neceſſary that he ſhould have wrote it in *Hebrew*, and afterwards that it ſhould be tranſlated into *Greek*, as a very Learned Perſon * has thought; for the *Jews* wrote ſometimes in *Greek*, and the Fragments that are left us, are an Original. We can't decide the time in which this Impoſtor may have lived; but it is apparent that he did not write till after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and in the ſecond Age of the Church, where the Learned of that diſperſed Nation began to appear again. He followed the Principles of his Religion, and the Theologie of his Age. 1. 'Twas thought at that time, that the Angels were corrupted by the Love of Women; for that is proved undeniably by the Teſtimony of *Philo* and *Tertullian*. *Rau Joſeph*, being interrogated about *Azael* who is the *Exael* of *Enoch*, makes a long Hiſtory, ſuch as we have been talking of, about the love of Demons, and the Art of Painting and Tricking which they had taught the Women: Yet this Dr. is very Antient. 2. If the Names of the Angels, mentioned by *Enoch* be compared with thoſe which the *Jews* have contrived, we ſhall obſerve, that they contented themſelves with diſguiſing them; and that diſguiſe was neceſſary; ſeeing that the † One are the good Angels, and the other the bad. The *Tyriel* of *Enoch* is the *Actariel* of the Litanies; *Sariel* the Prince is *Lariel*, &c. 3. That Oath of Execration, which the Angels take among themſelves, is borrowed from the Hiſtory of *Joſeph*, whoſe Brethren bound themſelves together by ſuch a like Execration, according to the Rabbies. 4. The falſe *Enoch* diſtinguiſhes *the Spirit, from the Souls* of the Dead conformably to the Sentiment of the *Jews*, who believe the Spirit to be above the Soul, ψυχη. 5. They were thoſe Spirits which *cryed*; which is borrowed from the Blood of *Abel*, and the Cries of the Sins of *Sodom*, rather than of that of the Saints in the *Apocalypſe*, but little known in the firſt Ages. The Angels who preſent unto God the Complaints of the Dead, were the Angels of the Miniſtry, ſo famous among the *Jews*; and we ſee nothing that can relate to *the Cenſer in the Apocalypſe. Rev.* 8. In ſhort, the Fire of Hell; that Abyſs of Fire, in which the Devil is to be Tormented, was known well enough to the *Jews*.

XVI. 'Tis true, the Author has in his Recital inſerted Notions which he has borrowed from Paga-

* *It is there* τέτοις; *but it ought to be underſtood, the* Inhabitants *of* Sodom, *or to be read* τοῦτοις. * Gale in Jamb.
† Apud. Bartol. *t.* 1. 192.

niſm, where the Giants are bound, tied hard with Cords, and thrown into the Abyſſes of the Earth, as thoſe of *Enoch*;

Titania proles
Fulmine dejecti fundo volvuntur in imo.

There is not the leaſt thing, not ſo much as the Stones and Rocks of the Fable, but what he puts into his Narration. *Enoch* cited by St. *Jude*, knew the Day of Judgment, ſeeing he has made ſuch a magnificent deſcription of it. We are not to wonder then if we meet with the ſame thing in the Fragments of *Scaliger*. But that obliges us to reſtore the falſe *Enoch* to the *Jews*, who alſo believe him, and to whom the Honour of having mingled therein divers Stories is due. That *Jew*, who was likewiſe well acquainted with the Fables of the *Greeks* lived in *Egypt*, where *Philo* had brought forth his Hiſtory of the Amorous Angels.

XVII. The Rabbies give * much Strength and Agility to the Devils at the time when God puniſhed them; for *Axa* and *Azael* being driven from Heaven by a Rod of Iron, and going down to the bottomleſs Pit, had the cunning to ſhrowd themſelves up in Air thro' which they paſſed. They aſſumed Bodies; they re-marryed; and from thence was born that number of Proſelytes that went out of *Egypt* with *Moſes*. Idolaters, ill Converts and who were always the Ring-Leaders of the Rebels againſt God, and Chief of the Republick.

XVIII. Tis certain, they believe that the condition of thoſe Spirits changes from time to time with the Revolutions of Empires over which they have an Authoritative influence. *Duma*, for example, was one of the Apoſtate Angels that preſided over *Egypt*. He for a long while withſtood *Moſes*, who beſought *Pharaoh* to let the Children of *Iſrael* go, and from thence proceeded his almoſt invincible Obſtinacy. But God having pronounced the fatal Sentence, I will bring my Judgments upon the Gods of *Egypt*, *Duma* was obliged to comply. He loſt all the Authority he had enjoyed till then, and was ſent back into Hell, where he has the ſuperintendancy over Damned Souls. Others ſay he has only the Charge over the Dying.

* R. Eliezer in Pirke *c.* 7. Windet de vita functorum Statu, Sect. 13. *p.* 253. 254, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Creation of Souls, and of the Firſt Man.

I. *The pre-exiſtence of Souls generally believed by the* Jews. II. *Their State till their Union with the Body.* III. *They were created with the Light.* IV. *Their Purity.* V. *Prayer for the Soul explained.* VI. *Hours of the Day in which* Adam *was Born, fill'd up.* VII. *His Stature. He was double; Hermophrodite.* VIII. *His Perfections.* IX. *The Woman more imperfect than the Man.* X. *Whether* Adam *was circumciſed.* XI. *Whether the* Jews *are Pre-Adamites.* XII. *The Religion of the* Zabiens, *according to Mr.* Hyde. XIII. *The Proofs which he produces, deficient.* XIV. *The Fables that the* Zabiens *make upon* Abraham. XV. *The Errours that* Maimonides *aſcribes to them.* XVI. *The Image of God, wherein it conſiſts.* XVII. *The Immortality of the Soul.* XVIII. *The Tree of Life. Its largeneſs.* XIX. *The Tree of Knowledge.* XX. *Stories about the Creation of the Woman.*

I. A Modern Rabby *, who had much ſtudied the Antients, aſſures us, that the pre-exiſtence of Souls is a Sentiment generally receiv'd among them. They affirm that they were all formed from the firſt Day of the Creation, and that they were all found in the Garden of *Eden*: God ſpake to them when he ſaid, *Let us make Man*: he united them to Bodies according as he formed them. They encourage themſelves in this conceit upon what God has ſaid in *Iſaiah*, "*the Souls which I have made.*Rev. 57.16. He would not have made uſe of a time paſt, if he created ſtill every Day a great number of them. The Work ought to have been finiſhed long before, ſeeing God ſays, *I have made.*

II. Thoſe Souls enjoyed a great Happineſs in Heaven, in expecting when they might be united to Bodies: Yet however they may merit ſomething by their conduct, and *that* is one reaſon why there is ſo vaſt a difference in Marriages, whereof ſome are Fortunate, and others Miſerable; becauſe God ſends thoſe Souls according to their Merits. They were created double, that ſo there might be one Soul for the Husband, and another for the Wife. When theſe Souls, which were made one for the other, are found united upon the Earth, their condition is infallibly happy, and the Marriage eaſy and pleaſant. But God, to puniſh Souls that have not anſwered the excellence of their Original, ſeparates thoſe which had been made one for the other, and then 'tis impoſſible but that there ſhould be diviſion and all manner of diſorder. *Origen* had not adopted this laſt Article of the *Jewiſh* Theologie; for he believed that Souls had pre-exiſted, and that God united them to Bodies Celeſtial, Terreſtrial, Groſs, or Subtil, according to what they had done in Heaven; and ſcarce any body is ignorant that *Origen* had a great many Diſciples and Adherers among *Chriſtians.*

III. The Souls were created *the firſt day with the Light*; for the word *Light* is mentioned no leſs than five times in the Firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, which it is not to be ſure without ſome Myſtery. In fact, God brought forth five different Lights: that of *Sephiroths*; that of Intelligences ſeparated from matter; the Souls which *Solomon* † calls *a Light*; Angels; and laſtly, that great Light which enlightened the World, before the Sun.

IV. Theſe Souls came out pure from the hands of God. There is ſtill to this day recited a Prayer aſcribed to the Doctors of the great Synagogue, in which is read, *O God! the Soul that Thou haſt given me is pure; Thou haſt created it, Thou haſt faſhioned it, Thou haſt breathed it into me; thou keepeſt it within*

* R. Menaſs. Concil. in Geneſ. Queſt. VI. *p.* 12. *De* Creat. Probl. 15. *p.* 61. Id. de Reſurrect. *l.* 2. *c.* 19. *l.* 3. *c.* 9. Id. Lib. de Termino Vitæ. Sect. *p.* 207. † V. Huet. Origen. || *Prov.* 16 9.

me;

me; Thou will't retake it when it ſhall fly away, and will't reſtore it at the time that thou haſt pointed out.

V. There is to be found in this Prayer all that which reſpects the Soul; for behold, how a Learned || Interpreter has Commented on it, *the Soul which thou haſt given me, is pure*; to teach us that it is a Spiritual, ſubtil Subſtance, that has been formed after a pure and clean manner. *Thou haſt created it*, that is to ſay, at the beginning of the World with other Souls. *Thou haſt faſhioned it*, becauſe our Soul is a Spiritual Body, compoſed of a celeſtial and inſenſible Matter; and the *Cabaliſts* add, that it is united to the Body to receive either Puniſhment or Reward, according to what it has done here in the Fleſh. *O God! Thou haſt breath'd it into me*; that is to ſay, Thou haſt united it to my Body without the intervention of any Celeſtial Body, which ordinarily leaves an influence upon vegetative and ſenſitive Souls. *Thou keepeſt it*, becauſe God is the Keeper of Men. *Thou wilt retake it*, which proves that it is immortal; *Thou wilt alſo reſtore it me*, which aſſures us of the truth of the Reſurrection.

VI. The *Talmudiſts* * ſupply us with a World of Stories upon the Chapter of *Adam* and his Creation. They tell us Twelve hours of the day were wholy taken up in the forming of him, without any interminſſion. The firſt hour God ſpent in getting together the Duſt from which he was to be made, and he became an Embryo. On the Second he ſtood upright on his Feet. On the Fourth he *gave names to all Cattle, and to the fowl of the Air, and to every beaſt of the Field*. The Seventh was employed about his marrying of *Eve*, whom God had brought to him as a Paranimph or Bride, after he had curl'd her Hair. The *Jewiſh* Women do ſtill to this day endeavour to imitate thoſe Curlings, which at *Venice* are called *Banetes*, a word that ſignifies *Vanity*. On the Tenth *Adam* ſinn'd; he was judged ſoon after; and on the Twelfth he was ſenſible, of Pain, and the Curſe on the Ground; that in Sorrow and *ſweat of his face*, by reaſon of travel, he ſhould eat his Bread all the days of his Life.

VII. God had made him ſo large that he filled the World, or at leaſt reached up to Heaven. The Angels aſtoniſh'd murmur'd at it, and ſaid to God that now there were two Sovereign Beings, the One in Heaven, the Other on the Earth. God advertiſed of this, † *lean'd his hand upon* Adam's *head*, and reduc'd him to the Stature of a thouſand Cubits; but in giving to the firſt Man ſuch an immenſe bigneſs, they would only ſay, that he knew all the Secrets of Nature, and that *that* Knowledge did conſiderably diminiſh by Sin; that which is Orthodox. They add, that God at firſt had made him double, as the Heathen repreſent *Janus* to us with two Fronts; and therefore there needed only one ſtroke of the Hatchet to divide thoſe two Bodies, and this is clearly explained by the Prophet, who affirms that God had formed him *behind and before*; and as *Moſes* ſays alſo, that God *made them Male and Female*; from whence they conclude, that the firſt was an *Hermophrodite*. *Maimonides* has endeavour'd to juſtify thoſe Doctors by aſſuring us that all this is Myſtical. Yet *Plato* had the ſame Conceptions.

VIII. Without inſiſting on all theſe Viſions which they have multiply'd almoſt to infinite, the Doctors maintain, 1. That *Adam* was created in a State of Perfection; for if he had come into the World as an Infant, he would have ſtood in need of a Nurſe and a Preceptor. 2. He was a ſubtil Creature. The matter of his Body was ſo delicate and fine, that he came near to the nature of Angels; and his Underſtanding was as perfect as that of a Man's can be. He || had a Knowledge of God and of all Spiritual Objects, without having ever learn'd it; it was ſufficient to think of it; and therefore they called him the Son of God. He knew even the Name of God; for *Adam* having given Names to all Animals, God asked him what was his Name, and he anſwered, JEHOVAH, *'tis Thou who art:* and to that it is that God makes the Alluſion in the Prophet *Iſaiah* *, when he ſays, *I am the Lord, that is my Name*, that is to ſay, the Name *that* Adam has given me, and which I have taken to my ſelf.

IX. They do not agree that the Woman was ſo perfect as the Man, becauſe God had not made her but only to be a *help meet* for him: neither do they believe that God made her after his own Image. A *Chriſtian* † Divine has adopted this Sentiment by endeavouring to qualify and ſweeten it; for he tells us, that the Image of God was much more bright and ſhining in Man than in Woman; and therefore ſhe needed a Husband to ſerve as a Preceptor to her, and to teach her the Law and Will of God, whereas *Adam* had received it immediately from his own Mouth.

X. The Doctors likewiſe believe that Man made after the Image of God was circumciſed; but they don't conſider that in ſetting forth ſo much the excellency of a Ceremony, they at the ſame time make a God Corporeal. *Adam* plunged himſelf at firſt into a moſt fearful Debauch, by coupling with Beaſts without ever being able to ſatisfie his unruly appetite, till he was united to *Eve*. Others ſay, on the contrary, that *Eve* was the forbidden Fruit, whom he was not to touch without a Crime; but being tranſported by the temptation which the ſurprizing and extraordinary Beauty of the Woman cauſed, he ſinned and fell. They will not have *Cain* to proceed from *Adam*, becauſe he was born of the Serpent that had tempted *Eve*. He was ſo afflicted at the death of *Abel*, that he continued a Hundred and thirty Years without knowing his Wife, and it was then he began to get Children *in his own likeneſs, after his Image*. He is reproached for his Apoſtacy, in that he endeavoured even to make the fleſh of his foreskin to grow again, that ſo he might efface the Image of God; and that reproach was grounded upon a Paſſage in *Hoſea*, which accuſed the *Jews* for having broken their Covenant with God; *But they like men*, ſays the Text (it is like *Adam* in the Margent, *Hoſ.* 6 7.) *have transgreſs'd the Covenant*; and they will needs have the Covenant to be that, of which Circumciſion was the Seal. *Adam*, after he had broken that Covenant, repented; he afflicted his Body for the ſpace of ſeven Weeks in the River *Gihon*, and that poor Carkaſs was ſo miſerably ſcarify'd, that it became as pierced with holes as a Sieve. 'Tis ſaid there are Myſteries wrapt up in all theſe Stories as perhaps there may be ſome, but it would require a great deal of time as well as wit to unravel 'em all. Let us only obſerve, that thoſe who ſet Rules for the uſe of Metaphors, and pretend that they never ſerve themſelves of them till firſt their Readers are prepared for them, and they are ſure that they read in their Minds what they think, are but little acquainted with the genius of the *Eaſtern* People, and their Rules will be found here much too ſhort.

XI. The *Jews* are accuſed || of giving Strength and Support to the Syſtem of the *Præ Adamites*, which

|| Menaſſ. de Creat. Probl. 15. *p.* 66. * Midras Tehillim. Pſalm. 92. *p.* 41. † Excerpta Gemaræ apud Hottinget, *p.* 8. 10. || Coſri pars 1. *c.* 95. *p.* 49. Vide Notas Buxt. * Iſai. 42. 8. † Lambert. Danæus in Antiquitatibus, *p.* 42. || Peyrer. Syſt. Theol. *p.* 1. *l.* 3. *c.* 3. *p.* 120. R. Iſaac Sangarus in lib. Coſri. *p.* §. 61. & 62. R Maimon. More. Nevochim. *p.* 111. *c.* 29. *p.* 421 Lent. de Mod. Theolog. Jud. *c.* 9. Th. 1. *p.* 288. Bereſchyt Rabba, Sect. IV. R. Schem, Tof. in Sepher. Hæcmunoth. *f.* 68. R. Ghedalia in Schalſchelet Hakkabala.

they have explained in these last Ages with abundance of niceness and subtilty; but 'tis certain they believe that *Adam* was *the first of all men*. *Sangarius* gives *Janbuschar* for a Preceptor to *Adam*; but he neither tells us his Sentiment, nor that of his Nation. He has rather followed the Conceits of the *Indians* and some *Barbarians*, who report, that three Men, whose names were *Janbuschar*, *Zagrith*, and *Roan*, lived before *Adam*, and that the first of them had been his Preceptor. In vain do they make use of the Authority of *Maimonides*, one of the Sagest Doctors of the *Jews*; for if he reports, that *Adam* was the first of all those Men that were born *by an ordinary Generation*, he attributes that Conjecture to the *Zabiens*, and he is so far from proving it, that he looks upon it as a false Idea, which ought to be rejected; and that they had not thought of the Notion, but only to defend the Eternity of the World, which those People, that inhabited *Persia*, maintained. We'll say one word of the Religion of the *Zabiens*, and of the Errours which *Maimonides* imputes to them, since so fit an opportunity here presents it self.

XII. One of those Learned *Englishmen*, who penetrate into the most dark and obscure Matters, pretends he has unfolded the Religion of the *Zabeans* and proved them to be Orthodox. They could not derive their Religion from a purer Source, since they had received it from *Shem*, and *Elam* his Son. If it was found charged with any Superstitions, *Abraham* reformed it, and preserved it so reformed against *Nimrod* who persecuted it. *Zoroastre* was another Reformer, who re established the Worship of the true God. 'Tis true, a perpetual Fire was burning in the Temples of the *Zabiens*, or *Persians*, and they fed it often through Devotion with Aromatick Spices and other pretious things; but there was such another-like Fire upon the Altar of *Jerusalem*, which was never to go out. It was doubtless this very conformity that determined *Cyrus* to suffer the Temple to be rebuilt. He also caused those words to be inserted in his Edict or Decree, which sufficiently denotes the Motive that made him do it; for he calls it the Temple in which they offer Sacrifice to *a perpetual fire*. They seemed also to worship the Sun; but that was but a Subaltern Worship which was directed to the Sovereign Being. They did not direct their Prayers directly to it, and the genuflections they made in its presence, were like the Homages that are paid to the Person of Kings, or Ministers of State. The *Persians*, who have kept to the Religion of their Ancestors, maintain still to this day to those that ask them, that their worship is purely and entirely civil. There is therefore reason to believe, that People, who had a Religion so pure, and so far remote from the Heathen Idolatry, whose Temples they overturned, did not believe *the Eternity of the World*.

XIII. We cannot sufficiently admire the vast Learning that Mr. *Hyde* has displayed about this Matter: Yet I hope it will be permitted me to make one Reflection upon it. 'Tis that the *Arabian* and *Persian* Authors, from whom he fetches his Proofs, are not antient enough to discover to us the Religion of the old *Persians*, since they are so great a Number of Ages separated from them. Nor ought those *Arabian* and *Persian* Authors to be prefer'd to the *Greek* Historians, who certainly best understood that Religion in the time when it flourished. *Xenophon* represents *Cyrus* on Horseback, after he had prayed *Jupiter* to *march and to fight with him*. *Darius* cryed out also, *O* Jupiter! *Protector of my Country*. 'Tis not therefore true, that their Prayers are immediately addressed, or that they offer up Sacrifices to the Sun:

Placat † *equo Persis Hyperiona cinctum,*
Ne datur celeri victima tarda Deo.

† Ovid. Fast. 1.

I shall not trouble the Reader with more Proofs drawn from the Antients, only shall observe, that those words in the Edict of *Cyrus*, they *Sacrifice by an eternal fire*, or as the *Latin* Interpreter * has translated it, *sacrifice ye in the perpetual fire*, is not found but in the *Septuagint* Version; for in the *Hebrew* it is read † that they *bear*, *or lay the Foundations*, which are the main strength of the Building, and the Sence requires it, for afterwards there is mention made of its heighth and largeness. Besides, 'tis incontestable that the *Jews* did not sacrifice to the fire, nor was there among them any Symbol of the Deity, as there was among the *Persians*. *Cyrus* could not have compared those two things; for one was the Symbol of the Deity, and the other served only to consume the Sacrifices. Victims were offered to the fire, among the *Persians*, and the Devots sacrificed to it even to their richest Jewels. It had its Priests and Priestesses as well as the Sun; but among the *Jews* there was no such thing. Moreover, the *Persians* || had other Gods; the Moon, the Earth; *Oromasdes* and *Arimanes were famous among them*. The Antients, who have spoke of those Deities, ought certainly to be believed much before the *Arabian* and *Persian* Writers, who lived many Ages after them.

XIV. There would still be some further inclination to believe those Authors, were they but more exact and judicious in Matters that are known to us; but on the contrary, they * disguise even the life of *Abraham*. How many ridiculous Stories do they tell us upon the account of that Patriarch? They make of *Thares* a great Lord, and favourite of the Emperour. Others say he was but a *Sculptor* that carved Idols; but at that time there was a great acuteness of understanding requisite, as well as much Study and Labour, to make the Images and Statues of the Gods. *Abraham*, illuminated by Grace, was converted at about the Age of 16 Years. He entred into a Temple, and broke down all the Idols of it: Upon which he was thrown into such a Furnace as *Daniel* was; but he came safe out of it. All this now is only grounded on a false Interpretation of what is said in *Genesis* of *Abraham*'s coming out of *Ur*, which they have translated fire, instead of a City. That converted Patriarch ran thro' many Difficulties in converting others. He employed Force, armed his Domesticks and Allies, and by that means re-established the antient Religion and the Unity of a God among the *Persians*, who boast even to this day of having derived their Religion from him. Are Authors that vent such Fables as these to be rely'd on? Can we find thro' all the Sacred History that *Abraham* ever travell'd to convert Idolaters? and can any Proof be gathered from thence that the *Persians* have followed the Religion of the Patriarchs, and that afterwards *that* Nation alone should have escaped the Mischief of all others round about it, not excepting that of the *Jews* themselves who are fallen into a most gross Idolatry after they had known the truth?

XV. Certainly if we would follow the *Arabians*, at least we should believe the most Antient. *Maimonides* ||, who lived in the XIIth Century, cites several of them whom he had read; and among others that *of the Agriculture of the Egyptians*, which contained their Religion: and he saw nothing there of all that *is in our Canonical Books*; but on the con-

† Esdras 6. 43. || ראשוה fundamenta ejus. מסחלי Comportantes. * V. Brisson. de Regno Persarum. *l.* 2. *p.* 158. 160. † Apud Hyde. *c* 2. || Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 3. *c.* 2. *p.* 423.

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trary they maintained that *Adam*, the first of all Men born of a Woman, was the Apostle of the Moon, because he had taught to worship that Planet. They despised *Noah*, because he did not use Images; they consecrated Statues of Silver to the Moon, and those of Gold were for the Sun; they divided Metals and Climates among the Stars, because they thought they had mighty influences over those things that were assigned them, and over the Images consecrated to them. This Religion, tho' taken out of the Writings of the *Zabiens*, yet is very different from that which Mr. *Hyde* attributes to them. We ought therefore to believe those antient Authors cited by *Maimonides*; and then we must say that they did believe the Eternity of the World, and owned Men to be placed on the Earth before ever *Adam* was. The *R. Bechai* * tells us, that the first *Caldeans* were honest People: For, "if the *Nazarens*, that is to say, "*Christians*, were so good at their beginning, then "much more were Men of the first World so, who "were born with greater Simplicity. They did not "worship the Sun, but they kindled Fires on the "Earth to return Praises and Thanksgivings unto "God, for that which he lighted for them in Heaven; and looking up to those bright Planets, they "prayed the Angels that God had placed in them, "to incline 'em to be favourable and gracious to "them. But *Cham* and his Posterity fixing upon the "material Object, worshipped the Fire. But this way of arguing does not conclude in favour of the *Zabiens*, who lived since the Deluge, and *Abraham*'s time. On the other hand *Bechai* confesses, that the Descendants of the antient *Caldeans* suffered themselves to be corrupted like other Nations. We are not then to make them Orthodox at the expence of *Maimonides*, nor charge that celebrated Doctor with the Errour of the *Zabiens* about the Eternity of the World, and of Men before *Adam*, since he has but related their Opinions, without giving us his Own.

XVI. The *Jews* say commonly that *Adam* was created Young, of the Stature of a compleat Man, because all things were to be created in a State of Perfection: And as he immediately came out of the hands of God, he was sovereignly *wise, and a Prophet, created after the Image of God.* We should never have done if we brought every thing that this Image of the Deity in Man has made them say. Let it suffice to observe, that amongst all the Doctors that have their different Ways and Sentiments, there are several of them, as *Maimonides* and *Kimki*, who, without having any regard to the Body of the first Man, place it in his Soul and Intellectual Faculties. The former of them † acknowledges, that there were Doctors who believed it was to deny the existence of God, to maintain that he had not a Body, because Man is material, and God had made him after his own Image; but he observes, that the Image is the specifick Vertue that causes us to exist, and by consequence the Soul is that Image. He seems to carry the matter too far, for he will have it, that the Idolaters who prostrate themselves before *Images*, would not have given them that Name, because of some lines of resemblance with the Originals; but because they attribute some vertue to those sensible Figures. *Abravanel*, who explains himself more ingenuously, observes, that God made Man after his own Image, 1. Because the Vertues and Perfections of the Deity were displayed in *Adam*, as Images and Shadows. God possesses all things in the highest degree of Perfection; but Man had at least some Traces and Lineaments of it. 2. Man was the Image of God, because he was the World *en abregé*, and in some manner participated of the four Elements, and of all the things that compose the Universe. As all the Parts of the World are reunited by the Spirit of God, which directs and conducts them; so all the different parts of matter, whereof Man is formed, are reunited by the Soul, which causes them to move. 3. Lastly, he declares that Man was made after the Image of God, because of his Reason, and of that great Wisdom wherewith God had endowed him.

Yet there are Others who pretend, that this Image consisted in the Liberty that Man enjoyed. Angels love goodness out of necessity, 'tis Man alone can love Vertue or Vice: He like God can act or not act; they don't consider that God delights in goodness more necessarily than Angels who could Sin, as it appears for instance in those that fell; and that if this Liberty of indifferenee for good is a degree of Excellence, they exalt the first Man above God. Others say, that the Image of God is seen in the Immortality of the Soul. Others place it in that Authority which *Adam* had over all the Creatures. *Jarki* explains these words otherwise, *Let us make man after our own Image*; for he resolves it, that God speaks there of the Idea which he had made of Man in his Secret Council, and of the rough draught he had designed of him to Himself.

XVII. The *Anti-trinitarians* are much in the wrong for relying upon the Testimony of the *Jews*, to prove, that *Adam* was born mortal, and that Sin in that respect made no change as to his condition; for they ‖ say openly that if our first Fathers had continued in their Innocence, all their succeeding Generations would not have been sensible of the Motions of Concupiscence, and they had then lived for ever. *R. Bechai* *, disputing against the Philosophers that stood up in defence of the Mortality of the first Man, maintains, that it was not allowable for them to quit the Theologie which their Ancestors found in the Writings of the Prophets, which taught us, that Man *had lived eternally if he had not sinned. Nachmanides* †, in the Conference that bears his Name, speaks not so positively; but however thus much he says, that if *Adam had not sinn'd, he might possibly have lived eternally.* In short, *Manasseh* ‖ who was living about the middle of the last Age, in a place where he could not be ignorant of the pretention of the *Socinians*, proves three things which directly fly in the teeth of them; One is, that the Immortality of the first Man, if he had persevered in his Innocence, is grounded on Scripture; Another, that *Hana*, the Son of *Hanina*, *R. Jehuda*, and abundance of Rabbies whose Testimonies he cites, have been of that Opinion. And in a word, he shews, that this Immortality of Man agrees with Reason, seeing that *Adam* had no inward Cause to make him die, and that he was afraid of nothing from without, for he lived in a most delightful place, and that the Fruit of the Tree of Life, wherewith he was to be nourished, increased his Vigour.

XVIII. The Tree of Life was of an immense bigness. All the Waters of the Earth came from under that Tree; and it was so large and big, that one could hardly have walk'd round about it in 500 Years time: But such an excessive bigness is attributed to it, only to give a more sensible Idea of its Perfection. 'Tis disputed whether it was a Vine, or Corn, or a Fig-tree. Methinks of all the Conjectures, the *Jews* * have chosen the worst; for not any of these Fruits *was pleasant to the Eye.* They don't

* R. Bechai Comm. in Genes. *c.* 1. † Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 42. ‖ R. Tof. in Sepher Hæmunoth, *fol.* 68. * R. Bechai. Comment *fol.* 18. † Nachmanid. Disputatio cum fratre Paulo, apud Wagenseil. Tela ignea Sat. *t.* 11. 36. ‖ R. Menass. de Resurrectione, *l.* 111. *c.* 11. * Thalmud. Ordo IV. *p.* 70. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 3. *p.* 592.

don't look on it as a band of the Covenant which God had contracted with the firſt Man, nor as a Sign that ſecured to him the faithfulneſs of God; but they † pretend that it comprehended a quickening vertue, and by a natural quality which God had beſtow'd on that Plant, it was enabled to preſerve Immortality to *Adam*. In conſequence of this firſt Tenet, the *Jews* ſay, that God was obliged to drive rebellious Man out of Paradice, for fear leſt he ſhould Eat of *that* Fruit which would have repaired all he had loſt of radical moiſture, and made him *live for ever*. The *Chriſtians* come not much ſhort of the *Jews* in theſe two Articles. I know not how many Fathers, thinking it might be dangerous, and a kind of ſowing of Hereſie, to believe, that the tereſtrial Paradice, and the Trees *of Life, of the Knowledge of good and evil*, were ſenſible, have turned all into Allegories; and ſome Others, perſuaded that the Tree contained in it an immortalizing Vertue, *have maintain'd that* Adam *would not have died even after he had ſinned, if he had been able to have eaten of the fruit of that Tree*. This is to be found elegantly expreſſed in a Treatiſe || which bears the Name of St. *Auguſtin*, tho' it be none of his.

XIX. It is natural after this to give to the *Tree of the Knowledge of good and evil*, the vertue of enlight'ning the Soul, and of procuring to it a Knowledge it had not before. Some * *Jews* have not failed to do it, and we may place *Joſephus* at the head of them. *Damaſcene*, among the *Chriſtians*, has ſaid alſo that the fruit of that Tree had the Power or Vertue to acquaint Man with his Nature; but they have abandoned that Sentiment of ſome Doctors as well in the Synagogue as in the Church. But by following this Tenet two Errours muſt neceſſarily be fallen into: One, that the firſt Man in the State of Innocence, when his Perfections ought to have ſhone brighteſt, was moſt groſsly ignorant; the Other, that he would have acquired one degree of *Perfection* by his Revolt and Sin. What! did Sin produce Knowledge? *Maimonides* † obſerves, that he had ſeen a Doctor that maintain'd this Opinion. He would needs have *Adam* to have been created a Beaſt without Knowledge, and that he had not acquired that degree of Light but by Sin; but he convinced him of his Errour by proving that Man had an Underſtanding, and in *that* reſpect it was that God made him *after his own Image*. Moreover, God ſpoke to him after the Creation, and gave him Laws. What *Adam* learn'd by his Fall, was, to know the turpitude fixed to his Nakedneſs which was till then unknown to him. The Scales were not fallen from his Eyes; he did not only ſee what he ſaw not before, But he began to find Shame, where he had not obſerved any before his Sinning. *Manaſſah* || ſays that *Adam*, until he fell, had only the Knowledge of what was Good; but by his Revolt and Tranſgreſſion he came to underſtand Evil as well as he had known Good: And for that reaſon God ſaw it fit to make him Subject to Death.

XX. We will be very ſhort in what we ſhall ſay concerning the Creation of the Woman. Perhaps ſome may take our Relation about it to be only ſo much Pleaſantry; but waiving all that, we ought not to forget ſo noble a Part of Human Kind. 'Tis ſaid then, that God did not deſign to create her at firſt, becauſe he foreſaw that Man would quickly complain of her Malice. He expected that *Adam* ſhould have asked her of him, and he would not have failed making her, ſo ſoon as he had taken notice how that all the Creatures appear'd before him in Pairs. God took all the Precautions that were neceſſary to make her good, but all in vain. He would not take her from the Head, for fear ſhe ſhould be given to coquetry: Yet, tho' there was a great deal of Pains taken about her, that Miſchief was not prevented; and the Prophet *Iſaiah* * long ſince complained, *that the Daughters of* Zion *walked haughtily with ſtretched forth naked necks*. God was unwilling to take her from the Eyes for fear ſhe ſhould be given to winking, and other wandring Motions of the Eyes; and yet the ſame Prophet complains that they had wanton Eyes, full of Airs of Gallantry. Neither had he a mind to take her from the Mouth, leaſt ſhe ſhould talk too much; but we are not now able to make 'em hold their Tongues, nor ſtop the flux of their Mouths. He took her not from the Ear neither, for fear leſt ſhe ſhould be an Eav's-dropper; and yet it is ſaid of *Sarah*, that ſhe *heard at the tent-door*, Gen. 18. 10. for ſhe liſtened to know the Secret of the Angels. God made her not out of the Heart for fear ſhe ſhould be jealous; and yet how many tormenting Fears and Jealouſies do wrack the Souls of poor young Maids as well as Married Women. There is no Paſſion next to that of Love, which they more eaſily give way to. A Siſter, who is more happy, eſpecially in Gallants, is the object of the other Siſter's hatred; and Merit and Beauty are Crimes never to be pardoned. Neither would God form the Woman out of the Feet, or Hands, for fear they ſhould be Gadders and Goſſips, or leaſt an itch of Pilfering and Shop-lifting ſhould ſeize them: and † yet *Dinah went out to ſee the daughters of the Land*, and was ruined by it; and before her || *Rachel* had ſtolen her Father's Gods. They have had much ado to find out a ſound and honeſt Part in Man, from whence it ſeems there would not come out ſome defect or other; and the Woman has not failed to have 'em all. This is the Deſcription the *Jewiſh* Authors give us of her; And perhaps they will find it ſo juſt, that they'll not put it in the rank of their Dreams and Viſions, but they will imagine that they deſigned to include a known truth under figurative terms.

† R. Menaſſ. de Fragilit. Humanâ. *p.* 38. De Reſurrectione *l* 111. *c.* 2. De Termino Vitæ. *p.* 85. || Aug. Queſt. Vet. & Nov. Teſtam. Q. 19. *p.* 430. * Joſeph. Ant *l.* 1. *c.* 1. Damaſcen. Orthod. Fid. *l.* 2. *c.* 11. *p.* 113. † Maimon. More Nevochim. *p* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 5. || Menaſſ. de Reſurrect. Mortuor. *l.* 111. *c.* 2 ad Geneſ. 3. 22. Id. Libello de Fragilitate Humanâ. *p.* 40. * Iſai. 3. 16. Bereſchit Rabba *fol.* 448. Raym. Mart. Pugio Fidei pars 111. *c.* 3. *p.* 559. † 34. Geneſ. 1. || 31. Geneſ. 30.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Providence: Of the Sin of the firſt Man, and of its Effects.

I. *Providence acknowledged.* II. *Whether God knows Events.* III. *Providence explained in the Book of* Job. *Different Opinions very Antient.* IV. *Diviſion between the* Jewiſh *Doctors like to that of* Job's *Friends.* V. *Different degrees of Providence.* VI. *Sentiment of* Philo *about the Sin of* Adam. VII. *The Serpent ſpake not.* VIII. *The Effects of Sin. The ſtench of the* Jews. *Children that are born bloody. The Calumny of the* Chriſtians. XI. *The* Cabaliſt's *their Syſtem about Sin.* X. *Death.* XI. *'Twas only temporal.* XII. Adam's *repentance.* XIII. *Whether Sin is born with us.* XIV. *Divers Opinions about it.* XV. *The Orthodox but few.*

I. THE *Jews* maintain that Providence governs all Creatures, *from the Unicorn even to Hens Eggs.*

Eggs. The *Chriſtians* have accuſed *Maimonides* * for having renverſed this capital Tenet of Religion; but he throws this Sentiment upon *Epicurus*, and ſome *Hereticks in Iſrael*, and treats thoſe as Atheiſts who deny that *all things depend on God.* He believes that *that* ſpecial Providence which watches over every action of Man, does not concern it ſelf about the ruſtling of Leaves, or producing of Worms; for every thing that reſpects Animals and Creatures, happens by accident, as *Ariſtotle* ſays. St. *Jerome* had taught this long before him; and herein both the one and the other have deviated from the Sentiments of their Church. 'Tis certain, the Tenet of Providence makes one of the Articles of the *Jewiſh* Catechiſm; and the famous *Orobio*, who died the laſt Age, maintained it againſt *Spinoſa*, whom he condemned for having introduced a fatal Neceſſity, only to rob God *of his Providence, and his eternal Liberty.*

II. However, this matter is differently explained. As the Doctors are mighty Sticklers for the Reading of *Ariſtotle* and ſuch other Philoſophers, they have with care examined whether God knew all Events, and this Queſtion has extreamly puzzled them. Some have ſaid, that God could *only know himſelf*, becauſe Knowledge multiplying it ſelf proportionably to the Objects that are known, we muſt admit in God ſeveral Knowledges. Beſides, God can know nothing but what is immutable; yet moſt of the Events depend on the Will of Man which is free. *Maimonides* † confeſſes, that as we are incapable of knowing the Eſſence of God, it is alſo impoſſible for us to fathom the Nature of his Knowledge. We muſt *content our ſelves therefore to ſay, that God knows all things, and is ignorant of nothing, that his Knowledge is not acquired by degrees, nor is it charged with any imperfection: In a word, if we ſometimes meet with contradictions and difficulties, they ariſe from our Ignorance, and the diſproportion there is between God and us.* This kind of Arguing is Wiſe and Judicious. Moreover he || thought we ought to tolerate the different Opinions which Wiſe Men and Philoſophers had formed concerning the Knowledge of God and his Providence, ſince they Sinned not through Ignorance, but becauſe the matter is incomprehenſible.

III. He diſcovers in the Diſcourſes of *Job* and his Friends the ſource of all the Sentiments that the Philoſophers and Sages have defended about this matter. It ſignifies little whether ſuch a Man ever lived, or whether it be only imaginary; neither how we place him, whether in the time of *Moſes*, of *David*, or of the Captivity of *Babilon.* If that Book be a Parable, we learn from it five things. *Job* aſcribed to God an abſolute Power over his Creatures; and conſidering that Man was ſo far removed and diſtant from the Deity, he might deal with him according to his good Pleaſure, without having any reſpect to the Juſtice or Injuſtice of his Actions: *Am I* * *perfect, or wicked, all comes to one.* Seeing this Sentiment does not pleaſe all the Doctors, ſome have ſaid, that he knew God then only by the *Cabala*, or by Tradition; and therefore he reaſoned ill, but at laſt he was better inſtructed in the ways of Providence.

Eliphas thought the contrary, that Providence Puniſhed and Rewarded Man according to his deſert; and therefore it chaſtized *Job* †: *Is not thy Wickedneſs great? and thine Iniquities infinite?*

Bildad maintain'd, that God ſometimes chaſtens his Children in order to reward them afterwards more gloriouſly. He does not always puniſh the Sin that they have committed; but has a deſign to try their Faith, and to recompence it. *If* || *thou waſt pure and upright, ſurely now God would awake for thee, and make the Habitation of thy Righteouſneſs proſperous.*

Zophar ſaid, that it was not in us to ſearch out the Reaſon's of God's Government: *canſt thou by* * *ſearching find out God? canſt thou find out the Almighty to Perfection?*

Laſtly, *Elihu*, wiſer than the others, teaches us two things. The one is, that if an Angel Prays for the Miſerable, God ſuffers himſelf to be overcome, and the Angels have power to obtain that favour even to three times for one and the ſame Man. Secondly, he enlarges upon the wondrous things that God hath done in the Univerſe for Beaſts and inanimate Creatures; and from thence concludes, that God hath a different way of Government towards Man from other of his Creatures: for he takes care of Man and neglects the Beaſts. As there is a very wide difference between the operations of Man, and that of the Beaſt, ſo there is much what the ſame between the care that God hath for the One and for the Other.

IV. All thoſe Opinions about Providence, as high up as *Job*, have been maintained by the *Jewiſh* Doctors; we may add alſo to them the *Chriſtians*; for the one have declared for the abſolute Power of the Deity in the diſtribution of Good and Evil. Some have invented *the Chaſtiſements of Love which is not to be met with in the Law* But the moſt common Opinion among the *Jews*, is, that Man is perfectly free; that he has the power of doing whatſoever Man is capable of producing; that God, who ſees his Actions, puniſhes or rewards them. On one hand God requires of them what is his due; but on the other, *he never deprives the Creature of the reward he has deſerv'd.* All the Evils that happen unto Man, tho' it be *but the pricking of a Briar that goes into his hand*, are the Puniſhments of ſome Sin; and the leaſt good that is poured out upon Man, or upon the Church, is a recompence which the Divine Juſtice beſtows, becauſe of the good Works that the Will has brought forth. If God doth good to his Children who are but newly born, it is on a proſpect of the good Deeds which they will one day perform.

V. *Maimonides* adds to this, that Providence is not equal towards Men; for God ſaid to *Abraham*, Gen. 15. 1. *I will be thy Shield*; but he ſpeaks very differently of others who were not ſo much the Object of his Affections. He diſtinguiſhes four ſorts of Objects; the Prophets, in whom God acted *Prophetically*; the Saints, who receive very ſtrong and powerful impreſſions of Holineſs; the Wicked, in whom Providence acts but weakly; and the Beaſts whom he almoſt abandons. But that Learned Man expreſſed himſelf ill; for Providence equally watches over all Creatures; but it produces different effects in 'em. Moreover, his Cares are extended over Beaſts; and he has laboured in vain to find that Opinion in the Book of *Job*, or in the diſcourſes of *Elihu.* There were among *the Excellent*, ſome Doctors very far from the Sentiment of *Maimonides*, for they believed that there was *a retribution for Beaſts*; but both the one and the other have carried this too far.

VI. The firſt act of Providence regards the Sin of the firſt Man, which ſhe has directed as well as that of his Poſterity.

Philo, † accuſtomed to turn every thing into Allegories, maintains, that the forbidden Fruit was Sin, which is found *virtually* in the Soul, as the Seal in the Wax, which is ſuſceptible of that impreſſion by its ſoftneſs. *Adam* to whom God ſpeaks, was the

* Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 3. *c.* 17. *p.* 375. 383. † Maimon. More Nevoch. *p.* 111. *c.* 20. *p.* 393. || Ibid. *c.* 22, 23, &c. * Job. 9. 21. 29. † Job. 22. 5. || Id. 8. 6. * Id. 11. 7. † Philo Alleg. Leg. *l.* 1. & 2 *p.* 35. 47. 55.

†

Soul,

Soul, and the only reason capable of receiving his Laws. *The Seducing Woman* signifies the Sences that were given to the Soul to help it in its Operations, and which have lost it. *The Serpent* is the voluptuous Pleasure that deceived *Eve*; for Pleasure disguises it self in order to slip in the more easily. Lastly, *Death*, wherewith God threat'ned the first Man, was Sin, which, by introducing it self into the Soul, causes it to Die; and it was to express that Spiritual Death, more terrible than the other, that God redoubled that Term, *Thou shalt Die the Death.* But that Punishment did not pass to his Posterity; for there is not a Soul that comes into the World without the Knowledge, and destitute of the Power of doing good, tho it does not always make use of it. Thus they adulterate and falsifie the most settled Facts, and most certain Truths by the help of Allegories; and it is a long while that the *Jews* have laboured under this Malady.

VII. Thus likewise they relate, that the Angel of Death mounted the Serpent, which was as big as a Camel, and in that proud Equipage he went to *Eve* to seduce her by a deceitful Tongue. 'Twas not then the Serpent, but the Angel *Samael* that spake, and seduced the Woman. 'Tis certain, they laugh at the *Christians*, for giving to the Serpent the Faculty of speaking, which God never gave to any Beast. If he caused *Balaam*'s Ass to speak, he prepares at least the Reader for it, and advertises him that it was a Miracle; but the same *Moses* being silent when he made the Serpent to act, has given us to understand, that his Language was not like that of Men. Some believe that that Reptile, instead of speaking, crept up all along the Tree, did Eat of the forbidden fruit, and the Woman who was there present, seeing him to do it with impunity, thought she might do so too, and thereupon took the Fruit which caused her Death: So that the Serpent did not speak, but only set *Eve* an example, which she soon followed.

VIII. They have another Conceit about this Matter; for they † say that the Serpent, whilest he was in discourse with *Eve*, cast upon her a nasty stinking smell, which she imparted to all her Posterity; and which only the *Israelites* have been exempted from, because they received the Law standing at the nether part of Mount *Sinai*; and the Proselytes, because their Star was also upon the Mountain: but the *Gentiles*, who were removed far from thence, have this stinking smell, and it continues among them to this Day: And therefore they look upon *Christians* as so many *Stinkards*. The *Christians* confess ingenuously, that in the Stile of the *Rabbies*, this stinking Savour, which passes from Generation to Generation, principally respects the Soul, and is to be understood of Original Sin: But being touch'd to the Quick at the injury that is done them, they || observe, that it is a Character peculiarly belonging to the *Jews*, to be known by their smell: and that this nasty stink is so sensible an effect of the Curse of God that it is not washed away but by Baptism. *Fortunatus* has sung in his Verses this Marvel of the Sacrament, in speaking of Five Hundred *Jews* whom *Avitus* had converted in the Year 579.

Abluitur † Judæus odor Baptismate divo,
Et nova progenies reddita surgit aquis.
Vincens ambrosios suavi spiramine rore,
Vertice perfusi Chrismatis eflat odor.

Balsamon * reports likewise, that the *Saracens* imagined their Children were possessed with the Devil, and stunk like Dogs, till they had received Baptism. What a Conceit was here! Could it be believed that *Christians* should have espoused Miracles and Prejudices against the *Jews*, that are so evidently false? Yet some People have added, that Blood comes out from them at their Fundament || 1. as it fell out to the *Philistins*, when they had carried away the Ark; and to make the thing miraculous, 'tis said that this happens on Good-Fridays, or on the New-Moons. In short, they affirm, that their Children are born with a bloody Arm, for their blasphemous Saying, *let his Blood be upon us, and upon our Children.* What the *Jews* have said of the stench cleaving to Men, only respects Sin wherewith the Soul is defiled, and from which they think themselves exempted, or at least secured, by their Knowledge and observation of the Law.

IX. The *Cabalists* give us a quite different Idea of the Sin of the first Man, which we must not let pass in silence, because it is somewhat Singular.

We have † observed that God, having press'd hard together that infinite Light which he inhabits, formed a great *Void*, or Space, in which he placed the World, and in the midst whereof he sate *Adam*. All was pure in that Space; but *Adam* defiled it by three different Sins, *Impurity*, *Idolatry*, *and the effusion of blood*. Until then Sin had been shut up, and had but very little appeared, like the wick of a Lamp almost drowned in Oyl, and burning, but with a very glimmering flame, scarce throwing any light outwards: But the first Man drew the evil out of his Bosom, where it lay concealed, and begat I know not how many Devils and Evil Spirits; that is to say, that he committed abundance of Sins. This is what *Isaiah* the Prophet insinuates, when he says of God, *I form the Light, I create Darkness.* Isai. 45. 7. Darkness, or Evil, had been created, but lay hid till *Adam* by his Commissions brought it to light, and published it. The visible Space having been defiled by the Fall of the first Man, God resolved to purify it; but this could not be done but by the Study of the Law, and that is what they call the purifying *Sighs and breathings*. The People of *Israel*, a *People holy to the Lord*, was chosen for this Purification of the World. *Moses*, their Chief, undertook to do it, and led them into the Wilderness, because there was the Center of Corruption, and the place of Assembly for the Army of Demons; there was *the Scorpion and the fiery Serpent*. In short, they seized the Chief of this Army, and whilest the People of *Israel* were marching in the Wilderness, they drew him bound and *hand-cuff'd* after 'em, and from time to time they punished him severely.

The whole Purification had been made, if the *Israelites* had persevered in their Obedience; but the *golden Calf* spoiled all; and therefore that was retarded to the time of the *Messiah*, who was to do it. But yet they left not off sojourning there still. The *Samaritans* are charged with purifying one part of the World. God bounded there their Cares, because they did not Study the Law with a sufficient *Zeal*. But the other *Jews* have been dispersed into the three other parts of the Universe, that so they might purify those. 'Tis for that reason that God hath driven them all into Exile, whilest he keeps still some remains of Holiness in the place where the Temple was. It would be to no purpose to make Reflections upon this imaginary System; it is enough to say, that it is a production of the *Cabalists*.

X. They agree pretty well, that temporal Death was the consequent of the Sin of the first Man. In

* Abarb in Genes. 3. Munimen Fidei. *l.* 1. *c.* 12. Wagens. Telaign. Sat. Lent. Th. Jud. *c* 10. *p.* 326. † Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 3. *p.* 390. Maimon. More. Nevochim. *p.* 2. *c.* 30. *p.* 281. || Bartol. ibid. † Fortunat. Poem *l.* 5. * Balsamon in Canon 84 Synod. in Trullo. *p.* 462. †† Tostat. in 1. Sam. 5. Q. 15. & 19. *p.* 106. † Naphtali Hirts & Jaacob Elchanan Introd. ad Lib. Zohar, quæ dicitur Vallis Regia. Sect. 1. *p.* 153. Cab. Denud. *t.* 3.

†

short,

ſhort, there are ſeveral Examples in the *Targum* upon *Eccleſiaſtes*, in which are read thoſe words, that are not to be found in the Bibles of *Buxtorf* and *Le Jeai*, that *the Serpent which ſeduced* Eve, *was the cauſe that death came to fall upon* Adam, *and upon all the Inhabitants of the Earth.* They * reckon that all Men who die, go to *Adam*, to complain, and tell him, *You are the cauſe of our ſuffering and miſery*; but he juſtifies himſelf in repreſenting to all thoſe poor complaining Souls, that he never committed but one Sin, whereas they have deſerved Death a thouſand times over by their manifold Sins and Wickedneſſes, which they had lewdly committed. In a word, 'tis one of their Axioms, *That there is no Death without Sin, nor Correction without Iniquity.*

XI. But here muſt be obſerved two Things; One, that Death inflicted upon *Adam*, was only temporal, and God did not repeat that word Death a Second time, in ſaying, *thou ſhalt die the death*, but to make the truth of his threatning ſtrike a deeper Impreſſion, or elſe to denote the Maladies and Diſtempers that were to precede Death: But God exempted from thoſe Preparatives them that loved him, ſuch as *Noah*, *Iſaac*, and the Patriarchs. The Rabbies † laugh at the divine Juſtice which ſhould condemn all Men to Hell, becauſe a gormandizing Woman had eaten an Apple; and tho' they do not diſown but that the *Meſſiah*, when he comes, ſhall ſuffer much, yet they abſolutely deny that his Sufferings will have any relation to the Sin of *Adam*.

They pretend alſo ſometimes that the firſt Man would have lived notwithſtanding his Crime and God's threatning of him, if he could but have took of the Fruit of the Tree of Life which God immediately concealed from him; and that ſufficiently appears by the fear he was in, leſt *Adam* ſhould put forth his hand to take it, and ſo make himſelf immortal.

To conclude, If Men die to this day, it does not follow that it is becauſe of the firſt Sin; but becauſe our Bodies are compoſed of four different Elements, which cauſe Corruption and Diſſolution by their ſtruggling with one another; or elſe becauſe the Fruit deſigned for the Preſervation of Human Kind, is no more to be found.

XII. *Adam* raiſed himſelf from his Fall by Repentance, the example whereof he gave to his ſucceeding Children; as he had given to them that of Sin. He poured out torrents of tears for his Crime; and doubtleſs it was that abundance of Sorrow and weeping, the Rabbies have ſhewn after their manner, in repreſenting to us that the illuſtrious Penitent threw himſelf into a River where he remained ſeveral Weeks; or elſe they deſigned to teach us, that *Adam* was purify'd, by waſhing himſelf in a River of pure Water, therein following the conjecture of the Heathens.

XIII. There is a Dialogue of the Emperour *Antoninus*, who is ſuppos'd to have had ſo great a love for the *Jews*, as to join with a Rabbi who lived under that Prince, in the compoſition of a Book, called, the *Miſnah*, wherein was examined the Queſtion *concerning Original Sin.* The Rabbi maintains there to *Antoninus*, that Evil Deſire (for ſo they call natural Corruption) is formed in the Soul at the very inſtant it firſt has its being. But the Emperour being exaſperated at that Notion, and conceiving Sin to be a cruel Beaſt, objects to the Doctor that Evil Deſire would tear out the very Entrails of the Mother, if it was formed in her Womb; and the perplexed Rabbi thro' a ridiculous Objection altered his Opinion, and alledged the Paſſage of Scripture, which ſays, that *the heart of Man is evil from his Youth.* He acknowledged a corruption in Man, but he would not have it born with him, but that it began to produce it ſelf in his Youth.

XIV. It muſt be confeſſed that the *Jews*, have little Knowledge of this Truth. They feel, as the Philoſophers ſaid, a ſomething an I know not what, that withſtands right Reaſon, a Malice that diſcovers it ſelf from the moſt tender years, without ever having been contracted, either by uſe, or evil Examples; but they are ignorant from whence it comes. They go ſometimes ſo far as to ſay, that God had planted it in the heart of *Adam*, and that he continues to do it in the Souls of his Children. They confound it oftentimes with the Devil. They place two Deſires in the Soul, the one good, the other bad, which are in continual warfare with one another, as St. *Paul* ſaid, that *the Fleſh luſteth againſt the Spirit*; but they believe that theſe two Deſires come equally from God.

Maimonides ||, whom the Synagogue reverences, as one of her great Maſters, ſays, it is as impoſſible to conceive, that a Man ſhould be born with Sin, or Grace, as it would be to comprehend that he ſhould be born expert and a Maſter in an Art. He looks upon Original Sin as an impoſſibility. Yet he confeſſes in other places, there are ſome tempers ſo wild, that it is a folly to go about to correct them: Some are ſo cholerick that there is no calming their impetuoſity; and others ſo flitting and volatile that there is no fixing of them: There muſt therefore be ſome diſorder in Nature, before ever it could be contracted by Uſage and Habit.

The Author * of the Queſtions which *Brenius* has publiſhed, denies alſo Original Sin; but he contradicts himſelf preſently by giving to Man the *figmentum malum*, the *Evil inclination*, which is combated by the good deſire that God beſtows at the Age of Thirteen, when he comes to be the Son of Precept, and capable of fulfilling the Law. In ſhort, they ſay openly, that Sin not being capable of having any place but in the Soul, God would be the Author of it, if he produced a Soul corrupted; and all the Puniſhments of *Adam*'s Sin being corporeal, and ſenſible, they ought not to fancy that there be any other. We are born Slaves of a Father a Slave. That is enough, and we need not add to that Slavery, or rather to the miſery of the Body loaded with Infirmities, and become Subject to Death.

XV. Yet there are ſome that do acknowledge Natural Corruption, and expreſs it by all the Names which the Sacred Writers make uſe of, to give us a juſt Conception of it. They ſay with God that it is *an Evil*; and with *Moſes* that it is *the foreskin of the fleſh*, that ought to be cut off. They, according to *David*, call it *a Pollution*; with *Solomon*, *an Enemy*; with *Iſaiah*, *an Offence*; and *a Stone* with *Ezekiel*, which God muſt take away to give an *heart of fleſh.* After having affirmed, with *Joel*, that *it is a ſecret thing*, they add, that as the Fruit is bitter, when the Seed that produces it has ſome bitterneſs in it; ſo Children that are born of corrupt Parents, muſt partake of their Corruption. To conclude, they demand in the *Gemara* † whether luſt be perceived at the inſtant of the Formation, or of the Birth; and it is anſwered 'tis at that of the Birth; for the Scripture ſays *that ſin lieth at the door.* Gen. 4. 7. But thoſe who thus explain the Nature of Original Sin, are few in number, and there are great Doctors that deny it, or at leaſt do not own it.

* Aben Ezra in Geneſ. 12. Abarbanel in Iſ. 53. Menaſſ. de Fragil. Hum. *p.* 111. † R. Iſaac Murin. Fidei Wagenſeil Tela ignea. Sat. *t.* 11. *p.* 124. 125. || Maimon More Nevochim. *p* 1. *c.* 34. *p.* 48. * Reſponſ. Judaica ad Queſt. Q. 23. *p.* 26. † Ex Gemara Tit. Sanhedr. *c.* 11. S. 7. Cocceius duo Tit. Thalm. *p.* 313.

CHAP. XIV.

Remedies for Sin, and Means of being juſtified.

I. *Efficacy of Grace engraved in Prayers and falſified by the Doctors.* II. *Converſion wrought by the Study of the Law. Prophets, who aſcribe it to God, explained.* III. *Satisfactions which are paid to God.* IV. *How the* Meſſiah *will aboliſh Sin.* V. *A new Explication given by a* Jew *in the Conference of* Limborch. VI. *Sins done away by Repentance. Its Encomium.* VII. *How the Law is accompliſhed. Merits of the Saints.* VIII. *Good Works, and their Rewards.* IX. *Of macerations.* X. *Penitents change their Name.* XI. *Rewards proportioned to Piety.* XII. *Free Juſtification without hope of Recompence taught by ſome Doctors.* XIII. *Whether the* Jews *are* Arminians *thro' Policy.* XIV. *The Opinion of* Maimonides *concerning free Will.* XV. *That of other Rabbies.* XVI. Philo's *Sentiment about Grace.* XVII. *Preventing grace taught.* XVIII. *Concomitant grace Neceſſary.* XIX. *The Nature of that Succour which God gives to Man.*

I. AS it can't be denied that Man is a Sinner, whether Corruption be born with him, or that it proceeds from a foreign Principle, there ought to be ſought out ſome Remedies for it. The *Jews* breath out Sighs, and pour out fervent Prayers, to be preſerved from that Corruption and its ſad Effects: *O God*, cry they *, *who art full of Compaſſion, withhold from us evil Thoughts! O God, do not deliver us into the hands of the Enemies of our Souls, ſince thou knoweſt that our Sins are a fire, and we are the Stubble! O God, inſpire us with good deſires, and let them reign over us.* It ſeems by this, that they cannot frame a ſtronger Idea of Corruption, than to look upon it as an inward Fire which would conſume the Chaff, if an Almighty and moſt merciful hand hinder'd not the effect of it; but we are not to ſtop at the Motions of Conſcience, which oftentimes ſpeaks Orthodoxly in Men who pretend to have the Vanity to be juſt; as in humble Souls. The ſence of a weakneſs which we cannot overcome, draws from us ſuch Expreſſions, as we do not underſtand all the force of. Here is a Miracle on God's part that prevents the Fire from conſuming the Chaff or Stubble. Yet interrogate the Rabbi, and ask him whether he believes the natural Corruption as active as the Fire; his Heart as weak and unable to ſecure it ſelf from Sin as the Chaff from being conſumed, and grace as efficacious as would be the hand of God that ſhould hinder the Stubble from being conſumed, when it is thrown into the Fire? he will exclaim againſt thoſe Prayers of his Breviary, and reduce them even to nothing.

II. They * follow the Style of the Prophets, and cry to God, *Turn us, O Lord, and ſo ſhall we be turned.* They ſtill agree with *Ezekiel*, that *God takes away the heart of Stone*, to give them *an heart of Fleſh*, upon which the Law might be imprinted: But at the ſame time that they ſpeak as the Prophet does, they acknowledge it is Man who is the Maſter of his own Converſion; and that it is ſufficient to conduct him into the place where the Law is taught; for then if his heart be *of Stone*, it ſhall be changed and ſoft'ned, ſince *Job* has ſaid that the water *diſſolves Stone.* The Law is called a Water by *Iſaiah*, who cried ||, *Ho! every one that thirſteth, come ye to the waters*, that is to ſay, *to the Law to hear it.* If the heart of the Sinner be *of Iron*, when he enters into the Court of Audience, he'll ſoon become a contrite and penitent heart; ſince the Law is the Hammer that breaks whatſoever is moſt hard in pieces.

III. Satisfactions are the Second means whereby Sin is remedied, They formerly believed that Sins were expiated by the Blood of the Sacrifices which were offered in the Temple; but now that Sacrifices are ceaſed, the *Jews* imagine that the Evils they endure, and the Death of their Children, is a ſatisfaction ſufficient to the Juſtice of God. Some add to the Chaſtiſements which Providence diſtributes to them, Macerations and Auſterities, and others ſupply the defects of antient Victims, by giving their Sins to the Devil, by the Sacrifice of a *Cock*, which they offer up with impertinent *Ceremonies*; but this Cuſtom is particular and private, and has alſo been left off in ſeveral places where they uſed it heretofore, becauſe they were laugh'd out of that Superſtition.

IV. Some Rabbies are to be met with, who affirm, that as *Adam* had begot Sin, ſo the *Meſſiah*, who is the *Second Adam*, ſhall aboliſh it. I know not whether this Conceit did not come into their heads ſince the Publication of the Goſpel, when it was made known to them by a great number of Texts taken from the Prophet *Iſaiah*, that the *Meſſiah* is to make *an abolition of, and propitiation for Sin.* We muſt obſerve here four things. One is, that this was not the Notion the *Jews* had among themſelves concerning the *Meſſiah* at the time when J. CHRIST firſt appeared: For they ſpoke of nothing but Conqueſts, and Temporal Proſperity; and the Woman of *Samaria* imagined that the *Meſſiah*, when he came, would teach new Myſteries, and *tell 'em all things*; but none ever thought of the Shameful Death, or of the Croſs of the Son of God. If ſince they have made a *Meſſiah*, the Son of *Joſeph*, ſuffering and dying, they are the *Chriſtians* that have forced this Confeſſion and Teſtimony from their Enemies. 2. Thoſe * who believe that the *Meſſiah* will aboliſh Sin, are but few in Number. On the contrary, they openly deny that he could make a general Expiation for Sin, becauſe being himſelf but a private Perſon, he could only act for himſelf; and they inſult the *Chriſtians*, who glory in that he hath expiated for Sin, and bruiſed the head of the Serpent, ſeeing that Sin ſtill lives, the Devil reigns, and Death has dominion over them. 3. Thoſe alſo who give to the *Meſſiah* the Power to aboliſh Sin, don't form to themſelves the ſame Idea of him as the *Chriſtians* do. They believe only that the *Meſſiah* will aboliſh the wicked Inclination, and offer it up to God as a Sacrifice; that he will cut off the wicked from the Earth, and thoſe that remain therein ſhall be filled with Knowledge and true Piety.

V. In a word, they † believe that the *Meſſiah*, who will be perfectly Holy, ſhall convert the Nations, and cauſe the true God to be worſhip'd in all places; but they know nothing of the Satisfaction which he has paid for Sin; and when 'tis objected, that the Temporal Proſperity of a Nation does not deſerve a *Meſſiah*'s coming into the World for, they preſently hit in your Teeth the Sentiment of ſome *Chriſtians*, who will have him to come down from Heaven, the Throne of his Glo-

* Machazor Magnum. *Part.* 2. *p.* 7. † R. Iſmael. Cod. Sucah. fol. 52. Majus de Theol. Jud. Loc. xi. Sect. 2. *p.* 176.
|| 55. Iſai. 1 * Author Nevé Schalom. Tract. 10. *c.* 5. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 2. *p.* 52. Thalmud. Cod. Succà. *c.* 5. *p.* 22.
† Limborch Collat. cum Judæo, *p.* 73.

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ry, to make him reign a Thouſand Years here upon Earth.

VI. The great means by which they eſchew, as well as make amends for Sin, is Repentance. They ſay 'tis the Foundation and Support of the World, without which it would not ſubſiſt. 'Tis that which carries a Man to the Throne of God, and obtains Pardon not only for himſelf, but for the whole Univerſe. A *Jew* being * asked how he hop'd to be juſtify'd, anſwered, *by the repentance deſcribed by the Prophets, and which conſiſts in change and newneſs of life; for if the wicked be converted*, ſays God in *Ezekiel, and will keep my Commandments, I will not remember his Iniquities any more.* They cite the Example of *David*, who after he had taken the Wife of *Uriah* the *Hittite*, by his ſolemn Repentance, had a Piety which ſerved for his own Family, for *Jeruſalem*, and all its Inhabitants. They have the Law in ſo great a veneration, that they think it almoſt the only Sin that damns, for any to believe, that God hath not given it, that his Precepts are unprofitable, or are not worth the trouble of obſerving them, when one has both time and convenience for ſo doing.

VII. Yet in imitation of the antient *Phariſees*, whoſe Steps they follow, they confine Obedience within very narrow bounds; and tho' they give to Man the power to fulfil the Law perfectly, yet they can't forbear ſaying, that God does not require of us an exact Performance, ſeeing we never found one inſtance of it; and that *Moſes* himſelf, who brought it down from Mount *Sinai*, had not obſerved it.

They maintain that they are diſpenſed with the obſervation of ſeveral of the Commandments, becauſe they want both time and conveniency. They are in the right † to alledge (for example) the Sacrifices that can no more be offered, ſince there is now no more a Temple, nor Altar; but they carry their Principle too far by ſtretching it, as they do, even to Moral Precepts, which they diſpence with as well as with thoſe that are Ceremonial. They reckon a Man's merits in proportion to the Number of the Commandments he keeps: But it will ſuffice if he fulfil but one of 'em *to have his portion in the glory of the* World (or *Age*) *to come.* Thus ſays a Rabbi || who has wrote ſince *Luther*, and whoſe work is in higheſt Reputation and Eſteem among them, tho' he ſhuts up Religion and Piety within too ſtrict bounds.

VIII. Good Works ſeem to them to be abſolutely neceſſary. " They are the *Buckler that covers man* " *from the Juſtice of God:* and as He who goes upon " the Sea is obliged to provide himſelf with victu- " als, becauſe he will find none upon the Water; " ſo muſt they whileſt they are living make a Pro- " viſion of good Works, becauſe they can get " none at the Day of Judgment. They diſtinguiſh ten degrees of Sanctification, and tack to every degree its peculiar Reward. God gives the Knowledge of his Secrets to the humble, *becauſe the Secret of the Lord is with them that fear him*, Pſal. 25. 14. and he ſends forth his Prophetick Spirit to thoſe who have Charity. As Men proportion Puniſhments and Rewards according to their Dignity, ſo Kings treat otherwiſe their Officers and great Miniſters than they do a private Gentleman: Now God being infinite, the Puniſhments which he inflicts, and the Recompences which he diſtributes, ought to be infinite. However, they ſoften that Expreſſion, by ſaying, that when God *judges according to the rigour of his Juſtice, the Puniſhment is infinite, eternal, and the reward temporal*, becauſe then there is no reſpect to the Perſon, but to the nature of the Action; which is finite, and deſerves but a tranſitory good. 'Twill be ſaid perhaps that Sin, which is finite as well as a good Action, ought not to be puniſhed eternally; but there is a great deal of difference, becauſe God looks to the intention of the Guilty which is extremely evil, As for the Reward, it changes its nature, and from ſlight and tranſitory it becomes eternal, by paſſing from the Throne of Juſtice to that of Mercy: At leaſt thus does a celebrated Rabbi * argue.

IX. They enter into the *detail* of the Vertues and Precepts which they are obliged to Practiſe, in order to expiate for Sins. They reckon there a *Confeſſion* of their Faults; *I Repent*, ſay they, *I am aſhamed of my fault, and I never will fall into it again.* They believe *that Prayer* is in the room of the antient Sacrifices, and two Angels are commonly in the Synagogue to obſerve thoſe that Pray: The Angel carries back to his Houſe the Perſon that has done it with Zeal, and then takes his leave of him in telling † him, *thine Iniquity is taken away, and thy Sin purged*, Iſa. 6. 7. They value their *Alms* at an exceſſive rate; for they ſay that he who gives a Crown to the Poor, effaces his Sin, and enjoys the Viſion of God. They ſtrengthen themſelves mightily on the Teſtimony of *David*, who ſays, *I will behold thy Face in Righteouſneſs.* They mean by that *Alms.* They have alſo their *Faſts*, and Macerations; for they whip themſelves unmercifully. They reckon them as ſo many *Satisfactions* which they pay to Divine Juſtice: " *O God*, cry they, whileſt thy Sanctuary " was in Being, the Sinner offered Sacrifices to " Thee, and his Crime was thereby expiated; " but now that thy Temple is ruined, I beſeech " Thee, O Eternal God of my Fathers, let the Blood " and Fat of my Body, that diminiſh by the Faſt- " ing and Macerations which I ſuffer, be accepted " by Thee as a Sacrifice: O God, be propitious to " me! When the Sufferings of this preſent Life " are not ſufficient, Death perfects them. *O God, let his Death be an expiation for his Sins, and for all* Iſrael.

X. All this is common to them with moſt *Chriſtians*; but we muſt obſerve this ſingularity; that they change their Name in Pennance: They would have ſome reaſon for their ſo doing, if they look'd on that change as a motive to engage them to change their Lives. 'Twas, in ſhort, the conjecture of *Maimonides.* " They ought to ſay to themſelves, " *I am no more the ſame Perſon, ſince* I *bear not the* " *ſame Name. My Life therefore ought to be as* " *pure as it has been Criminal.* 'Tis certain, this Cuſtom was derived from their Anceſtors, who caus'd the Proſelytes to change their Names, and they call'd them New Creatures. The *Neophytes* of the *Chriſtians* took alſo a New Name in Baptiſm; but the *Jews* think too highly of themſelves to ſtick there; they are not afraid of ſaying to God in their Publick Prayers, " Lord, let this change of Name ſerve for the " aboliſhing of all the hard and rigorous Decrees " which Thou haſt made, and cauſe Thee to revoke " that Sentence which thou haſt pronounced againſt " me. If Thou haſt pronounced it againſt the Name " of *Iſaac* which I bore, it ought not to be execu- " ted againſt the Name of *Jacob* which I now take " upon me. I am at this preſent time become ano- " ther Man; an Infant newly Born, to live a Holy " Life even to the end of my Days. At leaſt the Synagogues of * *Italy* make uſe of this Prayer.

* Apud Cocceium Conſid. Reſp Jud. *c.* 9. Q. 7. † Joſeph. Albo Orat. IV. *c.* 36. R. Menaſſ. de Reſurrectione.
|| R. Iſaac Munim. Fidei, apud Wagenſeil Tela ignea. *t.* 2. *p.* 144, &c. * R. Menaſſ. de Fragil. Humana. *p.* 116.
† Buxt. Syn. Jud. *c.* 10. || Pſalm. 17. 15. * V. Buxt. Syn. *c.* 35.

XI. In fine, how ſlight ſoever theſe Satisfactions be, and how imperfect their good Works, yet they will aſcribe Merit to them; for not only do they expiate for Sin, as they ſay, but they give a Right to Eternal Life. Let us ſee how they explain the thing.

They * believe that there is not any good Work loſt; but it muſt of neceſſity have its Reward in the other Life. God doth not count Sins and good Works ſo as it is commonly imagined; but he always puniſhes the One, and always crowns the other. It would be a great trouble for him to determine within himſelf, if he found a Man that had as many Vertues as Vices; but he Chaſtiſes the Sins that *That* Man has committed; and after he has made him ſuffer in proportion to the number and enormity of them, he recompences him for what he has done that is good. God, ſay they, hath no reſpect to Perſons. He never receives a Righteous Man without Puniſhing him if he has ſinned; and He never Damns a Wicked Wretch, if he has done ſome good; but he puniſheth Sin alone in the Juſt Man, and after that Rewards him; and he makes the Wicked Happy after he hath puniſhed his Crimes. 'Tis thus it happens that there are *no good Works loſt, and every Child of* Iſrael *has his Portion in the Life to come.*

XII. However, there are ſome Doctors † that do acknowledge, "that God juſtifies a Sinner thro a "pure Mercy, without having any regard to his "Meanneſs, or Excellence, or to what he is. They "add, that he who fancies himſelf to be Juſt, either "that God ſends him Wealth as a Reward of his "Vertue, or who believes that Benedictions do not "flow from the Mercy of God, deceives himſelf; "ſeeing the Scripture ſays, that we don't preſent "our Prayers to God, relying upon our own Righ-"teouſneſs, but upon his Compaſſions; and that all "the Graces of God are not the Fruits of Mans Me-"rit; but they are the effects of Divine Mercy. They anſwer alſo in the *Jewiſh* Catechiſm, *that One may hope for Salvation with Confidence, but he ought not to expect it from the Goodneſs of his Works, or the Perfection of his Righteouſneſs, becauſe 'tis Grace which gives it.* Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the generality of the Doctors think like the *Phariſee*, and make the compenſation of their Works with the recompence. *Carret* || the Phyſitian of *Florence*, who was converted about the middle of the XVIth Century, puts this difference between the *Chriſtians* and the *Jews*, that the One believe *that Man is Saved by his Good Works*, and that God renders to every Man a Reward according to his Merits; whereas the *Chriſtians* cry out and ſay, *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant, O Lord!* and are perſuaded that they cannot be Saved but by J. CHRIST.

XIII. The Modern Rabbies are accuſed of teaching *Semi-pelagianiſm* thro' Polity, to make themſelves a conſiderable Party in certain † Places where they are numerous. In ſhort, *Menaſſah*, who wrote with great Reputation about the middle of the laſt Age, had embraced that Party; but it is eaſie to juſtifie him, for Policy would rather have engaged him on the other ſide, that ſo he might live under the covert of the Supreme Authority. Beſides, the *Modern Jews* are not ſatisfied with the Principles of *Arminius*; for they acknowledge but one Providence that directs Honeſt Actions. In ſhort, this is no new Sentiment among them. *Victor à Carbè*, who in the beginning of the XVIth Century embraced Chriſtianity, when he was Fifty Years of Age, confeſſed, that the difficulties that followed the Operation of Grace was the longeſt and moſt violent Obſtacle to his Converſion. We ought not to wonder at it, ſeeing St. *Cyprian* had long before him made the ſame Confeſſion; and the prejudice of the *Jew* was fortify'd by the Authority of his Fathers, who had almoſt all of them a contrary Sentiment.

XIV. 'Tis certain, *Maimonides*, being obliged to refute the fatality of the Aſtrologers, who cauſed Events to depend on the influences of the Planets, and made them neceſſary, gave leſs to Grace than the Heathen Philoſophers had done. At leaſt they made *Pythagoras* to ſay, that *it is ridiculous to ſearch elſewhere for Vertue, and that we muſt expect it from the Gods.* And *Plato* maintain'd that this Vertue, which neither came from Nature, nor Study, was given by the Deity; and *Seneca* *, ſpeaking ſtill more boldly, taught that there is not an upright Soul without God, that *a Celeſtial Power agitates a wiſe and prudent Soul, and that it could not ſuſtain it ſelf without ſuch a Succour*; whereas *Maimonides* makes all to depend upon Temper. As God, ſays he, † hath created Man of an upright Stature with Feet and Hands, ſo he hath alſo given him a Will to move himſelf, and to act as he ſhall think fit; and it is the goodneſs of the Temper that makes things eaſie or difficult. He explains thoſe words of *Solomon*, *Who can find a Vertuous Woman?* As if it was a Parable by which that Prince deſigned to teach us, that all the Happineſs of Man depended on the Matter whereof he is compoſed. He is Happy when he finds a Matter eaſie, whereof he is Maſter, and which does not over rule him; that is to ſay, that God gives him a happy Temper. He mainly relies upon the Teſtimony of Philoſophers, and upon the Maxim which is laid down, that *the fear of God is not in the Hand of Heaven. It depends on Man to obſerve, or not obſerve Laws and Precepts. The Fear of God is of this Order: It does not depend on God, but on the Will of Man.*

XV. Other Rabbies pretend † that *Adam* bored the Ears of *Eve* to be a ſign of eternal Servitude; but if Sin had carried its Influences and Effects only outwardly, or upon the Woman, they affirm that the will had remained perfectly free. This Liberty is ſo much one of the Appanages belonging unto Man, that he would ceaſe, ſay they, to be a Man, if he ſhould loſe that Power. He would at the ſame time likewiſe ceaſe to be reaſonable, if he loved the good and followed the bad without knowing it, or thro' an inſtinct of Nature; juſt as a Stone that falls from on high, and the Sheep that fly from the Wolf which they * ſmell, and are afraid of: What would become of Puniſhments and Rewards; Threatnings and Promiſes; in a word, of all the Precepts of the Law, if it did not depend on Man to fulfil them, or to violate them? 'Tis certain, the *Jews* are ſo jealous of this Liberty of indifference, that they imagine it impoſſible for any one to think of this Matter otherwiſe than they do. They are perſuaded that People diſſemble their Opinion every time they take away from free Will any part of its Liberty, and that they are obliged to reſtore it to her ſooner or later, becauſe if there be a *Predeſtination*, by vertue whereof all Events would become neceſſary, Man would neglect his endeavours to prevent Evils, and to ſeek for what may contribute towards the Defence or Preſervation of his Life; and if it be ſaid, as ſome *Chriſtians* have done, that God, who hath determined the End, hath at the ſame time determined the Means by which to obtain that End; They hereby ſet up free Will again after they had pulled it down, ſince

† R. Menaſſ. Ben. Iſr. de Fragil. Hum. *c.* 10. || Neve Schalom. *l.* 2 *c* 7. Voiſin pugio Fidei Proem. *p.* 163. R. Albo. Ikkak. *l.* 4. *c.* 16. *p.* 126. *Dan.* 9. 18. || Catech. Jud. Q. XIV. † *Ludov.* Caretti Judeus converſus an. 1555. || At *Amſterdam.* * Senec. Epiſt. 41. † Maimon. Capit. 8. Præfix: Pirke Abboth, apud Pokuk. *p.* 237. || *Prov.* 31. 10.* Menaſſ. Conciliat. in *Exod.* Q. 6. *p.* 108. Maimon. Pref. in varias Miſnajoth *p.* 234.

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the choice of thoſe Means depends on the Will of him who either neglects, or makes uſe of them.

XVI. But at leaſt don't they acknowledge Grace? *Philo*, who lived in the time of J. CHRIST, ſaid that as Darkneſs is diſperſed when the Sun gets up to the Horizon, and that the Earth is filled with its Light; ſo when *the divine Sun* enlightens a Soul, his Ignorance is diſſipated, and Knowledge comes and ſupplies its room. But theſe are general terms that ſo much the leſs decide the Queſtion, as it does not appear by the Goſpel that regenerating Grace was known; ſince *Nicodemus* had not any Notion of it, and that others knew not, nor *ſo much as heard whether there was any Holy-Ghoſt*, Acts 19. 2. the operations whereof are ſo neceſſary for Converſion.

XVII. The *Jews* have ſaid, that *Grace anticipates the Merits of the Juſt*. Behold! here is a preventing grace acknowledged by the Rabbies; but however, it muſt not be thought that this was a Sentiment generally received. *Menaſſah* || has refuted thoſe Doctors that left Tradition, becauſe if Grace anticipated the Will, it would ceaſe to be free, and he has eſtabliſhed but two ſorts of Succours on God's part; One by which he imparts the favourable Opportunities for executing a good deſign that has been formed; and the Other by which he gives Man his Aſſiſtance, when he has begun to live well.

XVIII. It ſeems that by rejecting preventing grace, they acknowledge a Succour from the Deity which follows the will of Man, and influences his Actions. *Menaſſah* ſays, that *one has need of the concurrence of Providence for all honeſt Actions*. He makes uſe of the Compariſon of a Man, who willing to load his Shoulders with a Burden, calls ſome body to his ſuccour to eaſe him. The Deity is that ſtrange Arm which comes to help the Juſt, when he has uſed his firſt Endeavours to perform the Law; and that is the Explication of what *Joſephus* ſaid of the *Phariſees*, that *God's Providence helped them* in the practice of good Works. They not only ſay, that God gives his Succour towards the finiſhing a good work which Man has begun; but they cite * the Doctors of greateſt Antiquity, who have proved, that it was impoſſible for the thing to be otherwiſe without deſtroying all the Merit of Works. "They ask whether God, "who would prevent Man, ſhould give a Grace "common to all, or particular to ſome few. If "this efficatious grace were common, why then "are not all Men juſt and ſaved? and if it be "particular, how then can God without injuſtice "ſave ſome, and ſuffer others to periſh? *Ought God "to have any reſpect to perſons?* It is much more true "to ſay, that God herein imitates Men, who afford "their help to thoſe who they ſee have formed "good Deſigns, and taken ſome Steps towards ma-"king themſelves Vertuous. If Man was ſo wick-"ed as not to be able to do good without Grace, "then God would be the Author of Sin and Cor-"ruption; and tho' that Corruption could not be "abſolutely overcome without help, yet there muſt "be a beginning of the Combat and of the Vi-"ctory.

XIX. They have not explained themſelves fully upon the Nature of that help which ſupports and comforts the Will under all its Neceſſities; but I am perſuaded they limit themſelves to the influences of Providence, and do not diſtinguiſh betwixt *That* Providence which directs human Events, and that Salutary grace which converts Sinners. *R. Eliezer* † confirms this Conjecture; for he introduces God opening to Man the Way of Life and Death, and gives him the choice of either. He places ſeven Angels in the Way of Death, whereof four that are full of Mercy ſtand without at each Gate, to keep Sinners from entering therein. What would you have? cryes the firſt Angel to the Sinner that was going in; *there is no life here*; go, throw your ſelf into the fire; and repent. If he paſſes the firſt Gate, the ſecond Angel ſtops him, and cries, that God will hate him, and caſt him away from him. The third tells him, that *his Name ſhall be blotted out of the Book of Life*. The fourth conjures him to attend there till God comes to look for Penitents; and if he perſeveres in his Wickedneſs, there is no turning back. The cruel Angels lay hold of, and ſeize him. Thus they give no other ſuccour to Man than the Advertiſement of Angels, who are the Miniſters of Providence.

|| R. Menaſſ de fragil. humanâ. Sect. 14. *p.* 116. * R. Menaſſ. ibid. R. Eliahu Haim in Reſit. *l.* 1. *c.* 4. apud Hoornbeek contra Jud. *l.* 7. *c.* 2. *p.* 483. † Eliezer Pirke. *c.* 15. *p.* 32.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Precepts of the Noachides.

Satyrical Sayings of the Rabbies againſt Noah *and* Abraham.

I. *Precepts of the* Noachides. II. *Imagined by the* Jews. III. *Their Excellence.* IV. *The odd and humerſome Contradiction of the Rabbies.* V. *The Sin of* Nonconformity *imputed to* Noah. VI. *Conformity of* Noah *with* Saturn. VII. *The Merits of* Abraham. VIII. *Hainous Crimes of that Patriarch.*

I. THE *Jews* are perſuaded that the Seven Precepts of the *Noachides* were ſufficient till *Abraham*'s time; whom God commanded that he ſhould circumciſe himſelf, and pray to him every Morning. *Adam* had already received Six of thoſe Precepts; but as before the Deluge Men lived on Milk, Fruit and Herbs, and there was no need of forbidding them to eat the Fleſh of any living Creature; therefore the Seventh was not added till the time of *Noah*. *R. Judas* believes, that God was pleas'd to lay on the firſt Man a ſtrict Charge not to commit Idolatry; and until *Noah* every Man lived according to his own Laws; but another maintains the quite contrary, that the Seven Precepts were given to *Adam*, and they are intimated in thoſe words of *Geneſis*, the *Lord God commanded the Man, ſaying, of every tree of the Garden thou mayeſt freely eat*; (Ch. 2. v. 16.) for every word in that Verſe contains a Myſtery. *The Lord*, that includes the forbidding of Blaſphemy. *God*, that of Idolatry. The word *commanded* betokens Judgments; *Adam*, Homicide; for it is ſpoken of Man. *Saying*, ſignifies Inceſt. *Thou mayeſt eat*, denotes the manducation of the fleſh of living Creatures. And laſtly, thoſe words *of every fruit*, imply Thievery, for there are ſome certain things we cannot enjoy without leave of the Owner.

II. *Adam* and *Noah* tranſmitted thoſe Laws to their Poſterity, without writing them down; and therefore they are moſt an end diſtinguiſhed from *Ordinances*

dinances which would not have bound the Conſcience if they had not been written. This Diſtinction we find in *Leviticus* *, where God promiſes Life to thoſe who *ſhall keep his Statutes and his Ordinances.* The firſt Word ſignifies the antient Precepts which had been given to the Patriarchs. And by the Second is underſtood the new *Laws* which God ſet the People of *Iſrael* when he ent'red into Covenant with them. Moſt of their Divines imagine that thoſe Precepts of the *Noachides* were common to all Nations. 'Tis what they call the Law of Nature; but I believe they are miſtaken. This is certain, that there is in the Soul a beam of Light to diſcern between Good and Evil, between Vertue and Vice. This Knowledge is much darkened in ſome Countries by the continued Cuſtom of Vice, but it is never abſolutely rooted out and extinguiſhed. 'Tis every where known without being taught it, that *we muſt not kill, nor ſteal* from our Neighbour; and if the *Perſians* have thought that Inceſt was allowable, and that the Prince ought to be born from the Union of a Son with his Mother, other Nations have had the laſt deteſtation for ſuch Inceſts. It may be therefore ſaid, that the Precepts of the *Noachides* make the Natural Law common to all Nations. It ſeems however, that the Precept, which condemns Idolatry, is not a Law of Nature, ſeeing that on the other hand all Men's inclination is to have *Gods to go before them*, eſpecially if we interpret it in the ſence of the *Jews*, who maintain, that not only it is not permitted *to think of other Gods*; but to make to themſelves Subaltern Deities, which hold a kind of *Middle* between the Creator and Man; for there has ſcarce been a Nation that has not worſhip'd inferiour Intelligences more ſenſible to their Neceſſities, and that has not fallen down before the Images and Statues of Gods. *There never was, nor ever will be a Man ſo great a fool*, ſays *Maimonides* †, as *to believe that a figure made of Wood, or Braſs, ſhould be the Creator of Heaven and Earth; but they pay adoration to it, becauſe they look upon it as the Image of ſome Power which is intermediate between us and God.* This Worſhip is forbidden in one of the Precepts of the *Noachides*, yet how many Nations have trampled it under their feet? This difficulty, which cannot be removed, convinces me that the Precepts of the *Noachides* were not diſperſed and publiſhed thro' all Nations, as the *Jews* own. 'Tis they who have fancied them conformable to the Principles of their Religion, by which Idolatry is ſo ſeverely condemned. In ſhort, 'tis from their Writings that thoſe Seven Precepts given to *Noah* have been collected, which were little known by the *Chriſtians*, before they applied themſelves to the reading and tranſlating of their *Rabinical* Works; the forbidding the fleſh of living Creatures to be eaten, which was given to *Noah*, is alſo derived from the general Prejudice they have, that the Men of the firſt World lived on Acorns and Pulſe.

'Tis certain, the *Jews* || cut off from the Number of the Precepts given to *Noah*, that *of honouring Parents*, and affirm, that it was given to the *Iſraelites* on Mount *Sinai*. However that Precept is dictated by Nature, and all Nations have obſerved it. The Heathen called *Piety* that Reſpect which was paid to Parents, becauſe they looked on it as a part of the Service which was owing to the Gods. So far was that Law particular to the *Jews*, as they boaſt of, that there is no Nation whatſoever has more openly corrupted it than they have done. JESUS CHRIST has condemned them already for having rejected and made void that Commandment, by acquitting thoſe who ſaid * *to their Father or Mother, it is* Corban, *that is to ſay a gift, by whatſoever thou mighteſt be profited by me, he ſhall be free, and ye ſuffer him no more to do ought for his Father or his Mother*; and the Sages were ſo far from benefiting by ſo juſt a Reproach, that they make the Explication of it eaſy, by teaching us how that they made a *Vow*, that ſo the Father ſhould not eat what † *the Son had prepared. What I do*, ſay they, *be it to you as a conſecrated thing, and a gift made at the Altar, whereof it is no longer permitted to eat.* It ſeems by *that*, that the *Jews* have curtailed or enlarged the Precepts of the *Noachides* according to their own Caprice and Fancy, rather than according to the Rules which Nature has dictated.

III. God began to ſeparate his People by the Circumciſion which he laid upon the Patriarch *Abraham*. They were obliged to obſerve it in all ſucceeding Ages, and thoſe who violated it by falling into Idolatry, were puniſhed with Death. At leaſt whileſt they continued at *Jeruſalem*, or in *Judea*, the worſhipping of falſe Gods, Sacrifices, and the Incenſe that was preſented to them, were reckoned as ſo many Crimes deſerving the laſt Puniſhment; and whether the Idolater worſhipped his falſe Gods conformably to the Rites of his own Nation, or whether he borrowed from the *Jews* the Worſhip of the true God to pay it to the Idol, he was equally puniſhed. They pretend likewiſe, that Death was inflicted on all thoſe who violated any one of the Seven Precepts without any diſtinction; and not only Murther, but a box of the Ear, given by the *Gentiles* to a *Jew*, deſerved the ſame Penalty; becauſe *to ſtrike a* Jew, *is to ſtrike the Cheek-bone of God Almighty.* The degree of Puniſhment was not regulated by the Law of the *Noachides*, but the *Sanhedrim* decided it according as they ſaw good, or rather the *Talmudiſts*, who are riſen ſince, have attributed to the *Sanhedrim* Laws which they never made. In ſhort, they affirm, that thoſe Precepts of the *Noachides* are ſo holy, that the Heathen who obſerves them, becomes thereby *a Saint of the Nations of the World*, and will receive the reward of it in the Life to come.

IV. But notwithſtanding the high and invaluable Idea they have of thoſe Precepts, they have but a very ſmall regard for the Patriarch, whoſe Name they bear; or rather they fall into two Exceſſes, for they cry him up to the Skies, and praiſe him hyperbolically, but they degrade him afterwards from that high degree of Sanctity. They carry things too far, and charge him with divers Crimes that he was never guilty of. *Noah* is not alone expoſed to the inſults of the Rabbies. They are neither more exact, nor more judicious for the other Saints; neither for *Abraham*, that main Stock of the Nation, whoſe Merits they magnify at ſuch a rate; nor for *Moſes*, their Legiſlator and Chief of their Prophets; nor for *David*, the Holieſt of all their Kings; neither did they any more ſpare the Prophets. At the ſame time that they erected ſtately Monuments to their Memories in their Writings, as their Anceſtors did in *Judea*; ſo no leſs did they attribute to them very great Sins and enormous Faults. This humour and conduct has ſeem'd to us ſo extravagantly odd, that we could not poſſibly paſs it over in ſilence. We ſhall therefore obſerve it proportionably as the different Laws given to that People, will oblige us to ſpeak of the Perſons that have brought 'em.

V. Firſt, they will not derive their Original from *Noah*, and it is from a ſort of deſpight and reproach that they call all thoſe Nations ſeparated from the Covenant of God, *Noachides*. It ſeems they are aſhamed to be accounted the Poſterity of that Pa-

* Levit. 18. 5. Gemara Babyl. Tit. Joma. *c.* 6. *f.* 67. Seld. de Jure Nat. & Gent. *l.* 1 *c* 10. *p.* 119. † Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 1. *c.* 36. *p.* 53, &c. 63. *p.* 113. || Ex Gemara Cod. Sanhedr. *c.* 7. Sect. 5. Cocceius duo Tit. Thalmud. *p.* 269. * Mark 7. 11, 12. † Cocceius. ibid. *p.* 273.

† triarch,

triarch, tho' they own it was he who repeopled the Univerſe after the Deluge. Secondly, Some Fathers of the *Chriſtian* Church have undertaken to juſtify the Drunkenneſs of *Noah*, becauſe he knew not the Fruit of the Vine. It can't be ſaid he gave himſelf up to Intemperance and Debauchery; he was only ſurpriſed by the Power of a Liquor that he had never drank of before. The Rabbies are more rigid; they condemn the Sin of *Noah*, and that very juſtly too; for *Noah* had lived long enough in the firſt World to have underſtood what Wine was. His Co-temporaries, who were ſo corrupted, did not drink always *pure Element*. But they ſtop not there; thoſe Doctors are divided about the Conſequences of this Adventure. They aſſure us *, that he fell into the Sin *of Non-conformity*. That was not altogether his fault; for he was (as we ſay) dead aſleep, and *Cham* took the Advantage of that deep Sleep, to diſhonour his Father. This is all proved by Scripture: For the Hiſtory tells us, that *Cham ſaw the nakedneſs of his Father*, and the ſame Expreſſion is found in *Moſes* ſpeaking of *Shechem* the Son of *Hamor* the *Hivite*, Prince of the Country, *Gen.* 34. 2. who *ſaw* Dinah, *took her, and lay with her, and defiled her*. They don't mind that *Moſes*, relating the laſt Event, expreſſes the act of Concubinage which diſhonoured *Dinah*, and that he does not charge *Cham* with an enormous Crime. But this matters not, it is ſufficient that there is in thoſe two Paſſages a like ſort of Expreſſion to draw a diſmal Conſequence from it, and is very injurious to *Noah*.

VI. Another maintains that *Cham* deprived his Father of his genitals, that ſo he might have no more Children. This Conjecture would have compleatly finiſhed the Conformity which the Learned have found between *Saturn* and *Noah*. The former devoured all his Children, and all the Inhabitants of the firſt World were ſwallowed up by the Deluge, perſuant to the threatnings of *Noah*.

There are but three Children given to *Saturn*, Maſter of the whole Univerſe; as *Noah*, who remained alone in the World, had but three likewiſe. There was no dividing of Stakes among them, their holding all things in common made up *that Golden Age* ſo much boaſted of under the reign of *Saturn*. *Jupiter*, the youngeſt of that Prince's Children, worſhipped in ſo many places under the Name of *Hammon*, or *Ham*, was *Cham* the third Son of *Noah*. The *Saturnalia*, or Feſtivals celebrated to *Saturn*, were a Monument of *Noah*'s Drunkenneſs. In a word, as the antient *Painims* maintained that *Jupiter* had gelt his Father, the Rabbies ſay the ſame of *Cham*; but they do it expreſly againſt Holy Scripture, and meerly thro' vain Conjectures.

VII. The *Talmudiſts* are ſtill more unjuſt to *Abraham* their Patriarch, than to *Noah*, whoſe *Original* they reject. They make him to march between Shame and Glory; for on one ſide they beſtow mighty Encomiums upon him, and on the other they revile him as cruelly. They affirm that this Patriarch, born of an Idolatrous Father, accuſtomed to worſhip the Fire, or rather the Sun with the *Chaldeans*; yet however made a ſhift to diſcover an infinite Creator, and to own a Supreme God by the Light of Nature. Some will have it that he went to School to *Noah*, who was not then dead; but others give him a Strength of Genius ſufficient to diſcover the Truth in the midſt of the groſſeſt Idolatry: No body traced him out the way in this obſcure road; but he alone raiſed himſelf above the Prejudices of Nature, to oppoſe and fight againſt the Religion of his Nation, of his Father, and of his Anceſtors. *Abraham* did it without the help of any Revelation, purely by his natural ſtrength. But it ought not to be wond'red at, ſeeing at the ſame time they exempt him from Original Sin, and make him the firſt Man, whoſe Conception was immaculate.

God entring into Covenant with this Patriarch, conferred *Circumciſion* upon him. That holy Myſtery cauſed him to undergo violent Torments; The News of it being carried up to God, he deſcended with his Angels to viſit the Sick Man; but was ſurpriſed to find him *ſtanding at the Tent-door*. From thence God took occaſion to prove the excellency of *Circumciſion* to the Angels, telling them that *Abraham*, who fell proſtrate on the Ground when ever God deſcended, now had the Strength and Courage to bear his preſence ſince he was circumciſed. God moreover deſigning to tempt *Abraham*, bored a hole in the Earth ſo deep that it went down to Hell; from whence there iſſued ſuch a thick black vapour and terrible heat, that it almoſt ſtifled and burnt up *Abraham*. This was advantageous to the Patriarch, becauſe it occaſioned God to come down, and make him a viſit; becauſe he ſaw the Lord without being affrighted; and becauſe he ſuffered Pains like to thoſe of the Damned, either in his Conſcience, or in his Body, and came out of that Temptation victorious and triumphant.

In ſhort, the *Talmudiſts* ſay, that as the Vine is ſupported by Poles and dead Branches, ſo the Children of *Iſrael* have for their ſupport, the Dead, *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*. They count alſo, that the Merits and remembrance of thoſe Patriarchs make the Prayers of the Saints acceptable and well pleaſing to God. *Elijah* Prayed unſucceſsfully upon Mount *Carmel*, until he had called to his remembrance *the Lord God of* Abraham, Iſaac *and of* Iſrael. Neither did *Moſes* know how to drive away the five Angels whom God had let looſe againſt the People of *Iſrael* for their Sin about the *Molten Calf*; but when he repreſented to God the Merits of *Abraham*, three of thoſe Angels took wing and away they went; the fourth was not to be ſeen long after, and *Moſes* threw the laſt, called *Miccharon*, or *the Boyling of Choler*, into a deep Pit where he remained a Priſoner, and as a Man enchained. Yet he roſe up again every time that *Iſrael* Sinned, to gnaw and torment them. *Moſes* being Dead, God Buryed that Prophet near to *Miccharon*, who failed not to riſe from time to time as they tranſgreſſed, to puniſh the Sins of the People; but he trembles whenever he beholds *Moſes* his Tomb, and retires. However it be, the Merits of *Abraham* are ſufficient to appeaſe the Anger and Wrath of God, when it is never ſo violently incenſed, and to remove the Puniſhments that he had prepared for them. There can nothing be ſaid ſtronger, and therefore *Bartolocci* † concludes from it, that the Synagogue has all along invoked the Saints which confer ſo great Benefits and Bleſſings.

VIII. Now, after having ſo much extolled this Patriarch, they cover him again with as much confuſion and ſhame. We will not count as any thing that they make *Abraham* impotent. They not only ſay that *Sarah* was Barren; that ſhe was deprived of the Parts neceſſary for Generation; but they affirm the ſame thing of her Husband. They make him alſo Jealous even to ridiculouſneſs; for *Jarchi* reports, upon the Credit of the Fathers, that when he went into *Egypt*, he ſhut up his Wife in a Cheſt to conceal her; but ſhe was diſcovered at the Cuſtom-Houſe, for even in thoſe Days the Officers ſearched very narrowly into the Merchandizes imported. *Pharaoh*, who was there preſent, charmed with her Beauty, took her away from her Husband, who to preſerve his Life, affirmed conſtantly that ſhe was his

* Ordo IV. Nezichim Cod 5. B. R. *t.* 111. *p.* 591. † Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 303, &c.

†

Siſter.

Siſter. All this is but a ſmall Matter. This laſt Action has alſo found Panegyriſts among the Fathers of the *Chriſtian* Church. But they make *Abraham* a Tyrant; for he had three Hundred and eighteen Rabbies in his Houſe; and inſtead of permitting them to Study || the Law, he uſed violence towards 'em, to oblige them to take up Arms, to follow him to the Battle againſt *Chedorlaomer*, King of *Elam*. He became too ſo inſolent as to preſume to demand of God his moſt hidden Secrets. *Shew me now thy way that I may know thee.* This Inſolence ſo full of Blaſphemy is grounded upon what *Abraham* asked God, how he ſhould know that the Land of *Canaan* ſhould belong to him. Inſtead of ſerving God, that had made ſo advantageous a Promiſe, he forced his own Domeſticks to quit the true Religion, to fall back and plunge themſelves again into Idolatry. He met with ſome Reſiſtance among them at firſt; but the more eaſily to ſubdue and conquer them, he diſtributed his Treaſures to them, and remitted them into the Hands of the King of *Sodom* who demanded them with earneſtneſs.

He exalted himſelf above *the Properties of God*; he kept Slaves from marching under *the Wings of the Almighty, and evacuated* all the Knowledge they had of the Law, as one draws Water out of a Veſſel, into which it had been poured before. Theſe are the Enormous Crimes that are built upon what the King of *Sodom* ſaid to *Abraham*, † *give me the Perſons or Souls, and take the Goods to thy ſelf*: for they ſuppoſe that *Abraham* accepted the offer of that Prince, who made this demand for no other end than to keep Men from walking under the Wings of Gods Protection, that is to ſay, from Obeying his Laws, and to plunge themſelves over Head and Ears into Idolatry again. Yet *Moſes* ſays in expreſs Terms, that the Patriarch refuſed the King of *Sodom*'s Demands. Thus do they outrage him, when the Calumny is plain and evident, and refuted by the very words of *Moſes*. However after all, 'tis from this Patriarch that the *Jewiſh* People do themſelves the Honour to derive their Original, 'tis from him they have received *Circumciſion*; which after it had been laid aſide in *Egypt*, was re-eſtabliſhed by *Moſes*.

|| Thalmud. Ordo III Naſcim Codex 6. Nedarim. *c.* 3. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 111. *p.* 527. * Geneſ. 14 21.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Moſes, *and the Law which he gave.*

The odd Sentiments of the Doctors about this Legiſlator.

I. Moſes *gives the Law.* II. *His Divine Miſſion.* III. *His Knowledge and his Miracles.* IV. *Whether the* Talmudiſts *have Copied* Joſephus *about the Life of* Moſes. V. *His Birth diſguiſed. He is Born Circumciſed.* VI. *He kills an* Egyptian *for making an* Iſraelite *a Cuckold.* VII. *His Reign in* Ethiopia. VIII. *Complaints of the Queen againſt him. The Miraculous Wand, or Rod.* IX. *How he went over the Red Sea. A ridiculous Story.* X. *His Tyranny.* XI. *Crimes that he committed.* XII. *His Miracles and his Hardneſs.* XIII. *His Voyage to Heaven.* XIV. *Stories about the Law.* XV. *How God gave it.* Onkelos *juſtified.* XVI. *Whether God ſpake to the People.* XVII. Moſes *Guilty of the* Golden-Calf. XVIII. *Traditions.* XIX. *The Law obſerved.*

I. MAN being obliged to live in Society, ſtood in need of Laws to regulate the chief Actions of his Life. As the Tempers are different, it is impoſſible that all ſhould concur to the publick Weal, and live with uprightneſs and ſincerity. God therefore bound his People by Ordinances which he charged *Moſes* to deliver to them. The Veneration they have preſerved for the Name of that Legiſlator, is very great. They exalt him beyond all the Prophets, and give him three advantages which they ſay the others had not.

II. Firſt, God was pleaſed to reveal his Will by the Miniſtry of the Angels that ſpoke, or that made themſelves viſible to other Prophets, but he ſpake * immediately to *Moſes*, *Face to Face as a Man ſpeaketh to his Friend*, Exod. 33. 11. and therefore the People cryed out, ſaying, † *We have ſeen this Day that God doth talk with Man, and he liveth.* 'Tis true, *Iſaiah* and *Micah* aſſure us, that God *ſpoke to them*, but it was in a Dream, and the Objects were lively ſet out to their Imaginations; whereas || God communed with *Moſes* from above the Mercy-Seat, from *between the two Cherubims, and the Imagination bore no part there.* God adverti ſed his People that *That* ſhould not laſt always, but that he would ſend an Angel to lead 'em into the Land of *Canaan*: ſays God †, *Behold, I ſend an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared.* God never ſent an Angel to an entire Nation or People. It would be then to no purpoſe to command the People of *Iſrael* to reſpect the Angel: But God ſays to that People, *You ſhall not always have the Viſion to dazle you at the bottom of Mount* Sinai: *The Cloud and the Fire ſhall not always reſt upon the Tabernacle; but the Angel that I ſhall ſend to the Prophets, which ſhall conduct you, ſhall take the Cities of* Canaan, *&c. and ſhall teach you what you are to do, therefore do not deſpiſe him.* In ſhort, God who had communed with *Moſes* on Mount *Sinai*, was pleaſed to reveal his Will by an Angel whom he commonly ſent to the Prophets.

III. The ſecond advantage of *Moſes* conſiſted in the degrees of Knowledge which God had given him; for not being contented to ſhew himſelf to him as he did to *Abraham*, he made himſelf be known † *by his Name of* Jehovah *There aroſe not a Prophet ſince in* Iſrael *like unto* Moſes, *whom the Lord knew Face to Face.*

To conclude, the other Prophets wrought Miracles but ſeldom, and to private Perſons only; whereas thoſe of *Moſes* were frequent, publick, and done in the ſight of a whole Nation. *Moſes* † was therefore diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of Men by his Miſſion, by his Knowledge, and by his Miracles.

* Maimon. More Nevoch. *p.* 2. *c.* 39. *p.* 302. & *c.* 48. *p.* 529. & *c.* 34. *p.* 290. † Deut. 5. 24. || *Exod.* 25. 22. * *Exod.* 23. 20. † *Deut.* 34. 10. * Maimon. ibid. *c.* 35 *p.* 241.

IV. Thus

IV. Thus the exact and judicious Divines argue; but there are others of them who ſeem to be no leſs Famous and Celebrated, that put another gloſs upon the Hiſtory of their Legiſlator. The Miſchief is Antient, ſince that *Joſephus*, being convinced that *Moſes* had himſelf prepared the Memoirs of his own Life, was obliged to Copy from them, but yet for all that has gone quite from it, and patched together ſeveral Romances to his Hiſtory. *Joſephus* is ſo little known to the *Jews*, who value nothing but what is wrote in their own Tongue, that I dare not decide whether it be from him the Doctors have borrowed what they ſay concerning this Antient Legiſlator. There is agreement enough in their Writings to perſuade a Reader that they have been ravaging from one and the ſame Source; but perhaps that Source may be more Antient than *Joſephus*; that there was a Book of the Life of *Moſes* where Fables might be intermixed with Truth. *Joſephus* and the *Talmudiſts*, having read the ſame Book, may agree in ſome Circumſtances, and differ in others. This ſeems to me to be more probable, than to ſay that they have Copied *Joſephus*, whoſe Hiſtory does not appear ever to have been Read, or cited by the *Talmudiſts*: We will abridge their recital as much as is poſſible.

V. *Amram* the Father of *Moſes*, being vexed at *Pharaoh*'s Edict, that would not permit him to bring up his Male Children, put away his Wife, becauſe he was perſuaded that Daughters would not countervail the trouble he gave himſelf about them, *Fruſtra laborabat cum ea*. All the World perceived he was in the right of it, and followed his Example: But *Mary* the Daughter of *Amram*, and a Propheteſs, made him change his Opinion, becauſe one was not ſure that the Edict of *that* Prince would continue for ever; and that he himſelf was more obdurate than *Pharaoh*, who only cauſed the Male Children to be put to Death, whereas he ſet himſelf againſt the Generation of both Sexes, So he took his Wife again, and had *Moſes* by her, who was ſaved from the Hands of the Commiſſioners. *Moſes* came into the World circumciſed, and filled with a Miraculous Vertue; and therefore † *Bathia*, the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, loved him moſt tenderly. She was Leprous, which made her often go to Waſh her ſelf in the River *Nile*, where ſhe found the Child, and ſhe had no ſooner touch'd *the Ark, which was among the Flags by the Rivers brink*, wherein the Child was laid, but ſhe was healed. He would never ſuck an *Egyptian* Woman, for fear leaſt ſhe ſhould one day or other boaſt ſhe had given the Breaſt to him who had ſpoke to God *Mouth to Mouth*; wherefore *Mary* his Siſter cauſed a Nurſe of the *Hebrew*-Women to come and Suckle it, who was his own Mother.

VI. *Moſes*, thus ſaved by a Miracle, was brought by *Bathia* into the Arms of her Father. The Child, who was then but Three Years Old, took the Crown from the King's, and put it on his own Head. *Joſephus* makes him to trample it under his Feet. *Balaam*, who lived then at the Court of *Egypt*, and was a bitter Enemy of the *Jews*, thought this ſo bad a Preſage that he adviſed to put the Child to Death; but an Angel, coming in the interim from God, inſpired the Magicians with a deſign to try, whether *Moſes* had done this Inſult knowingly, or only by accident. They ſate before him ſome Diamonds and ſome hot Coals. The Angel pulled out his Hand, and made him to take the Coals and prefer them to Diamonds. He lifted them up to his Mouth, and burnt his little Tongue, which cauſed an imperfection in his Speech all his Life after. His Simplicity was known by that, and he eſcaped Death at Twenty Eight Years of Age, or as others ſay at Twenty Nine. The Story thus, *Dathan* being rudely treated by an *Egyptian* that made him a Cuckold, complained heavily to *Moſes* of both the Cuckoldom and Inſult, which was ſo much the more barbarous, as that he had ſurpriſed the *Egyptian* violating his Bed the Night before. *Moſes* revenged the Affront by killing the *Egyptian*. *Dathan* reſolved after this to put away his Wife thus guilty of Adultery, but *Abiram* his Brother would not ſuffer him to do it; whereupon the two Brothers quarrelled, and had much ado to reſtrain themſelves from falling to Fiſty-cuffs. *Moſes* interpoſing to make them Friends, they reproached him for his late Murther, and threatned to have him before *Pharaoh*; and make him loſe his Head: but his Neck became Marble, and was ſo hard, that when the Executioner went about to cut it off, the Sword could not make any impreſſion in the Neck, but in the reverberating, it cut off the Neck of the Headſman.

Solomon ſung of this Miracle, when he ſaid to the Spouſe, *thy Neck is as a Tower of Ivory*; and *Moſes* returns thanks to God for his protecting him from *Pharaoh*'s Sword. Thoſe who were the Witneſſes of this great Event, became either Deaf, or Dumb, or Blind, ſo that they did not perceive when *Moſes* fled: *Pharaoh* too loſt the uſe of his Speech for an Hour, which kept him from giving the neceſſary Orders for taking of him up.

VII. He retired to *Korkon* King of *Ethiopia*, who had then left his Kingdom to carry the War into *Armenia*. Whileſt he was abſent, *Balaam*, who had alſo left *Egypt*, cauſed the People to revolt againſt their Prince. *Moſes* took the Intereſt of the depoſed King, who Died before his Re-eſtabliſhment. They made him Captain General of the Army; and promiſed him in Marriage the Queen that remained a Widow. He prepared for the War, and beſieged the Capital, round about which *Balaam* had placed an infinite number of Serpents, to render the approach to it more difficult: But *Moſes*, a more ſubtle Magician than *Balaam*, called the Demons to his Succour, and made uſe of all that Idolatry could furniſh him with, took the City by his Enchantments which were much ſuperiour to thoſe of *Balaam*, and became King and Husband to the Queen Dowager. It may be eaſily perceived that there is here ſome relation to what *Joſephus* reports of *Moſes* his going into *Ethiopia*, where the Princeſs fell in Love with him; but *Joſephus*, more judicious than the *Talmudiſts*, has not made *Moſes* a Magician that made uſe of the Succour of the Demons, and of whatſoever Idolatry could furniſh him with, to vanquiſh *Balaam*. But thus we ſee that to make a Hero, they do not care if they make a kind of Devil of him.

VIII. His Reign in *Ethiopia* laſted Forty Years, but at laſt the Queen complained that *Moſes* did not carry it well towards her. He ſpake very ſeldom to her; and careſſed her yet leſs. She ſaid alſo that he had not conſummated Marriage; ſhe complained very late, and a Woman that had been a Widow for Forty Years might be diſagreeable enough to diſguſt *Moſes*. But be it as it will, they roſe up againſt him, and he was obliged to take his flight to *Jethro*, in whoſe Garden he met with that Famous Rod, which God had created at firſt for *Adam*, which he had given to *Abraham*, which *Joſeph* had left in Succeſſion to the Kings of *Egypt*, whether *Jethro* had carried it when he quitted their Court, and planted in his Garden, from whence none had been able to pluck it up till *Moſes*. The Name of God was engraven upon that Rod, and it was a Source that abounded with Miracles. *Jethro* was forced to give his Daughter

† *Joſephus calls her* Thermutis, *l.* 2. 11.

to *Moſes*, becauſe it was a Reward promiſed to him who had ſtrength to pluck up *that* Rod. She had a Son by him; *Jethro* would not ſuffer them to circumciſe him, becauſe he had ſtipulated that his firſt Born ſhould be an Idolater; and *Moſes* had promiſed he ſhould with an Oath which he durſt not break, God therefore ſent two Angels immediately to ſwallow up that Legiſlator, ſo that nothing of him ſhould remain but his Feet. Let us try now to get into the Senſe of theſe Hyperbolical and Figurative expreſſions, which inſinuate only that the Wrath of God was ſo great for the delay of this Circumciſion, that it had gone very near that *that* Prophet had been ſwallowed up; and it is thus alſo that we are to explain what they ſay, that *Moſes* was *a Giant of ſix Cubits high*, to teach us that we ought to look on him as a Hero very much exalted in Knowledge above the reſt of Mankind. In fine, when they aſſure us that *Moſes*, as faltering in his Speech as he was, however failed not to make his Voice to be heard even to the end of all *Egypt*, we are not to impute any Crime to them as if they told a Swinger, nor ſo to take it according to the expreſs Letter, ſince they only mean by it, that the noiſe of his Miracles reſounded into all places. But amidſt all theſe circumſtances we may ſtill ſee the mighty fondneſs of the *Jews* for the Name of JEHOVAH, as if it could produce wondrous Miracles. Moreover, they accuſe him for having Sacrificed his Son to Idols.

IX. When the time came that *Moſes* was to leave *Egypt*, he cauſed his Wife and Children to be ſet upon that Aſs, which had carried *Iſaac* into *the Land of* Moriah † *to be offered there for a Burnt Offering to the Lord upon One of the Mountains*, and upon which the Meſſiah will one day come. Great numbers of the *Iſraelites* being bewitched to the Pleaſures of *Egypt*, refuſed to go out with the reſt of the Nation, therefore God ſlew them; but there was Darkneſs and Obſcurity in *Egypt* for three days together, for fear leſt the *Egyptians* ſhould be hardened, in ſaying, that the *Iſraelites* had been ſmitten as well as themſelves. They were ſorely put to it, when they found themſelves on the brink of the *Red-Sea* perſued by *Pharaoh* and his Army. The Angels themſelves were ſo afflicted at it, that they had not the Courage to ſing one ſingle Song all that Night; yet however God had put a Wall of Fire between his People and the *Egyptian* Army, ſo that there was no reaſon for them to be afraid. He alſo commanded *Moſes* to divide the *Red-Sea*, but he could not compaſs it; he ſtretched out his Hand and his Rod over the Sea, but it was to little purpoſe; he cauſed *Joſeph*'s Coffin to be brought but with no better Succeſs; not knowing what to do, at laſt he diſcovered the place where he had been Circumciſed, *Berith Mila*. They bluſh not to cauſe the moſt indecent Actions to be done to *Moſes*, before the Face of a whole People, to ſhew that there was nothing too Holy to effect this Miracle, and that God was neceſſitated to come down to make the Waters of the Sea to *go back by a ſtrong Eaſt Wind*, and be divided, which is another Story.

X. The Deſign and End of *Moſes* in getting the People out of *Egypt*; was to ſettle the Empire in his own Houſe; it was but upon that Condition that he yielded to carry the Orders of God to *Pharaoh*; and when he knew that his Ambition would not be ſatisfied, becauſe the Authority would not go to his Children, he ſaid to God plainly, * *Send, I pray thee to* Pharaoh; *by the hand of him whom thou wilt ſend*, that is to ſay, ſome body elſe, and not me. In ſhort, he did not care for the People of *Iſrael*; and when *the Lord* † *ſaid unto him, what is that in thine hand? Moſes* anſwered, It was a Rod; God intimated thereby, that he deſerv'd to be ſcourged with that Rod, becauſe he Slandered the good People to God, and as the Devil did by *Job*, he calumniated the *Iſraelites* before his Throne. That appeared alſo by the change that happened to his Hand, which when at God's Command he put it into his Boſom, and took it out, was become *Leprous white as Snow*; for as *Mary*, his Siſter, was ſtruck with Leproſy for ſeditiouſly ſpeaking againſt her Brother; ſo *Moſes* received the ſame Chaſtiſement becauſe of the Reproaches he every day ſpread before the Tribunal of God againſt his Brethren. *Moſes* therefore was ambitious, a Tyrant, and an Enemy of the People ſubjected to his Laws.

XI. There is ſcarce a Crime wherewith the *Talmudiſts* do not charge this their Legiſlator. He cannot be more ruggedly treated than by putting him into Parallel with *Balaam*, and yet they own there never was in *Iſrael* a Prophet like unto *Moſes*. One cannot more groſsly abuſe him, than to ſee him upon the ſame Level with *Balaam*; for at the ſame time they tell us, that there never was a Prophet in *Iſrael* like unto *Moſes*, they own that there was one among the *Gentiles* no ways inferior to him. *Moſes* had three conſiderable Excellencies above *Balaam*; He ſpoke to God, ſtanding Mouth to Mouth, † and Face to Face; whereas *Balaam* proſtrated himſelf before God, and underſtood his Will, but darkly, and by way of Symbols or Signs; but this very ſame *Balaam* had on the other hand three Excellencies above *Moſes*. He knew who ſpoke to him, which *Moſes* did not. He ſpoke to him at all times, and penetrated into the moſt private Deſigns of the Deity; and * therefore they compare him to an able Cook, who underſtood how to provide ſuch Victuals as he knew his Maſter would be pleas'd with. Beſides all this, they tell us, that *Moſes* was 1. An Ignoramus. He acknowledged it himſelf; for he ſaid to the People, *I cannot go, nor come any farther*; that is to ſay, I cannot enter into the Explanation of the Law, nor get out the Difficulties that I find therein; *for the Sources of Wiſdom and Traditions were concealed from him.* I confeſs there are ſome *Chriſtians* that make the ſame clamour againſt *Moſes*; but are they well grounded? 2. He owns himſelf to be as great a Sinner as thoſe who brought the Deluge upon the Earth; abandoning himſelf to Women, and plunging into the moſt dreadful Debaucheries; for he ſays, that *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* will riſe up in Judgment againſt him with thoſe *famous*, or puiſſant People. The Rabbies affirm, that thoſe *famous* People † ſignifie *Moſes*; and as the Wicked of the Deluge bear the ſame Name of famous People; it is aſſured us, that he had committed the ſame Crimes as they had, and that his Sins cheer'd up their Spirits. The Proof is ridiculous; but the Accuſation of it is no leſs real. Beſides, we produce it, that we may the better judge of the Genius of the Rabbies, and of the manner how they play with the Scripture, to find *that* in it which is not there: for all their Accuſations are grounded upon ſuch like Interpretations. 3. *Moſes* being of a revengeful temper, reſolved to have ſatisfaction for the Inſult had been made upon him; and therefore he put a deadly Poiſon into the Cenſers. *Nadab* and *Abihu* were conſumed by the ſame Artifice. Thus we ſee *Moſes* became a Poiſoner, for the ſake of deſtroying his Enemies.

XII. He wrought divers and ſundry Miracles, to confirm thereby his Authority, and among others, the Bread failing in the Wilderneſs, he cauſed it to rain *Manna*; and tho' that Shower of Bread which fell down from Heaven was in a prodigious quan-

† Geneſ. 22. 2. || Exod. 4. 13. * Exod. 4. 2. † Exod. 12. 8. || Vorſtius Not. in Maimonidem. * השם *Famoſi* ſignifies משה *Moſes*. Numbers 16. 4. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* IV. *p.* 138.

tity

tity, yet the Rabbies fail not to embroider and imbelliſh it with ſo many Circumſtances as render it incredible. The *Manna* fell round about the Tents of the Righteous who gathered it without any trouble; The middle ſort were obliged to go out of their Houſes to gather it a great way off; but the wicked ran from ſide to ſide, and from one place to another, and quite tyred themſelves with finding it. It was true Bread for the Righteous, who did eat it juſt as it fell from Heaven: And it was a Cake to the middling ſort, who were therefore neceſſitated to light a Fire, and to knead and bake it; but the trouble was much greater to the Wicked, for they were forced to get it ground at the Mill, and do I know not what to it. With the *Manna* fell pretious Stones which enriched the Children of *Iſrael*. It was higher on the Earth than the Waters at the Deluge. The Sun one day having ſhone hot upon it, it reſolved like Snow; which produc'd Brooks and Torrents of *Manna*. The Goats and Stags that drank of thoſe Waters, were fed and nouriſhed by it. The Infidel Nations took thoſe Beaſts in Hunting, and having eaten of them, found their Fleſh ſo ſucculent and juicy, and of ſo particular a pleaſing taſte, that they every where magnified the Felicity of the *Jewiſh* People, who were ſo deliciouſly nouriſhed. The Scripture calls it the *Corn of Heaven, and Angels food*, Pſalm 78. 24, 25. becauſe they lived after the manner of Angels, without being obliged to any Evacuations. *Moſes* made the Sun to ſtand ſtill. If he had not wrought that Miracle, they would have gone near to have placed *Joſhua* above him. It was he likewiſe that built the Ark of the Covenant; there were two of them: The One made by *Bezaleel* of Shittim-wood, which was taken in the time of *Eli*; the Other that *Moſes* had made to carry up to the top of Mount *Sinai*, when he went thither to receive the Law; for if he had received the Tables without having firſt prepared an Ark, he would not have known where to have put them. They pretend to have ſeen this Ark at *Rome*, where they keep it moſt charily and ſumptuouſly, and where the People pay a kind of Adoration to it. *Marlian*||, who could never find the Golden Table and Candleſtick in the triumphal Arch of *Titus*, tho' *Joſephus* aſſures us, that thoſe two Monuments were carried to *Rome* with the Law *deſpoiled, new, and unknown*, yet has there moſt ſenſibly obſerved the Ark of the Covenant; from whence he concludes it remains there ſtill; that is to ſay, he has ſeen in the triumphal Arch of *Titus* what was not to be ſeen there. That which is made to paſs at *Rome* for the Ark, is nothing but a huge worm-eaten Cheſt. The Ark was loſt from the Ruin of the firſt Temple, and n'er found afterwards. They may tell what Stories they pleaſe of the Honours that are paid to it at *Rome*, and ſtrengthen its worſhip upon the Authority of the Council of *Trent*; but for all that it is true, that they throw their Adorations at Random, or rather are deceived about the Object they think they adore. However it be, *Moſes*, that miraculous Man, ſtill led the People on with much harſhneſs and ſeverity; and *Jethro* could not endure that the People ſhould ſtand in the preſence of *Moſes*, who was Sitting as on a Chair of State, and cenſured him for that Pride and Haughtineſs which was a diſhonour to the Nation.

XIII. In fine, he received the Law, and that was a new matter to Miracles. *Moſes* only went to Mount *Sinah*, where he found a Cloud that took him away, and carried him into Heaven. In his way he met with an Angel, named *Kemmuel*, Chief of twelve thouſand Angels, who would needs join with him; but in pronouncing the twelve Letters which God had taught him, when he ſpake to him out of the *burning Buſh*, the Angel flew away a thouſand *Stadia*, or Paces off. *Moſes* continuing on his Way, met with another Angel, named *Hadarniel*, who put him into a pannick fear, for that Angel had a moſt terrible Voice. He cauſed it to be reſounded forth *into two hundred thouſand Spheres environed with a lambent fire*, and he had under his Command a mighty number of Angels. *Moſes* his fright was ſo great that he would have got out of the Cloud, if God had not repreſented to him that it was a Scandalous Shame for him to tremble at the ſight of an Angel, a Miniſter of the Deity; after he had had the courage to bear the Preſence of God in the *Buſh*, and the curioſity to ask of him his Name. This Remonſtrance had its Effect: *Moſes* took heart upon it, and in ſaying over the Seventy two Letters, he in his turn made the Angel to quake with fear, who cryed out to him, all trembling and flying, *O* Moſes! *how happy are You that know what the Angels are ignorant of.* Thus it ſeems the Angels know not in Heaven the ineffable Name of God. In ſhort, *Moſes* being arrived, continued forty Days without Eating, that ſo he might not trouble the Order of Heaven, where there is no need of Suſtinence.

XIV. God gave the Laws to *Moſes* Engraven on two very thick and pretious Stones. The Letters carried themſelves, and *Moſes* along with them; but when they drew near the Camp, and heard the Sound of the Trumpets, and ſaw the Idolatry of the People, thoſe Letters graven with the Finger of God, flew away, and the two Tables deſtitute of the Spirit that ſuſtained them, became ſo heavy in *Moſes* his hand, that he was forced to let them fall, and by that fall they broke in pieces. Thus the Rabbies chooſe rather to animate Letters, and give 'em an imaginary vertue, than to confeſs *Moſes* his Zeal, that was provoked to ſee the Sin of the People; and who being concern'd for the Glory of his God, broke the Tables with Grief to ſee how they did violate them.

XV. We muſt not charge the whole Nation with theſe Puerilities. For there are * Divines found in it that do literally explain what *Moſes* ſays of the Law which God gave upon Mount *Sinai*. 'Tis certain, they obſerve that the Tables upon which the Law was written, are called † *the work of God*, to teach us that they were Tables of natural Stone; as the Cedars of *Lebanon*, and the Mountains of the Earth are the Work of God. *O Lord! how* || *manifold are thy works? in wiſdom haſt Thou made them all*, ſays the Royal Prophet in the ſame ſence. *Moſes* ſays alſo that the Law, *the two Tables of Teſtimony*, was * *written with the finger of God*; as the Pſalmiſt aſſures us, that *the Heavens are the work of his hands*. And *Maimonides* cenſures *Onkelos* for having tranſlated that the Law was graven *by the finger of God, as if the finger had been an Inſtrument, which the Deity had made uſe of to write the ten Commandments*. This ſhews the delicacy and good ſence of that Divine, who would not have any thing material imagined of God, but who aſcribes the Scripture of God *to the Word*, or rather to *that ſame* Will that had created the Heavens. But his Cenſure is not juſt, for *Onkelos* has remitted in his Paraphraſe the very ſame word that *Moſes* had made uſe of. Moreover *, they lend him a Conceit which is no longer found in the *Targum*, that remains with us. *Onkelos* does not

|| Marlianus de arcâ Titi, *l.* 3. *c.* 6. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 111. *p.* 157. * Maimon. More Nevoch *p.* 1. *c.* 66. *p.* 110.
† Exod. 32. 16. || Pſal. 104. 24. * Exod. 31. 18. באצבע אלהים *in digito Dei.* Targum Onkelos in Bibl. Polygl. Le Jeay. *p.* 310. בצבא ריוי *in digito; and the three Jods denote the name* ineffable.

ſay that the *finger* was an Inſtrument God made uſe of to write withal. If they did read ſo in the antient Paraphraſe in the time of *Maimonides*, the Copyiſts have left it out ſince.

XVI. God had ſpoke, and the noiſe of his Voice reſounded thro' all the Camp. Some Doctors believe however, that God was pleaſed to make the two firſt Commandments to be heard, and that the Others ſhould be delivered in a lower tone. The reaſon alledged for this difference is a very bad One; for they'll needs have it that the other Precepts were to be learnt *by a particular Revelation, and by the Cabala.* But *Maimonides* † thinks that the confuſed ſound of the Voice of God came to all the People, and that *Moſes* only could diſtinguiſh the words which he pronounced; and he encourages himſelf upon the Authority of *Onkelos*, who always makes God ſpeak to *Moſes*, and he had derived that Tradition from *Eleazer* and *Joſhua*, which proves it to be very Antient.

XVII. The *Jews* lay the Shame and Scandal of the *Golden-Calf* upon the Heathens who had followed the People into the Wilderneſs, and being accuſtomed to their antient Idolatry, fell into it again; not contented to clear themſelves at the expence of the Idolatrous Nations, they go up as high as *Moſes*, and even charge him with being the firſt Cauſe of this Revolt, that was the occaſion of ſo many Tears and ſo much Bloodſhed. *Moſes* had had the Complaiſance to ſuffer the *Iſraelites* to pillage the *Egyptians* of their *Jewels of Silver and Jewels of Gold and Raiment*, and to grant them whatſoever they demanded for the gratifying of their Senſes, and how could they but offend under a Maſter ſo indulgent to the Paſſions of the Multitude. " The Prince who brings up his Son " in a Criminal Softneſs and Effeminacy, who fur- " niſhes him with Money to laviſh away in Riot- " ings and Exceſſes, and who leads him to the " very Threſhold of Uncleanneſs and Incontinency, " is he not guilty of all the Sins he commits? Why may not the ſame be ſaid of *Moſes*, who gave full liberty to the Paſſions of the People, that marched under his Government. God, who knew this fault of his Miniſter, ſaid unto him, *go* || *get thee down*; that is to ſay, he diſcharged him of his office. *I have not*, ſaid God to *Moſes*, *entruſted thee with this dignity but for the ſake of my people; take notice then that this day thou art fallen from it*; and the very ſame moment *Moſes* was excommunicated by a Decree from the Sovereign Tribunal. He ſeverely puniſhed the worſhipping of the *Golden-Calf*, he *burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and made the Children of* Iſrael *drink of it*; and thoſe who had kiſſed *that Idol moſt heartily*, were ſurpriſed to ſee their Lips turned to Gold. The *Levites* who knew them by that Token, killed above Three thouſand of them.

XVIII. *Moſes* added to the Law the Traditions he had received *vivâ voce* in his Commerce with God, and he repeated them to *Aaron*. He afterwards acquainted his Children with them; then the Chiefs of the People had them; And laſtly, the People heard the repetition of this Oral Law. I imagine to my ſelf, that they deſigned to diſtinguiſh the different degrees of Knowledge which are neceſſary to Mankind. Thoſe degrees of Light and Study, much inferiour in the common People, ought to riſe proportionably in thoſe who are to exerciſe the important Offices in the Church, and who ought to be the Head of them. And therefore it is ſuppoſed, that *Aaron* heard the repetition of the Oral Law even five times over, and the People heard it but once. It appears alſo by that, that *Moſes* is accuſed of having equall'd Traditions to the Law which God had entruſted him with.

XIX. The Divine Law was received with ſo much the more reſpect as it revived the Precepts of the *Noachides*, common to moſt Nations, and which could not, without belying our Senſes, be denied but that God had given them, ſince he had appeared upon Mount *Sinai* with a Glory becoming his Omnipotence, and which made all the Nation to tremble. Some are perſuaded that the *Modern Jews* have degenerated; and that they are ſo far from keeping that awful reverence for the Law which their Anceſtors had paid to it, that they reject the Obſervation of it, and declare themſelves Enemies to good Works. This is an exaggeration. We muſt do them Juſtice, and confeſs, that they have more Inclination and byaſs for certain leſs matters of Devotion, than for the more eſſential Duties of Religion; but this fault too is common with devout *Chriſtians* as well as with them. It muſt be acknowleged alſo, that they have buried the Law under a great many Traditions and Caſes of Conſcience which are very Childiſh. In advancing the Authority of the Doctors, they have much weakened that of God. In a word, they have a wonderful affection for Ceremonies, which infects their Devotion; but in the main they do believe that Holineſs is the only way to pleaſe God, and that it is the exact Obſervation of his Laws that obtains the Recompences of this preſent Life, and will do of that which is to come. This Article deſerves to be a little inſiſted on by us, and therefore to clear up their true Sentiments about this matter, we will divide this Chapter.

† Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 2. *c.* 33. *p.* 289. || Exod. 32. 8. * Exod. 32. 20.

CHAP. XVII.

A Proſecution of the ſame Matter.

I. *The Law may, and ought to be fulfilled.* II. *Spiritual Motive to Obedience.* III. *Corruption of the Law.* IV. *Hatred permitted.* V. *Whether Children ſin before they are Born.* VI. *Diſpenſing with Sermons.* VII. *Inclination for the Ceremonial Law.* VIII. *Scruples about Images.* IX. *Examination of ſome* Jewiſh *Medals. Their Original.* X. *Magick condemn'd and practiſed.* XI. *The Death of* Moſes. XII. *The Recital of the Rabbies and &c.* Jude *examined.* XIII. *Diſcovery of his Tomb.*

I. THE *Jews* look upon the Law of *Moſes* as a Divine Revelation. Ceremonies were inſtituted by God, that there might be an Order in the Church, and that the People who ſhould practiſe it, might by that means become capable of more ſtrictly uniting themſelves to the Deity. There was beſides that *a more admirable and excellent end*; " but " * That is not for us to ſearch too curiouſly " into, nor to penetrate into the Reaſons which " made God to cauſe Himſelf to be adored by Sa-

* Cozri Pars 2. *p.* 105.

" crifices,

" crifices, and to prefer the Ceremonial Law to " all Others.

The Obſervation * of the Moral Law, and the execution of all its Precepts is Neceſſary. They make it alſo the moſt important Article of their Religion, next to that of the *Meſſiah*. The Love of God, and *that* of one's Neighbour, are placed at the Head of all the Precepts that are to be obeyed: But they reckon up 613 of them which are all obligatory, and cannot be violated without Sin; and they are ſo far from rejecting the Neceſſity of good Works, that they teach and multiply them. They maintain alſo that the Law is without defect, and may be accompliſhed without trouble. They oppoſe the Worſhip which requires and enjoins tireſome Travellings that are *a wearineſs to the Fleſh*; which however ſome *Chriſtians* give themſelves by making long Pilgrimages, and retiring into Deſerts, there to mortify their Bodies by Auſterities for I know not how many Years together; they teach their Diſciples that the *Moſaical* Law hath nothing ſo hard in it, and yet there wants no degree to arrive at its Perfection. It little matters, ſaid *Sangarus* to the King of *Cozar*, whether a Man be lean, or fat, rich, or poor, provided he does but obſerve the Law. Faſting contributes but indirectly to the worſhip of God: As the Joy which one has on the Sabbath day, is but a very indirect Adoration; ſo the ſame thing may be ſaid of Sorrow and Abatement occaſioned by Faſts. One † may be Rich, provided that he employs his Riches to the Glory of God, and the Education of his Family. God, who took care to enrich *Abraham* and the Patriarchs, ſufficiently inſtructed us that it was no Crime for us to labour to be ſo too; but we muſt fix our Hearts and intention in Prayers; and the keeping of the Sabbath unites us more cloſely to God than *Phariſaiſm* or *Nazaritiſm*; than Retirements and Auſterities. " Faith || does not conſiſt " only in profeſſing a Truth that is known, but we " muſt believe it; to carry it with Gravity in the " Heart; to flee from every thing that may be like " to warp and turn it aſide, or weaken it; to drive " away all manner of Luſts, that may ſully and de- " file it; and to fulfil the Commandments that are " *juſt*, that is to ſay, proportioned to our human Capacity.

II. We are not only able to fulfil the Law; but we may do alſo Works of *Supererogation*, which that has not commanded, and 'tis for that end the Doctors have made ſo many Additions to the Precepts of the Sabbath. The Judgment of the *Antient Jews* as to this reſpect was different from that of the *Modern*; for they ſay in the Goſpel, that the Law was a Yoke, which *neither they, nor their Fathers were able to bear*.

They complain of the Injury done to the Patriarchs, by ſaying that they propoſed no other end in their Obedience, but the Enjoyment of ſome temporal Rewards. They prove the falſity of that Accuſation by the Example of *Abraham* who would have ſacrificed his Son, that he might make him rather a partaker of Eternal Life; and beſides, their * Catechiſm declares, that God will not refuſe to any One the Reward he deſerves; *that he will puniſh the Rebellious, either in this World, or in that which is to come; either in the One or in the Other, according as the Enormity of the Caſe ſhall require, and that he will recompence thoſe that ſerve him*; and this is one of the Grounds of their Faith.

III. If on one hand they boaſt of the excellency of the *Moral Law*, the neceſſity of obſerving it, and the Rewards that God promiſes to them that do ſo; ſo likewiſe do they run into ſuch Exceſſes as can never be approved of, for they have corrupted one part of the *Moral Law*. This Evil is very Antient in the Synagogue; for our B. Saviour † not only condemns it in the *Phariſees*, who were his Cotemporaries, but in the *Antients* that had been before him; and the Depravation was ſo great, that he was even forced to re-eſtabliſh the Integrity of the Law in that moſt admirable Sermon he preached on the Mount. The Children have not benefited by the Fault of their Anceſtors, nor by the Correction that had been given them: and being much more lax as to caſes of Conſcience, they continue to alter the Law by their gloſſes, which quite deſtroy the Perfection and Severity of it.

IV. Tho' they brag never ſo much of their Charity and Love for the Poor of their Nation; yet it is undeniably true beyond all diſpute, that they hate other Nations even to down-right Fury; and it is a poor excuſe to lay that blame upon the deplorable condition in which that People are. Miſery does indeed render them moroſe and peeviſh; and I am not ſurpriſed at thoſe tranſports of Impatience, which the violence offered them by *Chriſtians* drew from them; but they cannot clear themſelves of having made this damnable Hatred againſt all the Nations of the Univerſe, a Tenet of their Religion; tho' ſome *Chriſtians* have adopted the ſame Principles in reſpect to them. Thoſe Authors make a breach on Charity, and as well as they, do violate the Precept of God, which *maketh his Sun to || riſe on the Evil and on the Good*; and neither bad Examples, nor Recriminations avail any one.

They have an Axiom that is enough to ſtrike horrour into a Man, which is, that *He who does not nouriſh and feed his hatred, and does not revenge himſelf on his Enemies, is unworthy the name of a Rabbi*. Let them be the Enemies of the Church, it matters not. 'Tis a ſtrange Employment for a Divine * to hate, and to be revengeful; and to have his Sweetneſs of Temper puniſhed, and his Charity become a Crime.

V. Sometimes they are ſo rigid againſt themſelves, that they'll condemn Doctors to the fire, who going a Journey together, do not entertain one another with the Law, becauſe it is written in the Second of the *Kings* †, that as *Elijah*, and his diſciple *Eliſha*, went from *Gilgal*, they *diſcourſed together, and behold there appeared a Chariot of fire, and Horſes of fire*. The Fire ought to burn and conſume thoſe who do not talk of God. They are too raſh and adventurous in enquiring after the Sins and Puniſhments which God inflicts upon them. And there is nothing more abominable than what they declare about the begetting of Children that are afterwards born Blind, or Lame, whereof they caſt all the Fault on the beaſtly manner how the Man knew his Wife. I know not whether this temerity could be forgiven them, but becauſe it is Antient, and we find one ſuch like inſtance in the Goſpel among the Diſciples, who ſeeing among them a Man that was born Blind, asked of him, *ſaying, Maſter* ||, *who did ſin, this Man, or his Parents, that he was born blind?* There are ſome Rabbies who do aſſure us, that *Eliſchiàa Ben Avuiàh* was guilty of an actual Sin before ever he was Born, and that he fell into Apoſtacy by reaſon of the Sin of his Mother, who being big with Child, as ſhe paſſed thro' an Idolatrous Temple, had eaten ſome portion of the Sacrifice, the ſmell of which had ſtruck her: And it ſeems ever ſince our Saviour J. CHRIST's time this Notion of Children's ſinning in their Mo-

* Hoornbeek cont. Jud. *l* 7. *c.* 1. *p.* 447. Lent. de Mod. Theol. Jud. *c.* 14. *p.* 447. Maimon. More Nevoch. *p.* 11 *c.* 39. *p.* 302. Menaſſ. de Reſurr. Mortuor. *t.* 1. *c.* 13. *p.* 100. † Cozri Pars 2. Sect. 50. *p.* 115, &c. || Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 1. *c.* 50. *p.* 75. 76. & *p.* 2. *c.* 39. *p.* 302. * Catech. Jud. Art XI. † Math. 5. 20. || Math. 5. 45. * Ord. 11. Mœd. Cod. 8. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 111. *p.* 428. † 2 Kings. 2. 1. & 11. R. Elaa Bar Jevarché. V. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 111. *There is there a long Cenſure of the Talmud.* Ibid *p.* 590 Ibid. *p.* 536. Ibid. 633. Thalmud. Tr. Jevamot. fol. 19. Tr. Berachot. *c.* 5. Aben Eſra. in Pſal. 16. Ibid. || *St.* John 9. 1, 2.

ther's

ther's Womb, as well as that of the Sin of their Mother's, whoſe Children bear the Puniſhment, was commonly received; but our Bleſſed Saviour does alike refute both theſe Errours, by ſaying, *that neither hath this Man ſinned, nor his Parents: but that the Works of God ſhould be made manifeſt in him.* The Antiquity of an Errour does not free it ſelf from being One.

VI. They make ſlight of the Liberty Children take in Curſing their Parents, or indeed rather they give occaſion to it, by maintaining, that a Childs Execration of his Father is neither Criminal nor Puniſhable, but only when thereby the Name of God is prophaned. Whatſoever reſpect they ſeem to have for the Name of God, they do however infringe and violate Treaties wherein his Name is called upon to Witneſs them. Thus, for example, they tell us that *Zedekiah* was diſpenſed with by the *Sanhedrim* from the Oath he had taken to *Nebuchadnezzor*, that he would never diſcover what he had ſeen him do, in Eating a live Hare. *Nebuchadnezzor* was hugely incenſed at it, becauſe it rendred him odious, and contemptible to all Nations.

VII. The violent Inclination they have for the Ceremonies of the Law, makes another general defect in their Devotion. They multiply the Precepts of them, and crumble them into ſuch minute particulars as makes one aſhamed of them: they * maintain, for example, that he who does not waſh his Hands, ſhall be tore out of the World; and not ſatisfied with that general Precept, they have *in their Body of Laws* a Title of *Hands*, where they treat of this matter in particular; and not yet contented with that Treatiſe, there is found in their *Gemara* a great number of Laws upon the ſame Subject. A Man ought to waſh his Hands three times at a Meal. The firſt waſhing is neceſſary before one Eats to purifie the Hands; and he is not ſuffered to touch that Water any more which becomes unclean, and defiles all the parts whereon it falls. And there muſt alſo be a third waſhing after the Repaſt, which is looked on to be more neceſſary than the firſt. It would be to no purpoſe to obſerve the different diſpoſitions of Hands in thoſe divers Waſhings, ſeeing that it would be to follow thoſe Doctors in their needleſs reſearches. *Leo* † *de Modena* has related a little part of their Scruples about the preparation of their Victuals. It cannot be denyed but that they believe the Obſervation of the *Ceremonial Law* to be as neceſſary as that of the *Moral Law*; and that they don't make any great ſcruple of Conſcience in violating any one Precept, whether given by *Moſes*, or by the Doctors; *for he who deſpiſes the words of the Wiſe deſerves Death.* They maintain that this Law *Eternal* could never be either aboliſhed or changed by the Meſſiah; and they do this either for proving this pretenſion more eaſily, or for depriving the *Chriſtians* of the Proofs that they draw from the Antient Ceremonies and Sacrifices for the Death of J. CHRIST. They ſteadily affirm, that it never has been *the Shadow of things to come.* But *Orobio* in his Conference demanded || of Mr. *Limborch* a paſſage out of the Old Teſtament, which proved that God had eſtabliſhed the Ceremonial Law *to be a Type, a Figure, and Shadow of things which were to come to paſs under the Reign of the Meſſiah.* But he was preſently ſatisfied without being convinced.

VIII. The Commandment of the Law which they have the moſt exactly obſerved, is, that which relates to Images. The exactneſs of the *Jews* is ſo much the more Surpriſing, as their Inclination for Idolatry was moſt evident. Never did People run with more eagerneſs and vehemency after Idols than thoſe in the Wilderneſs, or in *Judea*, till the time that they were carried Captives into *Babilon*: But ſince then they have rejected with the utmoſt averſion all manner of Worſhipping the Creatures. The Heathen Emperors could never force them to it, nor to Worſhip them. They lived in the midſt of Idolatrous Nations without ſuffering themſelves to be corrupted; they ſee ſome *Chriſtians*, who after they had owned the ſame Law with them, elude the Sence thereof, and perſecute them to make them bow their Knees to Images, without ever being able to compel them to it. Notwithſtanding they paint Beaſts, they except againſt Serpents, becauſe they have been too often the Symbols of the Deity among the Heathen; they have likewiſe the ſame ſcruple to the Lyon, the Eagle and the Oxe, becauſe thoſe are ſpoken of in the Viſion of *Ezekiel*.

IX. There are alſo produced ſome Antient Images which are attributed to the *Jews*, becauſe *Hebrew* Characters are found on them; as likewiſe ſome pieces of Money which the *Jews* pretend to have been Coined to the Honour of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and their Wives, *Sarah* and *Rebecca*.

There's no occaſion to anſwer with || *Selden*, that thoſe Antient Coins may be looked upon as violations of the Law, which was not given till a long while after; but there was no Money in the time of the Patriarchs, upon which any Figures were graved. Beſides, tho they ſhould have Coined Money in *Abraham*'s Days, yet it would be almoſt impoſſible to have preſerved it, ſince there is not any found of Antienter Date than the time of *Darius* and *Alexander* the Great. The deviſe of thoſe Medals is impertinent; for *Abraham* and *Sarah* there have the Title of *Old Man and Old Woman*, according to the conceit of ſome Rabbies, who affirm that *Old Age* was not known before *Abraham*; that it was *that* Patriarch who asked it of God, and who introduced it into the World. *Rebecca* there is called the *Virgin*; yet *Abraham* did not know her, nor ſent her to deſire a Son until after *Sarah* was dead.

They ſhew another whereon is ſtamp'd a Tower with theſe words, *Jeruſalem the Holy*, and on the Reverſe are read the Names of *King David, and King Solomon.* Now to diſcover the falſhood of theſe Medals, they have recourſe to the Maxim of the *Talmudiſts*, who ſay, that *one Reign never incroacheth upon the other*, and that the Son is not † *Anointed without the Father*; But the Maxim is falſe. Beſides the Scripture tells us with much more certainty, that *Solomon*, who was Anointed before the Death of his Father, becauſe of the competition between him and *Adonijah*, yet never Reigned with him.

They produce likewiſe a *Shekel of King David*, found in *the Treaſure of the Temple, in the Houſe of Holineſs*, on which is diſcovered the Royal and Sacerdotal Power lively repreſented; for on one ſide is ſeen a Crown'd Bonnet; a * Letter that ſignifies the Name of *David*; and a Veſſel of Oyl, the Symbol of his Coronation; and on the Reverſe is the Rod of *Aaron* flouriſhing; the *Tiara* of the Chief Prieſt; a Horn, which contains the Oyl of Unction, with theſe words, *God preſerve Iſrael, the Powerful King in Jeruſalem.* But the Cheat is viſible and apparent; for what ſignifie thoſe words, *God preſerve Iſrael, the Powerful King in Jeruſalem? Jacob*, who only bore the Name of *Iſrael*, was he ever a King? Is it for him that they Pray? There is another Medal, on which is the Head of *Anthony*, with theſe words, *King Solomon*; and on the Reverſe is an Old Temple, which they call *the Temple of Solomon. Urſinus* fancies that this Medal was Coined by *Herod*, who to do *Mark-Anthony*

* Ibid *p.* 508. † Leonde Mod. Cer. des Juifs *P.* 2. *c.* 7. 8, 9, 10. *p.* 66. &c. || Limb. Collat. cum. Jud. IX. *p.* 115. || Seld. de Jure Nat. Gent. *l.* 2. *c.* 6. *p.* 193. Bartol. Bibl Rabb. *t* iv. *p.* 159. &c. † Bartol. ibid.
* † *Daleth.*

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the greater Honour, had given him the Name of *Solomon*; but they cannot draw any conſequence from thence againſt the *Jews*, becauſe *Herod* was a Wicked Prince that often violated the Laws of the Nation. This Conjecture too is a very vain one. Why to bring in *Herod*, and to ſuppoſe that he gave the Title of *Solomon* to *Mark-Anthony*? What is the Temple, which they call *the Temple of Solomon*, and which *Mark-Anthony* ſhould Coin? Without digging *Herod* out of the Earth, it is more likely that ſome *Jewiſh* Impoſtor, having found a Head of *Mark-Anthony*, and not knowing whoſe it might be, added the Name of *Solomon* to it, that ſo he might ſell it tothoſe of his own Nation, that would give moſt for the figure of the Wiſeſt of their Kings. They not only aſcribe Horns to *Moſes* * in the Medals and Types that bear his Name; but there is obſerved there a little Croſs, which diſcovers the Hand and Religion of the *Chriſtian* that had wrought it. Theſe are the *Chriſtians* that have ſtruck thoſe Medals. They have made thoſe Images in the Holy-Land ſince the Eleventh Century. They deſigned to relate ſomewhat of that Country that had an Air of Antiquity, and the Artiſts have been hugely pleaſed in ſelling to them Works of this ſort, which they have Fabricated and illuſtrated with *Hebrew* Characters, the more eaſily to impoſe upon the ſimple. Thus they who go to *Loretto*, and to St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, bring back little Images and Statues from thence, which they look upon as great Monuments of their Devotion, tho' the Artificers have in their Heads no other deſign but to enrich themſelves, and to gull them; like thoſe *Silver-Smiths* that got great Gains by making little Shrines for *Diana* of the *Epheſians*. They have Counterfeited thoſe Pieces in *Germany*, to deceive the Devots and Bigots. *Charles* the *Fifth* was deluded by them, and they poſitively affirm, that he kept very Religiouſly in the *Eſcurial* one of thoſe *Hebrew* Medals, which ſome Merchant had ſold him as a rare piece of Antiquity: but whether the falſity of that Medal has been ſince diſcovered, or whether it be loſt, is uncertain; but they do not now ſhew it to Travellers.

X. They likewiſe accuſe the *Jews* for having abandoned the Law, to Study Judicial Aſtrologie and Magick, which *Moſes* had ſo ſeverely condemn'd. *Leo* of *Modena* † maintains. on the contrary, that every thing that may be called Witchcraft, or ſearching into future Events by the aſſiſtance of the Stars, appears to them a very great Sin. They will not allow the Dead to be conſulted, nor that any ſhould wait for Anſwers from them; in a word, they would have the 18th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where all kinds of Magick are forbid, to be Religiouſly obſerved; and *Manaſſah* takes notice that God placed two Cherubims upon the Ark, to refute the Opinion of one *Zaba*, who then Reigned. That *Zaba* taught, that the Stars and the Celeſtial Spheres had been from all Eternity; that by their vertue they foretold things to come; and 'twere they that pour'd out Good and Evil on this lower World. Now, I ſay, to refute this Errour God repreſented Heaven in the Ark; above the Ark he placed the Cherubims, thereby to ſignifie to us that there were ſome Intelligences above Celeſtial Spheres. He had placed two of them, for fear leaſt if there had been but One, they would have thought that *That* had been the firſt Cauſe and Principle of all things; and from thence have eaſily concluded, that the Angels being above the Heaven, God made uſe of thoſe Miniſtring Spirits to communicate his Will to Men, and that they ſhould expect nothing from the Stars nor from the Celeſtial Spheres. If the proof is not Subſtantial, at leaſt the Fact is true and permanent, that *Manaſſah* ||, who exactly treads in the ſteps of *Moſes Maimonides*, thought that Judicial Aſtrologie was condemned by the Law. However, it cannot be diſſembled that ſeveral of the *Talmudiſts* have had a mighty Genius and Affection for this ſort of Study. They count alſo that *Judah* ſeeing a great drowth, unlooſed one of his Shoes, and it Rained immediately: All would have been Ruined, if he had unlooſed the other; for a new Deluge would have overwhelmed the Earth; but *Elijah* ſtop'd him as he was going to do it. Will any one ſay that God had affixed a Raining Quality or Vertue to the Shoes of *Judah*? That might be as good as the Shrine of a Saint which is taken down from its uſual place and carried about in the Streets, according to the need there is either of Heat or Rain. There are alſo ſome Perſons among the *Jews* who ſhut themſelves up in a Circle, from whence they come not out till it has rained. There are others likewiſe who by the placing of certain Words, or Figures, flatter themſelves that they produce mighty Miracles. In ſhort, *Sangarus*, who converted King *Cozar*, treated in truth the Aſtrologers and Magicians as *Rebels and Infidels*; but he forbore not to maintain, that as the LXX. Perſons who compoſed the *Sanhedrim*, had need of knowing all the Aſtronomy to be skilful in the New Moons, and the Muſick for the Song; ſo they ought alſo to have fathomed the *Secrets* * *of Magick*; but it is enough that the Enchantments be not Authorized publickly, to adhere to the Teſtimony of *Manaſſah*, and *Leo* of *Modena*, who have thought that it concerned the Honour of the Synagogue to repel that Accuſation, which he had forgot in the firſt Edition of his Work.

XI. In treating of the Rites, we ſhall ſpeak of the reſpect that they ſtill preſerve for Circumciſion given by *Abraham*; for the *Paſchal-Lamb*; and the Sabbath ordained by *Moſes*. We will come back to that Legiſlator, after we have ſpoken of his Laws. As to that point they fall into a moſt fearful contradiction; for they make of *Joſhua* a perfect Slave that went up and down every Morning rubbing his Shoes, cleaning his Head-piece, and preſenting to him a Baſin and Water to waſh himſelf before ever he appeared in publick. Can the great *Moſes* be reduced to a condition more vile and deſpicable? On the other ſide the People were ſo afflicted with his Death, that by the powerful number of the Tears they ſhed for him, they forgat three Thouſand of his Precepts. *Joſhua* conſulted with God about ſo unhappy an Accident; but no Remedy was to be found for it; becauſe *Moſes* being Dead, and the Law bearing his Name, they could not make more new Precepts, nor aſcribe to him thoſe they had forgotten. There is none till *Joſephus* who had changed the Death of that Legiſlator; for he maintains that he was wrapt up in a Cloud, and carried away the very moment he took his laſt farewel of *Joſhua* and *Eleazar*, who had followed him till then. He had poſſibly met with that in a Book which was called *the Aſſumption of Moſes*, as they have met with One ſince upon the Aſſumption of the Virgin; but is an Apocryphal Book to be prefer'd to Writings Divinely inſpired? And ſhall any one ſuffer himſelf to be deluded by the Shadow of a Miracle? There are very few Hiſtorians ſecure themſelves from this Weakneſs.

XII. The Rabbies aſſure us that *Samael*, enraged that *Moſes* ſhould carry away from him ſuch a number of Worſhippers, follow'd him upon the Moun-

* Apud Selden. Ibid.
* Cozri pars Secunda.
† *Cerem. of the Jews. l.* 5. *c.* 2. *p.* 170.
‖ Menaſſ. Conciliat. in *Exod.* Q. 31. *p.* 142.

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tain of *Nebo* to fight him, and tear out his Soul; but *Moſes* put him to his heels, and made him run for it. He rallied and came back to the Charge; but being ſtruck with the miraculous Wand, and driven away by the Name of *Jehovah*, he never appeared more. God was obliged then to come and kiſs *Moſes*, and to take away his Soul from him. The Demon, who thought he had gained all, inſulted the Angel of *Moſes*, whom he ſaw at his Feet without Motion and without Life; but that Angel cried: *Do not you triumph, O my Enemy; for if I am fallen, I ſhall be raiſed up again by* Joſhua. This relation perhaps is figurative, and they would teach us by it that *Moſes*, who was terrible to the Demons, could not die but by an order and ſingular act of Providence. Shall one ſay this relation was antient, and that St. *Jude* either did not underſtand it, or elſe he carried the Metaphor too far, in making the Demon to fight with the Archangel *Michael* for the Body of *Moſes* even after he was dead? 'Tis not made out that St. *Jude* had read the Narration of the *Talmudiſts* much more Modern than himſelf, nor that it was known in the time of that Apoſtle. They have ſaid that the Body of *Moſes* ſignified Religion, and the Republick which that Legiſlator had eſtabliſhed, which *Tatnai*, Governour for the *Aſſyrians* on this Side the River *Euphrates*, reſolved to deſtroy by Violence and Craft. But was it ever known that a Kingdom or Common-wealth was called *the Body of its Founder?* 'Tis much more probable that St. *Jude*, in that very obſcure Paſſage, alludes to the manner how *Moſes* died and was buried. God called him † *up from the Plains of* Moab, *unto the mountain of* Nebo, *to the top of* Piſgah, that there ſhould not be any witneſs of his Death, and that *no man ſhould know of his Sepulchre*, for fear leſt the *Iſraelites* ſhould make of it an Object of Idolatry, in preſerving it as a moſt Sacred and pretious Relique. Some *Iſraelites* however ſearched for the Place where God had buried him, but without any poſſibility of finding it, for God withſtood them. The Devil acted by the miniſtry of thoſe that deſigned to have taken up the Body of *Moſes*, and God hindered it by the Miniſtry of his Angels, in keeping him ſecret and concealed from them. They have been therefore ignorant what became of *Moſes*, that miraculous Man, even as to his Death.

XIII. But notwithſtanding the Orders of God, and the Care of the Angels, the *Chriſtians* boaſt that they have diſcovered this Sepulchre which has been kept ſecret for ſo many Ages. They ſay in the Year 1655. Some Goats that were ſeparated from the reſt of the Flock, went to feed in a certain place of the Mountain of *Nebo*, and returned from thence ſo wonderfully odoriferous and perfumed, that the Shepherds, aſtoniſhed at ſo unheard of a Prodigy, ran preſently to conſult with *Mataxat* Patriarch of the *Maronites*. He ſent thither two Monks || from Mount *Lebanon*, who diſcovered a Monument, on which they read theſe words, *Moſes the Servant of the Lord*. The *Jews* pretend that this Tomb belonged to them. Tne *Mahometans* challenge it from them, that ſo they might have in their Poſſeſſion the three famous Tombs of *Moſes* at Mount *Nebo*, of J. CHRIST on Mount *Calvarie*, and of *Mahomet* at *Meccha*. The *Chriſtians*, and particularly the *Jeſuits*, after I know not how many Journeys forwards and backwards, opened this Monument to get to themſelves the Reliques of it; but to their great diſappointment they found it empty. I know not upon what Evidence *Hornius* has related this Fact which appeared to him well averred; nor whether the *Jew Jecomas*, the Son of *Gad*, an Inhabitant of *Saphetta*, who wrote to ſhew, that *That* was not the Sepulchre of *Moſes* the *Legiſlator*; but of another * who bore the ſame Name, and lived a long while after, is an imaginary Man who never exiſted any more than his Book; but ſeveral Circumſtances of this Hiſtory are found falſe; for, beſides the groundleſs conceits to make the *Maronites* as Antient as St. *Peter*, and to look upon them always Orthodox, who have not ſuffered the leaſt Alteration in their Worſhip and in the Law; and examining whether the *Maronites* led their Flocks to feed upon *Nebo*, which is 240 Miles from Mount *Lebanon*, ſince it is not a neceſſary Conſequence that they were particularly the Shepherds of Mount *Lebanon* that did go there; *Bartolocci* obſerves, that the Patriarch of the *Maronites*, who lived in the Year 1655. did not call himſelf *Mataxat*, as *Hornius* ſuppoſes; but it was *John*, to whom ſucceeded *George Besbehel*, elected the Firſt of *January*, 1657. and who was concerned in this Diſcovery; and the Baſſa of *Damas*, on whom that Province depended, was not called *Morat*, but *Beſchir*, who was afterwards Grand Viſier, Strangled forty Days after his Elevation, and who left *Maimed* his Son in his Place at *Damas*.

They may poſſibly have boaſted that they had found out the Tomb of *Moſes*; but thoſe who deſigned to get Honour by a falſe Relique, did not ſufficiently know the Hiſtory of that Country; or did not put themſelves to the trouble about the Truth in weighing all the Circumſtances of their Relation, and to make them juſt. Thus we have the Life and Death of *Moſes*, the great Legiſlator of the *Jews*, whom they honour as the greateſt of Prophets, and whom at the ſame time they load with the moſt enormous Crimes.

† Deuteron. 34. 1. & 6. || Hornii Hiſt. Eccleſ. * Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* III. *p.* 930.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning Propheſy and the Prophets.

I. *Three Sentiments about Propheſy; It depends upon God.* II. *'Tis an Effect of Temperament.* III. *It does not depend on it abſolutely.* IV. *Three qualities requiſite in Prophets.* V. *Imagination neceſſary. Changes which happen to it, make Propheſy to ceaſe.* VI. *Study and Purity of Life make Prophets.* VII. *Divine Influence. Its Nature; and its Effects.* VIII. *Syſtem of* Spinoſa *upon Propheſy, borrowed from the Rabbies.* IX. *Extravagant Conſequences drawn from their Principles.* X. *Difference between the Syſtem of the* Jews *and of that of* Spinoſa. XI. *Eleven degeees of Propheſy among the* Jews. XII. Spinoſa *has not explained the Oracles of the Prophets.* XIII. *Propheſy depends not upon Temperament.* XIV. *Wicked men who have been Prophets.* XV. *Schools of the Prophets. The time of their Inſtitution. Their Uſe. Study unprofitable.* XVI. *Propheſy depends on the good pleaſure of God. The* Jewiſh *People more Learned than their Maſters.* XVII. *True Characters of the Prophets.*

phets. XVIII. *Of immediate Inſpiration.* XIX. *Of the Voice that is underſtood.* XX. *Objects that are painted in the Imagination. The Emotion of the Prophets.* XXI. *Apparitions of Angels, real.*

I. THE gift of Propheſy is mightily deſpiſed among the *Jews*, by the Character they beſtow on thoſe whom God hath favoured with it. They ought to advance the glory of thoſe holy Men who have raiſed that of their Nation; but they often make their Inſpiration to depend upon Conſtitution, Study, Melancholineſs, and even upon Baniſhment, in which the Spirit of God never acted. There are ſome alſo that believe God made choice of the Prophets without having any reſpect to their Age, or Birth, or Parts. On the contrary, he takes them from the dregs of the People, as *Amos* who was one of the Herdſmen of *Tekoa*. He regarded only Purity of Life: But that firſt Sentiment, which makes Propheſy to depend on the good pleaſure of God, is that of the *ignorant Vulgar*, and of the Multitude who have not penetrated into this Matter.

II. A Second * Party maintains that Prophecy is a natural Faculty; for, to be a Prophet, a Man ought to have a ſtrong and vigorous Conſtitution; to poliſh himſelf by Study, to prepare, and bring on himſelf to a certain degree of Perfection: But then as it is impoſſible for an ignorant Man and a Fool, who goes to bed without this natural Perfection, to Propheſy when he riſes; ſo likewiſe is it equally as impoſſible that thoſe ſhould not Propheſy who have made a good Improvement of their natural Talents. This is the Opinion of the Philoſophers.

III. *Maimonides* takes a Third and middle way. He agrees with the Philoſophers and Rabbies in this Maxim, that Propheſy *does never reſide but with a Man that is wiſe, and rich and powerful:* But he is perſuaded that notwithſtanding all the natural or acquired talents and diſpoſitions for Propheſying, yet God ſometimes reſtrains a Man from making uſe of 'em. 'Tis thus the Scripture ſays of *Baruch* †, the Son of *Neriah*, *Jeremiah*'s Secretary, *Woe is me now, for the Lord hath added grief to my ſorrow*, becauſe he could not Propheſy as his Maſter did, tho' he had ſtudied and managed his Talents with Art: Thus God might hinder from Propheſying; but Men had Talents neceſſary for it, and might likewiſe acquire them by Study.

The Example of *Jeremiah*, to whom the Lord ſaid, || *before I formed thee in the Belly, I knew thee; and before thou cameſt forth out of the Womb, I ſanctified thee, and I ordained thee a Prophet unto the Nations*, ſeems to overthrow this Hypotheſis: But we are miſtaken; for it is God that forms (as *Iſaiah* has it) *in the Mothers bowels* the Temper neceſſary for Propheſying; and *Jeremiah* ſays himſelf that he was *but a Child* when he began to Propheſy. But the Scriptures give that Name to Perſons who are advanced in Age, and *Joſuah* bore it alſo when he was Sixty years old. They further affirm, that Propheſy is an influence of the Deity upon the reaſonable part of the Soul, and conſequently upon the Imagination. This is what ought to be explained; for the matter is curious and delicate.

IV. There were three Qualities requiſite to the forming of Prophets. Firſt, a lively Imagination; Secondly, a ſolid Reaſon, cleared up by Study: And laſtly, a great Purity of Manners; for none ever ſaid * *that the Spirit of God reſted upon a wicked Man.* "He ought not only to debar himſelf of the plea- "ſures of *Venus*, of Eating and Drinking intempe- "rately; but the touch alone cauſes a very great "hindrance; for of all the Sences That alone is the "moſt Shameful and Undecent, as *Ariſtotle* ſays. "Theſe three things may be enjoyed after a diffe- "rent manner; and it is alſo that which makes the "different degrees of Propheſying.

V. 'Tis certain, that Melancholy, Grief, Anger, produce ſtrange Alterations; and therefore there have been Prophets that have ceaſed from foreſeeing and predicting future Events, becauſe their Imaginations have grown cool, and as it were benumm'd by ſome accident. From thence alſo comes the Maxim of the Maſters, that Propheſying *is never to be met with where Grief and Slothfulneſs predominate*; nor even *in Baniſhment* which is always attended with Sorrow: from thence in ſhort comes it to paſs, that the Prophets were uſed to have Inſtruments of Muſick play'd before them, to make them pleaſant and cheerful, that they might be able to Propheſy afterwards.

VI. Purity of † Manners was ſo neceſſary a Qualification for the Prophets, that they were diſtinguiſhed by that Character. *Eliſha* is called *Saint*, becauſe he had never felt the leaſt motion of Impurity: And on the contrary *Zedekiah* and *Ahab* ||, who had made ſuch lying Propheſies, were at laſt diſcovered, becauſe they *committed Adultery with their Neighbours Wives*, and were condemned to be roſted in the Fire by the King of *Babilon*. *Jerem.* 29. 21, 22.

VII. To thoſe natural Qualities is added ſome influence of the Deity, which acts differently upon Men to render them more perfect. Firſt, this Influence ſometimes is only poured out upon the Underſtanding, without ever reaching the Imagination, which is too weak and too much ſtinted. This is what makes Speculative Divines who reaſon much and fine; but know nothing of what is Future. Secondly, The Influence acts only upon the Imagination. This is what cauſes Extaſies, and Tranſports, which perſuade thoſe that feel them that they are Prophets, tho' they are not ſo. Laſtly, God acts upon the Intellect, or rational Faculty, and this Influence paſſes by that into an Imagination well diſpoſed. This is what really makes Prophets. This Influence makes them bold and undaunted, not to be ſhaken or moved, and puſhes them on to go and declare the Truth to the People, even with the hazard of their Lives.

VIII. *Spinoſa* is complain'd of, becauſe he gave of Prophets and Propheſies ſuch ſlender Ideas that he almoſt made nothing of them. Yet this much muſt be ſincerely acknowledged, that he had learned moſt of his Opinions from the boſom of the Synagogue, in which he had been bred. Let us ſee what he thought on Propheſy.

Firſt, the good frame of Temper * was neceſſary, and God had great regard to it. 'Tis not true, what *Maimonides* has ſaid, that Perſons over-preſſed with Melancholy, or thoſe under Baniſhment, have ceaſed from being Prophets; for God revealed himſelf to *Moſes*, when he was very much provoked; to *Jonah*, whoſe Anger was ſo violent that *he offer'd to kill himſelf*. *Jacob* baniſh'd from his Father's Houſe. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* in *Chaldea*, had their Viſions; and *Jeremiah*, tho' moſt grievouſly afflicted, did not for all that forbear to Propheſy. However, God had much reſpect to the Conſtitution of thoſe whom He choſe to be the *Interpreters of his Laws and Decrees*; for he promiſed Victories by thoſe who were gay and cheerful. A ſowre, heavy Man was only charged with denouncing Menaces, Wars, woful Judgments and Deſolations. "He made uſe of *Sooth-* "*ſaying* to find out the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* in "the lives of Victims; and he inform'd the Wiſe- "men of the birth of CHRIST by the Viſion of a Star,

* Maimon. More Nevochim. *p.* 2. *c.* 32. *p.* 285. † Jerem. 45. 3. & 4. || Jerem. 1. 5. & 6. Iſai. 49. 1. & 5.
* Maim. Ibid. *c.* 36 *p.* 295. † Maimon. Ibid. *p.* 3. *c.* 8. *p.* 348. & *p.* 2. *p.* 306. || Jerem. 29. 22. 23. * Spinoſa Tract. Theol. Polit *c* 2. *p.* 17. 18. 19.

" becauſe they were fond of the vain Speculations " of Aſtronomy. " Secondly, a quick fancy was ab- " ſolutely requiſite *; For *there was no need of a per- fect Intellect*, but of *a ſtrong Imagination*. Piety † was alſo neceſſary. For when the Scripture ſays, that *the Spirit of God was upon the Prophets, and that they were fill'd with it*; it means, that their Godlineſs and Virtue rais'd them above the level of other Men. Laſtly, they had ſome Signs, whereby they aſſur'd themſelves, and others too, that God had taught them what they deliver'd.

IX. The Spring from whence *Spinoſa* drew his Principles is eaſily found; ſince they are like thoſe of the Rabbies. But he extended his own Inferences farther, than thoſe he had plundered from others. For as he aſcrib'd more fancy than reaſon to the Prophets; ſo he aſſerts, that they were ignorant of abundance of things, and that they ought not to be conſulted, but upon ſome very plain, and obvious Subjects, and chiefly upon Morality, which it was their buſineſs to teach. As there is no certainty in what is produc'd by the Fancy, he ſays that they were often miſtaken about the ſecret Springs of Nature. Thus *Joſhua* and his Army believ'd, that the Sun ſtood ſtill, becauſe he did not know, that the Hail, wherewith the Air was clog'd, might have made a greater refraction of the Rays of the Sun, than uſual. Thus *Iſaiah* without taking notice of the *Parelia* affirm'd to *Hezekiah*, that the Sun had retrograded at the Dial of *Ahaz*. As the natural Signs, which they produc'd to confirm the Truths they preach'd, were unknown, or uncertain, ſo we can have but a Moral certainty of what was deliver'd by the Prophets. It is eſpecially a great piece of Extravagancy to imagine that they knew ev'ry thing, and were ignorant of nothing. Before this can be thought, both the Mind and ſeveral places of Scripture muſt be ſtrain'd and wrack'd; nay, and Experience too muſt be contradicted. *Adam* did not know that God was every where; ſince he hid himſelf among the Trees of the Garden. He knew but one thing, which was, that God had fram'd the Univerſe. *Abraham* had not a more ſublime Notion of the Deity; ſince he beg'd of God to ſtop his Vengeance againſt *Sodom*, till he knew whether there were fifty righteous within that City. What the Prophets learn't of God, and were oblig'd to reveal to Men, were Maxims of ſound Morality.

X. The Rabbies make Propheſy more extenſive and certain, than *Spinoſa* ||. However they own, that Conſtitution made the Prophets, and that Fancy had a great ſhare in it. They will have it, that all things were perform'd in the Fancy, even the Sacrifice of *Iſaac* by *Abraham*. Hence it is, that we find ſome very obſcure Metaphors in their Writings. *The Sages ſay, that the Scripture is ſome times loaded with hyperbolies.* Tho' the Hiſtory *of* Og *King of* Baſan, *who was only twelve Cubits high, and twice as tall as Men generally are*, was excepted from this rule; *yet there are a great many others in Scripture.* As for inſtance, we muſt not take * literally, what the Scripture ſays of the lives of the Anti-diluvians. For ſo long a life, was only a Privilege granted to certain Men, whom God rais'd above the level of the reſt. In a word, they make divine Influence depend upon Conſtitution; but this divine Influence was of no great uſe.

XI. They diſtinguiſh Eleven degrees of Propheſy. They reckon among inſpir'd Men, thoſe who felt ſome inward Emotions, urging them to perform extraordinary Actions, as *Samſon*. Thoſe, who compos'd Hymns and Pſalms, becauſe they believ'd themſelves inſpir'd with God's Spirit, were accounted ſo many Prophets. However theſe Prophets are diſtinguiſh'd from the following Orders. 1. When *Zechariah* ſays, *the word of the Lord came unto me*. 2. *Samuel* heard a Voice, but did not ſee, who ſpoke. 3. When a Man ſpeaks in a Dream with a Prophet, as it happen'd to *Ezekiel*, to whom a Man cry'd, *Son of Man*. 4. Angels ſpoke often in Dreams. 5. It was ſometimes thought that God himſelf ſpoke in a Dream. 6. Some Myſtical Objects were diſcover'd. 7. An Audible Voice was heard from the midſt of theſe Objects. 8. A Man is ſeen Speaking, as it happen'd to *Abraham* under the Oak of *Mamre*, which however was a Viſion. 9. Laſtly, an Angel † is perceiv'd Speaking. Thus *Abraham* heard one, when he was binding *Iſaac* upon the Altar to Sacrifice him; But that was alſo a Viſion.

XII. None of theſe Syſtems give us a true Notion of the Prophets. *Spinoſa* repreſents them as People, who utter'd whatever their heated Fancy ſuggeſted to them. He only acknowledges, that their Morality was ſound and pure; and that they may be conſulted for the regulation of our Lives: But is this enough, to give a full Character of the antient Prophets? I own, that they were not ſo learned as people generally think. As they were no Philoſophers, and that God did not ſend them to reveal the Secrets of Nature, ſo they knew nothing of Philoſophy; and therefore it is abſurd to attempt to draw from their Writings either ſome Proofs for, or Objections againſt, the different Syſtems of Phyſicks, which are from time to time invented. But *Spinoſa* hath taken no notice of the Predictions of the Prophets, as if theſe were not the very Characters, which diſtinguiſhed them from other Men, and which alone prove that they were inſpir'd by God. No matter, whether the word *Nabi* ſignifies ſome times an Orator, an Interpreter, it is enough that ſome Men explaining God's commands have foretold future Events, and that their Oracles have been accompliſh'd. Theſe Men, and theſe Predictions, which characterize them, are things that muſt be examin'd, and whereof a reaſon muſt be given. For it is a matter of wonder and Aſtoniſhment, that Herdſmen and Ploughmen, ſuch as *Amos* and *Eliſha* were, have foretold the Downfal of neighbouring Monarchies, or of thoſe that were Enemies to *Jeruſalem*, or that they propheſy'd the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf; or laſtly, that they extended their Oracles even to the Meſſiah, who was not to be born till many Ages after. So that *Spinoſa* ought to have taught us, how the old Prophets foretold future Events, and how they came by that Sublime Knowledge. However, he doth not ſo much as attempt to unravel the main Difficulty. When a Man deſigns *bonâ fide* to dive into the bottom of this matter, and explain it throughly, he doth not only faſten upon ſome particular Heads, which may afford a great many plauſible and deluding Arguments againſt the common Syſtem; He doth not, for inſtance, ſpeaking of the Sun, *which ſtood ſtill upon Gibeon* proudly ſay, that Hail perhaps made a refraction of the Rays of the Sun, and that he will not give himſelf the trouble to enquire into the cauſe of it; He doth not think it enough to weigh the particular actions of certain Prophets, who declam'd againſt Sin; But he will examine the whole Syſtem, and conſider it by its ſhining as well as by it's dark Side. And this *Spinoſa* hath not done. For he hath not examin'd the Propheſies, even when he ſpoke of the Prophets; nor hath he explain'd how they cou'd be ſo ſure in their Predictions of ſuch remote Events. This is leaving the Knot untouch'd, even when he boaſts that he hath unty'd it; and leaping over the Abyſs, which he brags he hath fill'd up.

* Spinoſa ibid. *c.* 1. *p.* 7.
† Ibid. *c.* 45. *p.* 319, &c.
† Spinoſa ibid. *c.* 1. *p.* 13. 14.
|| Spinoſa Præfat.
* Maimonides *p.* 2. *c.* 47. *p.* 325.

XIII. If

XIII. If the Rabbies had alſo fix'd their attention to the Propheſies of their Accompliſhment, they had never made Propheſy depend upon the Conſtitution, or temper of the Mind rectify'd by Study and Godlineſs. The gift of Propheſy doth not depend upon our Endeavours and a right application of our natural Faculties. And it is a Riddle for any to teach, that the human Will is abſolutely Free, which makes Events uncertain and contingent; and yet at the ſame time affirm, that a Soul, of the ſame Nature with that of other Men, can have a certain knowledge of theſe Events, and be able to foretel them. Was Man capable of this Knowledge by the ſtrength of his Genius, or by Study, he wou'd alſo be able to foreſee, what ſhare eſpecially he is to have in the Calamities, which threaten others. And yet the Prophets knew not their own doom, however they foretold what was to happen to foreign Monarchies and Kings. How cou'd they know this; ſince That depended upon the Will, and a vaſt many free and contingent Actions, which thoſe Kings, Nations and Men, that were not as yet in Being, were to perform?

It is ſomewhat difficult to aſſert the Freedom of the Will, without depriving God of the Knowledge of Events, which this Freedom makes contingent. Nevertheleſs the Rabbies aſcribe this Knowledge to the Soul, which is infinitely more circumſcrib'd than that of the Deity. I confeſs, that they add *a divine Influence* to Man's Temper. But this Influence ought to perform the whole operation, and Man's Temper is of no uſe in a thing, which is ſo infinitely far above his reach. If the Knowledge of futurity doth not depend on Man, but on the Divine Influence, no mention ought to be made of a temper rectify'd by Study; becauſe 'tis this Influence doth all. To ſay, that this Influence ſtrengthens a Man, whoſe temper is good, is to own that there is a capacity and diſpoſition in Man to know futurity, which is falſe. Farther, *Maimonides* affirms, that Men wou'd foretell what is to come, did not God ſometimes hinder it by his Influence. So that this power, according to him, proceeds from us, and this Influence only hinders, or ſtrengthens a diſpoſition, which is naturally in the Soul.

XIV. But it is ſo true, that the Soul is not capable of knowing Futurity, that this Knowledge may be attain'd without any previous purity of Life, and ſound diſpoſition of the Heart. It is a miſtake to ſay, that the gift of Propheſy is not found in a Soul *unhing'd by* Grief, *Anger*, or ſubject to Paſſions, or that it was never beſtow'd *upon a wicked Man*. For without alledging the Examples of *Moſes*, *Jonas*, and even of *Jeremiah*, who notwithſtanding his Lamentations, was prevail'd upon to go into *Egypt*, where he had propheſy'd that the People, ſhou'd periſh, becauſe they diſobey'd God; *Balaam* was a Prophet, but yet a wicked Man. The Dreams of *Abimelec*, of *Pharaoh*, and of the chief Butler and chief Baker to a Prince, of that name, were ſo many Revelations of what was to happen. So that notwithſtanding, a purity of Life, was one of thoſe Marks whereby the Prophets were known; yet ſome wicked Men have been commanded to deliver God's Orders to Men, and to foretell them what was to come: as he, who predicted to *Jeroboam*, that his Altar ſhou'd be broken to pieces, and who was in his return devour'd by a Lion; and this is a plain Argument, that the gift of Propheſy depends wholly on the Will of God.

XV. As the Prophets were exact obſervers of the Law, and that it was an honourable Character to be intruſted with God's Commands, we need not wonder, that the Prophets were intruſted with the Education of Youth; and that thoſe who had a mind to diſtinguiſh themſelves by an exemplary Piety, ſubmitted to their Diſcipline. But it is a wrong concluſion, that becauſe there were *Schools, and Sons of the Prophets*, therefore Prophecy was a kind of Science, which was Learn'd by Study; and that this Study contributed to make Prophets. For no mention is made of thoſe Schools before *Samuel*: and yet there were a great many Prophets before his Days. Beſides, God did not always take the Prophets out of the Schools. *Eliſha* a Plough-man had never Study'd, when *Elijah* left him a double Portion of his Spirit; and *Amos* the Herdſman was not Learned, as appears by his Writings. It was not Study that made Prophets, but a Divine Calling, wherein God had no regard to the Temper or Diſpoſition of Men. The term of *Nabi*, or Prophet, being capable of various ſignifications, it was given to thoſe who Studied the Law with exactneſs, and ſometimes compoſed Sacred Hymns to the Glory of God, by the Direction, and in the Company of the Prophets. Some Hymns have been inſerted among the Pſalms of *David*, which were compoſed in the Schools, and by the Sons of the Prophets, whoſe Names only are known.

XVI. The Jewiſh vulgar think more correctly than their Maſters; for they confeſs, that God chuſes and inſpires his Prophets by a meer act of his good Pleaſure, without having any regard to the Birth, Age, Temper, or Study of thoſe, he ſends. And therefore he choſe an Herdſman as *Amos*; and a Plough man, as *Eliſha*, who did not dream of becoming a Prophet, and got up without Prophecying, and went to bed endow'd with a Prophetick Spirit.

XVII. True and falſe Prophets were only diſtinguiſh'd by theſe two Characters. One was the accompliſhment of their Oracles. True Prophets were known by this accompliſhment; becauſe God alone can foreſee and reveal Events, which depend on his Providence. The other was Idolatry. For whoever eſtabliſhed a Worſhip contrary to the Worſhip of God, was to be Ston'd as a falſe Prophet.

XVIII. God made uſe of five means to reveal his Will to the Prophets. 1. He immediately acted upon the Mind, and by a ſecret Operation convey'd into it thoſe Ideas, which neceſſarily conduc'd to his Deſign. Man, as he was Awake, or Meditating, or Praying to God, might be inſtructed of him what was to happen to *Jeruſalem*, the People of *Iſrael*, and to the Neighbouring Nations. True it is, that this Secret Inſtruction of God to the Prophets is conteſted; but I dare ſay, that I more eaſily conceive how God, who is a Spirit, acts upon a Spiritual Soul, than I can conceive, how a Man, who ſpeaks, and makes the ſound of his Voice reach my Ear, gives me to underſtand what he thinks, and what he deſires me to do. If it be deny'd, that there is a God, or that the Deity is a Spiritual Being; or laſtly, if it be aſſerted, that Souls are Material, recourſe muſt be had to other Principles, and the exiſtence of God muſt be prov'd to the Atheiſtical Perſon, who aſſerts this. But whoever owns a God, and a Spiritual Soul, cannot find any impoſſibility in a Communion between theſe two Spiritual Beings, the Soul and God, whereof One is the Creator of the other. It is more eaſie to conceive this Commerce, than that between Men who ſpeak and communicate their Thoughts to one another. And indeed what doth a Man, who ſpeaks, do? He agitates the Air by the motion of his Tongue; he frames a ſound; this ſound ſtrikes the Ear, which is a corporeal Object; and thence if you pleaſe, is convey'd to the Brain, whoſe Fibres it moves. But how do theſe corporeal and ſenſible motions convey my Thoughts into the Soul of him that heareth me? Does the ſound I make when I ſpeak contain the Image of my Thoughts, and carry it to my Neighbour? How can this ſound, which ſtrikes his Ear, give notice to his Soul which is Spiritual, awake her Attention, and make him apprehend what I requite of him? But let us ingenuouſly confeſs, it is

eaſier to conceive, that a Spiritual God immediately acts upon a Soul, and communicates his Thoughts to her, than to imagine how we communicate our Notions to thoſe who hear us. God immediately acted upon the Mind of the Prophets; and therefore altho they were Plough-Men and Herdsmen, yet they foreſaw, and ſaid things that were infinitely beyond their Knowledge. This is the firſt Means, which God made uſe of to reveal himſelf, and notwithſtanding this Inſpiration was ſecret, yet it was real and true.

XIX. Secondly, God ſometimes ſpake to the Prophets in the Night; and from this Voice the Rabbies have borrowed their *Bath-col*, or the Daughter of the Voice, which in the ſecond Temple ſupply'd the ſecret and internal Inſpiration of the Prophets. There is reaſon to doubt, whether a Voice was really heard, or whether the Fancy was only affected; but the Hiſtory of *Samuel* † I think, proves that the Voice was real. For we perceive in it a Boy Sleeping who awakes at a Noiſe which ſtrikes his Ears. The ſame thing is repeated three times. *Eli*, to whom he applies, does not examine, whether there was any Body that could call *Samuel*; For he perceived that it was God that ſpake. So that thoſe ſorts of Voices muſt have been common; ſince *Eli* diſtinguiſh'd them by uſe and experience. Laſtly, Can it be imagin'd, that *Samuel*, whoſe Curioſity ought to have been awaken'd by ſo unuſual an accident, and who was inform'd by his Maſter, that it was God that ſpake, fell three times in a ſound Sleep, even when he had ſaid to God, *Speak, Lord, for thy Servant heareth*? Did *Samuel* fall aſleep after he had promiſed to God, that he would hear him? That is not ſo very likely. It might be ſaid, that all that was tranſacted in his Fancy, had not he awak'd and riſen three times. But this was more than a Dream, and the ſame God who had inſpired a Prophet to foretel to *Eli* the fall of his Houſe, and the deſolation of the Republick, had the ſame thing declared to him by the Mouth of a Youth, whoſe Simplicity ſecured him from any ſuſpition of Fraud or Intereſt.

XX. Thirdly, What do the Prophets mean, when they cry, that the Hand *of the Lord was upon them*? Hath God any Hands? Can it be conceived, that it was ſome Weight, or heavy Burden that made them yield? No, they only deſign'd to expreſs thereby the lively Operation of the Deity, which was ſo powerful, that they found themſelves unable to underſtand it. It cannot be determin'd how far this impreſſion, which wrought on the Imagination of the Prophet, proceeded. For it depended upon the Nature of the Objects, which were more or leſs terrible; or upon the duration of their Dreams. But it is evident, that their Senſes were in a violent agitation, and that this agitation laſted even after they were awake, and perhaps till the Prophet had diſcharged his Commiſſion, by revealing what he was order'd. Hence it was, that the Falſe Prophets, who endeavour'd to imitate the true ones, affected thoſe Tranſports, which made them Extravagant, as if their violent Frenzies had been a Character of their being Genuine. St. *Paul* oppoſes to that this Maxim; that *the Spirit of the Prophets ought to be ſubject to the Prophets*. It is true, a Chriſtian Doctor has laid down this Principle; but he cannot be ſuſpected by the *Jews*. For according to all appearances, it was an antient Maxim, receiv'd in that Nation, ſince the time that Prophets had been among them, and was a Characteriſtick to diſtinguiſh the Prophets of God from the Soothſayers of *Baal*, or the other Idols. Theſe laſt were ſo Extravagantly violent in their Agitations, that they were taken for Mad Men; whereas the Prophets of God, notwithſtanding the Emotion of the Animal Spirits, and heat of Fancy, had a Power to keep their Temper, and wait for a proper time to ſpeak.

XXI. Fourthly, God reveal'd his Will by the Miniſtry of Angels; but then thoſe Apparitions were real, and were not confin'd to the Fancy of the Patriarchs. For we are inform'd in Sacred Hiſtory, that thoſe Angels did Eat, and were ſeen to aſcend with the ſmoke of the Sacrifice. To conclude, God manifeſted himſelf and ſpoke to *Moſes*. But if that Priviledge was not peculiar to this Prophet; thus much at leaſt is certain, that God never manifeſted himſelf to any in ſo ſhining and ſenſible a manner as he did to him.

† 1. *Sam.* 3.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Contempt which ſome have for certain Prophets. *Particularly for* David.

I. Ezekiel *a Servant of* Jeremiah. II. *Some Doubts concerning his Book.* Chenaniah *ſecures him from being excluded.* III *His Magnificent Tomb.* IV. *Whether* Daniel *was an* Eunuch *and a* Prophet. V. David *his Criminal Birth.* VI. *He lived without a Soul.* VII. *His bewitching looks. His Leproſie.* VIII. *His reſemblance with* Eſau. IX. *The Affronts he puts upon God.* X. *He takes* Abſalom *out of Hell.* XI. *His Ignorance.* XII. *He was a proud Hypocrite.* XIII. *His Inceſt.* XIV. *He was a* Magician. XV. *His Tragical Death.* XVI. *Some ſtrain'd Cenſures againſt* Solomon. XVII. *Againſt* Daniel.

I. THE Synagogue makes the Prophets much inferiour to *Moſes*, who excell'd them in Knowledge and Miracles. Nay, the *Jews* do not value ſome of them, as *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, ſo much as they do the reſt of the Prophets. They ſay, that *Ezekiel* was *Son or Servant* to *Jeremiah*, and have given to this laſt Prophet the Name of *Buzi*, that is, *deſpiſed*; becauſe he was the Object of the People's Contempt. This Conjecture is not better grounded, than that of ſome Chriſtians, who believed that *Pythagoras* had been a Diſciple of this Prophet. It was long in Debate, whether this Book, ſhould be thrown out of the Canon of Scripture.

II. It is not the greateſt Wrong that is done to *Ezekiel*, to deprive him of his Birth; but his Orthodoxy is alſo call'd in Queſtion. And to ſtrengthen this, they maintain, that he taught ſeveral things repugnant to the Law of *Moſes*, which ought to be the Rule of Faith. He deviated from this Law-giver concerning Sacrifices; and beſides he doth not make the Guilt of the Fathers to be puniſhed upon the Children, whereas *Moſes* teaches, that God *viſits the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth Generation.* This was the reaſon that the *Sanhedrim* once deliberated to deprive *Ezekiel* of his Character, and to take away his Book from the Canon of

of Scripture. But notwithſtanding the vaſt number of Myſteries contain'd in the *Chariot*, or the Mercava of this Prophet, if *Ananias*, or *Chenaniah*, who was then living, had not offered to ſolve all the Difficulties which puzzled the Judges, he had loſt his Cauſe. His propoſal was accepted, and in order to help him in his attempt, he was preſented with three Hundred Tuns of Oyl for his Lamps to light him while he was upon that Work. This Work they thought would be very hard and long; ſince he was ſupply'd with ſo plentiful a Proviſion of Oyl. It is no matter whether this Story be true or falſe. But we learn from it, what Notion the *Thalmudiſts* who relate it, had of the Book of *Ezekiel*, whereof ſome Chapters are not allow'd to be read before Thirty Years of Age. However we have reaſon to wonder, that *Bartolocci* || who rejects this as Romantick, adopts what is added, that *Chenaniah* lived before the Deſtruction of the ſecond Temple; that his Houſe at *Jeruſalem* was as an Academy, where all the Learned came to conſult him; and it was there that the Diſciples of *Hillel* and *Scammay* agreed upon eighteen Articles. It is yet more ſtrange, that this *Chriſtian* Doctor ſhould believe, that it was upon the Score of the Diſputes, which aroſe at that time between the Schools of *Hillel* and *Schammay* in the preſence of *Chenaniah*, that J. CHRIST at the Age of 11 Years ſpake in the Temple; for the Evangeliſts ſay nothing like it. The Doctors ask'd Queſtions of CHRIST, but they did not Diſpute among themſelves. This *Chenaniah*, who is ſaid to have reconciled them, is unknown to the Writers of that time; and is perhaps one of thoſe Fabulous Doctors, which the *Talmudiſts* ſo often trump up. *Spinoſa* * who accuſes him for having diſguis'd, or audaciouſly falſify'd the Propheſies of *Ezekiel*, inſtead of explaining them, knew him no better than the reſt.

III. It is certain, Opinions have often vary'd concerning *Ezekiel*. For *Benjamin* of *Tudela* affirms, that he ſaw ſome Leagues diſtant from *Bagdad* a ſtately Tomb, upon which a Famous Library was erected, where the Original of the Book of *Ezekiel* was kept. It matters little whether this Fact be true or falſe; ſeeing what he adds, that People went in Pilgrimage to his Tomb, is an undoubted Argument of the veneration that they had for him. So that this Prophet is ſurrounded both with Shame and Glory.

IV. *Daniel* hath alſo had both his Admirers and Enemies. In the time of St. *Jerome* ſome *Jews* plac'd him among Eunuchs, and aſſerted, that the Propheſie of *Iſaiah* to *Hezekiah*; || *and of thy Sons that ſhall iſſue from thee, which thou ſhalt beget, ſhall they take away and they ſhall be Eunuchs in the Palace of the King of* Babylon: † found its accompliſhment in him: and as this is an Ignominious Title; ſince Eunuchs are caſt out of the Synagogues, it was concluded, that *Daniel* could not be rank'd among the Prophets. However, *Aben Ezra* hath reſtored him to his Honour by denying the Fact. The Crowd of Doctors have followed him. But two other defects have excluded him from the Order of Prophets. 1. He did not write in the *Holy-Land*, wherein alone the Gift of Propheſie reſided. 2. He lived in an effeminate Court, and took his ſhare of the Pleaſures of it: And for that reaſon *Maimonides* * and ſome others place him only among Agiographers.

V. But the violence of the Storm falls upon *David*, who, tho a Holy Prophet and King, beloved of God, and the Glory of the Nation, is often ill uſed by the Doctors, who ſpeak of him with a ſurpriſing contempt. I ſhall only here ſelect ſome few of their Invectives againſt him.

This Prince affirms, † that *he was ſhapen in Wickedneſs, and that in Sin his Mother conceived him*; becauſe the Servant-Maid of *Jeſſe* the *Bethlehemite*, being ſollicited by her Maſter, gave his Wife notice of it, who took her Servant's place, and was afterwards delivered of *David*. *Jeſſe*, who believed that this Child was born of a Slave, ſent him to keep his Sheep, 1 *Sam.* 16. 11. and was aſhamed to ſhew him to *Samuel*; but this Prophet revealed to him that this Stone rejected by the Architect, that is, by his Father, was ſhortly to *become the Head of the Corner*.

VI. *David* was Circumciſed when he came into the World. He ſays it in the Title of the ſixteenth Pſalm, at the Head of which the word *Michtam* is ſeen, which being divided into two, denotes a Man who hath been *perfectly ſtruck*, that is, Circumciſed by the Hand of God. However the ſame Prophet aſſures us, that God ſays to him. ||. *Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.* He became the Son of God, but at the Age of Fourteen *. Till that time he was without a Soul, and could not be called the Child of God, ſeeing that he lived in Uncircumciſion. Nay, he had Dy'd as ſoon as he was Born, if *Adam*, to whom he was foretold by God, had not lent him ſeventy of his Years.

VII. It was ſoon perceiv'd, that he would be Bloody and Cruel. For he was red Hair'd like *Eſau*. He had a cloudy Aſpect; and whenever he look'd Frowningly upon any one, he made him a *Leper*, or by one of his Glances infected him with ſome filthy Diſeaſe. Thus when he beheld *Goliah*, *the Forehead of that Giant was immediately covered all over with* Leproſie. *Jacob* underwent the ſame Fate, nay, and a worſe too, He became himſelf a *Leper*; and therefore he begs of God *to purge him with Hyſſop, and to make him white as Snow.* The Deity departed from him, and all the *Sanhedrim* forſook him for the Six Months that his Diſeaſe laſted.

VIII. *Samuel* had once a mind to reject him by reaſon of his unlucky Phyſiognomy, and reſemblance with *Eſau*, who was Red Hair'd; But God inform'd him, that whereas *Eſau* kill'd Men without conſulting any Body, and by vertue of his own Authority, *David* would always take the advice of the *Sanhedrim*.

IX. When he went to fight the Giant, *Saul* was ſurpriſed to ſee, that his Armour fitted *David*, notwithſtanding they were of a different ſize and ſhape. He concluded from thence, that he would be King; but *David* obſerving *Saul*'s thoughts, would not take his Armour. He was but ſhort; but Unction had a virtue to lengthen Kings, and to make them Great.

He ſaw one day a Waſp that was ſwallowing a Spider, and a Fool who ſtruck them both. This gave him occaſion to laugh, that God had created ſo many uſeleſs Creatures. *For the Waſp eats Honey, but does not make it; the Spider Spins all the Day and is never Cloathed; and Fools do not know God.* God complained that *David* affronted him, and anſwer'd, that he would take care to convince him, that all things had their uſe. When *David* hid himſelf afterwards in a Cave, a Spider ſpun her Web at the entrance of it, whence *Saul*, who was looking out for him, took it for granted, that no Body was there, and ſo went away. When this Prince found *Saul* aſleep, he put his Legs between thoſe of *Abner*, which became as ſtiff as Columns: So that *David* in a diſmal tone, cryed out, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* But a Waſp, which at that very time ſtung *Abner*'s Legs, oblig'd him to open them, ſo that he had a free paſſage out. Laſtly, *Achiſh* fell in a Paſſion, becauſe *David*, who pretended to be a Natural, was

* Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 2. *p.* 848. || Spinoſa Tract Theologo-Polit. *c.* 2. *p.* 28. || *Iſaiah.* 39. 7. * Maimonides More Nevochim. *p.* 2. *c.* 45. † Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 11. *p.* 42. || *Pſ.* 2. 7. * *Zohar.*

brought

brought before him, for it ſeems he had a Daughter that was a Fool. *Have I need of more Fools*, ſaid he to his Officers, *have not I one already in my Family?* Thus *David* knew how a Waſp, a Spider and a Fool, might be uſeful, and bleſſed God.

X. *Abſalom* his Son was Damn'd, and had already paſſed five of the ſeven Gates of Hell; but *David* cryed out five times, *Abſalom my Son*, and at every Cry *Abſalom* repaſſed one Gate; and then *David* ſung the Eighty Sixth Pſalm, and cryed out, as in the laſt Verſe, *Lord ſhew me a Token for Good, that they which hate me may ſee it, and be aſhamed.*

XI. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Priviledges which are granted to *David*, he is ſometimes made to be ſo Ignorant, that he hardly knew, what little Children, that go firſt to School, learn; ſometimes again his Knowledge is ſo exalted, that he is ſaid to have been too cunning for God; and that he obtained the Remiſſion of his Sins by Art and Addreſs. He ſlyly begs *the Remiſſion of Sins committed through Ignorance*, and God grants it to him; and ſoon after he confeſſes the Sins, which he had wilfully committed, and obtains Pardon for them too; Laſtly, he by degrees Wheedles God to Pardon his Rebellion. What a vaſt reach is this!

XII. They make him a proud and inſolent Hypocrite, *For he acknowledg'd*, as he ſaid, *his Faults*: and yet at every turn he boaſts to God of his Righteouſneſs and Virtue. It is ſaid, that the vaſt Opinion which is had of his Devotion, cannot be reconciled with ſo many Crimes that he hath committed, but by ſaying, that ſome Sins offend God; and that others only reſpect Men; as Adultery and Murder, whereof *David* was ſo often Guilty, were Crimes of the latter ſort. He Sinn'd againſt Men, and bragged of his Love to God. He could not forbear miſtruſting God himſelf; for he cryed out, *All Men are Liars*; and the Perſon, which he thereby charg'd with being an Impoſtor, was *Samuel*, who had, ſaid he, deceived him by appointing him King over *Iſrael*. But God ſometimes did puniſh his Pride; for when *David* had the preſumption to beg of him to try him, he felt his weakneſs, and could not ſtand the Tryal, whereto God had put him. Laſtly, he would glory in his awaking the Morning; whereas the Morning awaked other Kings; This impertinence, which is father'd upon *David*, is grounded upon another, namely, that he had a Harp, which ſounded in the Night, when a certain Wind blew. And that *David* who had oftenbeen awaken'd bythis ſound, took thence occaſion to Glory, and ſaid in his Pſalms, *Awake me.*

XIII. He Married two Siſters both living at the ſame time, and both Daughters of *Saul*. This Inceſt, which is laid to his Charge, is grounded upon the Promiſe, which *Saul* made him, to give him his eldeſt Daughter, which he beſtowed on *Adriel*. It is ſuppoſed, that this Promiſe bound *David*, as well as *Saul*, altho it was never performed; or that *Saul* took his Daughter again after the Marriage was Conſummated. If they ſometimes † try to palliate his Adultery with *Bath-ſheba*, they accuſe him of another. For they maintain that *Abigail* proſtituted her ſelf to that Prince to redeem the Life of her Husband, againſt whom he was deſperately exaſperated; and upon *Abiſhag*'s refuſing to Marry him by reaſon of his extreme Old Age, they give him then a Supernatural Strength; whereas Concupiſence ought to have been at that time extinct in him.

XIV. He had not only Studied Judicial Aſtrology, but he alſo kept at his Court a great many Aſtrologers, who foretold him what Events wou'd happen: And according to their Anſwers he reſolved upon Battles, being ſure to overcome, whenever they had promiſed him Victory. He became a Magician; and it is pretended, that he is the firſt, who brought down *Fire from Heaven, Hail and Snow.* He became an Idolater too. For the Hiſtory teaches, that he went up *to the top of the Hill.* The Term in the Original is the ſame, which is made uſe of by *Daniel* to expreſs the Head of the Statue of *Nabucadnozzar*, that was an Idol. *David* went *to the head of the Mountain*, and then ador'd the Idol. It muſt not be thought ſtrange, if after this he is made to deſpair of his own Salvation. For this Inference drawn from his ſuppos'd Life and Actions, is right. However, at other times he had a great Power in Heaven, rather in Hell ſince he releas'd his Son *Abſalom* from thence, tho' he had already paſſed thro' five of the ſeven Gates.

XV. To conclude, the Hiſtory of his Death anſwers, that of his Life. *David* had deſir'd of God, that he wou'd make him to know his End; and God did ſo, and inform'd him, that he was to die upon a *Saturday*. *David* did not like that Day; becauſe his people cou'd not then think on his Funeral Solemnity, nor ſhed tears for him. He only beg'd, that it might be referr'd till the next Day, and not able to obtain ſo ſhort a Reprieve, he pray'd that he might die the *Saturday* Night. This is what the Devil waited for; but he cou'd not over-reach *David*, who was all that Day too intent upon the reading of the Law, and always repeating ſome words of it, to give Satan any hold. It came in the Devil's Mind to go to the King's Orchard, and beat down ſome Apples. This unexpected noiſe oblig'd him to leave his Appartment, and to go down a woodden Ladder the more ſpeedily to ſurpriſe the Thief. The Devil being more cunning than he, took away the Ladder, and the King falling kill'd himſelf, and his dead Corps remain'd expos'd to the Dogs: *Solomon* ſent to conſult the Academy what was to be done on ſo diſmal a Juncture. They durſt not move the Corps for fear of breaking the Sabbath. And it was an inhuman thing for him to let Dogs, which already ſurrounded his Father's Body, tear it to pieces. * The Doctors * remov'd the difficulty, by ordering that ſome pieces of Bread ſhou'd be cut, and laid near the Carcaſs, till it was taken away. The Dogs preferr'd the Bread to the King's Body, and *David* was Bury'd. Thus The Rabbies love to falſify the moſt certain Hiſtories, tho' they thereby unmercifully Stain the Memory of the Saints, whom they honour to exceſs in other places of their Works. Now that we have ſpoken of the Father, let us examine what they ſay of the Son, who was the moſt powerful and glorious of their Kings.

XVI. Nothing more incoherent and whimſical can be ſaid of *Solomon* †, than what they ſay of him. for they extoll him to the Skies, and degrade him as low as Hell. They ſay, that he reign'd over Angels, becauſe the Scripture || ſays, that *Solomon ſate on the Throne of the Lord*; but afterwards his Empire was only over Hell. " All the Earth was Vaſ-
" ſal to him. For * *he had dominion from* Tiphſah
" *even to* Azzah, and theſe two Cities are ſituate at
" the two Extremities of the Univerſe. One Doctor
" hath corrected his Maſters, who were guilty of
" ſo groſs a blunder in Geography; but he makes
" uſe of another Method to give the ſame extent
" to *Solomon*'s Kingdom. For owning, that theſe
" two Towns were near one another, he makes the
" Sacred Hiſtorian to ſay, the *whole World was ſubject*
" *to* Solomon *as well as thoſe two Cities.* This Prince's
" Empire was always decaying; From Heaven to
" Hell, and from Hell to the Earth. This great

† Ibid. *p.* 168. * Ibid. *p.* 182. † Gemara Tit. Sanh. *c.* 2. S. 7. Coch. Tituli duo *p.* 178. || 1 Chro. 29. 23.
* 1 Kings 4. 24.

" King-

" Kingdom was afterwards confin'd within *Judæa*
" and *Jeruſalem*. For † *the Preacher ſays, that he*
" *was King over* Iſrael *in* Jeruſalem. Laſtly, he had
" not at laſt a Bed of his own, and nothing was
" left him but a Stick, or a Cloak. It was the Fiend
" *Aſmodeus*, who thus drove him out of his Domi-
" nions, and reduc'd him ſo low.

Thoſe, who are aware of the Extravagancies of theſe Encomiums explain them with reference to the prodigious Knowledge of that Prince. For he knew all Plants, and their Phyſical Vertues. He had attain'd to the Art of expelling Devils ſo effectually, that they did not return; and other Kings admiring his Wiſdom paid him Homage. It is in this || ſenſe, ſay they, that *Solomon* * ruled over Heaven, Hell, and all the Univerſe. To go on with this Notion, a myſtical Senſe muſt be given to the indigence of this Prince, who had nothing left but *a Cloak to cover him*. But can it be ſaid, that the Fiend *Aſmodeus* drove him out of his Kingdom? It is falſe, that *Solomon* by his Sin forfeited his Knowledge of Plants, or his Scepter, or his Crown. Foreign Kings were ſo far from withdrawing their Homages by reaſon of his Idolatry, that they had thereby a greater Veneration for him. *Iſrael* and *Judah* were always ſubject to his Laws; and it is abſurd to quote his own words taken from the *Eccleſiaſtes* to confine him to *Jeruſalem*.

Laſtly, the *Jews* have along while ago made him a Chief of the Magicians, who left behind him ſome Precepts of his Art. *Joſephus* † relates, that one, whoſe Name was *Ezekiel*, drove out Devils in the Preſence of *Veſpaſian*, by uſing a Root preſcrib'd by *Solomon*. He afterwards repeated the Enchantments invented by that Prince, and the Devil did not return any more. They have continued to look upon *Solomon* as a very great Sorcerer; and ſome *Chriſtians*, carry'd away by this old Prejudice, aſcribed the *Clavicula* to him, which contains the Secrets of that grand Caballiſtick Art.

XVII. In a word, what do they not ſay of * *Daniel*, whoſe Propheſies are ſo clear? They have not only endeavour'd to deprive him of his Character of Prophet, upon the Score of his Luxury, and irregular Life in a King's Court; but they alſo make him go to *Egypt* to buy Hogs, whil'ſt his three Companions were thrown into the fiery Furnace: And becauſe he *was not allow'd to carry any Fruits out of that Country*, they ſay, that he made uſe of Fraud and Colluſion to cheat the *Egyptians*, and carry away by ſtealth the Pigs of that Country. A pretty Employment for a Prophet! And yet the ſame Doctors ſpeak very reſpectfully of themſelves, and define an Epicure, *to be One* || *who does neither reſpect the Sages, nor their Diſciples.*

† Eccl. 1. * Ibid. † Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 8. *c.* 2. *p.* 257. || Raſ & R. Chanina ambo dicebant eſſe *Epicureum*, * Ex Gemar. Cod. Sanhedrim Coch. duo Titul. Thalmud. *p.* 320. qui diſcipulos ſapientum contemptim habet, ex Gemara Tit. Sanhedr. *c.* XI. S. 40. Coch. duo Tituli Thalm. *p.* 392.

CHAP. XX.

The firſt Notion of the Meſſiah taken from the Prophets.

I. *The Deſign of this and the following Chapters.* II. *A general Reflection upon the Oracles for the Meſſiah.* III. *The different Opinions of the* Jews *concerning the Time of the Meſſiah.* IV. *An Explanation of* Haggai. V. *The Glory of the Second Houſe.* VI. *The time wherein it was to happen.*

I. THE *Jews* ſtill expect the Meſſiah as the Deliverer of their Nation, which hath ſo long groan'd under the Yoke of either the *Chriſtians*, or Idolaters. They did not receive him, when he appear'd, altho' the Prophets, who were inſpir'd by God, had given a full deſcription of him. Intoxicated with a temporal Proſperity, which J. CHRIST had not, they wou'd not attend to his Miracles, and Doctrine, and to the Accompliſhment of the Antient Oracles. It is one of the moſt ſurpriſing things in the World, that a Nation ſhou'd expect a Deliverer, and that this Deliverer ſhou'd appear with all the Marks whereby he ſhou'd be known; that he ſhou'd be Born in the time and place foretold by the Prophets; that he *ſhou'd redeem* Iſrael *and reconcile Heaven with Earth*, as God had promis'd; and yet that inſtead of acknowledging him, this very Nation ſhou'd crucify him. It wou'd be yet a more ſurpriſing thing, if an infinite number of Chriſtians ſhou'd for the ſpace of near Two Thouſand Years adore One crucify'd. For the Notion, which theſe have of the Meſſiah is not dazling. They are told of a Man, who died upon the Croſs; that this Puniſhment was inflicted upon him in a judicial way; that almoſt all his firſt Diſciples dy'd the ſame Death. He promiſes neither earthly Goods, nor temporal Felicity: On the contrary, he requires, that his Croſs ſhou'd firſt be taken up, and then that we ſhould follow him. A Chriſtian is enjoyn'd to put his whole truſt on this Man crucify'd; that he ſhou'd humble himſelf before him, and pay him the higheſt Adoration, as being a God. But notwithſtanding all theſe ſhocking Prejudices, *Chriſtianity* triumphs over all Religions. Philoſophers embrace and follow it as well as the Vulgar. It hath been profeſſed for near 2000 Years. Both the Unbelief of the *Jews*, and the Credulity of the *Chriſtians* are Riddles equally incomprehenſible. If it be true that JESUS is the Meſſiah, the blindneſs of the *Jews*, to whom the mean and miſerable condition of this Meſſiah was foretold, and who have ſeen his Miracles, is arriv'd to the higheſt pitch: And if this ſame JESUS is not God, the *Chriſtians* are guilty of an unaccountable Credulity: We will not haſtily declare againſt the *Jews*; For we write here a Hiſtory rather than a Controverſy. And therefore I will only obſerve, that People have had five different Notions of the Meſſiah according to the different times, they liv'd in. We will begin to ſpeak of, 1. That of the Patriarchs and Prophets, who have given us the true Marks, whereby this *Deliverer* was to be known. 2. That of the *Jews*, who liv'd whilſt the ſecond Temple ſtood, and when J. CHRIST came into the World. 3. We ſhall examine that of the *Talmudiſts* and Doctors, who came after this Manifeſtation, and ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. 4. We ſhall add, what they ſay of J. CHRIST. They have wrote ſeveral Books, and vended ſeveral fabulous Stories to make him odious to the *Chriſtians*. Theſe Books have been look'd upon as very dangerous. They were conceal'd, leſt the weak ſhould be ſtartl'd by them; but ſince they are come to light, we ſhall not ſcruple to take notice of them, both to be inform'd of what the moſt inveterate Enemies of our Religion can ſay againſt it, and of the weakneſs and abſurdity of their Cavils. 5. We ſhall conclude all with the People and Doctors, who have follow'd falſe Meſſiahs. We exceed the bounds, which we had ſet to our ſelves by

by aſcending to the Patriarchs and Prophets. But we thought it not fit to omit any thing on ſo important a Subject.

II. The Characters, which the Prophets aſcribe to the Meſſiah, ought to be the Rules of our Faith. The *Jews* own as well as we, that they were Divinely inſpir'd. Their Oracles were deliver'd many Ages before our Controverſy began with the *Jews*. We receiv'd theſe Oracles from the hands of our Adverſaries. They *have been the Librarians of God, and ours too*. They cannot accuſe us of having corrupted them; ſince they have been ſo long the only Depoſitaries of thoſe Oracles. The places wherein their Copies and ours differ, do not concern the moſt clear and moſt eſſential Proofs of our Meſſiah. They are rather the Faults of Copyiſts, than Deſigns and colluſive Alterations. They fall more properly under the cognizance of Criticks, than of Divines. The *Jews* have not been ſo far carried away by their ſtrong deſire to prejudice our Cauſe, as to lay aſide their reſpect for Holy Writ; And at the ſame time, that we do Juſtice to their fair dealing in that Matter, they are oblig'd to do Juſtice to ours too. All therefore that we have to do, is, to take notice of the Marks, and the time, wherein the Meſſiah was to appear; which the Prophets ſet down. And they ſay three things upon this Head, which decide the Queſtion. One that he was to appear, whilſt the ſecond Temple ſtood. The Second, that at that time the Scepter ſhou'd be taken away from *Judah*. The third, *Daniel*, ſpeaking more clearly and poſitively than the reſt of the Prophets, ſays, that the Meſſiah was to appear Seventy Weeks after his Propheſy. It was not in the power either of J. CHRIST, or of any other to be born at that time. A Man, who can come into the World, when ever he pleaſes, and take advantage of ſome Circumſtances foretold a long time before, muſt be above the Laws of Nature. If J. CHRIST had done it, it muſt of neceſſity have been a favourable preſumption in his behalf: So that there can be no ſurer Mark, than that of the Time wherein the Meſſiah was to be Born; and ſince the Prophets have fix'd that Time, we ought chiefly to ſtick to it.

III. The Rabbies, who have for ſo many Ages ſtudy'd that Matter, find themſelves gravell'd by this Objection. It makes them ſtagger; and fly before a Chriſtian, who draws Arguments from ſo long a delay, which overthrows the faithfulneſs of God, and the truth of the Propheſies. They *curſe him, who reckons the years of the Meſſiah*, and pray to God that he may burſt. *Abravanel* was oblig'd to diſtinguiſh a time of *Poſſibility*, and a time of *Neceſſity*. He ſays, that the Meſſiah might come, *if* Iſrael *had repented of their Sins*, becauſe *Iſaiah* ſays, *I will haſten this in his time*, that is, *if my People deſerve it*. But the time of *neceſſity* ſhall not happen till the Sabbath be religiouſly obſerv'd. But when ſhall they obſerve it, ſince ſo many Ages have not been enough to make the Manifeſtation of the Meſſiah *neceſſary?* Others, who perceive that the Oracles fix a preciſe time for the coming of the Deliverer, and that they do not depend upon the Holineſs, or Impenitency of the People, are reduc'd to one of theſe three Extremes.

They are forc'd to acknowledge, that it is wrong to expect the coming of a Meſſiah, who hath already appear'd, ſince this Deliverer promis'd by the Prophets, was *Hezechiah*. Thus the famous *Hillel* * hath long ſince decided this Queſtion. But the *Jews* at this time follow but part of his Opinion, for they are contented to apply to *Hezechiah* ſome of the Oracles that relate to the Meſſiah. In ſhort, according to other Rabbies, *Hezechiah* wanted one of the eſſential qualities of the Deliverer, ſince he was no Poet; and *David*, who compos'd ſeveral Hymns, deſerv'd that Honour better than *Hezechiah*, who never prais'd God in Verſe. They alſo doubt whether there ever ſhall be a Meſſiah; ſince he is known but by a Tradition, that may be uncertain and deceitful. *Joſeph Albo*, one of the Diſputants for the Nation at the Conference held in *Spain* before Pope *Benedict* XIII; maintain'd, that this Tenet is at leaſt indifferent; and that he, who denies it makes but a ſmall breach in the Law, becauſe he *only lops off a branch of the tree without touching the root*. And therefore he cou'd not endure, that *Maimonides* ſhou'd have extended the fundamental Articles of Religion to Thirteen, that he might introduce that of the Meſſiah, which is but the Twelfth. He was not ſatisfy'd that this important Tenet was plac'd at the lower end; nothing wou'd ſerve him but its being entirely blotted out. Laſtly, they aſſert, that he is not to come till Six Thouſand Years after the Creation. A celebrated Enemy † of the Chriſtian Religion, who liv'd in the XIVth Century, quotes a Treatiſe, wherein God creating the Soul of the Meſſiah asketh him, *whether he will redeem his Children after Six thouſand Years, and whether he will ſuffer the Puniſhments neceſſary to purify them from their Sins*; and the Meſſiah agrees to it. The *Jews* argue here according to their Principles. For they believe, that all Souls were created at the beginning of the World. It alſo appears, that they look'd upon Pain as a neceſſary conſequent of Sin, and that the Meſſiah was to undergo it to expiate their Crimes. But they refer this Deliverance to the term of *Six thouſand Years*. The Interpreter endeavours to explain this Oracle from one of his Maſters, in ſaying, that their Slavery ſhall happen the *Sixth Millenary*. But this Subterfuge doth not relieve him. For at what time ſoever this Calamity begins, the Six thouſand Years muſt be fulfill'd before they can obtain this Deliverance; and according to their reckoning they muſt ſuffer and hope ſtill above five Hundred Years longer ||. Theſe are the moſt tolerable Opinions, which they have concerning the Coming of the Meſſiah.

IV. *Haggai* affirms * that God wou'd *yet once, it is a little while* (ſays he) *and I will ſhake the Heavens, and the Earth, and the Sea and the dry Land, and I will ſhake all Nations; and then the deſire of all Nations ſhould come, and the Glory of the latter houſe ſhou'd be greater than that of the former*. The Prophet deſign'd thereby to comfort thoſe, who wept, in ſeeing the ſecond Temple to want all the Ornaments, and Advantages, which they enjoy'd during the Firſt: And this he doth by theſe three Conſiderations. 1. That whilſt it was yet ſtanding, God wou'd *yet once* ſhake the Heavens, and the Earth, as he had done when he made his Covenant with the People upon Mount *Sinai*; that is, he wou'd work great and mighty Miracles. 2. That *the deſire of all Nations ſhould come at that time*. From whence he concluded, 3. That the Glory of the Second Houſe ſhou'd be greater than that of the Firſt.

V. Chriſtians have here very great Advantages. One that J. CHRIST *the deſire of all Nations*, hath appear'd under the ſecond Temple. He hath perform'd a great many Miracles, which have made this Temple more glorious than the other; this is another Advantage. And laſtly, the *Jews* have now no reaſon to expect the Meſſiah; for ſince the Second Houſe was demoliſh'd a great many Ages ago, it is impoſſible that the Meſſiah ſhou'd come into it, and excel its Glory above that of the Firſt.

* Ex Gemara Tit. Sanhedr. *c.* XI. S. 36. Coch. duo Tit. Thalmud. *p.* 359. † Machir pulvis aromatarius, apud Hulſ. de Meſſia, *l.* 1. P. 2. *p.* 309. || *They believe, that J. Chriſt was born in the Year* 3760. * Haggai 2. 8. 9.

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To pretend, that the Second Temple laſted ten Years longer than the Firſt; that *Herod* * had made it a Stately Edifice; that *Joſephus* † makes a noble Deſcription of it, is to blind one's ſelf. For the Duration of ten Years doth not enhance the Glory of a Houſe, or compenſate for the loſs of five Pretious Things, which were wanting in it. *Joſeph* the Hebrew, who is quoted as a Witneſs of the Magnificence of the Temple of *Herod*, is an Impoſtor who had never ſeen it, and liv'd in *France*. *Abravanel* anſwers, that there ſhall be a third Houſe, wherein that profound Peace ſhall reign which hath never been ſeen ſince at *Jeruſalem*, J. CHRIST, and which ſhall then begin; becauſe all manner of Differences concerning Religion being then extinct, War ſhall ceaſe. But *Haggai* ſpeaks poſitively of the Second Temple, that was built in his Time, and drew tears from thoſe, who had ſeen the Magnificence of the former. The Peace, that was to reign under the *Meſſiah* was Spiritual, and only reſpected Souls: And altho' difference of Religion hath been the Cauſe of cruel Wars, it is not the only Motive. The Ambition of Uſurping Princes do oft'ner excite them, than Religion. Pagans, who did not fight for the plurality of Gods and Altars, have yet often worry'd one another. So that ſuppoſing there was no difference of Religion, yet there wou'd be no juſtifiable Grounds to believe that Peace wou'd be Univerſal, and that it ſhould always reign in the World.

VI. The only Difficulty that can be rais'd concerning this Oracle of *Haggai*, is with reference to the time wherein it was to be fulfilled. The Prophet affirms, that it was to be *in a little while*, and yet 400 Years run out from his Propheſy till J. CHRIST. But it is to be obſerv'd, that we have no controverſy with the *Jews* about this; ſince they can ſet no time from *Haggai* to CHRIST, wherein this Emotion of the Earth happen'd, or wherein the Glory of the Second Houſe hath been greater than that of the Firſt. Let them turn over the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, and conſult Tradition, and they ſhall never find the leaſt Shadow, that this Oracle was accompliſh'd. If they refer *this Emotion* to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, they place it 40 Years later than we, and have no more any right to diſpute about the Duration of the time. If they refer it to a new *Meſſiah*, who hath not as yet appear'd, the term is infinitely longer. It is the uſual Stile of the Prophets to repreſent diſtant Objects as near at hand. They ſpeak in the preſent Tenſe of a very remote Event. *A thouſand years before God are as one day*, and the ſpace of 400 Years was inconſiderable in compariſon of ſo many Ages that have paſs'd ſince the Creation. *Akiba*; who appear'd under *Adrian*, made uſe of theſe words of *Haggai*, to prove that the *Meſſiah* was to come at that time.

* *See* Bocceius de tertio Templo Rabbin. *p.* 1002. † Friſmuth de gloria Templi ſecundi, *p.* 994.

CHAP. XXI.

Some Remarks upon the Oracle of Jacob, *and upon the manner of the Scepter's departing from* Judah.

I. *The Oracle of* Jacob *is clear, and doth not labour under any Difficulties.* II. *Application of this Oracle to the* Jews. III. *Four things to be prov'd.* IV. *The Subtile Explanations of the* Jews. V. *Thoſe of the* Chriſtians. *A Fault in the* Septuagint *Verſion.* VI. *The Interpretation of the* Jews, *better.* VII. *Difficulties that occur in the Vulgar Explanation.* VIII. *What is to be underſtood by the Scepter.* IX. *A New Tranſlation of this Oracle.* X. *Three Advantages of the Tribe of* Judah. XI. *The Preheminence of this Tribe prov'd by Hiſtory.* XII. *The low Condition it was in at the Return from Captivity.* XIII. *Arguments, that it preſerv'd its Privileges.* XIV. *Proofs of the* Jews, *and of ſome* Chriſtians *to the contrary.* XV. *The Preheminence of that Tribe at the return from Captivity.* XVI. *How it loſt it in the time of the* Meſſiah. XVII. *Three Periods of the Accompliſhment of the Oracle of* Jacob. XVIII. *The Anſwer of a* Jew. XIX. *Confuted by* Rittangelius.

I. THIS Oracle doth not now admit of any Difficulty. It might be ambiguous in the time of J. CHRIST, when the *Jews* flatter'd themſelves, that the Scepter which was in the Hands of a Foreigner, ſhou'd return to the Houſe of *David*; that the Yoke of the *Romans* ſhou'd neither be harder, nor longer than that of the Kings of *Syria*, who made *Judæa* Tributary to them; and that if *Jeruſalem* and its Temple were deſtroy'd, God could glorioufly raiſe them up again from their Ruins at the end of 70 Years, after an Age of Puniſhments and Calamities: But a Nation which groans under a Captivity of 1700 Years, and is diſpers'd, without a City, without a Temple, without Victims, without a King, and without a Chief; and without a Supreme Authority in any Part of the World, cannot fondly imagine, that this is only an interruption of its Liberty, or deny that God hath wreſted from *Judah* the Scepter, which that Tribe had ſo long wielded.

II. I own, that this is only a general Reflection; but if the *Jews* wou'd duly weigh it, it wou'd be ſufficient to take away their Prejudices. For if they perceiv'd that the *Meſſiah* was come, they wou'd have already gone above half way to meet the Truth. Let us ſet aſide the *Meſſiah* of the *Chriſtians*, whether true or falſe, is not the queſtion; but the main Point is at what time he was to come. *Jacob* teaches, that then *the Scepter ſhou'd depart from Judah*. This Scepter ſubſiſts no where now. The preſent Captivity of the *Jews* is not a Captivity of 70 Years; for Sixteen whole Centuries are paſt and gone ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; neither is it only a dependance on the Neighbouring Kings, to whom they pay Homage, whilſt *Judah* hath its Council and Chiefs at *Jeruſalem*. The Tribe of *Judah* fugitive and ſcattered over all the Earth, doth not now make one Body, or Society. It appears no where, and its very Genealogies are confounded and out of order. So that it cannot be ſaid, that it rules at this time.

III. However, to prevent Complaints, to paſs over this Oracle, and build this Remark upon a falſe or dubious Suppoſition; let us make a ſhort Diſquiſition of theſe Four Things. 1. The *Shiloh* which was to come. 2. The Nature of the Authority that *Jacob* promiſes to *Judah* till the coming of the *Shiloh*. 3. How that Tribe hath preſerv'd this Authority. 4. Laſtly, at what time ſhe utterly loſt it.

IV. I ſhall firſt obſerve one thing, which doth not very much redound to the honour of the *Chriſtians*; and that is, They upbraid the *Jews* with their far fetch'd Explications of this Oracle, and are often guilty of the ſame Fault themſelves. After a due Examination of both, People are oblig'd to return to the *Jews*, who have underſtood the *Shiloh* better than many others.

It is true, ſome Rabbies have not hit the true Senſe of this word, when they ſaid that *Shiloh* ſignify'd the City which bore that Name; and that *Jacob* brought it into the Oracle, becauſe *Saul* and *Jeroboam* were Crown'd there; and that then the Scepter departed, becauſe the Kingdom was divided. They ſay, that the Oracle affirms, that *the Scepter ſhall be taken from* Judah, *when a King ſhall be crown'd in* Shiloh, and that this happen'd to *Saul* and *Jeroboam*. But the Fact is falſe. For the Ark was not at *Shiloh* when *Saul* was choſen King; and he was not anointed King in that Town but in *Miſpat*. Neither do we find that *Jeroboam* was Crown'd there. There is no more Grounds to affirm, that the *Rod* ſignifies the wainſcotted Chamber * where the *Sanhedrim* met, than to make ſuch *a Town* as *Shiloh* move.

V. But do the *Chriſtians* ſpeak more coherently? The Greek Fathers † have been wretchedly miſtaken. Becauſe they did not underſtand *Hebrew*, they have follow'd the || *Septuagint*, and have all read it without perceiving that there was a palpable Fault in it. For what is the meaning of theſe words, *Till the things, which are ſubjected to him, happen?* In vain do the Fathers wrack their Brains to find Senſe there, or to give it a Grammatical Conſtruction. For they have not been able to do it. What incongruous ſtuff have they not wrote upon this Topick? A Modern * Author, who ſees our *Meſſiah who was to be the end of Sacrifices*, more clearly in the *Greek* Tranſlation, than in the *Hebrew* Original, is not leſs fond than they of this Verſion. That ſo we may be able to make a true Senſe of theſe words, we muſt fill up the *hiatus*, the empty place, and put in again the term of *Shiloh*, or of CHRIST, which perhaps has been left out. *Jacob* Promiſes to *Judah*, that the Scepter ſhou'd not depart, till the *Shiloh*, or the CHRIST, to whom all things *are ſubjected*, come. By the favour of this natural and neceſſary Correction, the Senſe we ſhall find to be juſt. We add nothing of our own; but we take from the *Hebrew*, to put in the *Greek* Verſion what it wants. It hath been thought, that the *Septuagint* intended to point at the *Shiloh* by thoſe words, *the things that are ſubjected to him*. But they wou'd have given their Expreſſion another turn; and why is it pretended, that they have ſo groſsly violated the firſt Rules of Grammar? Inſtead of making the Oracle obſcure, they deſign'd to explain it, and preſerve to us an antient Tradition, ſtill found in the *Chaldee* Pharaphraſts. For they have tranſlated the *Meſſiah King*. To ſay, as the Paraphraſts do, that the *Meſſiah* ſhall be a King, or, as the *Septuagint*, that *the things ſhall be ſubjected to him*, is one and the ſame thing:

I leave it to the Criticks to examine, whether the word CHRIST hath been expung'd in the *Septuagint*, or whether a Chaſm was left there; becauſe the Tranſlators did not underſtand the Signification of *Shiloh*. For the *Talmudiſts*, who own that *Shiloh* ſhall be the Name of the *Meſſiah*, yet ſay, that they do not know *that Name, and that they cannot gueſs at the Reaſon why it is given to him*. The Author of the *Vulgar*, which the Council of *Trent* hath declar'd Canonical, hath tranſlated *it who was to be ſent* †. One || of our Divines, who thinks to go farther than *Buxtorf* and *Cocceius*, derives this Word from another which ſignifies, *to fatigue*, and finds there *the Sufferings and Death of* CHRIST. Thoſe, who ſay, that this Word ſignifies * the Skin, which contains the *Fœtus*, and from thence conclude, that *Jacob* means a Child, who was to be Born of a Virgin, are as egregiouſly miſtaken as the Rabbies whom we have already mention'd.

VI. But laying aſide ſtrain'd Interpretations; the *Chaldee* Paraphraſts liv'd before the Controverſy about this Oracle aroſe: And tho' they ſhould not be of ſo old a Standing, as is commonly thought, however the Argument we draw from them wou'd be but the ſtroner; ſeeing they wou'd have been forc'd to tranſlate as we do, the words of *Jacob* † even when they knew that the *Chriſtians* apply'd them to J. CHRIST. No doubt but they wou'd have depriv'd their Adverſaries of this Proof, had it been in their Power to do it. Nevertheleſs, they have explain'd the term *Shiloh* ß by that of Meſſiah, *to whom the Kingdom belongeth, and whom the Nations ſhall obey*. *Onkelos* is not the only one; for in the *Targum* γ of *Jonathan*, the *Shiloh* is alſo call'd the *Meſſiah King*. There is another pretty antient Commentary upon *Geneſis*, called *Bereſchit Rabba*, wherein we alſo read, that *Shiloh is the King* * *Meſſiah*. So that we have the conſent of the old Commentators. The *Talmudiſts* †, whoſe intereſt it was too to deny this Truth, have acknowledg'd it. The *Caraites* || tho' they are their Enemies, follow them in this. One of theſe prefers the Explanation of the City of *Shiloh* where the Ark was; But he confeſſes, that many of his Brethren are for that of the *Meſſiah*. The *Cabaliſts* themſelves find the ſame number of 358. in thoſe words, *Shiloh* † *ſhall come*, and in the Name of the *Meſſiah*. So that according to their Principles, the *Shiloh*, and the *Meſſiah* are one and the ſame Perſon. *Aben Ezra*, who doth all he can to elude the Objection of the *Chriſtians*, agrees, that a great many Interpreters have been of that Opinion: And indeed, *Jarchi*, *Nachmanides*, and *Araman*, tho' obſtinately bent to defend this Oracle againſt the *Chriſtians*, have kept the ſame Senſe. Theſe Interpreters ought to be preferr'd to the others; becauſe they are not blinded by Prejudices, nor hurry'd away by Paſſions. They embrace this Opinion meerly becauſe they love, and know the Truth; ſince they act contrary to their own Intereſt. They are Men of reach, open Enemies to the *Chriſtian* Religion, and who have very warmly impugn'd it: So that they cannot be ſuſpected. Whereas the reſt either invent, or follow ſome very remote Explications; becauſe they find themſelves gravell'd with the proof drawn from this Oracle againſt them in the behalf of J. CHRIST; the *Jews* have no reaſon to complain, ſince we condemn them out of the Writings of their greateſt Maſters, and of our moſt virulent Enemies. *Shiloh* is therefore the *Meſſiah*.

VII. Since *Jacob* gave his Bleſſing to every one of his Children; no Doubt but he Promiſed there ſome particular Advantage to the Tribe of *Judah*; and notwithſtanding that Opinion hath not appeared favourable to the *Chriſtians*, Truth muſt always be preferr'd to Intereſt. But thoſe who are dazl'd by the word *Scepter*, and aſcribe a Royal Authority to it, throw themſelves into an inextricable Labyrinth. For there

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* Bereſchit Rabba. † Morin. Præf. in Verſ. LXX. Int. || Geneſ. 49. 10. Ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. * Morin Appendix, *c.* 1. *p* 252. † A. שלה *mittere*. || Gouſſet Commentarius Ling. Hebr. *p* 425. *à fatigare*, שלה. * Secundina שליא † Geneſ. 49. 10. ß שלה *Schilo*. γ Targum Onkelos משיחא *Meſſias*, ibid. pag. 184. * המשיח טלך Melech Hamaſchiak, *le Roi Meſſie*. † Tractatu Sanhedrim, *c.* 11. fol. 98. *p.* 2. Vide plura apud Morinum Appendix de locis Hebræi Textus reſtitutis, *c.* 2. 3. *p.* 282. &c. || Ibid. † משיח *Meſſias*, nombre 358. שילה יבא Jabo Schilo, *le Schilo viendra*, nombre 358.

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have been no Kings in *Judah* from *Moſes* to *David*, nor from the return out of the Captivity of *Babylon*, till the Deſtruction of the Second Temple. The Regal Authority began but 600 Years after the Oracle of *Jacob*, and ended 500 Years before J. CHRIST. So that notwithſtanding this Propheſy, they ſaw 1100 Years ſlip away without a King. And therefore an Annaliſt *, little inferior to *Baronius* tranſlates it, *the Scepter ſhall not fail for ever, becauſe* Shiloh *ſhall come*. The Scepter, ſays he, ſhall fail during their Captivity, and at their return; but it ſhall not be for *ever*, becauſe the *Meſſiah* ſhall reſtore it. This Interpretation removes the Difficulty, but it changes the common uſe of the terms. For *Jacob* ſpeaks of a Temporal Scepter, which was re-eſtabliſh'd by the *Meſſiah* but in a Spiritual and Myſtical manner. Another † relies upon *the Catholick Faith, which aſſures us that Kings have never been wanting in the Tribe of* Judah *to the time of the Meſſiah*. This is to impoſe firſt upon one's ſelf, be able to do ſo afterwards upon others; for this Catholick Faith is directly contrary to Sacred Hiſtory.

VIII. There is therefore a Neceſſity to embrace a more natural Explication, and which is better grounded upon Hiſtory. By the Scepter we muſt underſtand a degree of Preheminence, which diſtinguiſh'd the Tribe of *Judah*, as Kings are diſtinguiſh'd in their own Dominions. Conſonant hereunto, *David* || alluding to this Oracle of *Jacob*, gives oftentimes the Title of Law-giver to *Judah*; and yet that Tribe preſcrib'd no Laws to the reſt. As the Title of Law-giver is not here taken in a ſtrict Senſe; neither muſt it be imagin'd, that the Tribe of *Judah* had always given Kings, becauſe *Jacob* promiſes a Scepter to it. How ſhall a Law-giver be found in *Judah*; ſeeing *Moſes* was not of that Tribe? It is ſaid * that the Tribe of *Levi* muſt thereby be underſtood, becauſe it lived under the Protection of the Kings of *Judah*, and it was the cuſtom of Kings, to put their Chief Miniſters, and thoſe they protected, under their Feet. As at the Council of *Lyons*, the Pope placing the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* between his Legs, ſaid, *Includemus hunc in orbe noſtro tanquàm alterius orbis Pontificem*. But that is a Thread ſpun too fine; and the Cuſtom of making Chancellors to ſit at the Feet of their Kings, was not known in *Jacob*'s time. *Judah* is the Law-giver in an improper Senſe; becauſe it was always the Centre of Religion, and Habitation of the Church. For there it was that the Ark reſted, the Temple was built, and the only place where Sacrifices might be offer'd, and *Salvation was of the* Jews. In the ſame ſenſe *Judah* carried the Scepter, becauſe it had a great Preheminence above the reſt of the Tribes. There is no neceſſity, that it ſhou'd always have ſupply'd the Nation with Kings; It is enough that this Tribe was the Head of it; and was preferr'd to the others.

IX. It might be tranſlated, *the Tribe ſhall* † *not fail*; For a great many *Jews* explain it thus. Beſides, || none is a better Interpreter of *Moſes*, than *Moſes* himſelf. And yet he often makes uſe of the word * *Schevet* to ſignify a Tribe. It doth not matter much, whether this term is borrow'd from each Tribe's having *its peculiar Rod*. It is enough, that this word was known in the time of *Moſes*, and that he hath often ſo us'd this Expreſſion, to ſignify a Tribe. *David* too affirms, that God hath not *choſen the Tribe of Ephraim*; and a great many Examples of this are to be found in the Hiſtory of the *Kings*. Farther, *Jacob*'s Expreſſion is exact and full of Energy. For that Patriarch promiſes to *Judah* a particular preſervation of his Tribe, which ſhall not be diſpers'd and confounded like the reſt; but ſhall always remain till the coming of the *Meſſiah*. And again, he ſhews what ſhall happen to this Tribe after the Manifeſtation of the *Meſſiah*. For the *Hebrew* term *ſhall fail*, is borrowed from Arithmeticians, and ſignifies a Number *that is wanting, or a Subſtraction*. The Tribe of *Judah* hath failed ſince the coming of J. CHRIST. God hath taken it out of the Sight of Men. It is not now as formerly, a Tribe ſeparated from the reſt; For it forms no diſtinct Body or Society; but its Genealogies are confounded, and its Children are no more known. This Tranſlation wou'd thus be exact and natural.

X. In the main, it is no great matter whether *Scepter* or *Tribe* is tranſlated; ſince we are equally oblig'd to prove that the Tribe of *Judah* enjoy'd ſome peculiar Privilege till the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. Sacred Hiſtory muſt be conſulted to learn from thence the Nature of this Privilege; and this is what we are going to do; becauſe the Event is the ſureſt Interpreter of an Oracle.

The Privilege which *Jacob* promis'd to *Judah* lay in three things. 1. His Number was always to be conſiderable, and his Portion too. *For* Judah *was to waſh his Garments in Wine, and his Clothes in the blood of Grapes; and to bind his Fole unto the Vine*; which Expreſſions denote the fertil and fruitful Soil, which he was to poſſeſs in the Land of *Canaan*. His Number and Proſperity gave him a Preheminence above the reſt of the Tribes, and were advantageous marks of diſtinction. And indeed this Tribe went at the Head of the Nation, and alone maintain'd its ground againſt the Kings and attempts of Neighbouring Nations, or of Schiſmaticks, and Rebels. 2. God was always to preſerve this Tribe, without diſperſing, and confounding it as the ten others in the Plains of *Aſſyria*. And therefore *Jacob* ſays, that *the Tribe of* Judah *ſhall not fail*; and his Oracle was exactly fulfill'd. 3. Laſtly, it was to be the Habitation of the Church, and the Seat of Religion. For *Jacob* had foretold, *that the Law-giver ſhould not depart from between his feet*. Let us examine as we run over the Hiſtory of this Tribe, whether it hath enjoy'd theſe three Advantages, or whether it can be ſaid, that it hath always carried the *Scepter*, taking this term in a preciſe and literal ſenſe for a Royal Authority: Which leads us to the third Enquiry propos'd.

XI. When the Children of *Iſrael* went out of *Egypt* to march towards the *Holy Land*, no King came out of *Judah* to be the Deliverer and Leader of the People. *Moſes*, who had put himſelf at their Head, was of the Tribe of *Levi*. All that is obſerv'd, is only, that the Tribe of *Judah*, which was the moſt numerous, had the moſt honourable Poſt in the Camp; and that *Na-aſſon*, Chief of that Tribe offered before all the reſt his Preſents and Sacrifices at the Tabernacle, when *Moſes* had built it. After they had entered into *Canaan*, a great many Heroes aroſe, whoſe noble Actions promoted them to the Helm of the Government; but there were but few of them of the Tribe of *Judah*. It only furniſh'd a greater *Quota* of Souldiers for the War; and *Saul* their firſt King was deſcended from *Little Benjamin*.

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* S. Baſnag. Flottemanvillæi Annal. Eccleſiaſtico-Politici, anno 40. ante Chriſt. *n.* 24. *t.* 1. *p.* 21. † Toſtat. in Geneſ. *c.* 49. *p.* 738. || Pſ. 60. *c.* 7. * Milbourn's *Myſteries Vindicated*. † *There is in the* Hebrew לא יסור שבט מיהודה Lo Jaſour Scheveth Miiehudah. *The word* שבט Schevet *ſignifies both* Scepter *and* Tribe. Jaſour *comes from* Sour, *which ſignifies* recedere, deficere. Haſour *ſignifies* defectio; *Subſtraction in* Arithmetick. *See* Buxtorf. Lex Thalmud. *p.* 1452. *The Tribe is* departed from Judah, *ſince no part of that Tribe is an Independant Body*. || Brunus in Benedict. XII. Patriarch. *p.* 74. * *The word* שבט Sceveth *is found* Deut. 12. Numb 18. 2. Pſ. 122. 4. *See* Buxt. Lex Thalmud. *p.* 2309. *This is repeated twice in* Pſ. 78. 67. 68.

David afterwards introduc'd the Supreme Authority into his Family and Tribe. But how many Ages had pass'd from the Promise of *Jacob*, or the *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt* to the time of *David?* They reckon'd 440 Years since this last Event. Did *Jacob* promise a Kingdom, that was to begin so late, and to end so soon? When *Jeroboam* withdrew the ten Tribes, *Judah* rais'd 180 thousand chosen Men to reduce the Rebels. *Judah* more numerous than any of them always kept its ground against those ten Tribes, and held out longest against the Kings of *Assyria*. So that it is easy to perceive by the History, that this Patriarch foretold *Judah*, that his Posterity shou'd be numerous, and that it wou'd have a peculiar Privilege in the Nation; but this Preheminence vary'd according to the times. Under an *Aristocratical* Government it had the First Post, and march'd at the head of the other Tribes. When *Monarchy* was preferr'd to a *Republican* State, the Kings were chiefly taken out of it. When the Administration of important Affairs was intrusted to a Council, the Tribe of *Judah* composed, or at least made up the greatest part of the *Sanhedrim*. Lastly, this Tribe was always the Depositary of their Religion, and *the Law-giver did not depart from between his Feet*, since it always had its Temple, its Altars, and Sacrifices there.

XII. It seem'd to lose all its Privileges during the *Captivity*; For it was carried away as well as the others into *Assyria*. *Cyrus*, who sent it back, and his Successors, who favour'd it, kept it subject to them, and made it pay them Tribute The Kings of *Syria*, who, after the Conquests and Death of *Alexander* the *Great*, became Masters of it, did the same thing. The *Maccabees* were *Levites*. To conclude, *Herod* an *Idumæan*, was King in *Judæa*, when J. CHRIST came into the World. And here the greatest difficulty lyes.

XIII. Some pretend to clear it by saying, that the Tribe of *Judah* was free during the *Captivity*; because it preserv'd * a Liberty of Conscience; and even those Princes, who attempted to violate it were exemplarily punish'd by God, and he rewarded other Princes, who left it entire. *Nebuchadnezzar* became a Proselyte, and inherited Heaven by his Conversion. *Josadac*, the High Priest was set at liberty † to celebrate the Service of his Nation. His Son came at the Head of a great Number of *Levites*, who had the Care of the Worship || that was to be paid to God. The Prophet *Ezekiel* preach'd often to the People, who grew loose and deprav'd. Nay, Circumcision was strictly conferr'd, since all those that return'd from *Babylon*, bore that Seal of the Covenant. 'Tis true, Sacrifices were wanting, because it was not lawful to offer any out of the Temple; but this defect was supply'd with Fastings, and purifying Water, wherewith they cleans'd themselves, by being very exact to offer their Prayers by the Side of a River: From thence it is, that a Prophet represents them, *hanging their * harps upon the willows of* Euphrates. They wou'd no longer make use of their Musical Instruments in so deplorable a Condition as they then were; but however they ceased not to gather together upon the Banks of that River to Wash, and Fast, and Pray. *Tertullian* affirms, that they retain'd that Custom after the second Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and makes them † there to address some Prayers interrupted by Sighs and Tears:

Plorabile siquid
Eliquat, & tenero supplantat verba palato.

The *Jews* preserv'd too some sort of Authority in the Government. For *they had their* Sanhedrim *in* Babylon *as well as in* Judæa. *Cyrus* order'd the Vessels of the Temple to be || return'd to *Scebatsar* Prince of the *Jews*. There was then at that time *a Chief of the Nation*; and that Prince was *Zerubbabel* who brought them back out of the *Captivity*. They had also Judges, if we may believe the History of *Susanna*, whose Author, tho *Apocryphal*, yet doubtless knew the Government of that time. *As * the* Christian *Priests preserve their Authority in the* Turkish *Empire, so the* Jews *had the same Advantage at* Babilon. Lastly, the People had such good Settlements in *Chaldea*, that part of them refus'd to quit them to return to *Judea*.

XIV. Notwithstanding the Subtlety and Plausibleness of these Reasons, I cannot agree that a Captive Nation, which yielded to the Yoke of Idolatrous Princes, and by an exemplary Judgment of God was expell'd the *Land of Promise, did Reign*; and that the Oracle of *Jacob* which promis'd them a Scepter, can be apply'd to their Slavish condition. It would be more fair to confess ingenuously, that there was an interruption of Authority at *Babilon*, than to insist on subtle Remarks, which betray their weakness. A Calamity of Seventy Years would not hinder the Accomplishment of this Propheſie. But that is not enough. For it is plainly demonstrated that there was not one King in the Tribe of *Judah*, since the return from the Captivity. And indeed *Zerubbabel*, who brought it back Dy'd without Children; And it is to no purpose, that St. *Cyril*, Writing against *Julian* the *Apostate*, gives him a long Posterity to succeed him in the Government, down till the time of the *Maccabees*; for we find neither the Names nor the Actions of his Descendants, who are said to have Ruled so long in *Judea*. But then we see a Succession of Fourteen † High-Priests, all Children of *Joshua*, who were at the Helm both of Church and State, till *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who was Master of *Judea*, gave the High Priesthood to *Alcimus*, who was of the Race of *Aaron*, and from whom it was Transfer'd to the *Maccabees*.

The *Maccabees* who became Kings and High-Priests were of the Tribe of *Levi*. It cannot then be said, that the Tribe of *Judah* held the Government: For it had no share in it, since the return from the Captivity. A great deal of Pains is taken to introduce

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* Vernerus Rolwink Fascic. Temp. † Joseph. Ant. *l.* 10. *c.* 2. || Georgius Erycius Phaletranus Dissert. de Ablatione Sceptri Judæ. * Brunus de Bened. Patriarch. *Q.* 5. *p.* 150. † Tertullian says, *aliquando jam precem ad Cœlum mittunt*; & Phaletranus * *corrects the Text, and reads*, eliquatulam precem, propter jejunia, tum propter pronuntiationis emollitam infractionem. || Brunus Scotus de Benedict. Patriarch. *Q.* 5. *p.* 147. Turrianus ibid. 149. * Erycius Phaletranus de Ablatione Sceptri Judaici.

† *A List of the Sovereign High-Priests from the Captivity to the* Maccabees.

1. Jeshua. IV. *Ezra.*
2. Jojakim his Son. *Neh.* 12.
3. Eliashib Son of Jojakim. *ibid.*
4. Joiada the Son of Eliashib. *ibid.*
5. Jonathan his Son. *ibid.*
6. Jaddua Son of Jonathan. *ibid.*
7. Onias I. Son of Jaddus. V. *Joseph. Ant. l.* 11.
8. Simon the Just, Son of Onias. *ibid.*
9. Eleazer Simon's Brother, *ibid.*
10. Manasseh, Eleazer's Uncle. *ibid.*
11. Onias II. Son of Simon the Just. *ibid. l* 12. *c.* 3.
12. Simon II. Son of Onias II. *l.* 12. *c.* 4.
13. Onias III Son of Simon. *ibid.*
14. Josia, or Jason, Son of Onias. *ibid. l.* 12. *c.* 6.
15. Onias, or Menelaus, Brother of Onias III.
16. Alcimus.

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the *Maccabees* into the Tribe of *Judah*, but to little purpose. *Baronius* *, who denies what hath hitherto been believed, that they were descended from *Levi*, grounded his Conjecture upon a Fault of the *Vulgar*. For whereas we Read in the Original † that *Judas was greatly Renown'd in the sight of all* Israel, the Author of the *Vulgar* makes the Historian to say, that *the Men of Judah*, that is, the *Maccabees* were greatly Renown'd. Since the Historian calls these Heroes *the Men of Judah*, it is reasonable to believe, that they sprung from the Tribe of *Judah*. But this only teaches us, that we ought not to have a blind Confidence in Interpreters ||; but that the safest way is to consult the Originals. It is also said, that the *Maccabees* having Marry'd some of the Daughters of the House of *Judah*, it might be affirmed, that this Tribe reign'd by the Females according to the Maxim of the *Civilians*, *Ventrem partus Sequitur*, *the Condition of the Mother over-rules that of Children*. But this is too fine Spun. Besides, *the Children of the Slave rul'd in the Second Temple*: and if the Tribe of *Judah* preserv'd its Authority after their return from *Babilon*, it may be said, that it always enjoy'd the same advantages; for the *Jews* affirm, that they have still some Masters of the Tribe of *Judah*, who teach the Law. God, say they, was pleased that the Ten Tribes should remain upon the Banks of the River *Chabor*, that those of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, who fled into the *West*, might not be confounded with them. Thus *Isaac* argues * *Strengthning the Faith of his Brethren*; and *Lipman*, † in that Famous Abridgment of Controversies, which he wrote in Verse, that the *Jews* might more easily learn it, and answer the Objections of the *Christians*.

XV. I can't be charg'd with having enervated the difficulty; since I have collected whatever might strengthen it, and refuted whatever might seem to weaken it. However, it is no hard matter to remove it by recurring to the Principle which we have laid down, in that *Jacob* did not promise to *Judah* an Authority that should always be Supreme and Regal; but a preheminence above the rest of the Tribes, whereby it made a considerable Body, preserved Religion, the Temple, Altars and Sacrifices. And it enjoy'd this preheminence much more sensibly after its return from the *Captivity*, than it did before. In truth, the Tribe of *Judah* did not absolutely disappear during the Captivity; it was all found entire at their return. It ought not to be thought more strange to see, that after this return, the High-Priests governed the People, or that the Authority was in the Hands of the *Maccabees*, than it was to see *Moses* who was descended from the Tribe of *Levi*, to put himself at the Head of the Nation to bring them out of *Egypt*; or *Eli*, the Sovereign High-Priest, a long time after, to hold the Government for a great many Years. Of Ten Tribes, that of *Judah* returned alone out of *Chaldea* with *Little Benjamin*, which is often confounded with *Judah*. It came to settle again at *Jerusalem*, and to possess the Capital of the Country, whilest there were in the other parts of *Judea*, but some few Families of the other Tribes: And then it was that it gave its Name to the Nation, and to all the *Holy Land*. All the other parts of that Nation came every Year to pay a kind of Homage to it; and as it were to beg of *Judah* the exercise of their Religion, they came to Worship in the Temple, and to Sacrifice upon its Altars. The Centre of Religion and of the Nation was in that Tribe; there the *Sanhedrim* or Great Council met, that had the Direction of the most important Affairs. From thence came the necessary Advices to the remote Synagogues, and the Indiction of the *Passe-over*; Lastly, it was there that Strangers of the same Religion came from *Egypt* and *Chaldea* to acknowledge to the very last period of its Destruction, the Greatness and Superiority of *Judah* over the other Tribes. Can any other single Tribe be produced with all these Advantages?

XVI. So that we have now demonstrated three things. 1. That the Tribe of *Judah* had a preheminence above the rest. 2. That it preserved it after their return from the *Captivity*. 3. And indeed, that it had enjoyed it till the *Shiloh*, or *Messiah* came. What now remains to be proved by us, is the easiest of all; which is, that this Tribe confounded with the others, and dispersed throughout the World in so many Places, hath not at this Day the least shadow of Preheminence, nor doth it now make a numerous, or distinct Body.

XVII. We must here distinguish three different Periods of the loss of this Authority. 1. That which happen'd in the time of CHRIST. For *Herod*, who was neither of the Family of *David*, nor of the Tribe of *Judah*, nor of any of the other Tribes, was then King of *Jerusalem*, which was already Tributary to the *Romans*. Besides, these Masters did not only keep this King so much under, that he had not Power to judge his own Children, who had then Conspir'd against him; but also reduc'd into a Province part of the Tribes, and among them that of *Judah*. For whilest *Herod* the Tetrarch Ruled in *Galilee*, and his Brother *Philip* had another Government, *Archelaus* was expell'd out of *Jerusalem*, and the *Romans* sent a Governour, who took an Inventory of all his Estate, as of the Estate of a Vassel: *Jerusalem* and the Neighbouring Country were joyn'd to *Syria*, and became a *Roman* Province. The *Sanhedrim* lost the Power of Life and Death, which they had preserv'd even under the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and when they were Crucifying the *Messiah*, they acknowledged that the Scepter was departed from *Judah*, since || *the Jews said unto* Pilate, *it is not lawful for us to put any Man to Death*. This is the first Period of the Accomplishment of the Oracle. 2. Their Condition grew worse and worse. For *Jerusalem* was destroy'd; all the advantages that we have ascribed to the Tribe of *Judah* vanish'd; and it was involved in the same Calamity with the rest of the Tribes. All the Inhabitants of *Judea* were dispers'd, and sold like Cattel in Markets, and we do not at this Day see the least shadow of this Tribe's being come together again. 3. They might at first flatter themselves that this Calamity would have an end; but on the contrary they find they are yet dispers'd, and the Captivity still continues; and there is no Country now where the Tribe of *Judah* makes any Figure, and even where it can be known. Their Genealogies are so confounded, that they can't be unravelled. Some brag that they came from this Tribe, and from the House of *David*; but they only prove their Descent by a Tradition, which is too dubious to be believ'd. Not one single Family among them can shew its Genealogy, and they have already for these Four or Five Hundred Years, complain'd that they do not know that of *David*. It is said that the Tribes of *Benjamin*, and *Judah* are in the *West*, and that the other Ten inhabit the Banks of the *Chabor*. Among the *Western Jews*, those of *Spain*, pretend that they are the remains of that shat-

* Genebrard *affirms it too in his Chronology*, and le Brun *in his Benedictions of the Patriarchs*, *p.* 158. &c. † *Macc.* 5. 63. || Tostat in Genes. *c.* 49. *p.* 738 * Isaac Munimen Fidei, *p.* 137. † R. Lipmani Carmen Memorale, sive Nizzachon, *p.* 114. || *John* 18. 31.

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ter,d Tribe. But it is a common thing for every Nation and Family to boaſt of their Anceſtors and Original; and were People as Credulous as they are Vain upon this Head, the meaneſt City would claim its having been founded by the earlieſt Heroes of Antiquity. But bare Pretenſions will not ſatisfie us. For we require good Proofs, and the *Jews* only offer ſome uncertain or falſe Preſumptions to make good what they pretend to. Moreover, three things may be obſerv'd. *Firſt*, That at the taking of *Jeruſalem*, there was a prodigious number of Strangers come from the *Eaſt* to the *Paſſe-over*; And when this City was Razed to the Ground, no diſtinction was made of Families. Some retired into *Egypt*, where they had ſome Friends; others were ſold and diſpers'd as Slaves in the Empire; and a very ſmall number of them remain'd in their deſolate Country. How could they then, being ſo miſerably ſcatter'd, have preſerv'd their Genealogies and diſtinguiſh'd the Tribe of *Judah* from the reſt? Can we certainly depend upon a Tradition, which for almoſt Seventeen Hundred Years hath been handed down from Father to Son? Let it be as it will, no conſiderable Body of them remain'd. And the Tribe of *Judah's* going into *Spain*, is one of thoſe Fictions, which the *Jews* have invented either to tickle their Pride, or to comfort themſelves in their Calamity. *Secondly*, Moſt of the *Jews* that are now in the *Weſt*, came from the *Eaſt*. For when their Academies were deſtroy'd at *Babilon*, that Perſecution drove them into *Spain* and *France*, where till that time they had made very little Figure, but afterwards they appeared with ſome ſhew of Pomp there. Theſe *Eaſtern Jews* muſt of neceſſity have been mingled with thoſe who were diſpers'd there before; and how can they be diſtinguiſh'd at this time? *Laſtly*, Tho' it ſhould be true, that ſome Families of *Judah* remain'd, yet they have no advantage over the reſt of the Tribes; ſince they make no ſeparate Body, and there is no diſtinction of Authority between them. This is the third and laſt period of the Accompliſhment of the Oracle of *Jacob*; which leaves no room to doubt, whether the Scepter was departed from *Judah*, at the time when our Saviour appear'd. This is not a ſhort interruption of the Reign of this Tribe, but ſo full and compleat an extinction of its Authority and Preheminence, that not the leaſt ſhadow thereof now remains. So that this Oracle was fully accompliſhed in J. CHRIST. Pray, whoſe Birth was ever foretold ſo many Ages before? A great many Heroes have been Deify'd by the Heathens after their Deaths, upon the Account of their Conqueſts and other brave Atchievements. But was there any one of them, whoſe Birth with all its Circumſtances has been predicted, and who was expected for many Ages before he appear'd? Has the Birth of Impoſtors, who have either broached new Religions, or changed what had been eſtabliſhed, been foretold? Was it in the Power of J. CHRIST to live at the time when the Tribe of *Judah* was loſing its Authority and dependant on a *Roman* Governour, whilſt the reſt of *Judea* had the good Fortune to be under the direction of the *Herods*? Was it in the power of J. CHRIST after he was Crucify'd, to take away the Scepter from the Tribe of *Judah*, to make it vaniſh, and for the ſpace of Sixteen or Seventeen hundred Years to diſperſe it as well as the reſt of the Tribes, as *Jacob* foretold it here? But ſince he hath done it, he muſt be not only the *Meſſiah* foretold by the Oracle; but muſt alſo have been inveſted with a Divine Power to ſcatter the Unbelievers; and reduce the Nations to his Obedience?

XVIII. A *Jew* of *Amſterdam* pretended * to elude this Oracle by an Interpretation, which he had learn'd from his Father. He maintain'd, that by the word *Scepter*, which properly ſignifyed a Rod, *Jacob* foretold to *Judah* a long Train of Afflictions till the coming of the *Meſſiah*, and that this Oracle is now fulfill'd by the diſmal diſperſion of all his Poſterity. Thus this Propheſie is ſo far from demonſtrating that the *Meſſiah* is come, that it proves that we ought ſtill to expect him. But if you will follow the Interpreters, who underſtand by the Scepter a Supreme and Regal Dignity; you need but alter the Punctuation to overſet all the Notions of the *Chriſtians*. For putting a point after *Gnad*, we muſt not underſtand, that *Judah ſhall Reign till the coming of the Meſſiah*; but that he ſhall *always Reign, Eternally, after the coming of the Meſſiah*.

XIX. *Rittangelius* repreſented to this *Jew*, that his Explication was not new; and that he had no reaſon to honour his Father with the firſt Invention of it; ſince † he had ſeen it in a Book wrote to explain to Women and Children the difficult words of Scripture; wherein it is aſſerted, that the Scepter ſignifies the *Rod*, or *Afflictions* of the *Jewiſh* People. *Jacob* the Son of *Amram* doth alſo produce this Explication in *his Gate of Truth*. || But the LXX Interpreters have overthrown it, in tranſlating this term by that of Prince. Beſides, *Jacob* deſigning to raiſe his Tribe above the reſt, had acted very ridiculouſly in having foretold nothing but Calamity to it. And in truth *Judah* did not undergo any misfortunes that were peculier to it. Farther, this Explication is contrary to the Tradition of the *Jewiſh* Fathers, who have all explain'd this Oracle of the *Scepter*, and at the ſame time have overturn'd the Second Explanation; ſince they ſay * that this *Scepter* ſhall not be broken, *till the time that the* Meſſiah *be come*. The Paraphraſes of *Onkelos* and of *Jonathan* prove this. So that by taking the Old *Jewiſh* Interpreters for Judges, we learn two things; One that the *Shiloh* ſignifies the *Meſſiah*; The other, that *Judah* was to Reign till his Advent. The fulfilling of the Oracle is palpable. For *Judah* hath not Reigned for theſe many Ages, and he is now in the greateſt Calamity and Affliction. So that it muſt be confeſſed that the *Meſſiah* is come.

* Wagenſeil Tela ignea Satanæ. Carminis Lipmanni Confutatio *p.* 327. *t.* 1. † Liber Beer Moſche. || Apud Kidder, in his *Demonſtration of the* Meſſiah. * Lib. Beer Moſche, *p.* 341.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

A Calculation of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, *and their Explanation.*

I. *The Circumſtances of time proper to make the* Meſſiah *known.* II. *The Oracle of* Daniel. III. *The Evangelical Demonſtration drawn from this Oracle, falſe.* IV. *Whether the 62 Weeks end at* Onias. V. *Whether he was the Type of the* Meſſiah. VI. *This Syſtem agrees with that of* Marſham. VII. *An Explication of this Oracle.* VIII. *Whether* Ptolomeys *Rule about time ought to be followed.* IX. *Three Epocha's.* X. *The Reign of* Artaxerxes Longimanus. XI. *The Death of* Alexander *the* Great. XII. *The number of Years to the Death of* J. CHRIST. XIII. *A difficulty about the laſt Week.* XIV. *How anſwered.* XV. *The three laſt Years are not reckoned.* XVI. *That this Oracle is certainly fulfilled.* XVII. *A Collection of the Objections of the* Jews. XVIII. *Both their great and ſmall Chronicle rejected.* XIX. *Some Remarks upon the* Perſian *Monarchy againſt* Abravanel. XX. *Two* Meſſiahs *in the Propheſie of* Daniel, *abſurdly invented.* XXI. *The violent Death of* Agrippa, *falſe.* XXII. *The New Anſwer of a* Jew *rejected.*

I. IT ought not to be wonder'd at, that we inſiſt on the Circumſtance of the Time, wherein the *Meſſiah* was to be Born. For there is none more ſure. And indeed it did not lye in J. CHRIST's Power to be Born, and to die in the time, appointed by the Prophets. He cou'd not divine, without being a God, what wou'd happen after him. Whether *the Scepter ſhou'd depart from* Judah, *and the Tribe be diſpers'd, confounded, and* ſubſtracted *from the ſight of Men.* It was not in his choice to come at the end of the Sixty nine Weeks, to die the Seventieth, and afterwards, by the Deſtruction of the Temple of *Jeruſalem* and of its Altars, to aboliſh Sacrifices. We cannot then take a ſurer Method to find out the *Meſſiah*, than by examining the time, wherein, according to the Patriarchs and Prophets, he was to be Born.

II. *Daniel* hath foretold *, that there are Seven, and Sixty two Weeks *from the word, or Commandment to reſtore and to build* Jeruſalem, *unto* Meſſiah *the Prince. And after theſe Threeſcore and two Weeks ſhall* Meſſiah *be cut off, but not for himſelf. And he ſhall confirm the Covenant with many for one Week: and in the midſt of the Week he ſhall cauſe the Sacrifice and the Oblation to ceaſe; and by means of the* abominable wings, *he ſhall make it deſolate even until the Conſummation, and that determin'd ſhall be pour'd upon the deſolate* The *Meſſiah* is here ſpoken of; the time of his Coming fix'd at the end of Sixty nine Weeks, with that of his Miniſtery and Death. He ſhall be cut off in the midſt of the 70th Week. The Deſign of his Death is ſet down, *it is not for himſelf.* And laſtly, *Jeruſalem* is threaten'd with an entire Deſolation, which ſhall happen *by the abominable Eagles* that is, by the *Romans*, who ſo aboliſh'd the Oblations and Sacrifice that none have been offer'd ever ſince.

III. It is ſtrange that ſo clear a Propheſy ſhou'd be ſo variouſly explain'd. An Evangelical Demonſtration † hath been lately publiſh'd, wherein *Daniel*'s Weeks begin at the Edict of *Cyrus*, and end at the 37th Year of the *Chriſtian* Æra. The Author believes he can diſintangle himſelf from the Difficulties, this falſe Calculation is liable to, by obſerving, that *Diodorus Siculus* found ſome Difference in the Lives of the Kings of the *Medes*; as if theſe Kings of the *Medes* had any relation to the Oracle of *Daniel*. He ſhou'd have reckon'd the Years of the Kings of *Perſia*, inſtead of thoſe of the Kings of the *Medes*. But he jumps nimbly over the Abyſs; and without any further Ceremony, makes *Alexander* dye 130 Years after the Edict of *Cyrus*, altho' he differs from the Truth above 150 Years. Theſe *Evangelical Demonſtrations* are only good to deliver Religion bound hand and foot to the *Jews*, and Irreligious and Prophane Perſons; For they betray it by the Falſhoods, which are advanced on it; and give the Cauſe up to the *Jews*, who have ſhorten'd the *Perſian* Monarchy, only to hinder the time wherein the *Meſſiah* was to appear, from being known.

IV. A Critick ||, who is far more Learned, and more exact in Chronology, aſſerts, that in the Explanation of *Daniel*, the *Vulgate* muſt be preferr'd to the *Hebrew Original*. He maintains and extolls the Rights of his Church, which hath declar'd this Tranſlation authentick; as if the *Jews*, who are to be convinc'd by this Oracle, were oblig'd to have a greater deference for the *Romiſh* Church; and to prefer a *Latin* Verſion to the *Original*, out of reſpect to the Council of *Trent*. He affirms, that God was ſo far from deſigning to reveal to the *Jews* the time of the Death of his Son, that on the contrary he intended to conceal it. He had ſpread ſuch a dark Cloud over the Oracle, that it cou'd not be underſtood till *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had deſtroy'd the Temple and City. He maintains, that *after LXII. Weeks the* Meſſiah *ſhall be killed, that is, he that ſhall make appear that the* Meſſiah *is one day to be kill'd, the Temple being prophan'd after his Death, how it ſhall be deſtroy'd after that of the* Meſſiah. *The Death inflicted after Sixty two Weeks upon a* Saint *and Sovereign* High Prieſt, *ſhall teach you, that the* Meſſiah *ſhall truly be one day put to Death; he who is by way of Excellency the* CHRIST. The Veil is thick; and we can hardly ſee through the Cloud wherein God wraps himſelf up. However, inſtead of one *Meſſiah*, we diſcover three in it. One is a *Meſſiah, a Captain-General*, (viz.) *Cyrus*, who appear'd 51 Years after *Jehoiakim* was carried away into *Babylon*, and after the Propheſy, which *Jeremiah* declared the ſame Year; from whence we muſt begin the Seven Weeks, as well as the Sixty two. There is a ſecond *Meſſiah*, who is *Onias* the *High Prieſt*, who was Kill'd at *Daphné* before *Antiochus* prophan'd the Temple, and put the Abomination in it. It is affirmed, that this Oracle ſpeaks of *Onias*; becauſe his Death teaches us, that the *true Meſſiah* ſhall be kill'd. *Onias* was the Type of J. CHRIST plainly noted in Holy Writ, which was to direct us to the Original. So that *Daniel*'s deſign here was to deſcribe *Onias*, and to call him the *Meſſiah*.

If you ask, whence is it known that *Onias* was the Type of the *true Meſſiah* promis'd by *Daniel*, tho' he doth not ſay one word of it, you'll be referr'd to the Second Book of the *Maccabees*, which ſpeaks of *Onias* as of a Saint. You muſt not anſwer, that

* Daniel 9. 25 26. 27. † Charron's *Evangelical Demonſtration, or Perpetuity of the true Religion, to be as a Guide to the reading of the Scripture, with an Explication of the 70 Weeks of* Daniel. || Ad R. P. Bern. Lamy de LXX. hebd. Daniel. Euſebii Franco-Romani Refutatoria Oratio S. Præfat. Petav. de Doctrina Tempor.

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all Saints are not Types of the *Meſſiah*, and that the *Jews* do not admit the Books of the *Maccabees* into their Canon. For it will be reply'd, that the *Romiſh* Church hath declar'd this Book Canonical, and if Others do not think ſo, it is their fault.

If you Object, "That the Title of *Meſſiah*, when "found in the Scripture in an abſolute Senſe can "only be apply'd to the *true Meſſiah*; and this is "the place that puzzles the *Jews*, ſince they can't "ſhew any one Man to whom this Title is given; "as in the Oracle of *Daniel*, where it is ſaid, that "*the Meſſiah ſhall be put to Death*; I can't tell what Anſwer you'l receive. For if *Daniel* means J. CHRIST in this Oracle, and if the Title of *Meſſiah* cannot be apply'd to any Body elſe, Father *Harduin*'s typical *Meſſiah* muſt fall; and *Onias* be turn'd out of this Oracle of *Daniel*; or if the Prophet ſpeaks of *Onias*, that Soverein High Prieſt is expreſly call'd *Meſſiah*; and the *Jews* are thereby rid of the only Argument which lay hard upon them. To ſay, that the Sixty two Weeks end in the time of *Onias*, is to beg the Queſtion. For why muſt we begin the Seven Weeks, and the Sixty two in *Jeremiah*'s time, a great many Years before *Daniel* publiſh'd his Oracle, in order to make them end at *Onias?*

V. The reſemblance found between *Onias* and J. CHRIST conſiſts in Two things. 1. That *Onias* was murder'd by the Treachery of *Andronicus*. 2. That the Temple was afterwards prophan'd by *Antiochus*, as it was deſtroy'd by *Titus*. But notwithſtanding all this, yet ſome very great Scruples ſtill remain. For the Prophanation of a Temple is a mighty different thing from the entire Deſolation of the City of *Jeruſalem*, and of the whole Nation. The Temple was purify'd not long after the Death of *Onias*; whereas that of *Herod* cou'd never be rais'd, ſeeing it was reduced to Aſhes. The Death of *Onias* had no relation to the Crime of *Antiochus*. But the *Jews* have loſt their Temple *becauſe of* J. CHRIST. The *Jews* as well as the Heathen demanded that *Andronicus* (who kill'd *Onias*) might be puniſh'd; whereas they cried with a loud Voice, that JESUS ſhou'd be *Crucify'd*. *Onias* did not die for the *People*, but for himſelf; and he had not confirm'd the Covenant during half of one Week, as *Daniel* had foretold of the *Meſſiah*. Laſtly, *Onias* died without any Legal Proceedings, by the treachery of a Profligate Fellow, out of *Jeruſalem*, at *Daphnè*, whether he had fled into the Temple of *Apollo*, which ſerved him for a Sanctuary. Let them exclaim as much as they pleaſe againſt thoſe, who by this Objection ſtrike at the Author of the *Maccabees*, that doth not concern us. Let them complain, that a celebrated * Author makes *Onias* to be killed in the Temple; whereas they had drag'd him out of the Sanctuary. Laſtly, Let them produce ſome examples of Towns, which have been as places of Refuge for the oppreſs'd; yet it is ſtill true, that *Strabo* is a good Commentator of the Author of the *Maccabees*. One ſays, that *Onias* was retir'd to *Daphné* in *an Aſylum, or place of Refuge*. The other deſcribes this Aſylum of *Daphné* to be ſituated in a Wood, where the *Temple of Apollo* ſtood. The truth is, Temples and Altars were places of Refuge. But granting that *Onias* remain'd in the Grove conſecrated to *Apollo*, Wou'd the Scandal be a jot the leſs to ſee a Sovereign *High Prieſt*, for the Preſervation of his life, to ſhelter himſelf under the Protection of Idols? Ought he after this to be made a Saint of, and a Type of the *Meſſiah?* 'Twas Religion which made thoſe Aſylums ſacred and inviolable; So that *Onias* under the ſhelter of the Pagan Religion and Idolatry, ſecur'd himſelf from Death. This is an unqueſtionable matter of Fact; which muſt be prov'd falſe, before an Enquiry can be made, whether it was right or wrong to place this Daſtardly *High Prieſt* in Heaven. If our *Meſſiah*, when he fled from the Sovereign Pontiff of *Jeruſalem*, had retired into ſome Grove conſecrated to falſe Gods, and that a Heathen treacherouſly getting him out from thence, had knock'd him on the Head; had his Death been look'd upon as worthy of a God, that was to make Satisfaction for the Sins of Mankind? And yet it is ſaid, that *Onias* in his Death was the lively Image and Type of the *Meſſiah*.

VI. *Marſham* † is the firſt, that trod this Path; and his Syſtem is only diſguis'd by altering ſome Circumſtances; as the late Interpreters of the *Revelations* of St. *John* diſguiſe that, which *Grotius* had invented upon that Sacred Book. For *Marſham* ſeparates the Seven Weeks, and terminates them to *Cyrus*, whom he alſo calls the *Meſſiah General of an Army*. Beſides, he makes the Sixty two Weeks to end at the Purification of the Temple by *Judas Maccabeus*. This is what is eſſential in this Explication; and what Alterations have been made, are but either Embelliſhments, or Buttreſſes to ſupport this tottering Edifice. It is certain, that *Onias* is made a Martyr, and a Type of J. CHRIST, which *Marſham* had not done. But I queſtion whether the Invention of this new Type is ſo honourable to the Church, that People ſhou'd brag of it; and whether it doth not open an eaſier way to refute the Explication of the *Engliſh Critick*. One wou'd think, that *Chriſtians* finding, that the *Jews* have not reach and ſubtilty enough to elude the force of Oracles, endeavour to wrack their own Fancies to help them out.

VII. New Syſtems do oft-times make People ſuſpect, that there are ſome inſuperable Difficulties in thoſe Propheſies. which ſeem the moſt expreſs and particular. Inſtead of inventing any, we ſhall clearly ſet down, what may diſcover the Truth to thoſe, who honeſtly Search after it.

Firſt, the Prophet ſpeaks plainly of *the Meſſiah, the Leader of the People, the everlaſting Righteouſneſs, and the Holy of Holies*. The *Jews*, and the generality of *Criticks*, who are often harder to be pleas'd than the *Jews*, confeſs, that the *Meſſiah* muſt be underſtood by him, who is to appear at the end of the Sixty nine Weeks. *Daniel* doth not only give him the Name of *Meſſiah*; but alſo heaps up magnificent Titles, which denote his perfect Holineſs and Authority. Beſides, he expreſly fixes the time, wherein the term of the *Meſſiah* ought to be reckoned, namely, that of the Publication of the *Edict* for the Rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*. This Edict is that which *Artaxerxes* ſirnamed *Longimanus* granted to *Nehemiah* in the 20th Year of his Reign, and by virtue of which *Jeruſalem* was entirely reſtor'd. *Cyrus* had publiſh'd one a long time before; but it only reſpected the Temple; and that of *Artaxerxes* ought to be call'd the *Edict*, by way of Excellency; becauſe it was the laſt, the moſt authentick, and the moſt advantageous to the Nation: which was no longer oblig'd to go to the Court of *Perſia* to beg any new Declarations; and that notwithſtanding the Jealouſy and Malice of their Neighbours compleated the Re-eſtabliſhment.

The Seventy Weeks of Years make 490 Years. The *Meſſiah* was to appear 483 Years after the Prediction of *Daniel*, and to be *cut off* in the midſt of the laſt Week; that is, Three Years and a half after he had begun his Miniſtry. So that we muſt find 486 Years from the 20th Year of the Reign of *Artaxerxes* to the Death of J. CHRIST; which many Divines think to be a hard Task.

* Lamy Apparatus Chronologicus. † Marſh. Can. Chron. Ægypt. Sec. VIII. *p.* 612.

VIII. *Ptolomy* gave *a Rule of times*, which cannot be ſuſpected; becauſe this || Author compos'd it upon antient Monuments, and never embrac'd *Chriſtianity*. As he reckons but 477 Years from the Edict of *Artaxerxes* to the 19th of the Reign of *Tiberius*, *Daniel* has been reconciled to him, by obſerving that *that* Prophet follow'd the manner of reckoning uſed by the *Caldeans*, whoſe Year conſiſted only of 360 Days. By cutting off 5 Days * from every Year, we find the 477 Years of *Ptolomy* at the Death of J. CHRIST. And it is not Strange, that *Daniel* follow'd the Method of the *Caldeans*; ſince he wrote among them for the ſake of a Nation, that was to remain there till the coming of the *Meſſiah*; and that *Ezekiel* hath done the ſame thing.

This Obſervation is new; but I can't tell whether it ought to be receiv'd; becauſe if the Year of the *Caldeans* was commonly 5 Days ſhorter, what was loſt they retriev'd by intercalating from time to time one Month.

But, 1. The Rule of times ſet down by *Ptolomy* is enough to confute the *Jews*, and all thoſe, who ſhorten ſo much the Monarchy of the *Perſians*, by allowing but four Kings to them. 2. The Number of Years conteſted in Five hundred Years is very inconſiderable. The difference is only of Nine Years found in the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, when you give it its full length. It cannot be deny'd, but that *Ptolomy* hath made ſome conſiderable Omiſſions in the Monarchy of the *Perſians*; ſince he hath taken no notice at all of the Uſurpers; *Artabanus*, who got *Artaxerxes* the Kingdom; *Xerxes*, and *Sogdianus*. Theſe Uſurpers reign'd almoſt three Years. 4. Laſtly, altho' *Ptolomy* was a Learned and Able Man, he doth not agree with *Porphyry*, who ought no more to be ſuſpected than he concerning the Reign of *Ptolomeus Lagus*, which this laſt makes to be three Years longer. It appears by a Letter wrote to *Cicero*, that *Dionyſius Auletes* did not dye till the 703 Year of *Rome*; from whence it may eaſily be concluded, that he reign'd 30 Years, and not 29, as *Ptolomy* affirms. However, we may follow *Ptolomy*, and ſupply out of other Hiſtories what he wants; and his Teſtimony is ſtill of great weight.

IX. If you won't enter into the *detail* of the Reign of every Prince, it will be enough to obſerve theſe three General *Epocha's*, which are certain.

1. That of the Edict put out by *Artaxerxes* in the 20th Year of his Reign in the LXXXI Olympiad.

2. The Death of *Alexander* the *Great*, which is controverted by no body.

3. And the time from the Death of *Alexander* to the 19th Year of *Tiberius*, which was that of the Death of J. CHRIST, which likewiſe is not conteſted.

X. *Artaxerxes* † *Longimanus* began his Reign, when *Themiſtocles* fled into *Perſia*. *Thucydides* || ſays ſo in expreſs terms. He retir'd thither the Second Year of the 77th *Olympiad*. This Prince who *then began to reign*, was upon the Throne the Year before, eſpecially if we include in his Reign, the time in which *Artabanus*, omitted by *Ptolomy*, was Maſter of the Empire.

This Prince gave the *Edict* for the Rebuilding of *Jeruſalem* in the Twentieth Year of his Reign towards the end of the Eighty firſt *Olympiad*.

He lived Twenty Eight or Twenty Nine Years after this *Edict*; for he ſent an Ambaſſy into *Lacedemon* in the ſixth Year of the *Peloponeſian* War, which was the laſt of the Eighty Eighth *Olympiad*, and the three Hundred and twenty ninth Year from the building of *Rome*.

The beginning and end of the Reign of this Prince are known by the *Pagan* Hiſtorians; and the time is pretty well fixed by theſe two Facts; *Themiſtocles*'s Retirement to the Court of *Perſia*; and the Ambaſſy, which this Prince ſent the ſixth Year of the *Peloponeſian* War. Theſe two Remarks remove all the difficulty.

XI. *Artaxerxes* Died in the Eighty Eighth *Olympiad*. One Hundred and three Years paſs'd from this Prince's Death to that of *Alexander* the *Great*, which happen'd in the Hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*: Add to this the twenty eight or twenty nine Years that *Artaxerxes* Reigned ſince the Publication of his *Edict* granted in the Eighty firſt *Olympiad*, and you find exactly One Hundred thirty two Years.

XII. The Heathen Chronologers reckon three Hundred fifty four, from the Death of *Alexander* to the nineteenth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, adding One Hundred thirty two Years to three Hundred fifty four Years, you find four Hundred eighty ſix; which makes the Term fixed by *Daniel* for the *Deſtruction of the Meſſiah*; and the four Hundred eighty ſix Years fall in the nineteenth Year of *Tiberius*, and the ſeven Hundred eighty fourth of the City of *Rome*, when J. CHRIST was ſomething above thirty three Years of Age, be-

|| Alix. de Dupl. Adventu adverſ. Jud.

* *To this might be apply'd, what Father* Harduin *ſays, that they are* interrupted *Weeks.* Ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδες συνετμήθησαν, LXX. ſeptimanæ abbreviatæ ſunt in Verſione LXX, Interp. *There is in the* Hebrew, שבעים נחתך LXX, ſeptimanæ deciſæ *à radice* ſcindere, determinare. *Buxtorf.* Lex Thalmud. *p.* 854. *Father* Harduin, Præf. Petav. de Doctr. Temp. *follows the Vulgar Tranſlation, and maintains its Authority from the Council of* Trent. *We have no need to diſpute about the Authority of Tranſlations, or of the Councils which authenticate them. But what is meant by the interrupted or ſhorten'd Weeks? Since the Hebrew term* Niphal *ſignifies* determinate, *the ſenſe of which agrees with the Words of the Prophet; and ſince* Daniel *makes uſe of that Conjugation, ought not we to prefer the moſt natural ſenſe?*

† Ptolomy's *Rule of times.*

The Kings of Perſia.	
Artaxerxes Longimanus, *who publiſh'd the Edict*	41
Darius II. *ſurnam'd* Ochus	19
Artaxerxes II. Mnemon.	46
Artaxerxes III. Ochus.	21
Aroſtes, *or* Arſaces.	2
Darius III.	4
The Greek *Kings.*	
Alexander *the Great.*	8
Philippus Aridæus.	7
Alexandre II. Ægus.	12
An.	160
The Kings of Ægypt	
Ptolomy *Son of* Lagus, *ſurnam'd* Soter.	20
P. Philadelphus.	38
P. Evergetes I.	25
P. Philopator.	17
P. Epiphomes.	24
P. Philometor.	35
P. Evergetes II. Phiſcon, *or the Paunch-belly.*	29
P. Soter II. *or* Lathurus.	36
Auletes, *or* Dyoniſius.	29
Cleopatra	22
Years	275
The Romans.	
Auguſtus.	43
Tiberius.	19
Years	62
Years	497
Subſtract 20 *Years from* Artaxerxes, *and you'l find Years*	477

* Thucyd. *l.* 1. *p.* 45.

Another Chronology.

The Kings of Perſia.	
Artaxerxes Longimanus, *who gave the Edict the* 20*th Year of his Reign.*	48 *or* 49
Darius II. *For* Xerxes *and* Sogdianus *are included.*	19
Artaxerxes II. Mnemon	46
Artaxerxes III. Ochus.	21
Arſaces, *or* Aroſtes.	2
Darius III.	4
The Kings of Greece.	
Alexander *the* Great.	8
Philippus Aridæus.	7
Alexander II Ægus.	12
Years	167
Kings of Egypt.	
Ptolomy *Son of* Lagus, *according to* Porphyry.	23
P. Philadelphus.	37
P. Evergetes I.	25
P. Philopator.	17
P. Epiphanes.	24
P. Philometor.	35
P. Evergetes II.	29
P. Soter II. *or* Lathurus.	36
Dyoniſius Auletes, *according to* Cicero.	30
Cleopatra.	21
Years	277
The Romans.	
Auguſtus.	43
Tiberius.	19
Years	62
Years	506
Subſtract 20 *Years from* Artaxerxes, *and you'l find Years*	486

ng Born in the ſeven Hundred and fiftieth Year of *Rome*. He had begun three Years and ſome Months before to preach; that is, when he enter'd into the ſeventieth Week mentioned by *Daniel*. So that this Calculation is exact. It is ſo too by the *Olympiads*. For *Artaxerxes* granted the Edict in the third or fourth Year of the Eighty firſt *Olympiad*; and J. CHRIST Died in the two Hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*. So that one Hundred twenty one *Olympiads* paſt, which make four Hundred eighty and ſix Years and ſome Months, after which J. CHRIST was Crucify'd; and theſe one Hundred twenty one *Olympiads*, and two Hundred and two *Olympiads*, fall in the ſeven Hundred and Eighty fourth Year of *Rome*.

XIII. The greateſt Difficulty of all is about the end of the laſt Week; becauſe *Daniel* foretells, that *the Deſolation* ſhall happen by *ſome abominable Wings*. Thoſe Wings naturally repreſent the *Roman* Eagles, which deſtroy'd *Jeruſalem* under the Empire of *Titus*. Yet this great Event did not happen till three Years and a half after the Death of J. CHRIST. It is for that reaſon, that ſome *Criticks* divide this Week from the reſt, and maintain that the Alliance which was to be made, was that contracted with *Antiochus* King of *Comagena*, *Agrippa* King of the *Jews*, and ſeveral other Sovereign Princes, to deſtroy that Nation; *Nero* having ſent *Veſpaſian* into *Judæa* to negotiate thoſe Alliances; and as they begin this Week in the 67th Year of the *Chriſtian Æra*, ſo they end it at the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

XIV. But the Difficulty is not for all this entirely remov'd. For *Daniel* ſpeaks of a *Covenant which the* Meſſiah *ſhall confirm* for the ſpace of half a Week; which concerns the *Covenant*, that God had made with us through the *Meſſiah*, either by his Preaching, which laſted three Years and a half, or by his Death; and which cannot agree with the Alliance of the *Romans* with the Kings of *Comagena*, *Judæa*, or *Iturea*. Beſides, the *Meſſiah* entred into the 70th Week; ſince he dy'd in that Week. How then can it be ſever'd from the other 69, and an Interval of 30. or 36 Years be put between them?

XV. But the Prophet reckon'd 70 Weeks, only becauſe it was an even Number. He ſpoke of the 70th Week, becauſe the *Meſſiah* was really to enter into that Week, to exerciſe his Miniſtry, and to die in it. But what relates to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* is referr'd to a more diſtant time, which differs from the 70 Weeks. And indeed the 70 Weeks relate only to the *Meſſiah*, his Covenant, and Death. *After which* the Deſolation was to happen, as it really happen'd ſome time after. The Prophet diſtinguiſhes the time, and ſays, that this was *only* to happen *after* the Death of the *Meſſiah*, without mentioning the ſame Week. So that we may refer the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* to ſome time *after*.

XVI. Let the *Jews* begin where they will to count the 70 Weeks of *Daniel*. It is impoſſible for them to produce a *Meſſiah*, who appear'd before the *abominable Wings* had compleated the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem*. And how many Ages have paſs'd ſince the 70 Weeks without the leaſt appearance of a *Meſſiah*? So that either *Daniel* muſt be an Impoſtor, and a falſe Prophet, or the *Meſſiah* hath a long time ago manifeſted himſelf.

XVII. The Arguments of the ableſt *Jews* *, who have endeavour'd to elude this Oracle, tend to ſhorten the Monarchy of the *Perſians*, which according to their Account, laſted but 52 Years after *Cyrus*. They ground themſelves upon their *great, and ſmall Chronicles*, where they reckon but Four Kings inſtead of Ten. *Daniel* and *Ezra* did not promiſe any more, and by following this Chronology it is impoſſible to find 486 Years to the Death of J. CHRIST; and as for them they begin to reckon the Weeks from the Deſtruction of the *firſt Temple*, and reckon 490 Years from that firſt Calamity to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*. They imagine *two Anointed*, whereof One was *Cyrus*, who appear'd at the Seventh Week, and the Other *Agrippa* II, who was kill'd at the laſt Siege of *Jeruſalem*: After which the Commander, that is, *Titus* deſtroy'd *Jeruſalem*; and the Deſolation of that City was to laſt till the War of *Gog* and *Magog*, wherein all the Enemies of the Nation ſhall be exterminated by the *Meſſiah*. Thus *Solomon Jarchi*, and *Abravanel*, back'd by the moſt conſiderable Doctors of the Synagogue, argue.

XVIII. It is enough to obſerve, that we follow Prophane Hiſtorians concerning the Monarchy of the *Perſians*. Nay, we follow likewiſe *Joſephus*. This Hiſtorian, who is jealous to the laſt degree of the glory of his Nation, and all thoſe Authors, who ought not to be ſuſpected, are to be preferr'd to the *Small Chronicle*, whoſe Author owns that he liv'd but 453 Years after the Deſtruction of the Temple; that is, at the beginning of the VIth Century of the *Chriſtian Æra*; and the Author of the *great Chronicle* is guilty of too many Faults with reference to *Barcochebas*, to believe that he was Co-temporary with him; and that *J* was *R. Joſes* a celebrated Man at that time. It is very likely, that this Book was compos'd but in the XIIth Century, atd 1053 Years after the Deſtruction of the Temple. Their Authority cannot come in Competition with that which we produce concerning the Monarchy of the *Perſians*.

XIX. I own that the Authority of *Daniel* wou'd prevail over all the Teſtimonies of Infidels, That Prophet has ſaid †, That *three Kings of* Perſia *ſhall yet ſtand up, and the fourth ſhall be far Richer than they all, and by his Strength through his Riches he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the Realm of* Grecia; and *Abravanel* ‖ boldly concludes from thence, that there were to be but four Kings of *Perſia*, (viz.) *Cyrus* II. *Cambyſes* his Son, *Ahaſuerus* the Husband of *Eſther*, and *Darius*, otherwiſe call'd *Artaxerxes*. Here are almoſt as many Blunders as Words. 1. There was no *Cyrus* II. who reign'd in *Aſia*, and ſucceeded his Father *Cyrus* I. This is to palm fabulous Kings upon the *Perſians*. 2. Tho' there was one *Cambyſes*, yet the Scripture never gives him that Name: And if *Abravanel* goes to look for him among Prophane Hiſtorians, why will he not follow exactly the Succeſſion of the Kings of *Perſia*, that are found in thoſe very Authors whom he copies? He thereby Multiplies the Kings of that Monarchy, and then retrenches their Number out of a pure whim. 3. *Darius* is never call'd *Artaxerxes*; and the Scripture is ſo far from making of them one and the ſame Prince, that it diſtinguiſhes them as Father and Son, which is very right. 4. He denies, without alledging any Proofs, there ever was an *Artaxerxes* that was King. 5. He is yet more in the wrong, to diſpute all the Hiſtory of *Xerxes*, ſo well known by the Greeks. Why doth he deprive this Prince of the Name, Life and Being, which the whole current of Antiquity aſcribes to him? 6. He impertinently concludes from the words of *Daniel*, that the Monarchy was to be aboliſh'd, becauſe that Prophet ſpeaks only of Four Kings. It is true, he ſtops at the Fourth King; but it is to repreſent his Actions and Stirrings againſt the *Greeks*, denoted by the * Kingdom of *Javan*: And indeed *Xerxes* gather'd together a prodigious Army, wherewith he pretended to ſwallow up all *Greece*; but the Monarchy was not

* Seder Gnolam Rabba, *c.* 29 30. Seder Gnolam Zuta. apud Imbonatum B. R. *t.* v. *p.* 41. V. Ganz. Tzemach David.
† Dan. 11.2. *Potter's* Archeolog. Græcæ. *p.* 3. ‖ Abravanel apud Hulſ. Theol. Jud. Appendix, pag. 552. * *Potter* ut ſupra.

Extinct

Extinct in his Perſon, and King *Darius*, who was Vanquiſh'd by *Alexander*, is very different from him whom the Rabbies call *Artaxerxes*. They therefore miſtake, either through Malice, or Ignorance; both in the Prophane and Sacred Hiſtory, or rather through Subtilty. For ſeeing that *Daniel* and *Ezra* ſpeak but of Four *Perſian* Kings ſince *Cyrus*, they take the Advantage of this ſilence of Scripture, as if the *Holy Pen-men* took upon them to write a connected and compleat Hiſtory of the *Perſians*.

XX. The Rabbies do not think it enough to ſhorten the *Perſian* Monarchy againſt the Teſtimony of Hiſtorians; but being puzzled to find a *Meſſiah* out, *who was to be cut off*, they are forc'd to make two, and thoſe to appear at very diſtant Times.

The Firſt, according to them, came at the end of Seven Weeks of Years, which make 49 Years. And the more eaſily to prove it, they aſſert, that the word *Meſſiah* ſignifying *Anointed*, may be apply'd to Kings, Prophets, and the High-Prieſt. But that only ſerves to make a new difference of Opinions among them: For one maintains that this *Meſſiah* was *Cyrus*, to whom the Scripture gave the Title of the *Lord's Anointed*. Thus the Rabbies are the firſt Inventors of this Opinion. Another will have him to be the *Jehoſhuah*, the High-Prieſt. A third ſubſtitutes *Zerubbabel* in his Place. Neither do they forget *Nehemiah* *; becauſe he ſays, *that the King had appointed him to be Governor in the Land of* Judah. However, the ſame Author † quits *Nehemiah*, and queſtions whether *Artaxerxes*, who was the Sovereign, ought not to be put in his room. How many different Opinions are here about this firſt *Meſſiah?* And yet this is not ſufficient, but another muſt be found out, who is to appear Seven Years before the Deſtruction of the *Second Temple*, and 480 Years after *Cyrus*.

This ſecond *Meſſiah*, is *Agrippa*, who, according to them, was to be killed by *Veſpaſian* at *Rome*, with his Son *Monbaius*; and *Titus* afterwards Beſieging *Jeruſalem*, aboliſh'd the Sacrifices, becauſe the *Jews* who were taken up with this Siege, which laſted three Years, cou'd not mind the Immolation of Victims. The *Romans* becoming Maſters of *Judea*, deſolated the Nation, and by that means || *the Sin was conſumed, and the attonement for Iniquity was made*, becauſe the Puniſhment was heavier than the Captivity of *Babylon*. God by this Captivity did only puniſh the *Jews*'s contempt of the Sabbath and Feſtivals; but in the ſecond he puniſh'd *Idolatry and Inceſt*; and thus the Sin was conſum'd and expiated.

XXI. But the Fact is falſe: For *Agrippa* never had any Children; and thoſe who gave him *One*, do it without proofs. He was not kill'd by *Veſpaſian*: On the contrary, he liv'd peaceably at *Rome*, where *Titus*, who was in love with his Siſter *Berenice*, openly favour'd him: And this pacifick and mild Prince never gave the *Romans* any occaſion to doubt of his Loyalty. Let *Joſephus* be read, and Prophane Hiſtorians conſulted, and then from them this Murder of the laſt King of *Judea* will appear fabulous. Laſtly, His Medals make it plain, that he ſtill liv'd in the 14th Year of *Domitian*, a long while after the taking of *Jeruſalem*: So that it is not enough to advance chimerical Viſions, and fictitious Facts at random, to elude this Oracle of *Daniel*; but they ought alſo to ſhew at the end of the ſixty-nine Weeks a *Meſſiah* that had been cut off, which they do not. However, we have theſe Advantages from the needleſs attempts of the Rabbies; One, that they confeſs that *Daniel* denoted a *Meſſiah*, who was to appear before the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple; the Other, that the *cutting off* of that *Meſſiah* ſignify'd his Death; ſince it is for that reaſon they have pretended that *Agrippa* was kill'd. But we find thoſe two great and conſpicuous marks in J. CHRIST, who was cut off a little before the War of the ſecond Temple, and 436 Years after the *Edict* of *Artaxerxes*, as *Daniel* had foretold.

XXII. An *Italian* Author * who had a mind *to introduce the* Jews *to the Faith*, makes his Catechumen Object to him, that the Prophecy of *Daniel* is not well interpreted by making Weeks of Years; whereas they are Weeks of leſs Jubilees, whereof each contains ſeven Years: Thus the Prophet makes not the *Meſſiah* to be expected till 3430 Years after their Reſtoration. *Lo Eſpongeno*, ſays the Cathechumen, making the *Jews* ſo ſpeak, *per ſettimane di Giubilei cioè per ogni ſettimana, ſette Giubiliei ci piccoli di ſette anni Luno che ſarebono* 3430 *anni*. But as this ſingular opinion, tho' made in the Name of the Rabbies, is only perhaps read in one *Chriſtian* Author, it doth not deſerve to be inſiſted upon. Let us rather end with the confeſſion of the famous † *Manaſſa*, who liv'd in the laſt Century, and honeſtly own'd, *that the antient* Jews, *eſpecially thoſe who took up Arms againſt the* Romans, *expected the* Meſſiah *at that time, and hop'd that he wou'd ſpring up from the midſt of their Calamities.*

* Neh. 5. 14. † Azarias Meor Enaiim, *c.* 41. || Abravanel apud Hulſ. Theol. Jud. Appendix, *pag.* 548.
* Fabianus Fioghi Introduttione alla Fede. † Manaſſe de Termin. Vitæ.

CHAP. XXIII.

Five Characters, which the Prophets gave to the Meſſiah.

I. *The deſign of this Chapter.* II. *The Divinity of the* Meſſiah *ſcandaliz'd.* III. *The Union of the Deity with the Body in the Apparitions to the Patriarchs.* IV. *Divine Perfections aſcrib'd to the* Meſſiah. V. *The Homage which ought to be paid to him.* VI. *His Birth from a Virgin.* VII. *The Objections of the* Jews. VIII. *A new Intepretation concerning the City of* Damaſcus, *refuted by the Hiſtory of that City.* IX. *An Objection againſt his Birth from a Virgin ſolv'd.* X. Bethlehem *fix'd for the Place of the* Meſſiah's *Nativity.* XI. *The Confeſſion of the* Jews. *Their Objections.* XII. *A new Reconciliation of St.* Matthew *with* Micah. XIII. *The Sufferings of the* Meſſiah. XIV. Abravanel's *Objection againſt the Satisfaction.* XV. *Whether the* Gentils *ſpeak in the* 53 *of* Iſaiah. XV. *This Opinion refuted.* XVII. *The Application of the Oracle to* Joſiah. XVIII. *Refuted.* XIX. *Characters of the* Meſſiah. XX. *His Miracles.*

I. WE have ſhew'd at what time the *Meſſiah* was to appear: and that is enough to diſtinguiſh him from the many Impoſtors that have taken up that Title long after him. Yet we ought to look into the Prophets for ſome Characters, which may inform us, what notion they had of him: And we ſhall find in them his Divinity, his being Born

of a Virgin at *Bethlehem*, his Sufferings and Exaltation. We ſhall not inſiſt on all theſe Characters, becauſe we do not here handle this Controverſie; but we ſhall unravel in few words, what the Prophets have ſaid of theſe.

II. The *Jews* are not leſs ſcandaliz'd at the Divinity of the *Meſſiah*, than at his Ignominious Death upon a Croſs. They ſay, you might as well conceive *an Hippocentaur* *, *as acknowledge a Man to be God*; *and that the Prophets are ſo far from Teaching any thing of this, that they diſtinguiſh between* God *and* David; *One is the Maſter, the Other the Servant. The* Meſſiah *is call'd* David, *and at the ſame time a Servant.* So that he is not God.

III. The Union of the Deity with Human Nature, in the Perſon of the *Meſſiah*, is one of the moſt Incomprehenſible Myſteries of Chriſtianity. But we obſerve in the Writings of the Prophets Four things concerning this Matter.

Firſt, God prepar'd Men to the belief of this Incarnation by the frequent Apparitions of his Son to the Prophets. For *Abraham* † *ſaw this Day and was glad.* This Father of the Faithful, that is, Believers, ſaw Three Angels, but he ador'd but One of them. And why this difference? No Angel hath a particular Right to our Adorations; and *Abraham* was no Idolater. So that he whom he worſhip'd was God, that had for ſome time taken a Human Shape upon him. *Jacob* found *the Lord God of Hoſts* in *Bethel* ‖. He wreſtled with him for one whole Night; and therefore he ſaid that he had *ſeen God Face to Face.* Had he only ſtruggled with an Angel, Guardian to *Eſau*, he had not ask'd of him his Bleſſing with that confidence, which is only due to God. And * *Hoſea* relating this Combat, had not given him the Title of *Jehovah*, which only belongs to the Supremely perfect Being. If the Deity cou'd, for the ſake of the Patriarchs, be united to the nature of Angels, or Men, and put on a ſenſible Body to appear to them; it cannot be ſaid, that the Incarnation of a God is impoſſible, and contrary to Reaſon.

Secondly, He *that is Born unto us*, is call'd by † *Iſaiah*, *The mighty God, The everlaſting Father, The Prince of Peace. The Lord of Hoſts is his Name. This Redeemer is the Holy One of* Iſrael, *and he ſhall be called the God of all the Earth.* Can theſe Titles be given to a Creature? Can an Angel be call'd *the Prince and Father of Eternity, the Lord and the Almighty God?* Let them ſhew us any one Creature, that hath deſerv'd theſe Appellations, and to whom they were given. *Micah*, who fixes *Bethlehem* for the Place of his Birth, ſays at the ſame time, ‖ *that his goings forth have been from of old, from everlaſting.* How can they explain theſe words of the Prophets, but by the Eternal Generation of the Son of God, who is at the ſame time the *Ruler* and *Lord* of Kings? And *David* own'd it.

IV. * *Jeremiah* affirms, that the *Meſſiah* ſhall be *called*, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS. I do not pretend without good grounds, that the *Meſſiah* is to have that Title. For the *Chaldee*-Paraphraſts ſay ſo. *Kimki* owns this. *Iſrael*, ſays he, *ſhall call the* Meſſiah *by that Name*, JEHOVAH, or the LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS. † Several of the Rabbies are oblig'd to follow him. The *Meſſiah* therefore is the *Jehovah* ſo well known among the *Jews*. He bears that Ineffable Name, which cannot be given but to the Supreme God. *Moſes* hath juſtify'd no Body. On the contrary, the Law which he has delivered, diſcovered both the Sin and the Puniſhment it deſerv'd; but did not extirpate it. The *Meſſiah* is he, who juſtifies Sinners, and is for that reaſon called THEIR RIGHTEOUSNESS. They try in vain to elude thoſe Words, *by maintaining, that the Baniſhment and Miſery which happen'd after the Deſtruction of the* Second Temple, *expiate Crimes*; *that* Iſrael *ſhall Sin no more, and that the Righteouſneſs and the Law, which ceas'd in the* Second Temple, *ſhall again appear in the Third, which is the Houſe of Ages*: For the Puniſhment of Sin doth not expiate it. It is not the People of *Iſrael* that look upon themſelves as their *own Righteouſneſs*; that relates to a particular Perſon, who is God, and is call'd *Jehovah*. It is He who attones for the Sins of the People, and juſtifies many of them; and indeed God alone can be our Righteouſneſs. J. CHRIST cannot be more lively and more naturally deſcrib'd; He who hath made a propitiation for Sin, and is the *Righteouſneſs* of all thoſe that believe in him; nor can it be more clearly expreſs'd, that the *Meſſiah* is God *Bleſſed for evermore.*

V. It is alſo for that reaſon, that the ‖ Prophets require that we ſhould put our alone Truſt and Confidence in him, *Look unto me and be ye ſav'd, all the ends of the Earth*; *for I am God, and there is none elſe.* The Prophet will have Men put their Truſt in the *Meſſiah*; and he ſhows the effect of this Hope and of theſe Looks; *Men ſhall be ſav'd.* In a word, he ſets down the Motive which ſhould engage us to it, *viz.* that *he is God.* The *Meſſiah* therefore is *God*; we ought to Truſt in him, and * *look upon him whom they have pierc'd*; and it is by that means that we ſhall be ſav'd. Can any thing be ſaid more expreſsly of the Deity, of that God who alone can ſave all thoſe that puut their Truſt in him?

VI. This God was to be Born of a Virgin. This is the ſecond peculiar Character which the Prophets give to the *Meſſiah*. I ſhall only upon this Article obſerve, that the Apoſtles might have omitted ſpeaking of J. CHRIST his being Born of a Virgin, had not they known that this was One of the Characters of the *Meſſiah*, mention'd by the Prophets; and that the *Jews* at that time were expecting this Miraculous Event. They might as well have overlook'd this, as a great many other Miracles wrought by the *Meſſiah*. This was a nice Matter; for it might have expos'd the Virgin and Religion too to the Suſpicions and Objections of Prophane Unbelievers. They might have eaſily conceal'd it, ſeeing *Mary* was Marry'd to *Joſeph*; ſo that the Apoſtles muſt have thought themſelves oblig'd to relate this Fact; becauſe the *Jews* of that time were perſuaded, that the Prophet *Iſaiah* had foretold, that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be Born of a Virgin. He wrought a great many other Miracles, which have been paſſed over in ſilence, but this could not be conceal'd, without betraying Truth, and doing Injury to the *Meſſiah*, whom they expected with that Character. It follows from hence therefore, that the Apoſtles and the *Jews* of that time did Interpret the Propheſie of *Iſaiah* as we do; and that they all agreed to believe, that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be Born of a Virgin. It was alſo for this Reaſon, that they always quoted the Prediction of *Iſaiah*, when they ſpoke of his Birth. So that we muſt not mind thoſe who diſtort the Text, to deprive us of the true meaning of the Prophet. And indeed the Word † in the Original is found in Seven Places of Scripture, and in every one of them it ſignifies a Virgin.

VII. The *Jews* laugh at a Miracle that was not to happen till many Ages after the Deliverance of *Ahaz*, and could not confirm his tottering Faith. And there-

* Judæi Luſitani Quæſtiones 23. ad Chriſtianos. Q. 1. 2. 4. *p.* 13. † John 8. 56. ‖ Geneſ. 32. 24 & 30. * Hoſea 12. 5. 6. † Iſai. 9. 6. ‖ Micah 5. 2. * Jerem. 23. 6. † V. le Moyne Diſſ. de Jehovah Juſtitia noſtra. *c.* 16. & *p.* 206. ‖ Iſaiah 35. 4. & 45. 22. * Zachariah 12. 10. John 19. 37. † Gnalemah.

fore

fore ſome acute Intepreters, in order to remove this difficulty, joyn theſe Words of the Prophet, * *The head of* Syria *is* Damaſcus, *and the head of* Damaſcus *is* Rezin, with the Oracle which we are now explaining; as if God had promiſed, *that* Damaſcus *ſhould be the Capital of* Syria; *but that it ſhould never Rule over* Judea, *till a Virgin ſhould bear a Son.* They add, that this Propheſie was fulfilled, becauſe *Judea* was never Subject to the Kings of *Damaſcus* till the coming of the *Meſſiah*. But then *Archelaus* being expell'd out of *Jeruſalem*, and *Judea* reduc'd into a Province, the *Romans* joyn'd it to *Syria*; ſo that when the † *Virgin had brought forth*, *Damaſcus* became the Head of *Judea*, as it had been the Head of *Syria*. *Ahaz* ought to be comforted by this Prediction; and therefore ſeveral Interpreters, who endeavour only to get rid of a difficulty, have follow'd this Explication.

VIII. Nevertheleſs it is contradicted by the Hiſtory of *Damaſcus*. If *Iſaiah* did promiſe to *Damaſcus* a Superiority over *Syria*, he would alſo have foretold to *Rezin*, who was the Head of it, a Royalty that ſhould be intail'd upon his Poſterity, till the Manifeſtation of J. CHRIST. *Samaria*, and *Remaliah*'s Son, would have had the ſame Fate: But this is palpably falſe, both with reference to the Kings and the Cities. For *Damaſcus* was ſo far from Ruling peaceably over *Syria*, that ſhe was taken. *Tiglathpileſer* Beſieg'd this great City at the requeſt of *Ahaz*, kill'd its King *Rezin*, and carried away its Inhabitants Priſoners. It was turned into Rubbiſh, and ceaſed from being a City, as *Iſaiah* had Propheſied. Therefore this Prophet was far from promiſing that it ſhould have a laſting and perpetual Government; and if he had promiſed it, the Event would have prov'd his Promiſe falſe. It was re-eſtabliſh'd under the *Perſian* Empire, and *Darius* had put there his Treaſure, which was taken by *Alexander* the *Great*. But then it was always Tributary. It became afterwards a Prey to the Ambition of the *Seleucides*, who conteſted together for this City. Then it fell into the hands of *Ptolomy*; but his Government was ſo odious, that they call'd in *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, to put themſelves under his Protection. Nothing could happen more thwarting to a Promiſe of a perpetual Dominion over *Syria*. After this City had been taken by *Pompey*, it was reſtor'd by *Auguſtus* to *Aretas* II. King of *Arabia*, who was Maſter of it in the time of J. CHRIST, and of St *Paul*; ſince this Apoſtle || affirms, that the Governor under King *Aretas* at *Damaſcus*, had poſted ſome Guards to apprehend him. It was not therefore then *the Head of Syria*. Thus *Judea* was not under the Dominion of *Damaſcus* after *the Virgin had bore a Son*. A King of *Arabia* had this City, and the *Roman* Governours of *Syria* reſided at *Antioch*. Nothing but a love for Truth hath obliged us to make this Remark, that ſo the *Jews* ſhould not imagine, that we play upon their Ignorance in Antient Hiſtory.

IX. The *Jews* are as much concern'd as the *Chriſtians* to remove this difficulty. For to ſave the honour of the Prophet, they muſt find a Prodigy in the time of *Ahaz*, as alſo an extraordinary Deliverer, that might ſecure *Jeruſalem* from being taken by the Kings of *Samaria* and *Damaſcus*, that were combin'd againſt it. It is no mighty thing for a * Virgin who Marries, to Conceive and bear a Child. Beſides, this Deliverer, Born of the Wife of a Prophet, can't be produc'd. The *Chriſtians* alone ſhew this wonderful Deliverer of the Nation, who is truly Born of a *Virgin*. This is a unheard of Miracle, and unknown to all Antiquity. We ſee then that the *Chriſtians* alone reach the Senſe and Meaning of the Prophet; and this Miracle, tho remote, was yet an aſſurance of the love that God had for *Jeruſalem*; ſince he promiſed to that City a future Deliverence, which ſhould be greater than that which was then deſired. It is the method of the Holy Ghoſt, to promiſe Spiritual Bleſſings, inſtead of Temporal Deliverances, which are earneſtly deſir'd. And indeed *Abravanel* confeſſes, that the Predictions of the Prophets do not always hang together; and that to a preſent Deliverance, they often add the promiſe of a Spiritual Grace, which may very juſtly be apply'd to the Oracle of *Iſaiah*.

X. The Prophet † *Micah* fixes the Place of the Nativity of the *Meſſiah*. It was in *Bethlehem Ephrata*, a ſmall City among the thouſands of *Judah*, that the *Ruler in Iſrael*, or *Meſſiah*, was to come. For thus the *Chaldee*-Paraphraſt || hath Tranſlated it. Beſides, the Prophet ſpeaks of a Two-fold Birth; one at *Bethlehem*, the other from all Eternity. For *his goings forth have been from everlaſting*. The *Jews* of the V. Century were charg'd * with having cut off theſe laſt Words of the Oracle; but if they were guilty of it at that time, they have ſince been aſham'd of it. For they have put † again in the Text *the everlaſting goings forth of the* Meſſiah. We can't then longer doubt of the Senſe of the Oracle, ſince the *Sanhedrim*, aſſembled by *Herod*'s Order, determin'd, that the promiſed Deliverer was to be Born in *Bethlehem*. Neither can any one fairly queſtion, whether J. CHRIST was Born there; ſeeing *Herod*, that he might be ſure to take away his Life with the reſt, had Commanded all the Children of that ſmall City to be Murder'd, which was executed accordingly. It did not lie in JESUS's Power to be Born there. On the contrary, his Paternal Houſe was very far from thence, and the Virgin was brought thither by an accident, that could not be foreſeen. To conclude, no other *Meſſiah* can be Born in this Place; ſince it has been deſtroy'd a great many Ages ago. A Town Rebuilt after it is wholly ruin'd, can't be the ſame, which ſubſiſted in the time of the Prophet, and whereof he ſpeaks.

XI. The *modern Jews* do not deny || that the *Meſſiah* is to be Born at *Bethlehem*. But they deny, that he, who is foretold by the Prophet, is God. *What Deity is that which Reigns only over the People of* Iſrael? *Hath God any Brethren? However, the reſt of his Brethren are to remain with him.* *Nahum* alſo ſays, * *There is one come out of thee, that imagineth Evil againſt the Lord.* And what notion can we have of your JESUS, to whom theſe Words are as applicable as thoſe of *Micah*.

Theſe Objections ſcarce deſerve our notice; For is the God, whom the *Jews* worſhip, the leſs a God, becauſe he hath ſaid to the Children of *Iſrael*, *I am the Lord thy God?* The particular Protection which he grants to this Nation, doth not deſtroy his Empire over other Nations. Men may be called the Brethren of J. CHRIST, ſince he hath put on their Nature; and there is a vaſt difference between *Nineveh*, from whence came that One, *who imagined Evil againſt the Lord*, and *Bethlehem*, where the *Head of* Iſrael was to be Born. One was the Oppreſſor of the People of God, and the Other their Deliverer. Why ſhould theſe two things be confounded?

XII. The difficulty rather turns upon † St. *Matthew*'s giving another Senſe to *Micah*'s words; and

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* Iſaiah 7. 8. 14. † Micah 5. 2. || Jonathanis Targum Bibl. Polygl. Pariſ. chon Vetus, Tela Ignea Sat. *t.* 2. *p.* 115. || Id. ibid. * Nah. 1. 11. † Matth. 2. 6. || 2 Corinth. 11. 32. * Iſaac Munimen Fidei, *p.* 182. * Theodoret. Dial. 1. *t.* 4. *p.* 11. † Lipmanus Nizza-

this difference is so great, that St. *Jerom* † did acknowledge, that either the Evangelist's Memory fail'd him, or else that he too scrupulously related the words of the Doctors assembled at *Jerusalem*, who had not exactly quoted this Prophesy. It hath since been said, that there is an Interrogation in *Micah*. *Bethlehem, art thou the least among the thousands of* Judah? *Pocock* maintain'd, that *That* word in *Micah* signifies *great* as well as *little*. And indeed it is taken for a Young Man, as well as for a Child. By a Verbal translating it is read in the Prophet: Bethlehem, Ephraim, *little to be among the thousands of* Judah. This Construction is not just. Something must be supply'd, or this place otherwise translated. The Prophet's intention is to set the then present Smallness of *Bethlehem* in Opposition to its future Grandeur, and to make the Advantage which he promises it more sensible by its contemptible Condition. The same *Micah* says in the same Verse, *Out of thee shall come forth the Ruler in* Israel; that is, that Man whose Birth he promises *shall* be the *Ruler* of the People. Can't the same thing be said of *Bethlehem?* That little City *to be*, that is, that it *is to be* among the Princes and Heads of the *Jews*, where it is to become famous among the Thousands of *Judah*. St. *Matthew* hath follow'd this meaning; and common sense directed him to it. The Writings of the Prophets are full of interrupted Periods, where something must often be supply'd ||. 'Tis the very Genius of the *Hebrew* Language. It is evident likewise that something is wanting in the Verse we are now examining; and nothing is more natural than to fill it up by the Event, and to say *Little* Bethlehem *thou art to be* among the Princes of *Judah*, or famous among its Thousands. But what way soever St. *Matthew* hath quoted the Oracle, there is no difficulty between the *Jews* and us. For it doth not signify much whether *Bethlehem* be call'd little, or great. It is sufficient to find out the *Messiah*, that this City is appointed for the place of the Birth *of the Ruler of* Israel, *of the* Messiah, *of Him whose goings forth are from Everlasting, and who shall with Magnificence govern in the Name of the Lord his God*. It is agreed, that this is the Sense of the Oracle, and the meaning of the Prophet; So that the Evangelist hath related what is Essential to us.

Besides the Eternity, which this Oracle ascribes to the *Messiah*, we draw from it these two Advantages; One that J. CHRIST is Born at *Bethlehem*, as *Micah* had foretold; and the Other, that the *Messiah* cannot be Born in that City, which hath now neither Name, nor Being. So that we have already four Characters of the *Messiah* set down by the antient Prophets. For CHRIST appear'd exactly at the time, in which the *Messiah* was to come with the Perfections and Attributes of God. He was Born at *Bethlehem*, of a Virgin; and it was not in his choice to have these four Characters fulfill'd in him. Let us proceed to the Fifth.

XIII. They are the Sufferings of the *Messiah*. For *he hath born our Griefs, and carried our* * *Sorrows*; *he was wounded for our Transgressions*; *the Chastisement of our Peace was upon him, and with his Stripes we are heal'd*. I will not set down all that the Prophet adds concerning these Sufferings of the *Messiah*, which he hath so emphatically describ'd, that the *Christians* look upon him as a *fifth Evangelist*; and the *Jews* have been forc'd to invent a *double Messiah*, whereof One, the Son of *David*, shou'd undergo all the Evils foretold by *Isaiah*.

XIV. The *Jews* say three Things in their own Vindication; The One is general: For *Abravanel* †, who hath been the most accurate in his Attempts to destroy the Prophesies of *Isaiah*, makes the common Objections against the Sin of the first Man, and the fatal Consequences of it, under which Mankind labours. He asketh, whether God cou'd not Pardon without a Satisfaction; He condemns that Satisfaction which we put upon a God, as if it was either unjust or impossible. However, he is obliged to contradict himself, and to own ||, *that* Josiah *did not die for himself, but for the Sins of the Age wherein he liv'd*; and indeed it is impossible to explain those words of *Isaiah*, *he was wounded for our transgressions*, &c. without admitting a foreign Satisfaction. The *R. Alschech* *, who hath wrote upon the same Prophets with a design to oppose the *Christians*, is forc'd to admire the Goodness of God, because *all having sinned, and having made an Accuser of them before God, they all deserved each a particular Punishment*; *but God having re-united them all into one Body, hath charg'd the Righteous with all the Punishment*. In a word, let us now hear what the croud of Doctors assert, *viz.* That the *Jewish* Nation expiates the Sins of the *Gentils* by that Calamity, they have undergone for so many Ages. They ought not then to draw any Objection against *Christianity* in that J. CHRIST died for our Sins; since not only *Isaiah* teaches it, but their Doctors † are forc'd in spite of their Teeth to admit of Satisfactions, which the Saints pay to God for the Sins of others by their Sufferings and *by their death*.

XV. The *antient* Rabbies did apply the 53d Chapter of *Isaiah* to the *Messiah*. But the *Modern* complain of their Ancestors, who expounding this Prophet, have preferr'd the Mystical to a Literal Sense. *I confess*, says *Lipman* || in that Book, wherein he vainly pretends to conquer and insult the *Christians*, that *the words of* Isaiah *are applied to the* Messiah; *but for my part, I have given a more natural sense to his Prophesy*. They * almost all agree to say, that the Prophet introduces the Nations, who seeing the *Jews* get rid of their Misery, will acknowledge, that the *Jewish* Nation have been severely punish'd without deserving it, "Whil'st they enjoy'd a profound Peace, it was at first thought that this Nation was "*punished for its Iniquities*; but it suffer'd the Pain "which was due to others, and by that means re-"conciled Idolaters with God. And, in short, God "wou'd have annihilated the World for the Sins of "the *Gentils*, if the Merits of the *Suffering* Jews "had not procur'd Peace and Pardon for them. Nay, "the World wou'd still Perish, if the Righteous did "not satisfie for it: But the Sufferings of the *Jews* "are a kind of Satisfaction, which appeases God. "They bring in the Heathen admiring the patience "of the *Jews*, and crying out, we rais'd Taxes on "that Nation, which had the Misfortune to bend "under our Yoke: We exacted † Money of them "by Calumnies and false Accusations, but they did "not even open their Mouths to complain. They "did not kick as the Ram does, which strikes his "Leader with his Horns and Feet; but were as "*the Sheep, which are shear'd, and brought to the* "*Slaughter*.

† Hieron. *See also* Erasmus, *who believes that the Holy Ghost left several things to the direction of the Apostle, wherein the People might be mistaken* Ann. in Math. || *The Hebrew word* להיות *repeated twice in the same Verse, is an Infinitive, and signifies* to be. *It denotes the future, and may be translated* that is to be, *or* thou shalt be. * Isaiah 53. 4, 5, &c. † Expositio Isaac. Abrabanielis in Prophet Esaiæ, cum Antidoto C. l'Emp. *p.* 10. 18. || Ibid. *p.* 161. * R. Moses Alschech in Esaiam, ibid. *p.* 251. † Alschech ibid. *p.* 261. || Lipmannus Nizzachon Vetus. * Moses Alschech ubi supra. Isaac Munimen Fidei, *t.* 2. *p.* 215. Kimki, Aben Esra, Abravanel, ubi supra. Hulsius Theolog. Judaica, *l.* 1. *p.* 2. *p.* 328, &c. † Isaac. Munimen Fidei, *p.* 217.

XVI. Thus their great Maſters expreſs themſelves to elude the Oracle of *Iſaiah*, that ſpeaks of Sufferings. The different Opinions of the *Antient* and *Modern Rabbies* upon this Subject, is a Preſumption againſt the latter, who not being able to anſwer the Objections of the *Chriſtians*, have run into an Extreme, which cannot be maintain'd. The diſtinction of two *Meſſiahs*, whereof one ſhall ſuffer, and the other triumph, is another Preſumption againſt them. For they have thereby ſeparated what God had join'd together; and imagin'd Two *Meſſiahs* inſtead of One, only becauſe they were forc'd to it by the Oracles of the Prophet, who ſpeaks expreſly of the Sufferings of the *Meſſiah*. In a word, they acknowledge ſome foreign Satisfactions. But can it be ſaid after this, that the *Jews* ſuffer for the Sins of Idolatrous Nations? and that the Intention of the Prophet was to introduce thoſe Idolaters, who were to publiſh the Truth, after *Iſrael* ſhould be reſtored? *Kimki*, who was aware of the weight of this unavoidable difficulty, owns, that it is not true, that the *Jews bear the Iniquity of Idolaters*, but that *upon meer appearances* the Nations ſhall think ſo. They ſhall one day ask, why has that *Choſen Nation* ſuffer'd ſo long? And they ſhall anſwer, *that ſuch laſting Calamities have been the expiation, and price of the expiation for them.* It is certain, that they will be miſtaken in this Deciſion; but the Prophet was pleas'd to relate it, and it is not for us to enquire into the Reaſons of it. However, it is not likely that the Holy Ghoſt dictated to the Prophets all the falſe Reaſonings, which the Heathen ſhall one day make upon the paſt Misfortunes of the *Jews:* And he doth not ſo much as mention *Idolaters*. If it ſignifies little to the Church, whether the Heathen ſhall hereafter ſpeak impertinently, and argue falſely, the Prophet ought at leaſt to have corrected their Miſtakes, that none might be miſled: But on the contrary, according to *Kimki*, he authenticates them, and puts them down before hand in his Writings, as ſo many Truths, which were to be known long before their Accompliſhment.

Abravanel foreſaw another Objection which would ariſe from this pretended Patience, that the Heathens aſcribe to the *Jews* during their long Sufferings. For the Event proves this to be falſe; and Hiſtory ſpeaks ſo often of their Revolts, that their Patience can't be admitted. And therefore he applies this Oracle only *to the Righteous of his Nation*, who have often ſuffer'd without opening their Mouths. But that is not ſatisfying; becauſe the Prophet does not ſpeak of many, but of one perſon who hath ſuffer'd. And therefore he is forc'd to broach a third Opinion.

XVII. In ſhort, this Propheſy || is apply'd to King *Joſiah*. It is believ'd, that *Iſaiah* promiſing the People, that the Uncircumciſed ſhall no more paſs into their Cities, we muſt thereby underſtand *Necho* King of *Egypt*, who was at War with *Joſiah*, and that Prince was to be exalted over *Iſrael*: *Proſper*, that is, walk as *David*, in the Law of God. *Iſrael* complains of Incredulity, ſaying, *who hath believ'd our report*, Iſai. 53. 1. that is, none wou'd believe the report of his Death, by reaſon of his celebrated Piety. He grew as a *tender Plant*, becauſe he lov'd Devotion in his Youth, wherein he made a good progreſs. *He was deſpis'd*, becauſe he was kill'd by *Necho*; a contemptible Man, and *a Man of Sorrows*; becauſe he was often Sick and troubled with the Gout. He bore the *Griefs* of the People, ſince the Sins of the Nation cauſed his Death. Let it not be pretended, that the People were very much addicted to the Law in *Joſiah*'s Reign. For he acknowledges his Crimes; *all we like ſheep have gone aſtray*, Iſai. 53. 6. Laſtly, God threatens, to make his blood ſpurt upon many Nations to revenge the Death of this good Prince.

XVIII. This Explanation is more natural than the former: For it doth not overthrow all *Iſaiah*'s Expreſſions, who only ſpeaks of one Perſon. However, a great many Miſtakes are obſervable herein. And indeed One part of the Oracle is apply'd to *Necho* King of *Egypt*, tho' the Prophet makes no mention of him. From whence is it known that *Joſiah* had the Gout, and that it was for that reaſon, he was call'd *a Man of Sorrows?* Why will they have that Prince to be deſpiſed, when his conqueſts had made him ſo formidable? With what face can it be ſaid, that God revenged the Death of *Joſiah* upon many Nations? It had been more natural for God to have hinder'd *Joſiah*'s Death, and *Necho*'s Victory. Beſides, the War of the *Egyptian* was juſt. He went to perſue his Pretenſions, and directed his March towards the *Euphrates*. Why did *Joſiah* offer to ſtop the carreer of a Prince, who had no diſpute with him, and offer'd him Peace? He applies the Other part of the Oracle to *Joſiah*. It is falſe, that *Joſiah* dy'd for the Sins of the People; He was a Martyr to his own Ambition. Moreover, *Abravanel* contradicts Sacred Hiſtory, when he makes him to be carried away, and to die at *Jeruſalem*, that he might ſay, that *That* City looks upon his Wounds and Blood. *Iſaiah* ſpeaks there neither of that Prince, nor of his Death, nor of the Sins of the People that were the cauſe of it. We muſt therefore look out for another, who hath ſuffered for the Tranſgreſſions of the People, and been afterwards taken away from the violence of his Condemnation and Grief. Can it be pretended of *Joſiah* that he rais'd himſelf from the Tomb of his Condemnation? May it not be ſaid with aſtoniſhment, *who ſhall declare his Generation? He ſhall prolong his days, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand?* Iſai. 53. 10.

XIX. It is now eaſy to follow the Notion, which the Prophets have given of the *Meſſiah*. They chiefly ſay theſe Five things of him. 1. He was to be Born at *Bethlehem* of a Virgin. 2. Whilſt the *ſecond Temple* ſtood; Four hundred and ſeventy Years after it was reſtor'd, at the time that the Scepter ſhou'd be departed from *Judah*. 3. The Calamities of his Life were to make him *Contemptible*. 4. He was to die for the Sins of the People, and to *make his Soul an Offering for Sins*. 5. And after he had undergone that Sacrifice he was to be rais'd up into Glory, and to reign for ever.

XX. Let us add a ſixth Character to theſe, which conſiſted in the Miracles the *Meſſiah* was to work. *Maimonides* deprives him of that Character; and that he may not be ſuſpected to ſpeak out of intereſt, he blaſts the luſtre of *Moſes*'s Miracles by his undervaluing them. But in explaining a place of the Prophet *Habakkuk*, he is oblig'd to acknowledge, that God will perform ſome miraculous Signs by the *Meſſiah*. *Jonathan* aſſures us, that *none ſhall be able to reckon the Miracles, that ſhall then be wrought.* In a word, the *Jews* juſtify their Anceſtors for having follow'd *Barcochebas*, becauſe he caſt fire out of his Mouth; and for his working a great many other Miracles, it was a hard matter for their Nation not to be deluded by him. To conclude, how ſhou'd the *Meſſiah* without Miracles make ſo many Conqueſts, and eſtabliſh the Glory of the Nation? It is certain then, that Intereſt made them ſpeak and judge; and perceiving that the *Chriſtians* drew from the Miracles of J. CHRIST a ſtrong Argument for their Religion, the Rabbies began to enervate the Neceſſity of them for the *Meſſiah*. *Abravanel*, who reckons as

|| Abrabanel in Eſaiam, *p.* 152. 164. 167.

the

the ſixth Character of the *Meſſiah* the Power of working Miracles, of making Fire come down from Heaven, and of ſending Lions and Bears againſt Unbelievers and Impenitent wretches, raiſes another Difficulty againſt thoſe of J. CHRIST; becauſe the Deliverance of the Church being like to that procured by *Moſes*, the ſame Miracles ought to have been wrought over again. Some *Chriſtians* ſtrengthen this Objection, by obſerving, that this Preſumption of *Abravanel*'s is as antient as the Goſpel; and that the Nation, which ask'd for ſome Signs from Heaven * of a Man, whoſe Life was full of Miracles, underſtood thereby ſome *Signs* like thoſe of *Moſes*, that ſhou'd ſhake *Heaven* and *Earth*. The Air muſt have been ſet in a flame, Fire muſt have fallen down from Heaven, and the Earth quak'd. I queſtion whether this Objection is ſolid. But from whatſoever Source this Preſumption ſprings, whether it be old or new, it is no great matter. For the *Jews* were oblig'd to examine the Truth of the Miracles of the *Meſſiah*, which were ſo publick and ſo evident, that he accuſed the Unbelieving *Phariſees* of ſinning againſt the Holy Ghoſt, that is, againſt a Self-evident Light, and againſt their Knowledge and Conviction. If the Miracles of JESUS were true, they ought to have acknowledg'd in his Perſon a Divine Power, like to that of *Moſes*. If they were falſe, they ought to have prov'd the Reaſons that made them to oppoſe thoſe Miracles; and inſtead of diſputing about the reſemblance, or little proportion, which they had with thoſe of *Moſes*, they ought to be entirely rejected. But without coming to this Enquiry, it is confeſs'd that the *Meſſiah* ought to have wrought Miracles.

The *Jews* cannot find any Perſon to whom all theſe Characters have ever belong'd. Neither can they for the future expect any to whom they can belong, ſince that depended on certain Events, which have already happen'd 1700 Years ago. But the *Chriſtians* ſhew them plainly in the Perſon of J. CHRIST. So that he muſt be own'd to be the *Meſſiah* foretold by the Prophets. But how came the *Jewiſh* Church to be ſo groſly miſtaken in this? It is what we ſhall now examine in the next Chapter.

* Vitring. Obſ. *l.* 2. *c.* 16.

CHAP. XXIV.

A Second Opinion concerning the Meſſiah. *That of the* Jews *in the Time of* J. CHRIST.

This Queſtion diſcuſs'd, whether it was believ'd that the Meſſiah *was to be God.*

I. *Whether the* Meſſiah *was to be Immortal.* II. *Whether he was to be God.* III. *The Authority of the* Apocrypha *about this Matter.* IV. *A Paſſage out of* Eccleſiaſticus. V. *Of Wiſdom.* VI. *The Antiquity of the* Targums. VII. *Arguments drawn from thence.* VIII. *Objections againſt the* Word. IX. *A new Objection.* X. *Obſervations upon* Philo. II. *His Teſtimony concerning the* Word. XII. *He makes it a Subaltern Principle.* XIII. Philo's *Apology.* *St.* John's *Aim.* XIV. *St.* John *borrow'd the* Word *from the* Chaldee *Paraphraſes.* XV. *Objections againſt their Antiquity ſolv'd.* XVI. *A Paſſage out of* Joſephus *concerning the* Meſſiah. *Character of* Joſephus. XVII. *Falſehoods in his Teſtimony.* XVIII. *That Paſſage hath never been mangled, nor that which relates to St.* James. XIX. *Several miſtakes of* Euſebius. XX. *Whether the Prophet's have clearly taught the Divinity of the* Meſſiah. XXI. *J. CHRIST's Circumſpection in Preaching it.* XXII. *The Oppoſition of the* Jews, *and the Doubts of the Apoſtles.* XXIII. *Whether the Fathers of the firſt Ages learn'd the* Word *from the* Jews. XXIV. *Their ſilence proves that they did not.* XXV. *Some Paſſages of* Origen, *and* Juſtin Martyr *upon this Subject.* XXVI. *The times wherein the* Word *was objected to the Rabbies.* XXVII. *The Divinity of the* Meſſiah *ſung by the Poets and Sibylls.*

I. ONE wou'd think, that the Doctors who were Co-tempory with J. CHRIST believ'd that the *Meſſiah* was to be Immortal. For they ſaid, that *the Law had taught them, that the* CHRIST *ſhou'd remain for ever*; and they murmur'd becauſe this *Son of Man was to be taken from them.* But the *Modern Jews* deprive them of that Privilege, and limit his Reign to Seventy Years. Theſe two Opinions are not perhaps very claſhing and oppoſite. For the Holy Writers call that *Everlaſting*, which was to continue a long time; and the *Jews* flatter'd themſelves, that the *Meſſiah* coming to reſtore again the Houſe of *David*, and the Kingdom to *Iſrael* by a great many Conqueſts, was to live long. They cou'd not without griet and aſtoniſhment hear J. CHRIST, at the Flower of his Age to threaten them with his approaching Death, and yet had done nothing of that which they expected from him. As they cou'd not reconcile their Notions with his ſudden and violent Death, they oppos'd to it the eternal Duration promis'd by the Law and the Prophets. Farther, as they did apply to the *Meſſiah* the Pſalms wherein *David* ſpeaks of his Aſcenſion into Heaven, and *of his ſitting* * *at the right hand of God*; they believ'd, that he was to be glorioufly taken up, and Sit at the right hand of the living God. How cou'd this Aſcenſion and Empire then be reconcil'd to an approaching and violent Death.

II. But whether they look'd upon the *Meſſiah* as a Man, who was to Die after a long Life, or whether they aſcrib'd † Immortality to him, by being taken up as *Elijah* was, it doth not appear that they made a God of him. On the contrary, *his Empire ſhall end with the World, becauſe there will be no need of him after the Day of Judgment.* However this Queſtion deſerves to be examin'd, not only becauſe it is of weight; but alſo || becauſe it hath been lately handled with a great deal of Learning. We ſhall ſee the Proofs that are alledg'd.

III. The Fathers of the *Chriſtian* Church have often quoted the *Apocrypha*, and drawn from thence

* Pſ. 68. & 110. † Reſponſ. Judaica ad Q. Q. 15. *p.* 17. || *Judgment of the Jewiſh Church againſt the Unitarians.*

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ſome Proofs of the Divinity of J. CHRIST; And indeed it is no great matter whether thoſe Books were written by ordinary Men, or by ſuch as were Divinely inſpir'd. For without allowing them the ſame Authority with thoſe of the Prophets; yet however they may be look'd on as Witneſſes of the Faith of the Church. Thoſe Witneſſes can't be ſuſpected, ſeeing they wrote long before it cou'd be conjectur'd that J. CHRIST wou'd profeſs himſelf to be *God*, and that his Diſciples wou'd teach a Trinity of Perſons in One ſingle Eſſence. The Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* liv'd under *Ptolomy Philodelphus*, 280 Years before J. CHRIST. That of *Wiſdom* is Elder: And theſe Authors have ſpoken ſo clearly of the Divinity of the *Meſſiah*, that the *Chriſtians* have been ſuſpected of inſerting their Tenets into thoſe Books, or at leaſt that the Tranſlator of the Book of *Wiſdom* was a *Chriſtian*, who hath foiſted into his Verſion, what he thought might moſt favour the Belief of his Church. But theſe Suſpicions are Scandalous, and ill grounded. The *Jews* have had more Juſtice than ſome *Chriſtians*; For they never complain'd of this adulteration of their Books. If ſome Doctors have ſaid, ſpeaking of *Eccleſiaſticus*, that *the Books of Foreigners and Hereticks ought not to be read*||, "their Authority hath not prevail'd. "For this Book is quoted in the *Gemara*, and by a "great many famous Rabbies. There is ſome Rea- "ſon to ſuſpect that the Book, whoſe reading is ſo "ſeverely forbid, was the Work of another Son of "*Sirach*, wherein ſome Magical Precepts were found, "whil ſt this is reckoned among the *Agiographa*.

IV. There are in theſe Books ſome plain Proofs to be found of the Divinity of the *Meſſiah*. *Who*, ſays Eccleſiaſticus, * *can find out the Wiſdom* of God, which precedes all things? *Wiſdom hath been created before all things, and the Underſtanding of Prudence from everlaſting. The Word of God moſt High is the fountain of Wiſdom.* Thus Wiſdom ſpeaks in the 8th of the Proverbs, *I was ſet up from everlaſting, from the beginning, or ever the Earth was.* Theſe words have ſome thing very dazling; yet the Wiſdom of *Eccleſiaſticus* is not that of *Solomon*. The Wiſdom of one ought to be the *Holy Ghoſt*, who proceeds from the *Father*, and the Wiſdom of *Solomon* is the *Son*. Beſides, the *Arians* made it a matter of Triumph, when it was ſaid, that *Wiſdom had been created before all things*; and the Fathers, who only knew the *Septuagint* Verſion, were gravell'd by this Objection. How then con'd an Anti-trinitarian be anſwer'd at this Day, who ſhou'd quote theſe words of *Eccleſiaſticus*, viz. *Wiſdom was created before all things.* A Learned Critick † maintains, that *Solomon* hath clearly expreſs'd the Eternal Generation of the Son, becauſe it muſt be tranſlated the Lord *hath begot me before all things.* For as *Eve*, after ſhe bare *Cain*, cry'd out, *I have gotten*, or rather I *have brought forth a Son from the Lord*, Geneſ. 4. 1. Wiſdom, which makes uſe of the ſame term, denotes too his Generation *from* the Father. Without deviating from the common Signification of the terms, and applying to the *Meſſiah* what *Solomon* ſays of Wiſdom, notwithſtanding I believe that *that* Prince had another aim, the *Anti-trinitarian* may ſtill be repell'd by following the *Original* and not the *Septuagint*. For Wiſdom only ſays, that the *Lord poſſeſs'd her before all his Works*, whereas in *Eccleſiaſticus* ſhe ſays, that ſhe was made or created ||.

V. The Author of the Wiſdom of *Solomon* * hath been more expreſs and plain, when he makes God ſay, *that his Almighty Word leapt down from Heaven out of his Royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the midſt of the Land.* What is this *Almighty Word?* The reaſon of God? But how ſhall this reaſon leap from a Throne, and that by that *Throne Angels* ſhou'd be underſtood? Let it fairly be acknowledg'd that this Interpretation is too much forced and ſtrained. Add further, it cannot be ſaid, that the reaſon of God doth appear *in the midſt of a Land, as an able and valiant man of War.* Laſtly, an Angel cannot be ſubſtituted in the room of the *Almighty Word.* For the Power of Angels is circumſcrib'd. They are but the Miniſters of a Superiour God. The Author of the *Apocryphal* Books doth alſo aſcribe to this ſame *Word* the Apparitions ſhewn to the Patriarchs; the Paſſage of the Red-Sea; the Conferences with *Moſes*, which the Scripture aſcribes to God; and that proves that they have look'd upon this *Word* as upon a diſtinct and divine Perſon.

VI. *Onkelos*, who is wrongfully confounded with *Aquila*, altho' in truth it is the ſame Name, believ'd that he did a great Service to his Nation in tranſlating the Scripture into *Chaldaick*, which they underſtood better than *Hebrew*: His Tranſlation was not ſo literal, but he explain'd ſome places, which ſeem'd obſcure to him, as the *Seventy* have alſo done. That Verſion was ſo applauded, that it was inſerted Verſe by Verſe into the Original; inſomuch that it was read with the *Hebrew*, and it is at this day ſo ſhort and plain, that it cannot be ſuſpected to have been adulterated, nor reaſonably affirm'd as ſome have done, that it is an Abridgment of the *Targum* of *Jonathan*.

This *Jonathan* was a little older. For he liv'd under *Herod* the Great, 30 Years before J. CHRIST. He compos'd ſome Paraphraſes upon the Prophets. The *Jews* value him extremely, and ſay, that God wrought a great many Miracles for his ſake, whilſt he was compoſing that Work. The Flies, ſay they, which diſturb'd him in the Summer were burnt upon the Spot. It is even pretended likewiſe, that it was his Paraphraſe J. CHRIST made uſe of, when he read *Iſaiah* in the Temple: But this is but a Conjecture. Beſides, we can't depend ſo much upon this Performance, as upon that of *Onkelos*; becauſe the Doctors †, who liv'd above 700 Years after him, have not ſcrupled to add many things to it. Theſe *Chaldee* Paraphraſes are call'd *Targums*. They are quoted in the *Miſnah*, which is very antient. For tho' that Collection of Traditions had been wrote but under *Juſtinian*, however it wou'd ſtill be true, that all the Parts, out of which it was taken were more antient; As the Canons, which are in the Decretals of *Gratian*, are more antient than that Compiler. And it is from thoſe old *Targums* that the Proofs of the Divinity of the *Meſſiah* are drawn.

VII. It is very obſervable, that in moſt places of Scripture, where we find the Name of *Jehovah*; 1. The Paraphraſts put in its room the *Word* ||, or the *Memra*. 2. They diſtinguiſh it from the *Pitgama*, which ſignifies a Diſcourſe. 3. They aſcribe to it all the actions of a Supreme Deity.

And indeed it is the *Memra*, or the *Word*, that created the World. This Agent ought then to be a perſon cloth'd with an infinite Power. *Grotius*, who in order to elude the Authority of the *Targums*, believ'd that God, according to the *Jews*, produc'd a Subaltern Being, which he made uſe of as his Inſtrument in the Creation of the Univerſe, did not conſider what he ſaid. For nothing but an infinite Being can command *Nothing*, and extract the Univerſe from thence. The *Jews* do not aſcribe this Power to the Angels. Their Anceſtors therefore muſt have

|| D. Ganz. Tzemach David ad an. 3448. *p.* 66. * Eccleſ. 2. 3. 4. 5. Prov. 8. 23. † Le Moine in Jer. Diſſ. || Extat in Eccl. * *Wiſdom* 18. 15. † Ferrand *Reflect. upon the Chr. Relig. t* 2 *p.* 167. || *Thus they write* מימרא דיי Memra, Jehovah; Verbum Jehovæ.

look'd upon the *Word*, as a Divine Perſon that had diſplay'd a Divine Power.

It was * the ſame *Word* that appear'd upon Mount *Sinai*, and call'd *Moſes* up thither to give him the Law. He ſpoke *face to face* to that Deliverer; and aſſur'd him that it was He who brought his People *out of the Land of* Egypt. It was the ſame *Word* that walk'd at the Head of the Children of *Iſrael*, that made them overcome the Nations, that were their Enemies; and that wrought that vaſt number of Miracles wherewith their Hiſtory is full.

It was the *Word*, that appear'd to *Abraham* in the Plains of *Mamre*. It was to Him, that *Jacob* made a Vow †, and whom he own'd to be God, ſaying, *If the Word will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, ſo that I come again to my father's houſe in peace, then ſhall the Lord be my God.* It was the || *Word*, that he took for a Witneſs and Judge in his diſpute with *Laban*. *The Word judge between us.* We ſhou'd ſet down almoſt all the places of the Old Teſtament that ſpeak of God, if we would quote all that relates to the *Word*. For the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt aſcribes to him almoſt all the great Events of the antient Oeconomy, and the *Word* is found in the places where the Name of *Jehovah* was. It is this *Word*, that puniſhes thoſe who tranſgreſs * the Laws, that becomes a *conſuming Fire*; and in fine, which performs all that is attributed to the Deity.

VIII. An *Anti-trinitarian* † objected to *Rittangelius*, that in all the places where the Scripture attributes to God a Mouth, Arms, and Hands, the Paraphraſts have always ſubſtituted the *Word*. But this is a weak Objection; For having reſerv'd this *Word* for God, who hath neither Hands, nor Mouth, and never making uſe of it, when it is ſpoken of the Members of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, it is reaſonable to conclude, that this term was conſecrated to expreſs the Deity, and was never given to Men. He beſides objected, that *the Word* was often taken for the Glory of God; But this we deny, and maintain, that notwithſtanding all the diligent Searches of the *Anti-trinitarians*, they cannot produce one Example of it.

They ſay, that as the Miraculous Cloud, which lighten d by Night the Camp of *Iſrael*; the Ark before which they ador'd; and the Angels themſelves; are call'd *Lord*; this Title too they have given to a Creature. But theſe Facts cannot be honeſtly advanc'd. For the Title of God was given to the Ark, and the Cloud, becauſe they were perſuaded that God reſided in them; and the Angel, who in the Hiſtory of the *Judges* bears the name of *Lord*, was this ſame *Word* whereof we are Speaking. And therefore *Philo* gave him that Title. Farther, the Proof drawn from the Paraphraſts doth not turn upon a ſingle Paſſage, wherein the term *Word* might have ſlipt by chance; but upon a great many Verſes; and they do not aſcribe to this *Word* ſome particular Miracles, but all the great things which the Deity hath done under the Old Teſtament, and what the Deity alone cou'd perform.

IX. They ſay again, that the Paraphraſts, writing at a time when the *Jews* made a Scruple to pronounce the Name of *Jehovah*, the *Memra* was put in its place wherever the ineffable Name was found; and that they underſtood thereby the Supreme and only God; the *Jehovah*. The *Word* being only ſubſtituted in the room of the Name of *Jehovah*, that the Reader might not be ſtopped by a Chaſm, and that the Attention of the Hearer might not be interrupted. But this doth not ſolve the Difficulty. For the Pharaphraſts often ſpeak of *the Word of* Jehovah; *the Word of the Lord hath made himſelf King over you*, ſay they in *Deuteronomy*. Without diving into the meaning of thoſe Paraphraſts which appear intricate to me, it is however certain, 1. That theſe Paraphraſts find the *Meſſiah*, where he is not, and aſcribe to him ſome Actions, which do not at all belong to him. Shall it be ſaid, that they knew him better than the *Chriſtians*, altho' he had not as yet manifeſted himſelf; and that they have better unravell'd what he hath done in the Old Teſtament, than thoſe, whoſe intereſt it is to find him ev'ry where? Beſides, by ſubſtituting the *Memrah*, or *Word*, the Father diſappears. He is ſo bury'd in the Perſon and Actions of his Son, that we ſcarce have any Knowledge of him. And yet the *Jews* know the Father better than the Son; and what proves too much, we ſay, proves nothing. 2. *Jonathan* ſays, that the *Meſſiah* and *Moſes* ſhall appear at the End of the World; One in the Deſert, and the Other at *Rome*; and *that the* Word *ſhall walk between them* ||. They in vain look there for the two *Meſſiahs*, the One in an abject and wretched Condition, and the Other in great Splendour, Dignity and Power. For ſince *Jonathan* rais'd his *Meſſiah* upon a Cloud, we muſt thereby underſtand God, who is to walk between *Moſes* and the *Meſſiah*, and he hath call'd God *the Word*. To conclude, they may explain the *Memra*, as they do commonly the *Dibber* or *Devar*. Thoſe two terms ſignify *the Word*; and they maintain, that when *Moſes* relates in the Hiſtory of the Creation, that God *ſpoke*, we muſt underſtand *the efficacious Will of God*. which produces all things. So that the *Word* * is the Will of God; God himſelf who creates the Univerſe, being no longer able to pronounce the Name of *Jehovah*, they cou'd not better expreſs God, than by the term, which denoted his Will, and an efficacious Will, that had perform'd ſo many things with ſo much facility, that they ſeem to have coſt but one Word. It wou'd be a hard Matter to give in ſhort a more noble and greater Idea of God.

X. *Philo* opens a third Spring of Proofs for the Divinity of the *Meſſiah*: And it deſerves ſo much the more our Reflection, becauſe ſome are perſuaded, that St. *John* borrow'd from him the Word, whereby he begins his Goſpel. But before they enter into particulars, they make three Remarks † upon this Writer. This famous *Jew* of *Alexandria* was Cotemporary with our Saviour; but as it was in his Youth that he apply'd himſelf to Study, he had put out his Work before J. CHRIST taught. He proceeded afterward to Politicks, and apply'd himſelf to the Affairs of his Nation, which took him up ſo much, that he had not time to meditate and write as he had done before. Thoſe that queſtion his Works, do it only, becauſe they find in them ſome ſtrong Proofs againſt them. For it is paſt all peradventure that he is the Author of thoſe Books which are now to be quoted, and that thoſe Books were publiſh'd before J. CHRIST taught, or before the *Chriſtians* ſpoke of the *Word*. So that he hath not borrow'd his Notion and Expreſſions from them.

Neither muſt he be accuſed of having taken them from *Plato*. " For the Philoſophy that obtain'd in " *Egypt* in the time of *Philo*, was that of *Polemon*, " who taught his Diſciples to chuſe among the O-

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* Exod. 19 20. & 20. 20. Numb 11. 25. † Geneſ. 28. 20. || V. Rittangelius in Lib. Jezirah, *p.* 82. &c. & *Judgment of the Jewiſh Church*, c. 12. & paſſim * Deut. 1. 32. & 3. 12. † *See our Collections out of* Maimonides. || Targum Hieroſ. in Exod. 12. 42. Tailor Præf. apud Pfeifferum Crit. Sacra, Q. 18. Op. *t.* 2. *p.* 771. * Maimon. More Nevochim, *P.* 1. *c.* 65. *p.* 117. † *Judgment of the Jewiſh Church.*

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" pinions which his Predeceſſors had left in the " World. *Philo* was of that Sect. He had ſo " little knowledge of *Plato*, that he * aſcribes to " *Ariſtotle* ſome Opinions of that old Maſter. His " Syſtem is very different from that of *Plato*; ſince " he believ'd that Matter was Eternal. He did " not borrow the three Hypoſtaſies from *Plato*; " he himſelf had borrow'd them from *Pythagoras*, " whoſe Maſter was *Pherecydes* a *Syrian*; and having " afterwards run over *Arabia*, *Chaldæa*, and *Egypt*, " he became very well inſtructed by his Correſpon- " dence with the *Jews*. *Plotinus* ingenuouſly acknow- " ledges, that *Plato* had not invented thoſe three " Hypoſtaſies. There 'was then no neceſſity that " *Philo* ſhould Copy his Writings, to ſpeak often of " the *Word*. He had derived that Notion from thoſe " very *Jews* in *Egypt*, from whence it Originally " came, and where it had been current among Phi- " loſophers.

In ſhort, thoſe who pretend that *Philo* had in his latter Days a long Conference with St. *Peter*, who ſaw him at *Rome* during his Ambaſſy there, and alſo that he became a *Chriſtian*, are groſsly miſtaken; For he liv'd and dy'd a *Jew*. He ſpoke of the *Word* a long time before his Travelling to *Rome*. So that neither the *Chriſtians* nor the Philoſophers did ſupply him with that Notion. He drew it from himſelf, or rather from the Religion of his Fathers, who throughly underſtood it. Theſe Obſervations were neceſſary to raiſe *Philo* upon a Tribunal, and to give him the Title of Judge of the preſent Controverſy: No wonder then that they were made uſe of. Let us now ſee what Inferences may be deducible from them.

XI. *Philo* ſpeaks plainly, ſince he aſcribes to the *Word* † the moſt excellent Operations of the Deity. He looks upon it as upon a Perſon that acts, and is different from the Father. Laſtly, As he wrote in *Greek*, ſo he makes uſe of the very ſame Expreſſions as St. *John* does to eſtabliſh the Divinity of the Son in a more peculiar and exact manner.

Firſt, He maintains ||, that God *hath begotten the Word*. Tho' he had not known the Myſtery of the Eternal Generation, which is only to be known by Evangelical Revelation; we are ſtill in the right to conclude, that he doth not thereby underſtand either the Wiſdom, or Reaſon of God, ſince Generation doth not belong to them.

Secondly, He aſcribes the Creation of the World to the *Word*, which ſuppoſes that he did not look upon him as an Angel, or as a Principle Inferior to the Deity, which cannot Create unleſs it be Infinite

Thirdly, He makes the *Word* preſide over all the Empires of the World: And is not this to look upon him as God, to make him the Director of all Events, and to intruſt him with the Government of the Univerſe.

Fourthly, He makes him ſpeak to the Patriarchs, in all the Apparitions of the *Old Teſtament*. In a word, He conſiders him as a Mediator between God and Man.

This *Word* begotten of God, who Creates and Governs the World, who, as it were, leaves the Deity, to come down from Heaven and dwell here on Earth to ſpeak to the Saints, and who carries up their Prayers to God, muſt of neceſſity be a Divine Perſon.

XII. Altho' this ſeems a convincing Argument, yet a Critick * aſſerts, that *Philo* doth not look upon the *Word* as a diſtinct Perſon; but that he makes of him an Angel, and a Principle inferior to the Deity. And therefore St. *John*, who wrote the beginning of his Goſpel, to rectifie the Expreſſions of this *Jew*, that was ſo famous in *Alexandria*, was pleas'd to borrow this term from him, and call the Son the *Word*; but at the ſame time he corrected *Philo*'s Error, by ſaying, that *that Word was with God, and was God*. It was not a Principle Inferior to the Deity, as *Philo* taught his Diſciples; but it was the Reaſon of God, which really was God; and he made uſe of the ſame Expreſſions againſt *Cerinthus*, becauſe he maintain'd, that the World had been produc'd by a ſubaltern Principle.

This Argument is ſeemingly ſupported by two Pillars. The One is that *Philo* calls Angels, the Words; and that it may not be thought he gave them this Title in the Plural Number, as the Scripture calls Magiſtrates, Gods, he hath reſerv'd the Title of *Word* by way of Eminence to the Son; and ſome Paſſages of *Philo* are produc'd, wherein an Angel is by him call'd *the Word*.

Beſides, this *Jew*, writing the Hiſtory of the Creation, affirms, that God *is* † *the cauſe, and the four Elements make the Matter; the Word is the Inſtrument, and his Goodneſs the final Cauſe of it*. So that he conſider'd the *Word* as an Organ inferior to God in the production of the Univerſe. In ſhort, he maintains, that there is but one God, *with whom are Goodneſs and Power. Goodneſs hath produced all things, Power Governs them; and the third Principle, which reconciles and unites them, is* the Word.

XIII. Laſtly, *Philo*'s Apology is made by ſaying, that he did ſpeak plain upon an intricate Subject, and it is enough that he ſpoke once of the *Word* after ſuch a manner, as cannot ſuit either *to the Reaſon of God*, or to Providence, or to an Angel, or even to a Principle inferior to the Deity, to make us conclude, that he had a ſublime and exalted Notion of the *Word*; and that the *Jews*, whoſe Opinions he only Copy'd, had the ſame Sentiments with him. If ſome ſuch Contradictions are found in the Fathers, who preceded the Council of *Nice*, it is not ſtrange that the *Jewiſh* Doctors ſhould be guilty of them. If ſome *Chriſtians* have ſpoken of the *Son* as of a ſubaltern Deity, *Philo* may be allowed to do the ſame thing, without deſtroying the Faith, upon a Subject that was not before ſufficiently clear'd. His Diſcourſe is plain enough upon ſo obſcure and profound a Myſtery, and which had not as then been fully reveal'd.

But without ſtrictly examining into what *Philo* ſaid upon this Head, becauſe his Expreſſions are very obſcure; I cannot imagine that St. *John* undertook to correct the notions of this Author, and begun his Goſpel in ſo ſublime a manner, only to refute a private Perſon. Add further to this, that *Philo*'s Writings perhaps had never reach'd *Judea* or *Epheſus*: For then the beſt Books were ſcarce, and the Commerce of the Republick of Learning very difficult. But ſuppoſing the Works of that *Jewiſh* Philoſopher had been better known, can it be imagin'd, that St. *John*, who was Born a *Fiſher-man*, wholly unacquainted with Literature; and beſides, altogether taken up with preaching of the Goſpel, and the care of all the Churches; ſhould give himſelf the trouble to ſtudy *Philo*, to correct his Stile and Expreſſions? Was this worth the Toil and Application of an *Evangeliſt* and Apoſtle of J. CHRIST? If it be lawful to make Conjectures upon a thing, whereof Proofs are wanting; it may rather be ſaid that the *Word* was known to the *Jews*. For the *Chaldee*-Paraphraſts ſpeak often of him St. *John* either had read them, or heard them read every *Saturday* in the Synagogues. The Authors of thoſe Paraphraſes had followed the Stile which was received in the Church,

* Ibid. *c.* 23. † λόγος || Philo de Opific. *p.* 3. Alleg. 11. *p.* 76. Liber quod Deus ſit Imm. *p.* 248. Lib. qui, Rer. Div. Hær. *p.* 393. * Clericus Diſſ. in Joh. 1. † De Cherub. *p.* 102.

and the manner of denoting the Name of *Jehovah*, by that of the *Word*. It is a great deal more likely, that St. *John* alluded to that term which was ſo well known in *Judea*, than to that of *Philo*, who wrote in *Egypt*. The Paraphraſts made the *Word* a Supreme Deity, and the only God they ador'd; and St. *John* might have made uſe of that ſame term, to prove, that the Son was God, and at the ſame time has diſtinguiſh'd him from the Father, and Cloth'd him with a Human Nature; of which the Paraphraſts and *Jews* were wholly ignorant. St. *John* took hold of a good Advantage which a known uſage in his Nation preſented to him; but he hath grafted upon that uſage, and that Name of Word, a Doctrine which J. CHRIST had reveal'd.

XV. No doubt but the Antiquity of the Paraphraſts will be diſputed, which will appear ſo much the more uncertain, becauſe the *Miſnah* is quoted in them, and they find there the Name of *Conſtantinople*. But I ſhall here obſerve Three things. 1. One is, that thoſe Paraphraſes could not have been wrote ſince *Chriſtianity* was acknowledg'd, becauſe it wou'd be impoſſible that the Authors, who knew that the *Chriſtians* ſo often call'd their *Meſſiah* the *Word*, ſhould prefer this very term to all others, to expreſs the Deity by. I cannot conceive, that the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Religion would have taken up their *Shibboleth*, and that People, who oppos'd the Divinity of the *Meſſiah*, wou'd have affected to have ſo often inſerted a Name, which gave occaſion to ſay, that they believed *a Son of God*, and a Second Perſon in the Trinity, as we do. 2. Nay, altho' *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, the Authors of the Paraphraſes, had liv'd ſince J. CHRIST's time, yet they would not have ſo often made uſe of the term *Word*, but only becauſe the uſe of that term had for ſo long a time prevail'd in their Church. It is impoſſible for them to have borrow'd it from the *Chriſtians*; and therefore they muſt have taken it from the *Antient Jews*. It is impoſſible that they would have Copy'd St. *John*, and therefore they muſt have borrow'd this term from the Doctors, that flouriſh'd before them: Thus our Argument hath ſtill its full weight, altho' the Paraphraſts ſhould be robb'd of their Antiquity. 3. It is very poſſible that thoſe Paraphraſes have been alter'd by the Doctors of the ſucceeding Ages: But no conſequences can be deduc'd againſt us, from the alterations that may have been made in thoſe Books. For there is no likelihood, that the *Word* ſhould have been foiſted in, and in ſo many Places too, purely to favour the *Chriſtians*. It was left there, becauſe it was Originally there; and it could not be taken out from ſo many Places without leaving a palpable Chaſm; and weakening the Authority of the Paraphraſes. So that we ſtill derive from theſe Books the ſame Arguments for the Goſpel of St. *John*, whether their Authors preceded J. CHRIST, or came after him; and whether ſome alterations have been made in them, or they have been preſerv'd entire in their Primitive Purity.

XVI. To conclude, *Joſephus* is often quoted, * as an unexceptionable Witneſs: For he ſays, that whilſt *Pilate* was Governour of *Judea*, JESUS appear'd, a very Wiſe Man, *if it may be lawful to call him a Man*. For he wrought a great many Miracles, and taught thoſe that delighted in the Truth. *A great number of* Jews *and* Greeks *were his Diſciples*. He was the CHRIST whom the Chief of our Nation oblig'd *Pilate* to Crucify: But thoſe who lov'd him before, continued to love him ſtill. And he appear'd *before them the Third Day Alive*, as the Prophets had foretold.

Now to argue againſt ſo formal a Teſtimony for J. CHRIST, as this is, ſeems to ſtrike at the very Root of the *Chriſtian* Religion itſelf. However, I cannot imagine, that a Man who was ſo Zealous, who had defended his Religion even with his Blood, and was both a Prieſt and a Phariſee, could ſpeak in this manner of CHRIST, and load his Nation with the crime of having Crucify'd him. It is true, he look'd on *Veſpaſian* as the *Meſſiah*, but he had a mind to flatter that Prince, on whom both his Life and Fortune depended; whereas he could neither hope for, nor fear any thing from JESUS. One was upon the Throne of the Empire, and the Other nail'd to a Croſs. It is alſo true, that he ſpoke honourably of *John* the *Baptiſt*. But there was a great deal of difference between that Precurſor and the *Meſſiah*: For *John* the *Baptiſt* was eſteem'd by the Nation as a Prophet. He only preach'd a Baptiſm of *Repentance*, whereof *Joſephus* was ſo fond, as to retire into the Deſart, to undergo there a Three Years Pennance of a *Novici.at* in Auſterities and Mortification. St. *John* did no ways ſtrike at the Law, and the *Jews* might follow him without forſaking the Synagogue and Temple. Whereas J. CHRIST was come to aboliſh the Ceremonies, and he preach'd, that they ought to be cancell'd. St. *John* was a Martyr to Chaſtity by the Cruelty of *Herod*; but J. CHRIST was Crucify'd at the Sollicitations of the Grand Council and the Prieſts. *Joſephus* owns it. After that therefore he ſhould either have look'd upon the Chiefs of his Religion with Abhorrence, or elſe have denied that JESUS was the *Meſſiah*.

XVII. The truth is, he ſays too much. For he doubts whether it be lawful to ſay that he was *a Man*. He then believed him either an Angel or a God. He poſitively ſays, that he was the CHRIST; and if he was of that Perſuaſion, why did he not follow *that Meſſiah, Angel, or God?* This is ſo puzzling a Difficulty, that the Criticks are forced to thruſt a Word into the Text, to ſoften that Expreſſion which appears too ſtrong for them. He was called † the CHRIST: But they make *Joſephus* to fall back a little: For after he had doubted whether he was to be called *a Man*, he was oblig'd to ſay downright he *was the* CHRIST. Beſides, we ſhould never find out Impoſtors, if it be allow'd to correct thus thoſe Places, that betray a Cheat, and to inſert new terms, without the Authority of any one Manuſcript. The falſe *Joſephus* tells a palpable Lye, when *he makes* CHRIST *to convert many Greeks*. To alledge, that he wrought to that Converſion by his Apoſtles, is to acknowledge not only that J. CHRIST *was riſen from the Dead, as the Prophets had foretold*; but that the Diſciples who ſurviv'd him, did likewiſe act *by his Spirit*. And how could *Joſephus* avoid believing in him, whom he own'd to be *the Meſſiah*; *raiſed above Men*, and fulfilling the Oracles of the Prophets, riſing the third Day from the Dead, and converting the Nations after his Death, tho' it was ignominious to the laſt degree.

XVIII. It muſt be confeſs'd, that the Impoſtor hath betray'd himſelf, by not keeping up the Character which a *Jewiſh* Prieſt ſhould have, who dy'd in Unbelief, and a Zealous Aſſerter of the Incredulity of his Nation. *Origen* was ſurpriz'd that *Joſephus* had praiſed St. *James, ſince he did not acknowledge* JESUS *for the Meſſiah*; which proves, that in *Origen*'s time, the Words we have quoted, were not found in the Copies of *Joſephus*. For he had not wonder'd at the Encomiums which that Hiſtorian had beſtowed upon St. *James*, if he had ſeen that the ſame Writer had wrote a larger Panegyrick upon JESUS, whom he called the CHRIST. It is pretended, that the *Jews* lopt off the Teſtimony of this Enemy, in favour of CHRIST, as they have cut off another, wherein he attributed all the Calamities that befel his Nation to the Death of St. *James*. For the Fathers have often

* Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 18 *c.* 4. *p.* 622. Huet. Dem. Evangel. Propoſit. 111. *p.* 27

† Ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.

quoted

quoted those Words of *Josephus*, which are not now to be found in his History. But this is a double mistake: For 1st, who had again inserted into all the Copies of *Josephus*, the Testimony he had given to J. CHRIST, if it were true, that the *Jews* had expung'd it long before *Origen*, and as soon as the Book was publish'd? Had they the Original written under his own Hand to re-establish that Passage notwithstanding the opposition of the *Jews*, who then shew'd their Copies where it was not? 2. The words that relate to St. *James*, or at least which the Fathers have quoted upon his account are found in *Josephus*, and were never cut off; But they have not been well understood, in order to extol thereby the *Christian* Religion. For *Josephus* having spoken of St. *James*, goes on with the History of *Ananus*, in whose Pontificat the Robbers committed great Disorders; and he adds this Reflection to it, *that That was the beginning of the great Calamities*. The Fathers of the Church, who were very much pleas'd, that the Death of St. *James* shou d be look'd upon as the cause of the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the very Confession of the *Jews*, have apply'd to St. *James*, what *Josephus* said of Robbers, and *Cut-throats*.

XIX. In short, we must go down as low as the IVth Century of the *Christian* Church to find in *Josephus* the place that we impugn; and is not that a strong Presumption, that some *Christian* hand hath inserted those words, which are not of a piece with the rest, but so much for the interest of his Religion? It must also be observ'd, that *Eusebius* *, is the first that hath quoted them. We do not charge that Historian with the Imposture, as it is sometimes done. It is enough for us that he hath taken many other Quotations out of *Josephus* which are not exactly faithful, not to depend upon his Authority. He makes that Historian to say, that the taxing mention'd *by St.* Luke, *was made under* Quirinius. However the Quotation is false, For *Josephus* only places it under *Archelaus*. He relates the Massacre of the Children of *Bethlehem* upon the Authority of *Josephus*, and yet the Historian willing to spare *Herod*'s Memory upon that Article, hath never mention'd it.

XX. It signifies little to know whether St *John* drew his *Word* from the *Chaldee* Paraphrases, or from *Philo*; and whether *Josephus* hath spoken of the *Messiah*. It is of more weight to examine whether the *Jewish* Church expected a *Messiah*, that was above Mankind; and whether it had any Notion of this Divinity.

One wou'd think, that it cannot now reasonably be deny'd; since we have produc'd several Oracles of the Prophets, which have foretold it; and that a crowd of Testimonies taken from Authors that have succeeded them, and spoken more clearly than they, are added to those Prophesies.

However, since we must do Justice to the *Jew* as well as to the *Greek*, I own, that when we consult the Gospel, part of the Proofs we have alledg'd are invalidated. For neither the *Pharisees*, nor the Apostles, seem to have any Idea of the Divinity of the *Messiah*.

It is true, the Prophets had spoken of it; but there is always a great deal of Obscurity in Oracles before their Accomplishment; and if the *Jewish* Doctors cou'd blind themselves concerning the Sufferings of the *Messiah*, which were so clearly foretold by the Prophets, they were much more likely to be mistaken about his Glory, and Divinity. What is become clear to us, was obscure to them. The Union of the Divine Nature with the Human, was one of those Mysteries which required an evident Revelation. When ever you cannot solve Mens Doubts upon this matter with Authority, they presently consult Reason, weigh the Difficulties which arise from that Union, and will not hearken to a Revelation, which doth not decide it. I even Question whether the *Jew's* in our Saviour's time div'd far enough into the Views of the Prophets about this Divinity, to make it the Subject matter of their Reflections and Doubts. At least this doth not appear by the Gospel.

XXI. And indeed had the Divinity of the *Messiah* been known in the *Jewish* Church, and clearly taught in the *Chaldee* Paraphrases which were read every *Saturday* in the Temple and the Synagogues, and every Day in Private Houses; J. CHRIST wou'd have drawn some considerable Advantages from that disposition, to believe the most incredible of all the Gospel-Mysteries. However, if you will read the Gospel, you'l easily observe that our Lord J. CHRIST is very circumspect about his Divinity. Let us also confess the Fact, that all this circumspection of the Son of God had been ill manag'd, if the People had been prepar'd by their Masters, and their own private reading, to receive the *Messiah* as God. His Circumspection was so great, that the *Heretick*s said, that he spoke but seldom of his Divinity, for fear lest it should be denied that he was a Man. But St. *Chrysostom* hath hit it better, in saying, that J. CHRIST design'd insensibly to accustom Mankind to a Mystery exalted far beyond the reach of their reason. This supposes, that he found the Church ignorant of it; and foresaw that she wou'd rise up against this Mystery.

XXII. J. CHRIST did prove that he was *God*; and that Truth, instead of establishing his Empire, and gaining upon the Minds of the People, was an occasion of Scandal. When this Divine Redeemer alledg'd to the *Pharisees* the Prophesy of *David*, who had own'd him for God, by calling him *his Lord*, his Enemies cou'd not answer this powerful Argument. They were Silent, but still their Prejudice was not dispell'd, but remained. They did not acknowledge a Divinity, which at the same time they durst not deny. And how came that to pass, if they were persuaded that the *Messiah* was to be God; and if that Truth was clearly set down in the holy Writings, which they had in their Hands?

J. CHRIST takes upon him the Authority of God by forgiving Sins; and that Usurpation, which seem'd a Sacrilege, made them only to murmur. He exercises the Power of God, by commanding the Winds and the Sea, and even Death it self, which all obey him; Incredulity, one would think, shou'd have yeilded to this Proof, and the Notions of *the Word*, representing it self to the Minds of all the *Jews*, who had read this term in the Synagogues, shou'd have made the Obstinacy of the most stubborn to be flexible; yet they cou'd by no means whatsoever, endure that J. CHRIST shou'd make himself God. He bore his Pretensions even before the High-Priest, who had read the *Targums*, and ought to have known the *Memra*, or that *Word*, which had often been heard in the Temple; Whereas, on the contrary, the High-Priest rent his Clothes when he heard as he thought so horrible a Blaspemy. So long a Stubbornes in the *Jews* plainly proves, that they were wholly ignorant of the Divinity of the *Messiah*. Let us dismis now the Enemies of J. CHRIST; and speak of his Disciples, who shou'd at least have discover'd in the Deliverer whom they follow'd, that *Word*, that had been so often preach'd to them in the Synagogues. However, they were confounded, and knew no more of him than the Unbelieving Multitude, and said with them, that CHRIST was *Moses*, or *Elias*; and St. *Peter* stood in need of a

* Euseb. Dem. Evang. *l.* III. *p.* 124. Id. Hist. *l.* I. *c.* 11.

Divine

Divine Revelation to know, that he was *the Son of God*. This ignorance of the Apoſtles appears every where in the Goſpel, before the Deſcent of the *Holy Ghoſt*. It was not voluntary, as that of the Phariſees might be ſuſpected: Neither did the Leſſons nor Miracles of their Maſter diſpel it; and from whence happened all this?

XXIII. The immediate Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, the Biſhops, and Doctors that came out of the boſom of the *Jewiſh* Church, ought to have prov'd that they own'd a *Memra*, or the *Word*, and a *Sheckinah*, which is the *Holy Ghoſt*. Why have not they done it? It is ſaid, that few of the Fathers underſtood *Hebrew*, and fewer that underſtood the *Chaldee* Paraphraſes, and cou'd read the *Targums*. It is added too, that *Origen* hath ſpoken of the Diſpute of *Jaſon* with *Papiſcus*, wherein the *Jews* were oppos'd *with their own Weapons, and it was prov'd to them, that the Oracles, that ſpoke of the* Meſſiah, *belong'd to* J. CHRIST. In a word, *Juſtin Martyr* perceiving that the Enemies of the Goſpel deſign'd to deprive the *Chriſtians* of the Advantage which they drew from the *Word*, labours very hard to prove, that the *Word* is neither an Angel, nor an Attribute of the Deity; but a Perſon, and an active Principle.

XXIV. All this may be true, and yet not ſufficient to ſolve the Difficulty. For it was not neceſſary to underſtand the *Hebrew* or the *Chaldaick* Tongues to know the Principles of the *Jews*. *Philo* had explain'd them in *Egypt* in the *Greek* Tongue. So that there was no Neceſſity to recur to the Spring-head. All *Egypt*, which produc'd ſo many Learned Men, cou'd not be ignorant of this: wherefore then did they not make uſe of this Advantage, if it was ſo well grounded?

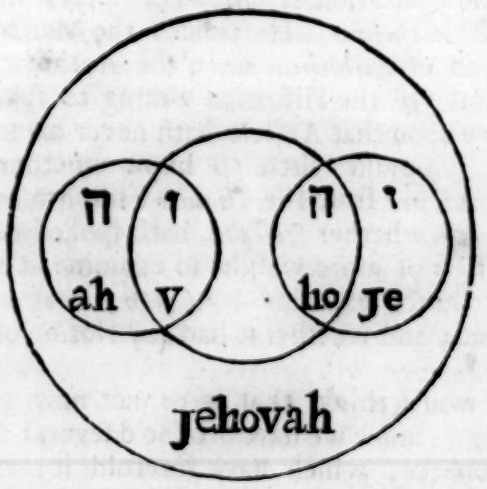
Farther, the firſt *Chriſtians* were almoſt all *Jews* They had read the Law in their Synagogues before ever they entred into the *Chriſtian* Church. They ought to have ſupplied the Learned and the Paſtors, who were *Jews* like themſelves, with Arms ſufficient to oppoſe their Brethren, and by ſo *Salutary* a Conflict to draw them to the Faith. From whence then proceeds ſo long and ſo obſtinate a Silence, when it is ſo eaſy to be overcome by only Speaking, and to overthrow the moſt virulent Enemies with their own Weapons?

XXV. The Paſſage of *Origen*, which is quoted, is very ambiguous and uncertain. *By the Books of the Jews* may be underſtood thoſe of the Old Teſtament in oppoſition to the New. The Old Books contain'd the *Oracles*, which were apply'd to J. CHRIST; but ſuppoſing it was plainly prov'd that the other Writings of the *Jews* were thereby meant, doth it follow that thoſe were the *Targums*, or places of thoſe Paraphraſes, that ſpeak of the *Word?*

Juſtin Martyr endeavoured to prove, that the *Word* was *God* with reference to St. *John*, who had ſpoken of it at the beginning of his Goſpel. But had this Father, who had been at *Samaria*, and ought to have known the Language of that Country, and the Principles of the *Jews* againſt whom he diſputed; I ſay, had he forgot the *Word* ſo well known by the *Jewiſh* Doctors, when he diſcours'd upon the queſtion of the *Word?* He hath never quoted either *Philo*, or the Paraphraſts; from whence it may be concluded, that he ſaw nothing in them that made for his cauſe.

XXVI. Notwithſtanding the Ignorance of the firſt Doctors of the *Chriſtian* Church in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* Tongues, it was impoſſible but that they ſhould have inform'd themſelves of the Principles of an Enemy with whom they had continual Diſputes, and whoſe Converſion in all Ages has been ſtrenuouſly endeavour'd. There were ſome *Jews* in *Syria*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*; *Theodoret* ought to have known them. And there were ſome alſo in *Egypt*, who ſpoke *Greek* as well as the *Chriſtians*. The Works of *Philo* were not loſt; why then have the Fathers been ſo generally ſilent about the *Word*, which the *Targums* have ſo frequently ſpoken of? There were ſome *Jews* at *Conſtantinople*; The Paraphraſes which were read in the Synagogues, made a noiſe likewiſe in the Reign of *Juſtinian*. They ought not therefore to have been condemn'd ſo as they were by that Prince, if they had contain'd the Grounds of the *Chriſtian* Religion, and a convincing Argument againſt *Judaiſm*.

The *Jews* went early into *Spain*; *Alphonſo* *, who had been a *Jew*, and liv'd in the XIIth Century, oppos'd his Nation with their own Principles. It appear'd that he had read the Doctors, and was improv'd by reading them. He proves the Trinity, becauſe there is in God a Subſtance, a Wiſdom, and a Will. A *Wiſdom* to conceive and digeſt the Plan of his Work; and a Will to execute it; but he ſpeaks neither of the *Word*, nor of the *Sheckinah*: He proves the ſame tenet of the Trinity by the Name of *Jehovah*, which by a different Combination can make three Names, and makes of them but one Trinity of Perſons, and an † Unity of Eſſence. He was skill'd in the *Cabala*; and yet he did not know that there was a *Word*, *God*, and a *Sheckinah*, that was *God*. He is not more lucky when he particularly proves, that the *Meſſiah* took Human Nature upon him. He makes uſe of thoſe words of God, *Let us make man in our Image*; and as it is impoſſible that there ſhou'd be an Image of the Deity, he muſt of neceſſity have ſpoken to his Son of the Human Nature which he was one



day to aſſume, and which was already compleat in his Idea. *Raimond Martin* || went farther, He ſpoke to the *Jews* of the *Word*, as we do at this Day. But then we muſt come down as low as the 13th Century to find an Author, who ſometimes ſpeaks of that *Word* which had been taught by the *Jews*. This indeed is a very long time of ſilence; and this procedure of the *Chriſtians* confirms what we have ſaid of that of the *Jews* againſt J. CHRIST.

XXVII. A great and Reverend Man * whoſe Works have lately been publiſh'd, maintains, that the Divinity of the *Meſſiah* was ſo evident among the *Jews*, that it paſs'd from them to the Heathens; and that not only to the Philoſophers, but even alſo to the Poets, who had ſuch clear Notions of the *Word*, as to ſay as *Orpheus*,

* Alphonſi Dialog. Tit. 7. Bibl. Max. P. 1. 21. pag. 198. † *Join the* Jod *with the* He ה *it is one Name. Join the* He ה *with the* Vau, *and it is another Name. Join the* Vau *with the* He, *and they are three Names. Put them all into one Circle, and you make Three and One.* || Raimond. Martin. Pugio Fidei. * Bullus Primitiva Tradit. de Divin. Chriſti, c. 4. Op. p. 22.

Vocem

Vocem juro patris primùm quam condidit ore;
Conſilio ipſe ſuo mundum cùm conderet omnem.

The *Sibyls* have Paraphras'd *Iſaiah* and *Daniel*; Nay, *Virgil* himſelf being inſtructed in that School, cry'd out:

Jam venit & virgo; veniunt Saturnia regna;
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Tu modò naſcenti puero, quo ferrea primùm
Deſtinet, ac toto ſurget gens aurea mundo,
Caſta fave Lucina.

It is pretended to be an affront to the Fathers to imagine, that they ſuppoſed thoſe *Sibylline* Verſes related to the *Meſſiah*. *Juſtin Martyr* is accus'd of it but upon too ſlender Conjectures. It is true, the *Sibylline* Verſes cou'd not be eaſily alter'd, becauſe they were kept in the Capitol. But we muſt diſtinguiſh the antient Oracles of the *Sibyls* from a Collection of Verſes, that was done a little before J. CHRIST by the Order of *Auguſtus*, and the Senate. They gather'd together again thoſe Verſes, which ('twas thought) were burn'd with the Capitol from ſeveral places, where there were any *Jews*; and thoſe *Jews* ſpeaking continually of the *Meſſiah* as of a King, who was to make them happy, and appear in a ſhort time. The Heathens who believ'd it, put him into the *Sibylline* Verſes, and the Knowledge of the *Meſſiah* was by that means ſpread from the *Jews* to the *Gentils*.

Let People ſay what they pleaſe, Thoſe Oracles of the *Sibyls* are too particular not to be thought the Suppoſititious Works of the *Chriſtians*. The Acroſtick of the Name of *JESUS* cannot belong either to a *Jew*, or to a *Pagan*. Cou'd the number of the Baskets of the Loaves which were gather'd, after JESUS had miraculouſly fed the Multitude, be ſet down before the Event? If it be undeniable that ſome Verſes have been father'd upon the *Sibyls*, *ought* not the number of them to be queſtioned? The Work is of too baſe an alloy to paſs for current. The *Jews* had not ſo clear a Notion of the *Meſſiah*, as to communicate it to the Heathens, nor to make thoſe *Sibylline* Verſes, as *Voſſius* hath pretended. The *Gentils* were wholly ignorant of that Myſtery, which can only be known by Revelation. Thus the *Chriſtians* remain charg'd with this pious Fraud.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Helps which the Jewiſh *Church had in the time of* CHRIST *to know the* Meſſiah. *Of the Diſpoſitions of the* Jews, *and the falſe Characters they did aſcribe to him.*

I. *The General Diſpoſition of the* Jewiſh *Church.* II. *It apply'd to the* Meſſiah *a great many of Oracles.* III. *It apply'd to him ſeveral Types conteſted at this time.* IV. *Interpretations peculiar to it.* V. *Examples taken from the Tradition that hath been preſerv'd.* VI. *The Helps, which were made uſe of out of the* Septuagint. VII. *The Character of a Conqueror given to the* Meſſiah. VIII. *This Character refuted.* IX. *This Prejudice is ſtill receiv'd.* X. *The Spiritual Reign of the* Meſſiah *prov'd.* XI. *The everlaſting Law aboliſh'd by* CHRIST, *or by the* Chriſtians. XII. *The Strength of this Prejudice.* XIII. *An exceſſive Fondneſs for Traditions.* XIV. *Two other Prejudices about the* Meſſiah. *A Contempt of the Church; and the calling of the Gentils.* XV. *A Reflection upon theſe Prejudices.*

I. THO' the Knowledge of the *Jewiſh* Church was not ſo extenſive, as to apprehend that the *Meſſiah* was to be a Man-God; yet it did not want helps to diſcover this Deliverer. It the more impatiently expected him, becauſe it groan'd under the *Roman* Yoke, and the Authority *of the Slaves*. For thus they have all along Spoken of the *Herods*. Thoſe, that reckon'd the Weeks of *Daniel*, as *Daniel* had reckoned the Years of the Captivity, cou'd not doubt but his Manifeſtation was near: And from this longing, back'd by the Oracles of the Prophets, ſprung thoſe confus'd Reports, which were ſpread in the *Eaſt*, that *the King of the whole World was to be born*. From thence proceeded thoſe anxious and cruel Thoughts of *Herod*, which coſt the Lives of a great many innocent Children. But this Church, beſides theſe general Aſſiſtances, had ſome particular ones, which are wanting at this time.

II. When an Oracle * was not fulfill'd, this Church expected its Accompliſhment at the coming of the *Meſſiah*. For it did not ſuppoſe, that God ever deſign'd to impoſe upon his People by vain and glittering hopes; or that the Prophets were miſtaken, when they ſpoke of a very remote Futurity. Thus they perceiv'd that the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, *that in his Seed all the Nations ſhou'd be bleſs'd*; had not been fulfill'd in *Iſaac*, or in *Jacob*, ſince but one Nation came from them. They therefore referr'd this great Event to the time of the *Meſſiah*, and flatter'd themſelves that then the Nations ſhou'd be converted. This Method of interpreting the Scripture ſupply'd this Church with a great many Oracles concerning the *Meſſiah*, whereof both the *Jews*, and ſome Modern *Chriſtians* endeavour to deprive it.

III. They as yet admitted the Maxim of St. *Paul*, that all things had happened to the Fathers in Types and Figures of the *Meſſiah*. And therefore they apply'd to him part of the Hiſtories, and Events of the Old Teſtament. They did not think *David* was that Deliverer long before promis'd, ſince he beg'd of God † *to ſend him his Light and Truth*; that is, the *Meſſiah* as a famous Rabbi || hath explain'd it. They look'd upon *David* as the Image of the Deliverer; And they had the ſame Notion of *Solomon*. And therefore they believ'd that the Book of *Canticles* was chiefly compos'd for the *Meſſiah*. The Brazen Serpent was not only look'd upon as a Type of the *Meſſiah*; but the *Chaldee* Paraphraſts * do even give it the Name of *Word*. It is for that reaſon that the Apoſtles have not ſcrupled to apply to him that Type which hath diſguſted ſome of the Fathers. St. *Paul* comply'd with this Method which was receiv'd in his time, in applying to Chriſt ſeveral Types, that ſeem'd at firſt far fetch'd. He had never attempted it, had

* *Judgment of the Jewiſh Church*, c. 3. † Pſ. 43. 3. || R. Salomon. * Targum in Numb. 21. 8. & *Wiſdom* 16. 7.

not

not this Method been common both to him and the *Jews*, whom he either taught, or diſputed with.

This Method alſo made the Knowledge of the *Meſſiah* much more eaſy, ſince J. CHRIST was found in thoſe Types. In the time of St. *Paul*, the *Jews* being us'd to apply certain Hiſtories of the Old Teſtament to the *Meſſiah*, did agree with the *Chriſtians* in ſeveral things, which time hath even worn out of Knowledge.

IV. Beſide the Types, they had certain Interpretations of the antient Oracles, which were then, but are not now, receiv'd in the Synagogues. I do not examine, whether theſe Interpretations flow'd from any antient Tradition; or whether they were the receiv'd Opinions back'd by ſome Doctors, who in the laſt times had apply'd themſelves to find out the coming of the *Meſſiah*. It is of little moment to diſcover their Original, provided this Fact be certain. But I can't conceive, that CHRIST had undertook to prove the Immortality of the Soul, and the Reſurrection of the Body to the Sadduces by theſe words, *I am the God of* Abraham, and by this Inference God *is not the God of the Dead*, unleſs this Interpretation of the words of *Moſes*, and the concluſion from it, had not been univerſally receiv'd at that time. J. CHRIST thereby did not prove either his Miſſion or Divinity. His preſent concern, which was common to the Phariſees, was to demonſtrate a fundamental Tenet of Religion, which a particular Sect diſputed. So that a Proof ſo far fetch'd as this muſt have been admitted as Lawful by the *Jews*, and perhaps too by the Sadduces, who made no Reply to it. But to ſay nothing more of CHRIST, the *Sanhedrim* being conſulted by *Herod* about the place where the *Meſſiah* was to be Born, anſwer'd that it was at *Bethlehem*. The Oracle of the Prophet is expreſſed in ſuch general terms, that it wou'd be no eaſy matter at this time to make an exact Application of it, and yet it was done then. The Phariſees being conſulted about the Family from whence the *Meſſiah* was to come, anſwer'd clearly, the Houſe of *David*, and own'd that the CX Pſalm, which was wrote by that Prophet ſpeaks of him; and yet it is now conteſted. Laſtly, the Oracle of *Iſaiah concerning the Virgin* was very clear to *Akiba*, who explain'd it as we do. His Explanation is ſeen in the *Gemara*. We have not father'd it upon him; and the Teſtimony of this Doctor, who liv'd not long after CHRIST, ſhews the Opinion of his Church at that time.

V. But to ſhew * that this is not built upon bare Conjectures, there are many of theſe Interpretations, which are of weight, tho' they be not of ſo long ſtanding. As for inſtance, God is introduc'd ſaying, *Adam is become as one of Us*, and it is obſerv'd, that he doth not ſay *as one of you*, becauſe there were thouſands of Angels, and that Plurality doth not agree with that Unity which is eſſential to God: But God ſpeaks *of a Celeſtial Adam, different* from the Terreſtrial, Criminal, and wretched *Adam*. If this explication be antient, as *Reuchlin* ſuppoſes, St. *Paul* hath taken it from the *Jews*, when he ſo clearly ſpeaks of *a Celeſtial Adam*, in oppoſition to him who ſinn'd upon Earth. It is added, that God ſeeing *Adam* very much dejected, order'd an Angel to tell him, that he ſhould alienate his Sorrow, becauſe a Righteous Man ſhould deſcend from his Poſterity, *who ſhould deſtroy Original Sin, by making an Oblation, and he ſhould take of the Fruit of Life, which ſhall be the Salvation of all thoſe who would truſt in him.* This is *the Bread of Life*, whereof whoever Eats ſhall not Dye. And *Eve* full of this Promiſe, believ'd that *Cain* ſhould be her Deliverer. She gave him that Name: But ſhe was undeceiv'd, when ſhe diſcover'd his Evil Inclinations; and therefore ſhe caſt her Eyes upon *Abel*, and afterwards upon *Seth*. *Abraham* being inſtructed by his Angel, bravely offer'd his Son *Iſaac*. He would have ſooner hearkened to the ſuggeſtions of Nature, than to God's Command, had not he believed that this Sacrifice was to expiate Sin, as God had promiſed. If ſo many things are found in the Tradition of the *Modern*, it is no ſtrange thing if the Antient *Jews* had yet clearer Notions of the *Meſſiah*, and that they found in the Traditions of their Anceſtors greater helps to explain the Oracles that ſpoke of him.

VI. Laſtly, the Septuagint Verſion afforded yet greater helps; For they had there many Propheſies more clearly expreſſed than in the Original; and therefore many Proſelite *Jews*, by means of this Verſion, came to increaſe the *Chriſtian* Church: And it is for that reaſon, that St. *Paul* makes ſo frequent uſe of it. Theſe Words, *Let all the Angels worſhip him*, which eſtabliſh his Divinity, are in vain look'd for in a Pſalm, for they are not found there, but were taken from the Song of *Moſes*. They are not read in the *Hebrew*, or even in the *Samaritan* Copies; but are in the Septuagint without any alteration: And as the Authority of that Tranſlation was not diſputed at that time, St *Paul* was in the right to make the beſt of it; and the Church might rejoyce for that very information. But notwithſtanding all theſe helps, the *Jews* deceived themſelves, and aſcribed falſe Characters to the *Meſſiah*.

VII. For the firſt Character which was given to him in CHRIST's time, was that of a *Conqueror*; and this firſt Prejudice, which ſeems an innocent One, was one of the chief Springs of the Blindneſs of the Synagogue. Two things did mightily contribute to ſtrengthen this Error. 1. Certain Places of the Prophets, which promiſed to the *Meſſiah* a ſhining Proſperity, and an Empire that ſhould reach from Sea to Sea. And as Men are more concern'd for Temporal Goods, than for the progreſs of Religion, eſpecially when Proſperity and Religion ſeem link'd together; this Notion made them the more ardently ſigh for the *Meſſiah*. The Prophets borrowed their Ideas from the Kingdoms of this World, to repreſent the happineſs of the Reign of the *Meſſiah*, as the Evangeliſts ſpeak to us of a Scepter, a Crown, and of being ſeated upon Thrones, to give us a more lively deſcription of Heavenly Joys, becauſe theſe Notions affected the Mind; and the moſt effectual way to captivate the Heart, is to propoſe a ſenſible felicity. 2. The ſtate the *Jewiſh* Nation was in at the Birth of the Son of God, confirm'd their longing. That Nation, that was ſo exceſſively jealous of their Liberty, was under the *Roman* Yoke. They looked on every ſide for a Deliverer, and found none. They were perſuaded that the time of their Deliverance was come, and they were impatient that no Body fulfilled their antient hopes. Hence it happened, that when theſe hopes were daſh'd by too long a delay, they revolted, and that compleated the ruin of their Republick. It was Natural for People that looked for a Deliverer, to caſt their Eyes upon the *Meſſiah*, who had been ſo long promiſed to them, and whoſe manifeſtation ſeemed to be fixed at that time. Nay, it was almoſt unavoidable that they ſhould not acknowledge any, unleſs he was inveſted with a Power able to anſwer all theſe Notions of a Temporal Deliverance and Felicity.

This Prejudice was ſo general, and deeply rooted, that the Apoſtles, tho' brought up in CHRIST's School, could not ſhake it off. Even after his Reſurrection, they ſaid in a kind of deſpair † *We truſted, that it had*

* Reuchlin Cabbala, l. 1. p. 740, &c. † St. Luke 24. 21.

had been he which ſhould have redeem'd Iſrael: *And beſides all this, to Day is the third Day ſince theſe things were done.*

VIII. Had J.CHRIST come with Sword in Hand, he had been fear'd, but not lov'd, and the progreſs of the Goſpel had not been admired: And the Converſion of ſo many Idolatrous Nations performed by twelve Fiſher-men, would not have been one of the ſhining proofs of the Truth of the *Chriſtian* Religion. *R. Manaſſe* had judiciouſly ſaid, that *it is no wonder to ſee a Conquering* Meſſiah, *ſince there have been many Heroes, who from a mean Extraction have aſcended the Throne, and acquired a great and vaſt Empire.* It is not therefore known what God was to do on this occaſion. Thoſe that love grandeur, would prefer the Conqueſts which the *Meſſiah* would have made at the Head of an Army always attended with Victory. The Religion of *Moſes* is not the leſs Divine for having been maintained with Fire and Sword, and by an horrible Slaughter. The Proſperity of the *Meſſiah* had dazled the People; being uſed to Promiſes, that only ſpoke of a Land *flowing with Milk and Honey*; they could hardly raiſe their thoughts to the Bleſſings of Grace. It is the bent of Mankind to love famous and celebrated Leaders. Some *Chriſtians* have ſtruck upon that Rock, ſince to comfort themſelves of the misfortunes that attended the firſt coming of the *Meſſiah*, they have imagin'd a Reign of a thouſand Years, during which the Saints ſhall riſe again, and *reap Joy upon Earth, inſtead of the Tears which they have ſow'd in it.* It is thought that there is no harm to ſtick to the Proſperity of the Church. But God, who will have us harbour more ſublime thoughts, puniſhes this inclination, which betrays Vain-glory, and too great an Adherence to the Earth, that is therein preferr'd to Heaven.

IX. The *modern Jews* have not retriev'd themſelves from this prejudice of their Anceſtors. They often inſult *Chriſtians* who adore a God, that inſtead of Reigning over all the World, was ſurpriz'd by a contemptible Mob arm'd with Clubs, and who dy'd upon a Croſs. They alledge the Prophets, who give ſo great an extent to time and places to the Reign of the true *Meſſiah*; and from thence conclude, that Ours hath not anſwer'd the Character engrav'd in Holy Writ. " The Prophets, ſay they, " * have promiſed an univerſal Peace on Earth at the " time of the *Meſſiah*. There was to be but one " Religion upon Earth. They cry'd out at *Jeruſa-* " *lem, Riſe thou Daughter of* Sion. Yet ſince J. " CHRIST, *Jeruſalem* hath been ras'd, a deplo- " rable difference of Religions hath been ſeen, and " Wars in all Places and Ages. They laugh at the Spiritual Reign, which the *Chriſtian* Religion puts in the room of that promiſed by the Scripture: And as it would be abſurd to make *Roman* Emperors, whoſe Throne ſhould be in the Moon, ſince *Rome* is the Capital where they ought to be plac'd; they believe, that *Jeruſalem* being appointed as the Seat of the Eternal Empire of the *Meſſiah*, it is abſurd to give him a Throne in Heaven where no Body ſees him, and to make him rule over Hearts which are wholly unknown; ſince it is *a white Stone, wherein a new Name is written, which no Man knoweth, ſaving he that receives it.*

X. I am not ſurpriz'd, that ſo ſelfiſh a prejudice hath kept its ſtrength from the time of CHRIST to Ours. Nevertheleſs the Prophets have ſpoken ſo plainly of the vile Condition and Sufferings of the *Meſſiah*, that the Rabbies are oblig'd to imagine three things. 1. To fancy a *Meſſiah* Son of *Joſeph*, who is to be Miſerable. 2. To own, that the *Meſſiah* ſhall undergo a third of the Evils that are in the World. 3. That he ſhall ſuffer much before he becomes Maſter of the Univerſe: but that his Sufferings far from tarniſhing and eclipſing his Glory, as thoſe of J. CHRIST have done his, ſhall rather make it ſhine with a brighter luſtre.

Beſides, they own, that it is the ſtile of the Prophets to make uſe of Metaphors, and of Terms borrow'd from Terreſtrial Happineſs, to deſcribe a Spiritual Bliſs, and the Bleſſings of Grace. They are themſelves oblig'd to explain ſome Expreſſions of the *Talmud* in that ſenſe, which otherwiſe would be very ridiculous. When we read in the *Talmud*, that the *Meſſiah* ſhall give a ſplendid Entertainment to thoſe who have led a good Life; and that the *Leviathan* ſpoken of by *Job*, ſhall be ſerv'd in the firſt Diſh; They maintain, that this Entertainment ſhall be the Knowledge which the *Meſſiah* ſhall infuſe into the Soul, and that this Knowledge ſhall be her Aliment; as we ſay that CHRIST Reigns by his Word, and that he is *the Bread of Life, whereof whoever hath eaten ſhall never dye, but have eternal Life.*

When you wonder at what they ſay, that all Dead Bodies ſhall at the Reſurrection go through ſubterraneous Paſſages into *Judea* to be reunited to their Souls; they aſſert, that this ſubterraneous Journey, which is plainly impoſſible, ought to be underſtood in a Metaphorical ſenſe. They only uſe theſe Metaphors, becauſe it hath been the conſtant ſtile of that Nation for many Ages. The Prophets who preceded the Rabbies have wrote in the ſame ſtile; and tho they have not uſed ſuch hard and ſtrain'd Metaphors; yet they have almoſt made a conſtant uſe of Metaphors. The *Jews* cannot then complain of our Intrepretations, when we reduce their Figurative, to a more ſimple and natural ſenſe. If the *Jews* have a right to explain their *Talmudiſts*, why ſhould they deprive us of that of explaining the Prophets? Laſtly, if the *Chriſtians* themſelves ſpeak of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the felicity enjoy'd therein, under the notion of a white Stone, white Raiment, and Palms thrown at the Feet of the Lamb, tho' they believe that every thing in that Kingdom ſhall be Spiritual; it is much more evident, that the Prophets might have uſed the ſame expreſſions, or the ſame figures to expreſs the Spiritual Reign of the *Meſſiah*, and that we are in the right to explain their expreſſions in that ſenſe.

XI. The Second Character aſcrib'd to the *Meſſiah*, when CHRIST came into the World, was that far from aboliſhing the Law, he would heighten its Glory. The *Jews* intoxicated with this prejudice, conſtantly objected to J CHRIST, that he heal'd the Sick, and ſuffer'd his Diſciples *to pluck the ears of Corn* on the Sabbath-day. It was often repreſented to him, that he had tranſgreſſed a Law which was to laſt *for ever*, ſince God had not only given it, but had alſo call'd it *an everlaſting Covenant.* It is certain, that the old Synagogue ſometimes ſpoke of the Law which the *Meſſiah* was to ſettle, as of a moſt compleat and excellent one; but we muſt not thereby imagine, that he would alter either the Religion or Law of *Moſes.* He was only to add a new luſtre and ſtrength to it.

This prejudice is at another time ſtrengthen'd quite another way. For † it is obſerv'd, " That J.CHRIST " was come to fulfil, and not to aboliſh the Law; " and that indeed he was Circumciſed; that his Diſ- " ciples obſerv'd the Sabbath; and that it was only " five Hundred Years after, that the Pope thought " of putting Sunday in the room of that Day which " had been ſo long obſerv'd. Beſides, whereas the " Laws are different in *Poland* and *Portugal*, becauſe " Legiſlators could not provide for all accidents;

* Reſponſio Judaica ad Queſt. Q. 8. *p.* 8. † R. Iſaac Munim. Fidei, P. 1. *c.* 19. *p.* 107, &c.

" that of the *Jews*, which was dictated by God, did pro-
" vide for all. *Chriſtians* are in the wrong to comp ain
" that it cannot be all obſerv'd, becauſe it is eaſy.
" If the Goſpel is more eaſy ||, it is becauſe the Fleſh
" is therein indulg'd, by allowing the uſe of certain
" Meats, and diſcharging Men of certain Ordinances,
" which were the Barriers of the Law, and kept
" the *Jews* upon a conſtant Guard. The *Chriſtians*
" only ſticking to the Duties which Nature and
" Reaſon have dictated, do not carry Perfection ſo
" far as the *Jews*, who fulfil Commands *that wholly*
" *depend upon the will of God*. By obſerving the Rites
" and Ceremonies preſcrib'd in the Law, God is O-
" bey d; whereas by obſerving the Moral Law, Peo-
" ple have other motives of their Obedience than
" God himſelf, and the Reverence which is due to
" him.

XII. So that this Prejudice hath two Faces. For the Antient Doctors upbraided CHRIST with having aboliſh'd the Law; whereas the Modern maintain'd, that he obſerv'd its Principal Ceremonies, and the *Chriſtians* only have chang'd them. The ſecond turn is more inveigling than the firſt: For CHRIST was Circumciſed, Eat the Paſchal Lamb, frequented the Temple upon the Sabbath, and taught there. However, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that CHRIST ſtruck hard at the Ceremonies. He preach'd that they were uſeleſs: He foretold that they ſhould be aboliſh'd after they were fulfilled; and that was to ſtrike at the Root of the *Jewiſh* Religion; for the People and Clergy made it to conſiſt more in external Ceremonies, than in the internal Acts of Devotion. The *Jews* had a double reaſon to do it; becauſe theſe Sacrifices were of Divine inſtitution, and that it is impoſſible that two Men inſpir'd by God ſhould contradict one another. *Moſes*, whoſe Inſpiration and Authority were own'd, had inſtituted thoſe which CHRIST came to aboliſh. What a ſtrong prejudice was this againſt him; by what Authority *doſt thou theſe things?*

XIII. The *Jews* alſo imagin'd, that the *Meſſiah* wou'd authorize all the Traditions approv'd by their Doctors, becauſe they believ'd them enjoyn'd by *Moſes* himſelf, and that they were recommended to them as being of equal Authority as the Law. People do not think that there is any harm in tacking their voluntary Devotions to Revelation. Every thought, that ſuperadds to Religion, ſeems innocent. They fancy, that it is ſubſervient to the Glory of God, mortifies the Fleſh, and is a more ſure Way to Salvation. They are miſlead by dazling Appearances; And theſe human Thoughts, and voluntary Devotions, are multiply'd *in infinitum*. When the Banks of Divine Authority are broken, the Flood ſwells and overflows: A monſtrous croud of new Fancies are gathered together and ſwallow up Religion. But the greateſt miſchief is, that theſe glittering Imaginations are preferr'd to the Law of God, which ſeems dry. People become jealous of thoſe Whims, and cannot endure that they ſhou'd be oppugn'd. For their Pride is ſtirred up, and takes up Arms to defend them. And therefore the moſt inveterate Enemies to Chriſt were the *Traditioniſts*.

XIV. There were beſides two other Prejudices concerning the *Meſſiah*, which hinder'd the *Jews* from acknowledging J. CHRIST. They believ'd, that as *Moſes* had inſtituted the LXX Elders to be as his Council, and deliberate with him upon important Affairs; ſo the *Meſſiah* wou'd make the ſame uſe of the *Sanhedrim*, which had ſucceeded the Elders; that he wou'd reſpect the High Prieſt as his firſt Aſſociate, and that the Church ſhou'd decide whether ſuch a one, or ſuch a one was the *Meſſiah*. *For* * *he who ſhall be ſo preſumptuous as not to Obey the High Prieſt, that man ſhall dye, and the wicked ſhall be cut off from the midſt of* Iſrael. Hence it is, that ſome Doctors, back'd by a great many *Chriſtians*, grant Infallibility to the High Prieſt, when he decides at the *Sanhedrim*. Nevertheleſs, J. CHRIST did not derive his Vocation from that Tribunal, but rejected the Pontifical Authority, that Council of the Elders, from whence came thoſe that demanded his Death, and pronounc'd that he was not the *Meſſiah*.

To conclude, the *Jews* in their Conferences with *Chriſtians*, ask, How it is poſſible *that a* Meſſiah † *for ſo many Ages promiſed to their Nation, hath only been embraced by the Gentiles, who have been put into their room, whilſt they groan'd under the preſſure of Miſery?* This is an old Prejudice. For in the time of CHRIST the *Jews* look'd upon the Heathens *as Dogs* unworthy of being taken notice of by God; and it was thought that it was his laſt Stake to go to them. *Will he go to the Gentiles alſo?* He foretold their Vocation, and the Apoſtles fulfill'd his Propheſy.

XV. Theſe Prejudices concerning the *Meſſiah* were like ſo many Clouds that hinder'd him from being perceiv'd. For if the *Jews* thought to ſee in JESUS the Characters ſet down by the Prophets, they fancied at the ſame time that he wanted Others, which they believ'd to be Eſſential to the *Meſſiah*. They had always their Eyes upon the laſt; and the *Jewiſh* Church thinking it ſelf deſpis'd, confirm'd them in the Minds of the Vulgar, and from thence their Incredulity proceeded.

It is certain, that CHRIST hath aboliſh'd the Ceremonial Law; but it is abſurd to think that it ſhou'd laſt *for ever*. For it is well known that this only ſignifies a long Duration; and *Bath-ſheba* did not believe that *Solomon* was to be Immortal, when ſhe cried out *Let my Lord live for ever*, that is, a long time. God did not pretend that it ſhou'd always be in force; ſince he hath deſtroy'd the Temple, where it was to be obſerv'd, and diſpers'd the Nation that was enjoyn'd that way of Worſhip. The Patriarchs, under whom the Church and Devotion flouriſh'd, did not know that Law: Which is a plain Argument that it is not eſſentially good, and that People may be ſav'd without the Practice of it. Its Ordinances muſt be put among the occaſional Precepts ſo often ſpoken of by the *Jews*, and which bind but at certain Times, and in certain Circumſtances. A *Jew* ||, that turn'd *Chriſtian* argued thus againſt thoſe, he had forſaken; " You cannot ſay that the
" Law is *eternal*; becauſe, as you know, this term
" doth not imply an unbounded duration, ſince *Mo-*
" *ſes* will have a Slave to ſerve *for ever*; and yet
" his Slavery was to end at the Jubilee. You ſay,
" that two thouſand Years ſhall be *empty*, two thou-
" ſand under the *Law*; and two thouſand under the
" *Meſſiah*. So that you own that the Law ſhall ceaſe
" under the *Meſſiah*, and that other Precepts ſhall
" be obſerv'd. Laſtly, moſt of the Ceremonies were
" only inſtituted to keep up the Memory of the Bon-
" dage and coming out of *Egypt*; but this Delive-
" rance being abſorp'd by another greater, ought
" to be no more celebrated. This *Jew* converted to *Chriſtianity* did a little *ſubtilize*.

Nevertheleſs the blood of Goats, and Bulls, that were offer'd, cou'd not expiate Sin, or juſtify a guilty Soul. A more excellent Victim was wanted. Sacrifices were but Shadows and Types, which promis'd that future Victim, and were to ceaſe as ſoon

|| Limborch Collatio cum Judæo, *p.* 115. * Ibid. † Colloquium Judæo-Chriſtianum, apud Buxtorf. Syn Jud. *p.* 550.
|| Lud. Carret Judæus converſus, *p.* 616.

as

as it was found. J. CHRIST by the Abolition of Ceremonies, gave a new degree of Authorityto the Moral Law, which was eſſential to Man. When a Pope is accus'd of having chang'd the *Saturday* into *Sunday*, Five hundred Years after CHRIST; this Accuſation contradicts Hiſtory, and the Author of the *Toldos Jeſchu* who aſſerts, it was *Elias*, who immediately after the Death of J. CHRIST, went to *Rome* to make that alteration. Traditions were the Relaxations of the Moral Law, whoſe Severity our Saviour hath reſtor'd. The Prophets, depended neither upon the Church, nor the High Prieſt, ſince they upbraided him with his Idolatries and Abominations. The *Meſſiah* was to be the leſs dependant upon them; ſince he is above the Prophets. And indeed if the *Meſſiah* was now to appear, from whence wou'd he derive his Miſſion, and Authority; ſince there is at this day no *Sanhedrim*, nor High Prieſt? This is enough againſt the Prejudices of the Antient *Jews*; For we do not intend to write here a formal Controverſy.

CHAP. XXVI.

A Third Notion of the Meſſiah.

That of the Talmudiſts, Rabbies, *&c. Concerning the* Meſſiah *they expect.*

I. *Different Opinions about the* Meſſiah. II. *Contradictions concerning the Propheſies.* III. *Other Contradictions about the Life and Death of the* Meſſiah. IV. Simeon's *Opinion and his Explanation.* V. *The Method of the other* Rabbies; *and ſome Preſages of the coming of the* Meſſiah. VI. *The Conqueſts of the Son of* Joſeph. VII. *The Battels of* Armillus. VIII. *Some Variations about thoſe Preſages.* IX. *A* Meſſiah *Son of* David. X. *A Deſcription of the ſumptuous Banquet which he ſhall give.* XI. *Its different Explications.* XII. *Ten Characters of the* Meſſiah *by* Abravanel. XIII. *At what time the* Meſſiah *is to come.* XIV. *The Prediction of a Child of Twelve Years old.* XV. *The* Meſſiah *in the fifth Millenary.* XVI. *Several Chronological Calculations.* XVII. *The Propheſy of* Balaam. XVIII. *Three Obſervations upon theſe Calculations.*

I. RELIGION alters, as it goes from its Spring. Diſciples become bolder than their Maſters; and out-doing the Variations of their Predeceſſors, they diſguiſe Divinity to that degree that it is hardly known. The Prophets had given a very clear Idea of the *Meſſiah*. The *Jews* who liv'd in CHRIST's time had alter'd it; and that was the Reaſon why they did not know him when he appear'd: But the modern Doctors have yet chang'd it in a more ſurprizing manner. What they have ſaid upon this Matter ought to be known, becauſe we write here the Hiſtory of their *Theology*.

II. The firſt thing that we ought to obſerve, is, the Confuſion and Contradictions of the *Sages*. They ſtill agree at this day, that *all the Oracles* * *of the Prophets relate to* Meſſiah; but they pretend that † "the particular Oracles, that indicate his coming, "can't be diſtinguiſh'd, and that it is very difficult "to find them. Interpreters generally divide about "them. Some affirm, that they were fulfill'd in the "Perſon of *Hezekiah*, and Others, that the Predi"ction of *Iſaiah*, *all fleſh ſhall come to worſhip before "me*, is not to be explain'd of the *Gentiles*, but of "the whole Nation of *Iſrael*, that came to ſacrifice "in the Second Temple. The Fathers || have no "Tradition about this; and what they take from "Scripture is groundleſs. Nay, it is of no uſe to exa"mine all theſe Explications. For they lead nei"ther to the Love, nor Fear of God. But above "all we muſt not reckon the times. Nevertheleſs to have the Characters of the *Meſſiah* ſo engraven in the Oracles, that he cou'd not thereby be known, is to reflect upon God. *Maimonides* * who ſets down this Rule, is immediately forc'd to break it, when he gives for the true Character of the *Meſſiah*, that *he ſhall overcome all Nations, and not dye*: But this is only the leaſt of their Contradictions.

III. The *Jewiſh* Maſters determine, that *the Scepter ſhall not depart from* Judah *until* Shiloh *come*, that is to ſay, that there † *ſhall always be ſome Chiefs of the Captivity at* Babylon, *and that the Poſterity of* Hillel *ſhall publickly teach the Law.* However, it is a long while ſince the Offspring of *Hillel* has been extinct; and that theſe Law givers have diſappear'd, as well as the Heads of the Captivity in the *Eaſt*. But not to mind now any thing but their Contradictions; We find a very palpable one in the ſame Chapter of the *Gemara*, which ſays, *that the Son of* David *ſhall not come, till the meaneſt of all the Magiſtrates of* Iſrael *be deſtroy'd*; that *none ſhall remain of the Manifeſtation* of the *Meſſiah*. For God deſcribing that time ſays ||, *He ſhall both cut off the ſprigs with Pruning-hooks; and take away and cut down the branches.* There is an entire abolition of the Judges, which ſhall be follow'd by a compleat Reſtoration by the *Meſſiah*. For, *I will reſtore thy Judges as at the firſt, and thy Counſellors as at the beginning.*

The *Jews* acknowledge that all the terms fix'd for the coming of the *Meſſiah* are over *and paſt* *. Even *Hillel* cry'd out in his time, *There* † *is no more a* Meſſiah *for* Iſrael; *for they had a full fruition of him in the reign of* Hezekiah. And yet they maintain that he ſhall come, and confidently expect him. It is one of the Articles of their Faith. At the very ſame time that they own that the time *is paſt*, they ſhorten the Monarchy of the *Perſians* to deprive us of the Oracle of *Daniel*, which clearly demonſtrates his coming. It is a common Error among them, that God hath put off the days of the *Meſſiah* for the Sins of the People; but whenever they will repent and live uprightly, then the *Meſſiah* ſhall certainly appear. Jeruſalem *ſhall not be deliver'd in Righteouſneſs till* || *the Proud, the Scornful, and Magicians be expell'd.* God ſhall bring his † Plagues upon the Nation, and inflict exemplary Puniſhments upon them to bring this Repentance to paſs. It is for that reaſon, that he will make one as cruel as *Haman* λ their King, *who ſhall convert them.* And yet they alſo ſay, that the Sages ſhall dye, *that thoſe that learn the Law*

* Ex Gemar. c. xi duo Tit. Thalm. *p.* 362. † Joſeph. Albo de Fuudamentis, *c.* 42. Ibid. 376. || Maimonides Hilcos Melochim, *c.* 12. Ibid. *p.* 364. * Ibid. *c.* 11. † Ex Gemera *c* 1. Sect. 1. *p.* 126. Ibid *c.* xi. Sect. 32. *p.* 353. 354. || Eſ. 18. 5. & 1. 26. * Ibid. 351. † Ibid. Sect 36. *p.* 359. || Ibid. Sect. 32. *p.* 354. * Ibid. *p.* 342. λ Ibid. 351.

ſhall forget it. " Since * the Temple is ras'd, the " Sages have been but Scribes; the Scribes but as " Schollars; the Diſciples but as the Vulgar, that " do not know the Law. The People are become " ſordid and vile, becauſe no body takes care of " them: *Upon whom ſhall we look, but upon our hea-* " *venly Father?* Men's impudence ſhall augment at " the time of the *Meſſiah*; Bread and Wine ſhall be " very dear (becauſe of gluttony) ſays the Com- " ment; the Kingdom ſhall become full of Here- " ticks, and they ſhall not be oppos'd, and the Houſe " ſhall be turn'd into Stews. How can theſe Notions of the moſt exceſſive corruption be reconcil'd with that voluntary Repentance, which ſhall oblige the *Meſſiah* to come? If the Sins of the People hinder his Manifeſtation; is he likely to come, when they ſhall be at the heighth, and deſerve all the weight of the angry hand of God.

They ſay farther, that when the *Meſſiah* † ſhall appear, the Condition of Mankind ſhall not alter. Nay, ſuch great Calamities ſhall happen at that time, that R. *Ula* crys out, *Ah! Let him come, but may I never ſee him.* For flyiug from a Lion, a Man falls into the Paws of a Bear, or is ſtung by a Serpent. Others buy his Preſence, and are ſatisfy'd to *reſt under the ſhaddow of his Aſs*; becauſe *the pains of the* Meſſiah, may be avoided by an exact obſervation of the Law. Beſides, there ſhall be ſome Victories, a ſhining Proſperity, and a perfect Felicity. He is call'd *the Son of the fallen, becauſe he ſhall raiſe up the Tabernacle of* David, *that is fallen.* The Wine, which God created with the World ſhall be drunk. I can't tell how *Genebrard* finds there *the Wine of the Euchariſt*; But the Sages explain themſelves, and ſay, that as he who eats the Grape, believes that nothing is better, yet prefers Wine to Grapes when he hath taſted of it; ſo Men fancy that the conveniencies of the Body are the beſt reward of Piety, till they have taſted the ſweetneſs of Spiritual Bleſſings, which are far more excellent. But how do *the Pains of the* Meſſiah agree with his Conqueſts and the Proſperity of his Reign? None but the *Chriſtians* can unravel this Myſtery.

Neither can the Doctors be reconciled about the manner of his Manifeſtation. For ſometimes they allow him a magnificent Equipage, ſince he is *to come down upon* || *the Clouds.* He ſhall have eight glorious Names; *The Lord, our Righteouſneſs, the Shoot, the Brightneſs, the Comforter, Elias, Shiloh*; but he is ſet up at the ſame time upon an Aſs. They ſay, that * he ſhall be a Leper; becauſe *Iſaiah* aſſures us, that *he hath born our griefs, and that God hath ſmitten him.* Some ſay, that he ſhall not dye, and this Prejudice is of a very old ſtanding; ſince they told J. CHRIST how ſayeſt thou, that the Son of Man ſhall be taken up, For CHRIST *abideth* || *for ever.* " *Jacob* believ'd that *Sampſon* was the *Meſ-* " *ſiah*; but ſeeing him cruſh'd under the Ruins " of a Temple, he alter'd his Opinion, becauſe the " *Meſſiah* is not to dye. And yet he ſays, † that the Days of the Meſſiah *are forty Years*; but Others give him as many Years as there are Days in one Year. Nay, they are multiply'd to 7000, or at leaſt there ſhall be as many from the *Meſſiah*, as from the Creation of the World to his coming. How unſteady they are! All theſe Contradictions are to be found together in one * Chapter of the *Gemara*. It is true, that different Doctors ſpeak there, but that is ſufficient to let us know that the *Talmudiſts* have no preciſe notion of their Deliverer; and that they cannot agree about what concerns him.

IV. *Simeon* † *Jochaides* deſcrib'd the *Meſſiah* in metaphorical terms; " For he repreſents a Serpent " who hath ſwallow'd up the firſt Man, and ſtill " wages War with the Saints. He that ſhall kill " him is promis'd the Daughter of a King that flies " in the Air upon a high Tower: A great many " Heroes ventur'd the Fight, and periſh'd; but the " *Shiloh Moſes* is expected; he of whom it is writ- " ten, *he look'd this way, and that way and ſlew the* " *Egyptian:* He it is that ſhall kill the Serpent. " Many Saints ſhall join with him. Ships ſhall happily " Sail upon the Sea; He ſhall caſt into it the Rider and " his Horſe; that is, the Serpent and his Female. " The *Iſraelites* ſhall paſs through upon dry Ground. " They paſs'd the firſt time through a ſenſible and " material Sea; but the ſecond *ſhall be the Sea of* " *the Law, where they ſhall paſs by the way of Re-* " *demption. Alas, how many Ships have been loſt* " *till he, to whom belongs the Inheritance, or is its* " *Lord, be come.* Theſe Ships are the Eyes of thoſe " who wou'd pierce through the Myſteries of the " Law; But hereafter Navigation ſhall be ſecure; " the Reptils, and the Leviathan ſhall be there in " Peace. The Leviathan is the Righteous, who " ſwims as a little Fiſh in the Sea.

Notwithſtanding this Myſtical Language, you may perceive that the *Meſſiah* is the ſame *Shiloh* ſpoke of by *Jacob*, and who is to kill the Old Serpent, which hath ruin'd Mandkind. Men have in vain ſtrugled againſt him: Nothing leſs than a *Meſſiah* could overcome him. The Law was not ſufficient to redeem Mankind, ſince the Ships, that is, thoſe that penetrated its Myſteries, were loſt. That Law muſt be paſſed through, as the Red Sea was by the People. That ſhall be done Spiritually, and it ſhall be a Redemption, wherein the Righteous ſhall alſo be fed with a Spiritual *Manna.* Laſtly, it is thence concluded, that People muſt put their confidence in the *Meſſiah*, who is to redeem *Iſrael* from their Sins.

V. Other Rabbies ſet down the Preſages that ſhall precede his coming. They diſtinguiſh his principal Actions, and deſcribe, in a pathetical manner, what advantageous Effects he ſhall produce.

The coming of the *Meſſiah* ſhall be preceded by horrible Preſages. Three † Apoſtate Kings, under pretence of worſhipping God, ſhall throw Men headlong into Error. *Truth* || *ſhall fail upon Earth.* Iſrael, according to the Prediction of *Hoſea*, * *ſhall be without a King, without a Sacrifice, without an Image.* He ſhall be over-burthen'd with Taxes, and whoever ſhall not be able to pay ſhall dye. " From the " extremities of the Earth ſhall come Men with two " Heads, and ſeven Eyes burning as Fire, and whoſe " Feet ſhall be ſwifter than thoſe of Goats, and all " thoſe that ſhall ſee them ſhall cry, *Ah! Ah!* The Plague and Ptyſick ſhall ravage the Earth. A Dew of Blood ſhall fall down from Heaven, and be taken for Water, but ſhall kill thoſe that drink of it. However, there ſhall be another Dew, which ſhall be a healing Remedy to many, according to the ſaying of *Hoſea* †, *I will be as the Dew unto* Iſrael; *he ſhall grow as the Lilly.* The || Sun ſhall *be turned into darkneſs, and the Moon into Blood*, as *Joel* Propheſies, but after thirty Days God will reſtore it to its priſtine Brightneſs.

VI. Then * a potent King ſhall ſubject the Univerſe to his Laws, and place his Throne in *Rome*,

* Sota ibid. *p.* 343. † Ex Gem. ibid. Sect. 37. *p.* 362. Ibid. Sect 35. *p.* 358. 359. || Amos 9. 11. * R. Joſeph. ibid. *p.* 355.. † Ibid. *p.* 355. * Ibid. *p.* 359. || Jean. 12. 34 † Ibid. Sect. 37. *p.* 361. * Ibid. *c.* 11. † Simeon in Tikkunne Zohar, Tikkun. 21. fol. 52. col. 2. In Rittangelii Altercatione. Wagenſeil Tela Ignea, *t.* 1. *p.* 345. † Lib. Pulveris Aromatarii apud Hulſ. de Theol. Judaic. *l.* 1. *p.* 1. *p.* 22 & 27. 51. || Eſ. 59. 15. * Hoſ. 3. 4. † Hoſ. 14. 6. || Joel 2. 31. * Ibid. *p.* 35.

and

and Reign nine Months; at the end of which the *Meſſiah* Son of *Joſeph*, called *Nehemiah* ſhall appear. The Tribes of *Manaſſah*, of *Ephraim* and *Benjamin* following him in ſmall numbers, ſhall declare War againſt this King of the *Romans*, kill him in a Fight, make a horrible ſlaughter, and find again part of the Veſſels of the Sanctuary in the Palace of the Emperor *Julian*, where they had been hid for many Ages. The Son of *Joſeph* ſhall go from thence to *Damaſcus*. *Aſcalon*, and *Jeruſalem*, kill the Inhabitants thereof, and all *Iſrael* ſhall gather together at the noiſe of his Victories.

VII. There is at *Rome* the Statue of a very handſome Virgin. Some profligate Fellows of all Nations ſhall come into that great City, ſhall cloſe in with this Statue, and from ſome drops of Blood the famous *Armillus* ſhall ſpring, whom the Nations ſhall call *Anti-chriſt*. His Stature ſhall be prodigious. He will give out that he is the *Meſſiah*, and the God who ought to be ador'd. All the Poſterity of *Eſau* ſhall ſubmit to his Laws; but *Nehemiah* the Son of *Joſeph* at the Head of Thirty thouſand *Jews*, a Defender of the Unity of God, ſhall wage War againſt him. *Armillus* ſhall be beaten, and Two hundred thouſand Men ſhall be Slain in the firſt Battel. But he will rally to a ſecond Charge, where after he has loſt a vaſt number of Souldiers, he ſhall unknowingly kill the *Meſſiah Nehemiah* the Son of *Joſeph*. The *Jews* ſhall then loſe Courage, and run away. They ſhall be driven from place to place. The Nations ſhall no longer tolerate them, and this laſt blow of God's Anger ſhall be the moſt terrible.

VIII. We do not intend to inſiſt upon every particular; and therefore ſhall not obſerve what they ſo boldly advance, that the Veſſels of the Sanctuary are hid in the Palace of *Julian*, where they ſhall be found at the Birth of the *Meſſiah*, the Son of *Joſeph*; nor concerning the Statue of a *Virgin*, which is at *Rome*, from which *Armillus* is to be born; but it is requiſite to expoſe the variation of the Rabbies, who have explain'd the Wars of the *Meſſiah* according to the times wherein they liv'd. *Jonathan* has ſpoken of this *Armillus*, and therefore it is ſaid, either that his Paraphraſe is adulterated, or that he was not Co-temporary with J. CHRIST, ſeeing this *Armillus* is borrow'd from the *Chriſtians*, who did not till a long time after begin to make him the *Anti chriſt*. *Kimki*, who liv'd in the XIIth Century, and then ſaw the *Chriſtians* Maſters of *Jeruſalem* under *Baldwin*, the laſt King of it, fancy'd, that his *Meſſiah*, whoſe coming he expected in a ſhort time, wou'd ſtill find the *Chriſtians* in *Judæa*, from whence he would drive them out with open force. And for that reaſon he fixed there the Seat of the War. But he was miſtaken. For the XIIth Century was not compleated, before the *Chriſtians* vanquiſh'd by *Saladin*, abandon'd the *Holy-Land*. *Abravanel* *, who ſaw the *Turks* powerful and formidable, imagin'd that thoſe were they that were to wage War againſt the *Chriſtians*, and to deſtroy the Nations. He ſuppoſes that the *Chriſtians* would make new *Cruzadoes* for the regaining of *Jeruſalem*; that the *Turks*, whom he calls *Gog* and *Magog*, being gathered together from all the Provinces of the *Eaſt*, to defend not only their Empire, but their Religion, would give Battel to, and defeat the *Chriſtians*. This is the Judgment, which God was to execute in *the Valley of Jehoſhaphat*; For *Jeruſalem* was to be a place of Horror. The Nations were to tremble, and even the *Jews* to quake thro' Amazement; but Peace and Deliverance were at laſt to ſpring from the Womb of this War. For God was then to break the Yoke of *Iſrael*, and no Stranger was ever after to rule over them. They ſhall ſerve *David their King*, that is to ſay, *the* Meſſiah, *who is of the houſe of* David. The Lying fraud is palpable; and beſides it appears, that thoſe who publiſh'd thoſe Propheſies, have taken them from the Circumſtances of the time they lived in, and from the Events, which they thought near at hand. Our Author has a different Syſtem. For he brings into the World a *Nehemiah*, the Son of *Joſeph*, and makes him the firſt *Meſſiah*; he allots him for his Province the Deſtruction of the *Gentiles*, loads him with the Odium of a cruel Expedition, and makes him to dye in a Battel. Let us go on with his Notion.

IX. *Michael* the Arch-Angel ſhall Sound † the Trumpet three times; at the firſt, the *Meſſiah* the Son of *David* ſhall appear with the Prophet *Elijah*. The diſpers'd Nation ſhall gather together; *Armillus* in a fright ſhall complain of the great trouble that a wretched Nation gives him. The Son of *David* ſhall kill him in the Battel; The *Chriſtians* and *Infidels* ſhall be exterminated perſuant to the Oracle, which ſays ||, *that the houſe of* Jacob *ſhall be a Fire, and the Nations as Stubble and Tow.* At the ſecond Sound of the Trumpet, the *Meſſiah* ſhall raiſe the Saints from the Dead; and even the *Meſſiah*, the Son of *Joſeph*, who was buried under the Gate of *Jeruſalem*. They ſhall go from place to place to gather together the diſpers'd. The Earth ſhall be to them a Garden of *Eden*. God ſhall go before them. *Jeruſalem*, and its Temple ſhall be reſtor'd. as *Jeremiah* * hath foretold. The City ſhall be built with *ten pretious Stones*. God ſhall put again into his Temple the *ten things* that had been loſt, and were miſſing in that of *Herod*. The Ark, with its Cherubims, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and in fine, there ſhall be *ten Conſolations* for the People. For his *Redeemer ſhall come* †; *the Priſoners ſhall gather together*; *the Dead ſhall riſe again*; *the Temple ſhall be rebuilt*; *the Kingdom of* Judah *ſhall extend from one Sea to the other, and his Enemies ſhall be deſtroy'd. No Sickneſs, no Plague ſhall any more moleſt them. Their life ſhall be prolong'd as that of a Tree. God ſhall make himſelf viſible to the Eye, and ſhall take away the wicked thought from the heart*; and laſt of all, War ſhall come to a final End.

X. This Rabbi hath forgot one of the great Advantages, which the *Jews* are to reap at the Manifeſtation of the Son of *David*; for he is to prepare them a Table, and give them a magnificent Banquet. The *Leviathan* ſhall make the firſt Courſe. This Fiſh would have filled the Sea with Monſters, if he had liv'd long enough to have finiſhed his Productions; but the Rabbies affirm that God kill'd him, and ſalted him for the Banquet of the *Meſſiah*. He alſo kill'd the *Behemoth* but did not ſalt him, becauſe ſalt Meat is not nice enough for ſo elegant a Feaſt. Wild fowl were as yet wanting; But though ſome Doctors have over-look'd them, Others have taken care to mention a Bird call'd *Bariuchne*, which when he diſplays his Wings, covers the Sun with them; and one of his rotten Eggs once falling from his Neſt drown'd ſixty Cities. He is alſo reſerv'd for the *Meſſiah* and all his Nations. Wine ſhall no more be wanting there, than at the Marriage in *Cana*; For it has been preſs'd from the beginning of the World, when the Earth had not as yet loſt its vigour, and it is kept in *Adam*'s Cellar. Its age ſhall not diminiſh its ſtrength; it ſhall only make it clearer and finer.

XI. One can hardly think that Divines ſhould ſpeak ſeriouſly when they vent ſuch groſs Abſurdi-

* Abraban. ad cap. 30. Jerem. † P. 159. † Ibid. 79. 80. 138. 142. 150. || Obad. 1. 18. * Jerem. 30. 18.

ties.

ties. However, thus much is certain, that this Banquet is the formulary of an Oath among * many of the *Jews*, as that of a Share in Paradice is among the *Chriſtian* Vulgar: *If I lye, let me never eat of the wild Ox*; that is to ſay, of the *Behemoth*. Thoſe that are for refining, maintain, that we muſt underſtand thereby Carnal Pleaſures which ſhall be lively and in great abundance; and *Poligamy* ſhall be ſo far then from being a Fault, tolerated for the hardneſs of their Hearts, that it ſhall become a thing Praiſe-worthy. In ſhort, if ſome find Spiritual Pleaſures under carnal Expreſſions, they are refuted as People that go out of the common Road, and do not agree with Holy Writ.

XII. However, ſome of the *Jewiſh* Divines expreſs themſelves with more Warineſs and Judgment. *Abravanel* is one of theſe. For he gives his *Meſſiah* ten Characters. 1. "The firſt relates to his *Birth*; "for he is to be of the Houſe of *David*, and come "from the Stock of *Jeſſe*. 2. Propheſy having ceas'd "ſince the Conflagration of the Second Houſe, for "there *are Prophets wanting*, the *Meſſiah* is to reſtore "that Advantage, and to raiſe it to ſo eminent a de-"gree, that it ſhall exalt him above *Moſes*, and "above Angels. 3. He is to be the wiſeſt of all "Men. 4. And Maſter of his Paſſions. 5. As a "Juſt and Righteous King, he is to draw the admi-"ration and love of his Subjects by the equity of "his Judgments. 6. His Miracles ſhall be frequent, "for he ſhall Kill by the Spirit of his Mouth. It ſhall "be no longer neceſſary to gather an Army againſt "the Rebels, nor to inflict Puniſhments upon the "Guilty, as the *Sanhedrim* did. Serpents, Lions, "Fire from Heaven, ſhall kill all thoſe that ſhall "commit any Act of Diſobedience. 7. There ſhall "be then ſuch a perfect Peace upon Earth, that every "Day ſhall appear as one Sabbath. 8. That this "Reign may be the more Glorious, the Unbelieving "Nations and Kings ſhall ſubmit to his Empire. "9. The ten Tribes ſhall return from their Diſper-"ſion, and gather again together about the *Meſſiah*. "10. And to facilitate their Return, he ſhall ſepa-"rate the Waters of *Euphrates*, as *Moſes* did thoſe "of the *Red-Sea*.

This Divine is much more Judicious, than all whom we have quoted; but it may at the ſame time be obſerv'd, that he comes much nearer to the *Chriſtians*, ſince there are few of his Characters, but what belong to J. CHRIST.

XIII. The *Jews* ſtill hope †, that the Miracles of the *Meſſiah* will happen in a very little time; but after they have been thus long and ſo often miſtaken, they do not now dare to fix it. They only cautiouſly ſay, that the People muſt *firſt repent*; becauſe as the Captivity of *Egypt* did not end till the repentance of *Iſrael*, ſo they are not to be deliver'd from their wretched State, till after a general Converſion. A thouſand Evils are prepar'd againſt this Nation. A King more cruel than *Haman* ſhall rule over them; and in the main their Affliction ſhall be a Furnace, and a Fire, to purge & purify them. Thus the Prophets have compar'd this Nation to an Olive, which doth not yield its Oyl till it be throughly preſs'd; and it muſt be from this their Affliction that they ſhall paſs into a State of Tranquillity and Happineſs. But this is ſaying nothing, to fix the coming of the Son of *David* at *the Repentance of the People*, which ſhall never be compleat enough. And therefore we muſt look out ſome where elſe for what is ſaid, that is more particular, and ſpoke with a greater air of Cautiouſneſs.

XIV. *David*, *Maimonides*'s Grandſon, being conſulted by the Chiefs of his Nation about the time of the coming of the *Meſſiah*, reveal'd ſeveral Secrets, which he forbid ſhould be publiſh'd to Strangers under the greateſt Curſe. *Tell it not in* Gath, *publiſh it not in the ſtreets of* Ascalon.

He reported, that one *Phineas*, who liv'd || about the Year 475. had had in his old Age, a Son that Spoke as ſoon as ever he was Born. He liv'd to be twelve Years old, and at the point of Death, reveal'd ſome great Myſteries concerning the Deliverance of the Nation; but as he wrote them in ſeveral Languages, and under Symbolical Expreſſions, his Revelation is very obſcure. It was at laſt found in the Ruins of a Town of *Galilee*; and it is there obſerv'd that God had anſwer'd, * *That the Fig-tree putteth forth her green Figs.* That did promiſe a very near Manifeſtation of the *Meſſiah*. However, he is not as yet come. *R. Abraham* †, who was at *Jeruſalem* in the Year 1516, and had found this Propheſy engrav'd upon a Wall, ſaid, that the ſame Conſtellation that was ſeen when *Joſhua* conquer'd the Land of *Canaan*, and when *Ezra* brought back the People from *Babylon*, was to be found again in the Year || 1529, and that then the *Meſſiah* ſhould appear; but the Event hath not anſwer'd his Propheſy.

XV. "They pray to * God, that thoſe who rec-"kon the Years of the *Meſſiah*, *may burſt* †; that "their Bones may ſwell; and break, ſays *Gemara*. "For when a time is fix'd, and the thing expected "doth not happen; People are apt to ſay with a "criminal miſtruſtfulneſs, that it ſhall never come "to paſs. *Happy are thoſe who expect him*, who de-"layeth his coming! For God doth not expect. "He is *the ſtrength* of Judgment; It is his Juſtice, "*Why then do we ſtill expect him?* And indeed many "perceiving that the times are elaps'd, believe that "the *Meſſiah* will not come; and that there ſhall "be no Deliverance, ſince it is not already effected: "But others will have us truſt in God, becauſe he "*that ſhall come, will come, and will not tarry.* *Elias* "hath reckon'd 2000 *empty* Years, during which "time there ſhall be no Law, and 2000 Years under "the Law, and 2000 Years for the Reign of the "*Meſſiah*; according to this Calculation he was to "come in the Year 4000.* But a delay is ſtill put "to his coming, becauſe of the Sins of the People. "The ſame *Elias* told *R. Juda*, that there ſhould "be but Forty five *Jubilees*, and that the *Meſſiah* "was to appear in the laſt, that is, in the Year "4250. But another Rabbi maintains, (without know-"ing any thing of the Matter) that *Elias* only ſaid, "that the *Meſſiah* ought not to be expected till after "the Forty fifth *Jubilee*.

XVI. "*R. Chanan* met with a Man, who held "a Book in his Hand which he had found at *Rome*, and "wherein it was taught, that all Wars wou'd *be* "*at an end in the Year of the World* 4291. that is "to ſay, the 531 Year of J. CHRIST; and that "afterwards the *Meſſiah* ſhou'd reign till the end "of the Seventh Millenary, in which the World "was to be deſtroyed. Others aſſert, that *Daniel* "having ſpoken *of a time, and of times, and the half* "*of a time*, the Captivity of *Egypt* muſt be doubled, "and that inſtead of * 400 Years, times muſt be "reckon'd, that is the double of the number of "Years; and afterwards the half of a time which "amounts to 200 Years; thus you have 1400 Years. "Others believe that you muſt treble the Years of "the Captivity, becauſe *David* has ſaid †, *that God*

* Maimonides, Abrabanel, R. Menaſſe de Reſurr. *l.* 3. *c.* 9 † Fulvis Aromatar. Pars. 11. Hulſ. *p.* 235. 263. || *Four hundred and five Years after the Deſtruction of the Temple.* * Cant. 2. 13. † R. Gedalia in Schialſchelet Hakkabbala. Wagenſeil Tela Ignea, *t.* 1. *p.* 615 || An. 5289. conjunctio Aquarii & Piſcium. * Ibid. *p.* 617. † Ex Gemara Tit. Sanh. *c.* xi. S. 30. Coch. duo Tituli Thalmud. 349. || Heb. 10. 37. * 400 *Years of the Captivity*, 800 *for the times in the Plural Number, and* 200 *for half of a time.* † Pſ. 80. 5.

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" *will give them Tears to drink in great measure.* The " term in the Original signifies a Measure which is " call'd *Triennal.* Thus they reckon 1600 Years.

XVII. *Maimonides* pretended, that he had receiv'd some Prophesies from his Ancestors, from whence he concluded, that *Balaam* had foretold the time in which the Gift of Phrophesying shou'd be restor'd to the *Jews*; and that as he did Prophesy in the 31th Year after the going out of the Land of *Egypt*, and the Year 2486. from the Creation of the World; by doubling this Number, the re-establishment of the Prophets, that were to go before the *Messiah* was found to be in the Year 4976. By following this Oracle, which hath no relation to that, and the Calculation of *Maimonides*, the *Messiah* shou'd have come in the XIIIth Century, in the Year 1316. But as that has not yet happen'd, others refer the end of their Misfortunes to the Year 1492. others to the Year 1598, others to the Year 1600, and others again to the Year 1940.

XVIII. We should never have done, did we set down all the different Calculations of the Rabbies; but we shall only speak of a Whim which exceeds all the rest; namely, That the *Messiah* hath been a long time Born, and remains conceal'd at *Rome* till *Elias* come to Crown him. This fooliish caprice of a Conjecture is back'd by the example of *Moses*, who was hid for several years in *Arabia* in his Father-in-law's House, and even in the Palace of *Pharaoh*, before he put himself at the head of the People, to procure them their liberty. *David* anointed by *Samuel*, lived also several Years as a private Man, before he mounted the Throne; and was not the *Messiah* of the *Christians* thirty Years hid at *Nazereth*, without exercising the Functions of his Office? Tho' the Rabbies feed the hopes of the Vulgar, and fix'd times remote from those wherein they liv'd, to avoid the shame of being mistaken, yet the *Messiah* dot not come; and after all their Calculation they are forc'd to say with *Maimonides* ‖, that *the time* of the *Messiah* must not be enquir'd after, that *the time* of the Nation consists in the observation of the Law, and a trust in the Promises that are link'd with it. It may also be observ'd, that there is not a more convincing Argument against the *Jews*, than that taken from the time wherein the *Messiah* was to come and appear. They all bend under the weight of this objection, and cannot stand before those *Christians* that urge it. As for the rest, the *Modern Jews* frame a more Carnal Notion of their *Messiah* than the *Antient*: For these last think only of glutting themselves in the Blood of the Nations, and to plunge themselves in Carnal Pleasures.

† Numb. 23. 23. ‖ Ibid. *p.* 627.

CHAP. XXVII.

A Fourth Notion of the Messiah.

That which the Jews *form of* J. CHRIST.

I. *The design of the following Chapter.* II. *The History of* J. CHRIST; *an extract of the first* Toldos Jeschu. III. *His Miracles.* IV. *His Death.* V. *The Progress of the Gospel.* VI. *Some* Christians, *who have adopted* Panthera *for the Father of* J. CHRIST.

I. I Can't tell whether the *Jews* were afraid, lest some among them might at last get the better of the Prejudices which have hinder'd their Nation from acknowledging the *Messiah* in the Person of J. CHRIST; and lest ascending to the Essential Characters which the Prophets give to that Deliverer, they might easily perceive, that it was he whom they had promised and characteriz'd many Ages before; but it is certain, that they endeavour'd to make J. CHRIST odious both to the *Jews* and *Christians*. After they have read our Gospels, they disguise the Actions and Miracles of that *Messiah* whom we adore.

They have * for many Ages past labour'd to perfect this disguise; and have compleated it in these last times: For a new *Book of the Generation of* † JESUS is lately come out, wherein the Author goes farther than that which appear'd some time before. We must do this justice *to our Adversaries*, to represent fairly their reason; for otherwise we should not do the part of a faithful Historian. They often redouble the dread of the People, by concealing some Monsters behind the Curtain; and the opprobrious Character they give of some certain Books, are good Preservatives for the Weak and Simple; but those who are curious, or by chance get these Books into their hands, open them with a Mind scar'd, prepossess'd, and already half overcome. The great Art of Religion is in not having any. If *Heretick*s are subtle and dangerous, People must work so much the harder, that they may be successfully opposed, and leave the event to God, whose Cause they defend. The Books which we quote are not so dangerous as has been believ'd. The Ignorance of the *Jews* betrays them: Because they wholly neglect Prophane History, they cannot make the Events which they relate to agree with it, and therefore that lays their Impostures open. The last of the Authors we are now to examine, hath assum'd the Name of *Jonathan*, who was Cotemporary with J. CHRIST, a Scribe at *Jerusalem*. And yet he speaks of the *Jews* settled at *Worms*, who were called to *Herod*'s Council. They blunder also about the time when J. CHRIST was born, and about divers Customs in so gross a manner, that some Doctors have been forced to disown those Books, tho' they were composed for the service of their own Nation.

II. They prefix'd to these Works the Title of the Gospel according to St. *Matthew*, *viz.* *The Genera-*

* *Such a Book as this was already mentioned in the Dagger of Faith*, Pugio Fidei Raymondi, *which very much resembles the* Toldos Jeschu. † *There are two Books that bear the Name of* Sepher Toldos Jesu ספר תלדות ישו *This Title is an imitation of that of St.* Matthew, *which is called*, Βιβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ The Book of the Generation of J. CHRIST, *or* The History *of* J. CHRIST. *There are principally two among the* Jews *which bear that Name; One published by* Wagenseil *in the Second Volume of his* Tela Ignea Satanæ. *We shall distinguish it by the Name of the Publisher,* Toldos Wag. *that so it may not be confounded with the Second, which Mr.* Huldric *hath put out this Year* 1705. *with some Notes that shew his Learning in the* Oriental *Languages. We shall call this last* Toldos Huldrici.

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tions of JESUS; but inſtead of writing his Genealogy, they begin with his Birth, and ſo draw the Hiſtory of his Life and Death. The Author relates that one Named *Pandera* living at *Bethlehem*, fell in Love with a young Attire-Woman, who had been married to *Jochanan*. He debauch'd her, and had a Son by her: Then fled into *Babylon*, and the Mother had the Child left upon her Hands, whom ſhe call'd *Jehoſcua*. He was ſent to School, but this Diſciple, tho a ſtripling, had the inſolence to lift up his Head, and ſhew his bare Face before the Prieſts, whereas it was the Cuſtom to be veil'd in their Preſence. This his Boldneſs gave occaſion to enquire into his Birth, which was judg'd impure. " After * he had remain'd ſome time " in *Galilee*, he went to *Jeruſalem*, and reſolv'd to " ſteal away *the Name of God*. But to prevent this " Theft, two Lions were made by Magick, and plac'd " One on the right, the Other on the left ſide of the " *Holy of Holies*. Theſe two Lions roar'd every time " that any one went out; and their Roaring was ſo " frightful, that it ſcar'd and made thoſe who heard " them looſe their Memories. JESUS the Son of " *Pandera* eſcap'd the ſnare by cutting his Skin, and " ſlipping under it the Name of *Jehovah*, which he " had ſtoln. He went from thence immediately to " *Bethlehem*, the Place of his Birth, where he raiſed " One from the Dead, and cured a Leper. The noiſe " of theſe Miracles drew a vaſt multitude after him, " who led him to *Jeruſalem* in Triumph upon an " Aſs.

III. " The Prieſts being met together, petitioned " *Helena*, or *Oleina*, who at that time Reigned with " her Son *Mombas*, or *Hircanus*, and demanded that " JESUS might be puniſhed. He appear'd before " her, and by ſome new Miracles won her over to " his Party. The Prieſts being amaz'd, conſulted " how they might entrap him; and One of them " whoſe Name was *Juda*, offer'd to learn the " Name of *Jehovah*, provided they would take upon " themſelves the Sin which he thereby committed: " ſo he went to try his Skill of working Miracles with " JESUS. Both the One and the Other by pro- " nouncing that Name, raiſed themſelves into the " Air; *Juda* attempted to make his Enemy fall, but " in vain till he had piſs'd upon him; for then the vir- " tue of the Name was over, and they fell both to " the Ground, becauſe they were both defil'd. " JESUS immediately waſh'd himſelf in *Jordan*, and " wrought new Miracles. *Juda*, who wou'd not " be baulk'd put himſelf among his Diſciples, ob- " ſerv'd all his Proceedings, and reveal'd them to the " *Sages*. And as he was to come into the Temple, he " was ſtopt with many of his Diſciples, whilſt the " reſt fled to the Mountains. JESUS was faſten'd " to the Marble-Pillar which was in the City, and " there Whipp'd. He was afterwards Crown'd " with Thorns: And laſt of all they gave him " ſome Vinegar and Water to drink, becauſe he was " thirſty. *Matt.* 27. 34.

IV. " The *Sanhedrim* having condemn'd him to " Death, he was *Stoned*. They after that attempt- " ed *to hang him upon Wood*, but the Wood broke, " becauſe JESUS foreſaw the manner of his Death, " *and had enchanted it by the Name of* Jehovah. But " *Juda* diſappointed that precaution of his, by ta- " king a *great Cabbage* out of his Garden, and " hang'd JESUS thereon. *Juda* fearing leſt his Diſ- " ciples ſhould proclaim that he was riſen from the " Dead, took away his Corps from the Grave, and " having diverted a running Stream, bury'd it " in a Ditch. However, it was reported that " he was riſen from the Dead, becauſe his Bo- " dy was not found in his Sepulchre. Queen *He-* " *lena* believed it, and declared, that he was *the Son* " *of God*, but *Juda* diſcovered the Cheat by pro- " ducing the Dead Corps. It was then faſtened to " the Tail of a Horſe. and dragged before the Pa- " lace of the Queen, who was confounded, becauſe " ſhe had ſaid that he was the Son of God. His " Hair was pluck'd off, and therefore the Monks are " ſhaved. The *Nazarites* were ſo provoked at this, " that they made a Schiſm upon it with the *Jews*.

V. " Notwithſtanding this, their Religion was " ſpread abroad every where by the Miniſtry of " twelve Perſons, who preached it thro' all Coun- " tries. The Wiſe-men being mightily concerned at " their Progreſs, deputed one *Simon Kepha* to ſtop it. " He took the Name of *Jehovah* upon him and tranſ- " ported himſelf into the Metropolis of the *Nazarites*, " where after he had wrought ſeveral Miracles, he en- " gaged them to promiſe him that they would do what- " ever he ordered them. He forbid them to uſe the " *Jews* ill, and commanded them to celebrate the Fe- " ſtival of the Stoning of JESUS, and the Fortieth Day " after his Death inſtead of the *Pentecoſt*. They " promiſed they would do it, provided he ſtayed " with them. And in order to this, they built him " a Tower, where he ſhut himſelf up, living upon " Bread and Water for the ſpace of Six Years, and " then dy'd. This Tower is as yet to be ſeen at " *Rome*, which is call'd *Peter*; or at leaſt a Stone " whereon he ſate. *Elias* came afterwards to *Rome*, " and declared that *Simon* had deceiv'd them; that " he was the Perſon, whom JESUS had intruſted " with his Orders, that he commanded them to be " circumcis'd upon the Penalty of being drown'd, and " to obſerve † the Firſt day of the Week inſtead of " the *Sabbath*; but at the very inſtant that he was " Preaching this Doctrine, a Stone fell upon his " Head, and cruſh'd him to pieces. *May this be* " *the end of all God's Enemies*. This is an Extract of that famous Book.

VI. It is a Romance, wherein part of the Life of J. CHRIST is inſerted. Yet there are ſome learned *Chriſtians*, who notwithſtanding their conviction of the falſhood of ſo fabulous a Piece, do for all that take part of it to ground their Conjectures upon. *Celſus* is excuſable, in having upbraided the *Chriſtians* with the Virgin's being forc'd by a Souldier called *Pandera*; but how can St. *Epiphanius* be excus'd, who aſſures us, that *Joſeph* was the Son of *Jacob* ſirnam'd *Panther*? or how can *John* of *Damaſcus* be juſtified, who is indeed of another Opinion, but for all that makes him come into the Genealogy of J. CHRIST: For he maintains, that *Panther* was great Grand-father to *Mary*, and *Barpanther* her Grand father. *Raban Maur* doth alſo ſpeak of theſe two Men; and the Learned *Grotius* ‖ made an Advantage of this Tradition, as if it had been well grounded, that ſo the Romance invented about the *Virgin* might appear more probable. And indeed * the Name given here to the Souldier, *Panther*, is a *Greek* one; how then can it be introduc'd into the Genealogy of J. CHRIST as a Sirname of a Family? There is good reaſon to believe that it was invented only to make the Birth of the *Meſſiah* more odious. The † *Panther*, or the Male of the *Panther*, is a Savage and cruel Beaſt, that couples with a Lioneſs, and from thence proceeds a Leopard.

Hi ‖ *maculis patrem referent, & robore matrem.*

The Manuſcript of a Rabbie is alſo quoted, wherein it is ſaid, that as the Leopard is produc'd by the mixture of different ſpecies;

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* Toldos Wag. *p.* 1. 1015, &c. Toldos Jeſcu, *p.* 26. † Toldos Wag. *p.* 23, &c. † Huldric. Not. ad Toldos Jeſchu, *p.* 3. ‖ Grot. in Luc. 2. 23. ‖ Claud. * Wagenſeil Confutatio

Diverſam

Diverſam * *confuſa genus Panthera camelo*;

So J. CHRIST ſprung from a *Greek* Soldier and a *Jewiſh* Woman. Thoſe who reckon *Panthera* among CHRIST's Anceſtors, fall into the Snare, which the moſt inveterate Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Religion have laid for them. *Emanuel de Teſauro* is one of theſe for he Bleſſes the Fate of *Marham* and *Panther*, becauſe J. CHRIST came from them. *Felices* † *Marham & Panther tanta nepote*: But inſtead of following them, let us examine thoſe various Romances which the *Jews* publiſh about J. CHRIST.

* Horat. Satyr. † Elogia Patriarch. & Chriſti nova ætas *p.* 145.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A Confutation of the two Books, entituled, The Toldos, *or* The Generations of JESUS. *A fifth Notion. Falſe* Meſſiah's.

I. Helena *was Queen of the* Adribeni. II. *Whether ſhe was the Mother of* Conſtantine. III. *This Opinion refuted.* IV. *Whether* Helena, *Queen of the* Adiabeni, *was a* Chriſtian. *In what time ſhe liv'd.* V. *A new Hiſtory of* J. CHRIST *full of Falſities.* VI. *Some Impoſtures obſerv'd upon his Birth. The Tonſure of Prieſts.* VII. *The Miracles of* J. CHRIST. *The Conjectures of ſome* Chriſtians *upon the Name of* Jehovah *and* JESUS *exploded.* VIII. *Some Fables of the* Jews *on the Name of* Jehovah. IX. *The Circumſtances of the Death of* J. CHRIST, *falſely related.* X. *Remarks upon what is ſaid of his Death, and of the* Sanhedrim *of* Worms. XI. *The War which it occaſioned againſt* Herod *and the* Jews, *a Chimera.* XII. *Frauds which the* Jews *confeſs were made uſe of againſt the* Chriſtians. XIII. *What uſe may be made of the* Toldos Jeſcu. XIV. *Of the fifth Notion of the* Meſſiah.

I. THE firſt thing that we are to examine, is, the Birth of J. CHRIST. It happen'd according * to the *Jews* in the Year 3671. in the Reign of *Alexander Jannæus*; but he wrought his Miracles whilſt *Helena* and her Son *Mombas* Reign'd in *Judæa*. It is a general, tho' erroneous Opinion of the *Jews*, that J. CHRIST liv'd above a Century before the *Chriſtian Æra*, and they do not trouble themſelves to reconcile their Opinion with Foreign Hiſtorians, becauſe *a hundred and fifty Years difference* is but a ſmall matter with them. But here is one Circumſtance which ought to be animadverted upon, *viz.* The Reign of *Helena* and of her Son. *Joſephus* ſpeaks of *Helena* Queen of *Adiabeni*, who came to *Jeruſalem* during the Famine foretold by *Agabus*, and ſhe was ſo charitable as to relieve the People, by ordering a great quantity of Corn to be bought at *Alexandria*. She liv'd a long time in *Judæa* with her Son *Izates*, who had given her an inſight into the *Jewiſh* Religion; and no doubt but it is this Foreign and Proſelyte Princeſs, who is inſerted into this Romance, which we are now examining.

II. A famous † Critick pretends, that the Author alludes to *Helena* the Mother of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, becauſe ſhe is called *Queen of the Univerſe*, which belongs to none but to the Conſort of ſuch an Emperor as *Conſtantius* was. Beſides, *Helena* favour'd the *Jews* before ſhe embrac'd *Chriſtianity*; and the Acts of Pope *Sylveſter* import, that *Iambres* the *Jew* crow'd very much over the *Chriſtians* in her preſence, becauſe by pronouncing the Name of *Jehovah* to an Oxe's Ear, he made him fall down Dead on the Ground; and he maintain'd, that this Miracle was done frequently in the Antient Temple, wherein the Prieſts by the help of that ineffable Name tam'd thoſe Animals, which were often very furious. If we believe that Critick, this Hiſtory hath been the ground-work whereon the *Jews* have built their Romance concerning J. CHRIST.

III. But the Foundation of this Conjecture || falls immediately: For I do not ſee that *Helena* was called *Queen of the Univerſe*. They make her to have been *the Wife of Jannæus*, and to have rul'd in *Judæa* after the Death of her Husband, which is falſe. But do they not puſh this falſhood too far in giving her the Empire of the whole World? *Helena* Queen of the *Adiabeni*, who liv'd ſo long at *Jeruſalem*, ought to be better known by the *Jews*, than *Helena* the Wife of *Conſtantius* was. Can it be imagined that they have ſeen, and taken the pains to Copy a ſpurious Piece, ſuch as the Acts of *Sylveſter*, ſince they hardly read the beſt Performances of the *Chriſtians*. Why are *Jambres*, and the tryal of Skill upon the Oxe kill'd by the Name of *Jehovah*, brought in, ſince they have no relation to what is ſaid here of J. CHRIST, where this Dying Oxe doth not appear upon the Scene? This Conjecture is not better grounded than that of the Lions or Dogs who bark'd at thoſe that went out of the Holy Place. For * it is ſuppoſed that this is borrow'd from the Cover of the Ark, the Name of which had ſome relation with that of the Lion, or of that *Lion of God* that was ſaid to reſide under the Altar: As if this Fable could not have have been invented at once without alluding to ſome Antient Rite, or to ſome falſe or true Event, relating to the *Jewiſh* Church.

IV. *Oroſius* † will not allow that the Synagogue made this Conqueſt of *Helena*. For he affirms, that ſhe embrac'd the Goſpel during that Famine at *Jeruſalem*; but her long ſtay in that City, where ſhe had leſs liberty of Conſcience than at home; thoſe Pyramids which ſhe erected near the City; the number of her Son's Wives, who perſever'd in *Polygamy*; the ſilence of *Euſebius*, and other Hiſtorians, upon a thing ſo advantageous to the Church; all make us believe, that this Queen and her Children were only *Jewiſh Proſelytes*. However, it is certain, 1. That this Queen never Reigned in *Judea*, nor had ſhe any Authority there: It is then ridiculous to drag JESUS before her, and to demand both of her and her Son his Condemnation and Death. A Queen of *Adiabene* had nothing to do with *Judæa*; for that was in ſubjection to the *Romans*. 2. Her Son's Name was *Monobaſus*; but he is confounded || with *Hircanus*, and this Name is ridiculouſly aſcribed to him. He did not Reign in *Judæa*, and never had there any ſupreme Authority to Condemn to Death; and his Children who were taken at *Jeruſalem*, only reſided there out of a kind of Curioſity to be inſtructed in the Law.

* Toldos Wag. *p.* 3. † Le Moyne Diſſ. in Jer. 23 6. *p.* 97. || Toldos Jeſu, apud Wag. Tela Ignea. * *Ibid.*
† Oroſ Hiſt. *l.* 7. *c* 6. B. P. Max. *t.* vi. *p.* 435. D. Ganz. Chronol. *l.* 2. *p.* 178.

3. Lastly, after they had set up some chimerical Kings in *Judæa*, Chronology must be broken into, and infring'd: For the Queen of *Adiabene* did not come to *Jerusalem* till the Reign of *Claudius*, after the Death of J. CHRIST, which happen'd in the 19th Year of *Tiberius*. Her Son Reigned but in the Year 61. and was still Alive at the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; so that they give him the Power to interrogate and condemn a Man, who had been Dead above thirty Years before. This is so known a Truth, that some *Jewish* * Historians own that the Queen of *Adiabene* liv'd but under *Claudius*; and that she was neither of the Race of the *Ptolomy*'s, nor Queen of *Judæa*, but a Proselyte, as we also acknowledge.

V. The second Author † who hath wrote the History of J. CHRIST, and followed the Gospel closer, hath corrected this fault, and without speaking of *Helena*, he makes J. CHRIST to be Born in the Reign of *Herod* the *Great*. Nay, he pretends that the Complaints against the Adultery of *Pandera* were carried before this Prince; and that being exasperated against the Guilty, who had fled into *Egypt*, he went to *Bethlehem* and Massacred the Children of that Place.

This Relation is much more Judicious than the former, For J. CHRIST was Born under *Herod*. That Prince did Massacre the Children of *Bethlehem*, and JESUS at his Birth only escaped Dying, by his Father's flight into *Egypt*. However, two considerable faults are observed here too, without taking notice of several other Falsities directly contrary to the Text of the Gospel. First, J. CHRIST is said to be Born at the beginning of *Herod*'s Reign; since this Prince did not dye till after he had order'd the *Messiah* to be Ston'd and Hang'd. Nevertheless any Body knows that *Herod* the *Great* Dy'd immediately after the Birth of J. CHRIST, which hasten'd his return from *Egypt*. Farther, he was not crucify'd, but in the Reign of *Tiberius*, when *Archelaus* was already banished, and that there was no more Kings at *Jerusalem*. These Facts can't be contradicted, seeing they are taken out of Prophane History.

But in describing the Progress of J. CHRIST, much grosser blunders are || committed by them: For they make *Joshua* the Son of *Perachia*, who had Study'd under *Akiba*, his Preceptor. And yet *Akiba*, so much celebrated among the *Jews*, liv'd but in the Reign of *Adrian*, which was above One Hundred Years after the Death of *Herod* and of J. CHRIST.

This Author Arms *Herod* the *Great* and his Son against the Inhabitants of a Desart of *Judæa*, because they followed the Party of J. CHRIST, and Ador'd his Image, and that of *Mary* his Mother. These Idolators desired the assistance of the King of *Cæsaria* against *Herod* and his Son. But as that Prince gave them to understand, that he had no War with the *Israelites*, the Inhabitants of *Ai*, submitted to *Herod*! What a horrible confusion of Historical Facts is here. This Author, who was writing his Book at a time, and in a Place, where he saw People adore the Virgin and Crucifixes, imagin'd that this Worship was as old as *Christianity*; or at least he hath ascrib'd it to the first *Christians*, that he might from their first beginning make them odious to his Nation. There was no King at *Jerusalem* to wage War with these pretended Worshippers of Images; for *Judæa* was then reduc'd into a Province. What King of *Cæsarea* is this, who is mention'd * in this History? Doth the Author mean thereby *Germany*? It is very likely; for when he speaks of the *Jews* Inhabiting *Worms*, whom *Herod* consulted, he says, that that City was situated in the Land of *Cæsarea*, and that the Inhabitants of *Ai* were so much the more inclin'd to desire their assistance against *Herod*, because they opposed the Death of JESUS. Nevertheless what Nonsense is here? to make Forces come out of *Germany* into *Judæa*, to call a King out of that Country, to make War upon *Herod* at a time when there was no *Herod* upon the Throne, and when *Judæa* depended upon the *Roman* Empire? Here are a great many blunders at the first setting out, and it must be confessed, that those who were so little acquainted with the History of J. CHRIST, should by no means pretend to the writing of it.

VI. The same Historian † makes *Akiba* go to *Nazareth* to inform himself of the Birth of JESUS, who from his earliest Youth, distinguish'd himself at School. By means of a false Oath he learnt of *Mary* that she was guilty of Adultery; at his return JESUS was seiz'd and shav'd, and his Head was wash'd with a Water, which prevents the growing of Hair; and seeing that every Body shunn'd him, he gather'd || some Disciples together, to whom he explain'd the Law *in a very different manner from the Tradition receiv'd at that time*. He order'd them to shave their Heads that so they might be known for his followers. *Herod* caused them to be persu'd, but none save *John* had the misfortune to be taken, and that cost him his Head. However, JESUS preach'd *in the Desart that he was God, born of a Virgin, who had Conceiv'd him by the Holy Ghost, and assured them that he was the true Redeemer*, and that he *who believ'd in him should have a share in the World to come*. Lastly, he asserted † that the Law ought to be abolish'd, because a Thousand Generations were passed since *David*; and that Prophet had taught, *that God remembered his Covenant for ever*, the Word *which he commanded to a thousand Generations*.

There are herein some Truths, because Allusion is there made to what the Evangelists relate, that JESUS, when he was twelve Years Old, was sitting in the Temple, disputing with the Doctors. This Author owns, that he publickly asserted his Birth to be from a Virgin, that he was the *Messiah*, and *God blessed for ever*. In a word, he doth not conceal the end of his Preaching, which was very far from Tradition, whereby the Law had been greatly adulterated. The Calumnies which he mixes with those Rays of Truth, are palpable: For could JESUS have gained any credit with the multitudes that follow'd him, if upon his own Mother's confession an Authentick Sentence had been pronounc'd against his Birth? This Writer doth not only herein contradict himself, but also casts a Reflection upon *Akiba*, since he makes him to take *an Oath* to the Virgin, which did not *come from his Heart?* Besides, whence came this Water *Boleth*, which hinder'd the Hair from growing? You cannot find the least footstep of this Fable in the *Talmud*, where there are so many Others. This is of a much newer invention; for this Author seeing the Monks and Priests to be shaved, believ'd that J. CHRIST and the Apostles had been so too; and some *Christians* are silly enough to give way to this imagination, when they run up the Origine of the Tonsure as high as St. *Peter*. But especially he overturns the History of *John* the *Baptist*; for he was not a Disciple but the fore-runner of JESUS. He did not loose his Head because he follow'd him in the Desart, but because he upbraided *Herod* for taking away his Sister-in law. *John* the *Baptist* did not Dye at *Jerusalem* where *Herod* had no Authority; and that Prince who put *John* to Death, was not *Herod* the *Great*, in whose Reign JESUS was Born. *Josephus* agrees in this point with the *Christians*, and as he was a *Jew*, and almost Co-temporary with him, so the idle fancies of a Modern Writer ought not to make us question what he says upon that subject.

* Ganz. Tsemach David, *p* 90. & 179. † Toldos Huldr. *p.* 12. 14. 20. || Ibid *p.* 119. * Ibid. *p.* 80. † Toldos Huld. *p.* 35. || *He relates the Names of some Apostles, but mangles them.* * Ibid. 43. † Ps. 105. 8.

VII. The

VII. The third thing that we are to examine, is, by what means J. CHRIST did work his Miracles, the truth of which is owned even by his very Enemies. For they maintain that all thoſe Prodigies were perform'd by virtue of the Name of *Jehovah*, which JESUS had ſtollen in the Temple. Some *Chriſtians*, who do believe that the Name of *Jehovah* contains ſome Supernatural Virtue, inſert it in that of JESUS. They inſert an *S* in the ineffable Name, and find *Jehoſchuah*, or JESUS in it. After that they ſee in it ſome admirable Myſteries; They ſay, that this * *S* being inſerted in the Name of God, denotes that the † *Fire* of the Wrath of God hath been put out by J. CHRIST, or elſe that the Supreme God is become || Man. I know not what other Myſtery an *antient Greek* found in it, of whom we have a Fragment, and thus tranſlated this Name compounded of *Jehovah* and JESUS; *She, ſhe is the beginning, the Teeth * and living in her.* This alteration of Name is grounded † upon the Authority of *R. Tarphon*, who aſſures us, that God in the State of Nature was call'd *Schaddai*, or *Self-ſufficient*; *under the Law*, Jehovah; *and* JESUS *at the time of the* Meſſiah. Laſtly it is thought, that when the Rabbies ſpeak of that ineffable Name, which JESUS ſtole away out of the Temple, they have an alluſion to that Paſſage of the Revelations, where the Son of God, *hath a name written on his veſture and on his thigh*, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS. Revel. 19. 16.

But I can't conceive how *Chriſtians* come to venture upon ſo many frivolous Conjectures. I own that the *Jews* were the firſt that imagined this miraculous Virtue in the Name of *Jehovah*, which was unknown to all the antient *Jewiſh* Church, that would have undoubtedly made uſe of it againſt all her Enemies: But we muſt not ſuffer our ſelves to be carry'd away by the Rabbies. The *Chriſtians* are ſo ſo much the leſs excuſable, as being in poſſeſſion of Truth, they ſhou'd defend that chaſt Virgin, and not expoſe her to Impoſtors, or cloth her with the Rags of Error and Falſhood. It is trifling with a Truth, to prove it by Arguments that are palpably falſe. The *Jews* laugh at our weakneſs, which makes us run after their Chimæras. The Unbelievers are thereby confirm'd in their Doubts; and the Prophane inſult us. Thoſe, who have ſubſtituted the Name of JESUS in ſtead of that of *Jehovah*, who write it in Characters of Gold, or of Silk upon a little Tablet, and who look upon it as a Relick, and adore it, or make it a point of Religion to repeat it ſeveral times, add Superſtition to Ignorance.

VIII. I do not know whence the Rabbies have taken all their Extravagancies upon the Name of *Jehovah*, and which it is not improper to expoſe here, that People may learn upon what Foundations they build their Calumnies, and to what extremities they are reduc'd, when they recur to ſuch ſilly Stories. It is eaſy to convince the *Jews* either that they had not the Name of *Jehovah*, or that *that* Name had no miraculous Virtue; For if they cou'd have made uſe of it, they had done it during the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, to prevent the Deſtruction of the Second Temple, and of the whole Nation. If J. CHRIST had made uſe of it to work Miracles; and if it was us'd againſt him, it might ſo much the more have been employ'd to overſet the *Romans*, and to hinder their Approaches. But where have they learnt that *David*, in caſting the Foundation of the Temple, *found upon the mouth of the Abyſs a Stone whereon the Name of God was read, and that he placed it in the Holy of Holies?* It is alſo ſaid, that this Name was engraved upon the Stone that ſerv'd *Jacob* for a Pillow. When that Patriarch was going to *Bethel*, he had a mind to make a Pillow of Stone; but each Stone diſputed the Honour of being employ'd by him. It ſhall be upon me, my Lord, that your Head ſhall reſt, cries one; No, replies another, I ought to be preferr'd; and to make up this Quarrel, *thoſe Stones became one Stone*; and it was upon that Stone that the Name of *Jehovah* was found, which was kept in the *Holy of Holy's*. But Magick was made uſe of to keep it: And therefore Lions are imagin'd to flank that Holy Place, who by their roarings made thoſe that came into it to loſe their Memories. Is it not a very ſhameful thing for the Doctors of the Second Temple to call in the Devils to keep the ineffable Name of God?

Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Perſonat, adverſo recubans immanis in antro.

They commit a ſecond Crime, in giving *Juda* leave to learn that Name contrary to Cuſtom, and the Will of God. They were in an errour, when they determin'd that they might take upon themſelves *Juda*'s Sin. Laſtly, this *Juda* being arm'd with the Name of God raiſes himſelf up in the Air; JESUS aſcends there alſo; and there they ſtrugled till both were defil'd. The *Jews* wou'd be even with ſome *Chriſtians* for the Contention which *Simon Magus* had at *Rome* with St. *Peter*; But the ignorance of the One doth not excuſe that of the Others.

IX. The fourth || Circumſtance of Moment is the Death of J. CHRIST, whereupon both theſe Writers have committed ſome Faults which prove them equally guilty of Forgery. We will here take notice of ſome of them. Firſt * they relate, that after it had been reſolv'd at *Jeruſalem* to have JESUS apprehended, they prevail'd upon his Landlord to give him ſome ſophiſticated Wine, which made him to forget the ineffable Name, without which he cou'd not have been taken. This is but a bungling Story, For it doth not only run upon the Chimæra of the ineffable Name; but it alſo borrows from the Heathen their River of Oblivion, which is yet more Chimerical.

Secondly, "They kept † an extraordinary Faſt at "*Jeruſalem*, altho' there was at that time but one "Faſt-day enjoyn'd by the Church. The pretence "of this Mortification was the War which the In"fidel Kings wag'd againſt *Iſrael*; but the real de"ſign of it was, to beg of God that he would de"liver up JESUS, who taught that he came into "the World to aboliſh Feſtivals, and ſettle a "Law that was *to go out of Sion, and make an* "*atonement for Sin.* JESUS and his Diſciples, ha"ving eaten the day of the Propitiations, and drank "the Wine ſo adulterated by his Landlord, was "apprehended, and the King commanded that the "Stoning of the Diſciples of JESUS ſhou'd be de"ferr'd till the Feaſt of Tabernacles, that ſo "this execution might be perform'd in the preſence "of all the People, and his Commands were exe"cuted accordingly.

Here are further I know not how many Lies, which we ſhall not go about to prove by the Goſpel, becauſe the *Jews* reject that, but by Prophane and

* יהוה Jehovah; *they read* יהשוה Jehoſchuah, *by adding a* ש † Æſch, אש *Fire.* || איש *Man,* * *He interpreted the* S *by* San, *Teeth.* † Le Moyne Diſſ. in Jer. 23. 6. || *The Author of the* Toldos Huld. *p.* 51, &c *Mixes ſeveral tales about the hunger which* J. CHRIST *and his Diſciples ſuffer'd in the Wilderneſs.* Judas *eat the Gooſe, whilſt* JESUS *was diſputing about his Title of* Son of God, of Almighty. *He afterwards mangles the Hiſtory of the* Samaritan *Woman, to whom* JESUS *promis'd Water for her ſelf and all the City. They allude there to the Hiſtory and Miracles of the Goſpel; but, endeavour at the ſame time, to make both odious and ridiculous. We only inſiſt here upon what is of moſt moment.* * Toldos Huldr. *p.* 56. † Ib. 59 60.

Jewiſh Hiſtory: And in the firſt place there was no King in *Jeruſalem*, when JESUS was ſeized. Neither was there, Secondly, any War againſt *Judæa*, which might give a Pretence to keep an extraordinary Faſt. *Tiberius* governed that Province peaceably. A Man muſt be an abſolute Stranger to the State of the *Roman* Empire, to ſpeak of *the Kings of the Nations, who deſign'd to wage War with the* Jews, ſeeing that *Jeruſalem* was under an entire Subjection to the *Romans*; and the Rebellion, which happen'd afterwards to the utter ruin of the Nation, was not as yet begun. To conclude, the Impoſtor is miſtaken, not only in over-turning Prophane and Sacred Hiſtory (ſince St. *Stephen* was ſtoned many Years after his Maſter's Death:) But he alſo forgets the Rites of his own Nation. For it is falſe, that there was not at that time any other Faſt, beſides that celebrated at the Feaſt of Propitiations; and the *Talmudiſts* poſitively ſay the contrary.

X. The Death of J. CHRIST was deferr'd till the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over. Thoſe two Impoſtors do not agree about the manner how it happen'd. For ‖ "One always brings in the King, who ſends his "Orders throughout the World, that if any one "had a mind to defend the Cauſe of JESUS, he "ſhou'd appear before the Council. He even ask'd "the Advice of the *Sanhedrim* of *Worms*, which vo"ted, that JESUS ſhou'd be ſhut up and nouriſhed, "but not condemned to Death. But the King reje"cted this Advice, and JESUS was faſten'd to the "Wood. The Other * on the contrary ſays, that "J. CHRIST was Apprehended immediately before "the Paſſe-over by an Armed Multitude, that kill'd "one part of his Diſciples, and made the reſt to fly "to the Mountains, and that the *Sanhedrim* con"demn'd him afterwards to be Ston'd. But turn "which way you will, you find out the Cheat. And indeed the Edict that was publiſh'd throughout the World to Summon in Advocates to plead J. CHRIST's Cauſe is a Fiction that deſerves not any body's notice. The *Talmudiſts* † affirm, that a Herald was order'd to go before JESUS, and to cry for forty Days together, that if any one had a Mind to Vindicate the Innocency of JESUS, he ſhou'd be permitted to do it. But all this is only invented to perſuade the People that JESUS had been juſtly condemn'd. For what King of *Judæa* had a Power to publiſh ſuch *Edicts throughout the World?* The *Sanhedrim* had no longer a Power of Life and Death; becauſe the *Romans* had depriv'd them of it. So that J. CHRIST cou'd not be condemn'd according to the Rules of the *Jewiſh* Council. Beſides, it was not the cuſtom to have Heralds go for the ſpace of forty Days to beg Advocates for the Parties accus'd. It is only read in the *Miſnah* ‖, that it was practis'd when they were leading a Criminal to the Place of Execution; declaring *that ſuch a one was condemn'd for ſuch a Crime*; If any one can prove that he is innocent, let him draw near. The Impoſtors allude to this Cuſtom; but they load it with new Falſhoods; and do not obſerve that it ought not to have been practic'd with reference to J. CHRIST, who was condemn'd by a *Roman* Judge.

But it is moſt of all ridiculous to introduce there the *Sanhedrim* of *Worms*. The *Jews* of that City formerly maintain'd to the Emperor that they oppos'd the Death of J. CHRIST; pretending that this Act of Humanity ought to have engag'd the *Chriſtians* to uſe them more kindly. The Author of the Book which we refute, who in all likelyhood liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Worms*, notwithſtanding he pretends, that he wrote at *Jeruſalem* in the time of J. CHRIST, and drew from thence the pretended conſultation of *Herod* with the Council of *Worms*, about the manner how they ſhou'd treat J. CHRIST; as if *Worms* was at the Gates of *Jeruſalem*; and that there were at that time ſome *Jews* diſpers'd upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, and that the *Sanhedrim* of that Country had a great Authority at *Jeruſalem*. I ſet down this Stuff, becauſe it contributes to ſhew how pitifully the greateſt Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Religion oppoſe it. In ſhort, One ſays, that JESUS was Ston'd, and the Other that he was faſten'd to the Croſs. They pretend this Contradiction is eaſily ſolv'd, by ſaying, that the Stoning was done before, becauſe *R. Eliezer* hath told us, *that every Man that was ſton'd, was to be hang'd afterwards.* But the Opinion of the Rabbies, who wrote long after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and when there were not any Footſteps of the old Government remaining, is not an Argument that this Law was obſerv'd; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Sages affirm that it was only ſometimes done againſt *Blaſphemers* and *Idolaters*. We do not find in any place of Scripture that it was practis'd. St. *Stephen*, who was Ston'd to Death, was not afterwards Hang'd. In a word, the Contradiction of theſe Writers is manifeſt. For J. CHRIST whom *Pilate* condemn'd, was not ſton'd; but he was nail'd to a Croſs, according to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*. The firſt Impoſtor ſwells the Blunder by making him to be hang'd upon a Cabbage of a prodigious heighth; becauſe JESUS had *charm'd all the Woods*. If the Name of *Jehovah* did then preſerve its Vertue, how came JESUS to ſuffer himſelf to be Crucified?

XI. The Death of JESUS, ſays one, * caus'd a War among the *Jews*. For thoſe of his Party took up Arms in the Deſart of *Ai*, and Kill'd two thouſand *Jews*; and no body ever durſt come up to the Feaſt becauſe of them. They maintain'd, that their Maſter had after his Death brought down fire from Heaven, and was riſen from the Dead, whilſt *Judas* did ſhew his Body, which he had hid in a naſty place. They alſo roſe up in Arms at *Jeruſalem* againſt the King, becauſe of JESUS; but all this is contradicted by Hiſtory. For the *Chriſtians* were not in a condition immediately after the Reſurrection of our Lord to take up Arms, or to maſſacre the *Jews*, who oppreſs'd them. *Herod* had no hand in his Death; and that Tetrarch of *Galilee* was not in a Condition to appeaſe the Tumults at *Jeruſalem*. What is moſt particular, is, that after mature deliberation ſome *Chriſtians* have been impos'd upon. *Simeon* aſcended on a Cloud with thoſe who had a Mind to follow him, and left them to fall down from the Cloud in the Wilderneſs, where they broke their Necks.

Simon Kepha, who puts himſelf among his Diſciples, is St. *Peter*, as *Juda* is that Traitor *Judas*. This Man having taken the Name of *Jehovah* in the Temple, with the conſent of all the Sages, cloth'd himſelf as an Impoſtor. He † pretended, that he was ſent by JESUS, altho' his deſign was to ruin the *Chriſtians*. His Collegues take his Crime upon them; They ſay, that he went to the *Metropolis* of the *Chriſtians*; But that is falſe, becauſe they being diſpers'd and become Fugitives in all places, had no *Metropolis*. The *Chriſtian Metropoliſes* were not known before the Council of *Nice*, which was three hundred Years after CHRIST. How cou'd *Kepha* then find among them a *Metropolis* which never had a Being? They cauſe to be aſſembled there about *Kepha* a Multitude of *Chriſtians* as numerous as *the Sand of the Sea*. Is not this, contrary to their intereſt, againſt all probability to make the *Chriſtians* ſo numerous imme-

‖ Toldos Huldr. *p.* 79. 80. 81. * Toldos Wagenſ. *p* 16. 17, &c. † Apud Wagenſeil Refutatio Carminis Lipmanni, *c.* 1. *p.* 195. ‖ Miſnah Tract. Sanhedrim, *c.* VI. *a.* 1. 2. *t.* IV. *p.* 234. * Toldos Huldr. *p.* 96. † Toldos Wag.

diately

diately after the Death of J. CHRIST who never went out of *Judæa?* The *Chriſtians* are deſir'd to be favourable, and to do the *Jews* no harm; as if this growing Society was all of a ſudden become ſo powerful as to be able to cruſh the *Jewiſh* Nation and Commonwealths of *Iſrael*; Laſtly, they make *Kepha* to remain among the *Chriſtians* notwithſtanding his *Jewiſh* Religion. He ſhuts up himſelf in a Tower; and a Stone call'd *Peter* is ſhew'd at *Rome*. This is borrow'd from St. *Peter*'s going to *Rome*, but it is diſguiſed with Impoſtures and Fables.

XII. *Elias*, who ſucceeded *Kepha*, and was cruſh'd to pieces by the fall of a Stone from Heaven, is a Man ſo little known, that no part of his Hiſtory can be applied to any body. At the ſame time that he inſtituted || the Lord's-Day inſtead of the *Sabbath*, he enjoyn'd Circumciſion. The firſt of theſe Rites is *Chriſtian*, the ſecond *Jewiſh*. *Simeon*, whom the ſecond Impoſtor ſent to the Inhabitants of *Ai*, that were all *Chriſtians*, hath invented ſome Books that never were known, and among them one Intitul'd, *Avon Kelaion*, wherewith he deluded that People. However, the Author * ſpeaks of the *Revelations*, which it ſeems he had read, becauſe he applies the Number 666. to J. CHRIST. But even that ſhews him a Cheat, ſeeing that was not compos'd till after the Death of *Jonathan*, under whoſe name he hath conceal'd himſelf. He frames another Romantick Tale concerning the Death of the *Virgin*, which he ſays, coſt the Lives of a hundred *Chriſtians*, all relations of J. CHRIST, becauſe they had erected a Monument to the Virgin, and taken away that which the King had ſet up there to perpetuate her Shame: As if the *Chriſtians* had a Power in *Jeruſalem* to build Tombs and engrave Inſcriptions to the *Virgin*, who 'tis believ'd dy'd at *Epheſus* when *Judæa* had already felt the Judgment it drew upon her ſelf, for her Blindneſs and Obſtinacy on the account of the *Meſſiah*. This is an Abridgment of *Toldos Jeſchu*.

XIII. Tho' theſe Books are full of Blaſphemies, yet there may be ſome Advantages reaped from them. And indeed, notwithſtanding the inveteracy of theſe Writers, which they ſcrew up to the heighth againſt the *Chriſtian* Religion, and maugre all the Fables and Lies which they have heap'd together, they own that J. CHRIST wrought ſome Miracles, that the People were dazled with them, and that thereupon a Commotion was raiſed even in *Jeruſalem* upon his account. This truth muſt needs have been very palpable to the whole Nation, ſince it was not diſputed. 'Tis true, thoſe Miracles are aſcrib'd to the Name *Haſcemphoras*, the *ineffable Name*; but it is enough, that the Fact is certain, and that ſome Miracles are aſcrib'd to *J. Chriſt*; both the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* being at Liberty to aſcend to the Spring of thoſe ſupernatural Operations. Beſides, the *Jews* loſe their cauſe, if they go ſo far back. For no Man of Senſe will be ſatisfy'd with ſo ill contriv'd a Fable as that of a miraculous virtue inherent in a word of four Letters which never was made uſe of by any but J. CHRIST. What did this uſeleſs Name do for ſo many Ages in the Temple, when it might have been ſo ſerviceable to the Nation? What is the reaſon, why God hath permitted that JESUS alone, who aboliſhed the Law, ſhou'd thereby have wrought Miracles. Theſe are downright Chimæras, which betray the weakneſs of *Judaiſm*, and of the Doctors, who attack J. CHRIST and his Religion with the utmoſt heat and violence.

XIV. We ſhall not ſay much of the laſt Notion the *Jewiſh* Vulgar have of the *Meſſiah*; It is ſo indeterminate and uncertain, that the firſt Impoſtor, who boldly aſſumes that title, is follow'd as the Deliverer of the Nation; and none have been ſo palpably and groſsly cheated as the *Jews*. For they do not examine whether he has the Characters ſet down by the Prophets or Doctors; they think it enough if any one takes upon him the Title of the *Meſſiah*. How many Impoſtors have appear'd, who did not deſerve ſo much as to be taken notice of, and yet they have drawn a World of Admirers after them? Becauſe we deſign to write the Hiſtory of all theſe Impoſtors in the times wherein they appear'd, we ſhall only here obſerve, that before J. CHRIST came into the World, we hear of none who aſſum'd to himſelf the Title and Authority of the *Meſſiah*; but ſince his Manifeſtation in the Fleſh, many attempts have been made that way on purpoſe to ſeduce the People. Did therefore J. CHRIST inſpire any of theſe Impoſtors with ſuch a ſtrong deſire to be worſhip'd? No; But the Croſs and Sufferings of this Son of God had been rather a reaſon to deter Men from it than to tempt 'em to it. No Man wou'd be ador'd after his Death, upon the Condition that he ſhould be miſerable and crucify'd whilſt he was alive. It was perceiv'd that the times foretold by the Prophets began to be fulfill'd when J. CHRIST appear'd. Impoſtors, who were afraid of being convicted of Fraud by ſo plain a Circumſtance, durſt not till that time attempt any thing: Whereas when the Scepter was departed from *Judah*, and the ſeventy Weeks of *Daniel* were accompliſhed, it was believed that they were at liberty to venture at all. On the one ſide the People, who impatiently looked for their *Meſſiah*, and were grieved to ſee the times denoted by the Prophets running out, were the more ready to be deluded: And on the other, it was not ſo eaſy for them to convict thoſe of a Cheat who appeared when they were already tired out with expecting the Deliverer. In a word, the *Jews* being forced to confound their Calculations, and to invent ſeveral Reaſons for the delay of the *Meſſiah*'s coming, thoſe that took that Title upon them, cou'd not be convicted of coming too ſoon; and they thereby ſaw themſelves rid of one Circumſtance which was not in their Power, but which alone would have been ſufficient to have detected the Impoſture. And therefore ſeveral have appeared, and not one of them but they have had ſome Diſciples; and likewiſe there has not been any Sect of them but what became extinct almoſt as ſoon as it appeared. For † *if that Counſel or that Work had been of God, it had not been overthrown; but becauſe it was of Men it came to nought*; as *Gamaliel* one of the Chiefs of the *Sanhedrim* had foretold. JESUS, who was of God, and was God, is ſtill ador'd throughout the World, whilſt all thoſe who have taken upon them the Title of the *Meſſiah* after him, have periſh'd, and are become the Objects of Abhorrence and Contempt of thoſe whom they had deceived.

|| Ibid. * Toldos Huldr. *p.* 115. † Acts 5. 38. 39.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

What Notion the Jews *have of their Church.*

I. *St.* Auguſtin *will not allow the* Jews *the Title of Church.* II. *St.* Jerome *does the ſame thing.* III. *This Opinion refuted.* IV. *The Marks of the Church in the* Synagogue. V. *Its external Advantages.* VI. *How they ſupply Sacrifices.* VII. *The* Gentiles *ſav'd out of their Communion.* VIII. *The Conditions impos'd upon them.* IX. *Whether* Chriſtians *can be ſav'd.*

I. JESUS CHRIST according to St. *Auguſtin* hath made uſe of ſuch Expreſſions that might denote *the Aſſembly of the* Jews, *and that of the* Chriſtians; ſo as to make appear what vaſt difference he hath put between thoſe two Societies. He hath call'd One the *Synagogue*, becauſe that term is borrow'd from the Cattle which an Herdſman *leads* with his Goad, and the Shepherd gathers together with his Crook; and he gives to the Other the Title of *Church*, becauſe Men *are call'd* Rational, when they will unite and be brought together into one and the ſame place.

II. It can't be lay'd to St. *Auguſtine*'s charge, that he did not underſtand *Hebrew*, and that he would never have been of that Opinion had he been vers'd in that Language, where the term that ſignifies *the Aſſembly* hath no relation to Cattle: For St. *Jerome*, who was better skill'd in the *Hebrew* than any Father of the Church, hath adopted St. *Auguſtin*'s Thought; and thoſe two Doctors alluding to the term of *Synagogue*, aſcend higher; becauſe they believ'd that the *Meſſiah* had put that difference between the Church which he came to aboliſh, and that which he had erected upon its Ruins; However, thoſe Fathers are guilty of a Childiſh Fault. Let the *Chriſtians* boaſt as long as they pleaſe, that their Oeconomy is more excellent than that of *Moſes*; the *Jews*, who had been the Favorite People of God, did not differ ſo much from the *Chriſtians* as a Man *differs from a Beaſt*. The Church which ſignifies the Aſſembly of *Chriſtians*, is an indefinite term, which is apply'd to Man, to profligate Fellows, and to Brutes. The Author of the *Vulgate*, which St. *Jerome* had corrected, ſpeaks of *the Church of the Wicked*. St. *John* ſays *, that *the Shepherd calls his Sheep*; and Brutes have their *Church* in *Ariſtophanes*.

Ἔδοξε ‖ μοι, &c.
Εκκλησιάζειν πρόβατα συγκαθήμενα.

III. Let us not diſpute with the *Jewiſh* Church a Title which juſtly belongs to her. She hath had her Advantages; her Revelations; her Divine Laws; her Miracles; excellent Gifts, and her Right to eternal Life. Moſt of the Rites of the Synagogue have been transferr'd into the *Chriſtian* Church; and the *firſt Chriſtians*, inſtead of affecting an odious difference from the *Synagogue*, endeavour'd to be conformable to it. If J. CHRIST deſign'd to put ſome difference between the Names, it was becauſe there was a Neceſſity that they ſhou'd be extinguiſh'd. He left the *Jews* in poſſeſſion of their antient Title, and they invented a new Name for the *Primitive* riſing *Church*, and for ſome Aſſemblies which were not to be any more confounded, although the Members thereof were the ſame. Reaſon required this to avoid Confuſion; and it is a too far fetch'd Thought to imagine that J. CHRIST intended to denote a Church which was to be call'd from ſeveral Places, or which made up one and the ſame Body, tho' ſeparated by a great diſtance of Cities and Provinces; or that he had repreſented the *Jews* as Brutes. And yet this Thought is ſtill admir'd; and People wou'd be wonderfully ſcandalized if the *Chriſtian* Church was call'd a Synagogue. Thus Jealouſy ſtretches even to indifferent Names and Matters.

IV. The *Jews* proud of the Advantages which they had enjoyed, have not a mind to yield them up, altho' they have loſt them. They look upon themſelves as the only Primitive Church, and exalt themſelves above the *Chriſtians*. They teach their Children as ſoon as they can ſpeak, *to thank* ‖ *God, that they are born* Jews. They boaſt of the Miracles that were done for their Anceſtors; of thoſe Sacraments which God hath given them to be Seals of diſtinction between them and Infidel Nations; and of thoſe Laws whoſe Divinity the *Chriſtians* dare not deny, and which are to this day the Rules they walk by. They trace up their Traditions as far as *Ezra*, and *Moſes*, whereof ſome are undoubtedly older than J. CHRIST. They ſhew the Succeſſion of their Doctors through ſo many unhappy Ages, and which is ſtill preſerv'd. Where ſhall you find a Church ſo long perſecuted, which hath out-braved the Violence of Perſecutions, and which after ſo vaſt an Effuſion of her Blood, hath ſeen her ſelf continually ſpringing up again on the ſide of a Red-Sea, and there Sing the Praiſes of God? The Perſecutions of the *Chriſtians* laſted but ten Years, and *Diocletian* proudly boaſted that he had aboliſh'd the Name of *Chriſtians* in his Dominions. If the Perſecutions of the laſt Ages have been longer, they have at the ſame time reduc'd the *Reformed* to diſcover ſome of the Faithful that kept themſelves conceal'd, and to acknowledge that a dark thick Cloud hath overſpread their Church, which is the reaſon that ſhe can't be exactly trac'd, and always known. The *Jews* being alone miſerable at all times, and in all places, do not only recover themſelves from their Calamity, and ſhew their Church by the light of thoſe Torches which conſumed their Martyrs, and by the tract of their own Blood; but they alſo always produce ſome living Societies that have their Paſtors, their Sacraments, and their Aſſemblies. What a crowd of Doctors adorn'd with honourable Titles, as *Chiefs and Princes of the Captivity*, Patriarchs, Primats, Doctors, Maſters; all which Titles the *Chriſtian* Church in her greateſt Proſperity hath appropriated to her ſelf! They repreſent to God his Promiſes and Oaths concerning an eternal Duration. He had *Sworn, As I live*, ſaid he, *I will put my Name in* Sion *for ever*; *and tho' this People ſhould forſake me, yet will not I forſake them.* The *Chriſtians* are forced to ſuppoſe that the *Jewiſh* Nation ſhall be recall'd to ſave the Truth of theſe Promiſes and Oaths. And laſtly, the *Jews* glory in *the Unity of their Church*. Inſtead of that prodigious Number of *Chriſtian* Sects which labour to deſtroy one another, there is an Uniformity of Opinions among the *Jews*, which makes up the Unity that is ſo neceſſary to the true Church. *Leo* of *Modena* affirms, that there is no difference of Opinions in the *Synagogue* about the two eſſential Articles of Religion, which are *the Law of* Moſes, *and the Oral Law*; and that the Diſputes obſerved among the *Jews*, that are call'd *Levantines*, who are thoſe of the *Morea*, *Barbary*, or *Spain*; and the Others who

* John 10. 2. καλεῖ. † Ariſtoph. σφῆκες, edit. Plantin. p 286. ‖ Catech. Jud. ad Queſt. 1. *They ask the Child*, Who art thou my Son? *And he Anſwers*, I thank God, that he hath made me a *Jew*.

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are comprehended under the general Title of *Germans*, becauſe they live in *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Poland*, and *Moſcovy*; I ſay, their Diſputes are only about ſome Ceremonies, which the *Chriſtians* have always look'd upon as indifferent things.

V. Thus the *Synagogue* boaſts of having the external Marks of the Church, an Unity in her Tenets and Worſhip; and a Succeſſion of Prelats and Doctors from *Moſes* to this time; and a Succeſſion of Tenets. For as one handed down to the other thoſe Tenets, which he had received from his Predeceſſor, they could not have varied. This Church claims Duration: For ſhe ſubſiſted a long time before *Chriſtianity*, and hath had no interruption. She hath the Promiſes and Oaths of the living God for an eternal Duration. The Gates of Hell are not to prevail againſt her. For tho' ſhe ſhou'd forſake God, he wou'd *not renounce his Covenant*, that is to ſay, he would not ſuffer her to be deſtroy'd. She doth not want Enlargedneſs; for ſhe is ſpread into the *Eaſt*, and into the *Weſt*; but tho' ſhe ſhou'd be confin'd within very narrow Bounds, and in one ſingle Place, yet no Argument cou'd be drawn from thence againſt her, ſince the Unity of Place makes one of her Antient Characters. As ſhe did not ceaſe to be the Church of God during the Captivity, when all the Tribes were diſpers'd among Idolaters, ſhe doth ſtill enjoy that Privilege notwithſtanding the Temple is deſtroy'd, and her Children ſcatter'd over all the face of the Earth. In ſhort, ſhe can't be deny'd any of the external Marks of the Church, except Proſperity, which is but an Equivocal and Ambiguous Character. If ſome *Chriſtians* enjoy it at this time, their Anceſtors were depriv'd of it; and the cruel Perſecutions which the *Chriſtian* Church underwent from her Infancy for three hundred Years, ſhew plainly, that it cannot be concluded from the Misfortunes of the *Jewiſh* Church, that ſhe is not now the Object of God's Love. Thus they argue in the *Synagogue*, where they ſtill keep up their Pride and Haughtineſs; becauſe they judge of their Condition by I know not what external Marks, which are fluctuating and uncertain. But if the Body of that Church doth ſubſiſt, it is but a dead Body, a Carcaſs without a Soul and without Faith.

'Tis certain, this Church is as yet adorn'd with the external Badges of the Church, but hath not the true Doctrine without which there can be no true Church of God, and which alone is the Criterion whereby ſhe ought to be diſtinguiſh'd. She hath a long while ago loſt an important part of her Religion; her Temple, that was the Center of Unity, where the *Jews* met together from all the corners of the Earth, and the Sacrifices, which God had inſtituted to be the typical Remedies for Sin, are aboliſh'd. The *Levites*, who made part of the Nation, are become uſeleſs; becauſe their Miniſtry, tho' a Divine one, hath ceas'd. But they ſay, that if the Remiſſion of Sins was much more eaſily obtain'd by Sacrifices, yet they enjoy the ſame Advantages, * *becauſe a contrite Heart and a penitent Mind are Sacrifices acceptable to God*. Beſides, they hope that the Sacrifices will be again one day reſtor'd; and therefore the Prophet earneſtly beſeeches God *to Rebuild the Walls of* Jeruſalem, becauſe *God ſhall then have ſome Sacrifices and burnt Offerings*. Sacrifices were the beſt means to appeaſe God's Anger; but in a caſe of Neceſſity for want of them they make uſe of Repentance and Satisfactions; So that this Defect doth not deprive them of the Title of a Church.

VII. Formerly they look'd upon all thoſe *as Dogs*, that were out of her Communion, and cou'd not imagine, that they cou'd have any ſhare in the Privileges of God's People; but they have ſoften'd their Theology either out of Neceſſity or thro' Complaiſance. Some Rabbies do ſtill without mercy Damn all Nations: but Others having more Humanity ſave Strangers, who have ſome Knowledge and Principles of Religion. They ſay, that the Law was given in a Place that was open on every Side *as the Wilderneſs*; to teach us that all the Nations of the Earth ſhould partake of its advantages, altno' they properly and more immediately belong'd to the *Jews*, to whom it was given. They make uſe of the Compariſon of a Dog, that God found a Carcaſs to reward him becauſe he had not bark'd at a *Jew*; and † they thereby inſinuate, that thoſe who are kind to their Nation, ſhall have a ſmall Share in the Reward of the other World.

VIII. They impoſe three conditions on Stangers, in order that they may be ſaved. One to practice the Precepts of *Noah*, and eſpecially to abſtain from Idolatry: The Second to obſerve thoſe Precepts of the *Noachides* from a motive of Reſpect, and Obedience to God, and becauſe *He hath given them*. Thoſe ſeven Precepts ſeem ſo many Natural Laws; but they are not to be obſerv'd meerly becauſe Nature hath imprinted them in Men's Hearts, but becauſe God gave them to *Noah*. *Orobio* || confirms this Opinion; for he ſays that *a* Gentile *may be ſav'd, provided he worſhips the true God and procures the Redemption of* Iſrael *by fear and love for God*. *Maimonides* * the greateſt of the *Jewiſh* Maſters, had taught the ſame thing a long time before theſe Doctors, who Dy'd in the laſt Century. Thirdly and laſtly, † they do not allow Salvation to the *Gentiles* till after they have ſuffer'd twelve Months either in Hell or in Purgatory, where they make Attonement for their Sins. However, they are not ſo ſevere as the *Roman Catholicks*, who condemn their Brethren to the ſame Torments for ſeveral Ages.

IX. Some *Modern* || *Jews* have extended Salvation even to *Chriſtians*: But this Confeſſion may be but the effect of Human Prudence, and of the neceſſity they find themſelves under to pacify thoſe with whom they are forc'd to live, and have a frequent Commerce with. They ſay, 'tis certain that the *Chriſtians* worſhip the true God; but at the ſame time they adore alſo *him that hangs on a Tree*; and this Worſhip paid to a Creature is reckon'd Idolatry by them. They may eaſily be favourable to the *Anti-trinitarians*, and put *Servetus* among the Great Men, becauſe he did not look upon J. CHRIST as God; but they cannot ſave the *Chriſtians* without giving the Lye to their Principles, and thoſe Prayers which they ſo frequently offer to God, whereby they beg of him *that the Edomites and the Moabites, who adore* a Log of Wood, *and bow before it, and own it as God, may be ſtruck out of the Book of Life*. The *Roman Catholick*, who bows down before the Croſs, is laid foremoſt; but yet the *Proteſtant*, who owns a Crucify'd JESUS for God, is included in the ſame Condemnation: But as it is neceſſary to dive into this Matter, we ſhall elſewhere be more particular about the manner how the *Jewiſh* Church hath always treated thoſe that were Strangers to the Covenant.

* Judaica reſponſ ad Quæſt. Q. 7. *p.* 7. † Menaſſe Conciliat. in Deut. Q. 11. *p.* 221. || Orobio apud Limborch Collat. cum Jud. *p.* 12. * Maim. Tract. de Reſurr. *c.* 9. *n.* 1. † Menaſſe de Reſurr. Mortuor. *l.* 3. *c.* 2 *p.* 145. || V. Wagenſeil Tela Ignea Satanæ, *pag.* 753. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 3. *p.* 365.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Of thoſe that Dye, and the Revolution of Souls after Death.

I. *Whether the Bodies ſuffer after Death. The Fable of* Titus. II. *This explain'd.* III. *Burial neceſſary to the Soul.* IV. *Her Knowledge.* V. *This Tenet prov'd.* VI. *Some* Chriſtians *agree with the* Jews *about the State of Souls after Death.* VII. *The Revolution of Souls neceſſary.* VIII. *It juſtifies the Death of the Righteous.* IX. *Revolution by* Embryonat. X. *The true* Revolution. XI. *The number of thoſe Revolutions.* XII. *The different Orders of Souls that are ſubject to it.* XIII. *A Tranſmigration in Brutes.* XIV. *Arguments for this Opinion.*

I. SOME Doctors believe that the Body doth not loſe all its Senſations after its ſepartion from the Soul, but that it ſuffers in the Grave. They apply to this thoſe words of the *Talmud*; *The Worm is as ſharp to the Dead, as a Needle to the Living. Jarki* ſaid in the ſame ſence, that it was a great happineſs for a Man not to be bury'd when it Rain'd upon his Corps, or when a wild Beaſt did tear it to pieces. He did not deſpiſe Burial; but he fancy'd that the Pain occaſion'd by Rain, or the Bitings of a wild Beaſt ſerves after Death for the expiation of Sins. Certainly to this may be apply'd the ſtory made of the Emperor *Titus*, who ordered his Servants to burn his Body for the ſpace of ſeven Days together, and ſcatter his Aſhes, leſt God ſhould find him, and inflict ſome Puniſhment upon him for having deſtroy'd his Temple.

II. When *Lipman* * examines this Opinion, he can hardly conceive that it was taught in the Synagogue; and to vindicate thoſe that have done it, he maintains, that thoſe *Blows given to a Dead Body in the Grave*, as ſome have pretended, ought to be underſtood in a Metaphorical Senſe; as if they deſigned to inſinuate, that God re-unites the Soul to the Body in the particular Judgment which is pronounc'd immediately after Death, that ſo Man may know all his Sins, and the greatneſs of the Puniſhment which he hath deſerv'd. Farther, he refers to the Soul what thoſe Divines ſay of the Body. It is ſhe that ſuffers, and is Sorrowful, becauſe ſhe ſees how ignominiouſly *her Palace* is us'd, when it is drag'd upon a Dunghil, or deny'd Burial. The Fire of Hell, which is ſo much talk'd of, is but the anguiſh of the Soul. The Body of *Titus* could not have been burnt in Hell, unleſs a Miracle be ſuppoſed; but they meant, that God had inflicted on that Prince as terrible a Puniſhment after his Death, as Fire is to the Living. Laſtly, he determines, that the Body being as inſenſible as a Stone, is not ſuſceptible of any Pain after Death.

III. The Fate of Souls after Death is very different; for they muſt ſtay till their Bodies be Bury'd before they are receiv'd into any Place, whether to deſcend into Hell, or to be admitted into Paradiſe. They ground this Opinion upon *the Blood of* Abel's *crying after his Death, and the Soul's being in the Blood*: That of *Abel* complained that ſhe wanted Burial. This part of the *Jewiſh* Theology is like that of the *Greeks* and *Laoins*: For nothing is more frequent than the Complaints of the Dead who remain'd above Ground.

IV. The Knowledge which is aſcrib'd to the Dead is partly grounded upon this Hypotheſis: For when it is ask'd how Souls that are ſeparated from the Body can have any Knowledge of what is done under the Sun; they anſwer, that the Soul is not in her place; that ſhe is ſtill upon Earth in the ſame ſtate as a Man who is Aſleep, and may hear what is ſaid or done in a Chamber.

V. All Souls are travelling for the ſpace of twelve Months. They deſcend from Heaven, and come again about their Graves and Carcaſſes, for which they have ſtill an Affection. Hence it is, that during that time they are ſubject to the Powers of the Air, which torment them, break their Bones in the Grave, and reduce them into Powder. From thence it is alſo that they are pray'd for in the *Synagogues*; and we muſt imagine that this only relates to the Souls of the Wicked, upon a pretence that the *Jewiſh* Doctors † acknowledge, that thoſe of the Saints when they go out of the World aſcend into Heaven. For they allow thoſe Beatifick Souls a liberty to return upon Earth for the ſpace of One Year, after which time they have nothing here further to do. They ground this Fancy upon an appearing neceſſity: For it would not be convenient that the Soul ſhould all at once paſs from one extreme to the other, when they go out of Human Bodies; and therefore thoſe of the Wicked are Cloth'd with a ſort of a Garment, wherein they accuſtom themſelves to ſuffer; and thoſe of the Saints alſo put on a ſtately Garment, and a reſplendant Body, by the favour of which they uſe themſelves to the Brightneſs and Blifs that they are to enjoy in Heaven. Theſe Journeys, which they from time to time undertake, woen they aſcend and deſcend upon Earth, contribute very much to frame that neceſſary Habit.

VI. Though this Theology ſeems very extraordinary, yet one not much unlike this is found among *Chriſtians*. For a great many Father's maintain'd, that the Souls did not enter into Heaven immediately after Death; and that Opinion was ſo common, that he who forg'd the Letter of *Pius* ‖ to *Juſtus* of *Vienna*, believ'd that it ought to be aſcrib'd to that Pontif, to conform himſelf to the taſte of the Age, in which he pretended to write. *The Prieſts*, ſaid he, *that liv'd from the time of the Apoſtles to this Day, remain confined in Eternal Beds ſince the Lord hath called them.* Some other Doctors of the Church have aſſerted, that the Angels and the Powers of the Air waited for the Souls in their Paſſage, and that there they had very hard ſtruggles to hinder their going into Heaven. Theſe Souls are ſometimes ſeen to come up, and the howlings of the Devils were heard. It was not the Father's fault that the Souls did not return to their Graves, and to thoſe parts of the Earth wherein they delighted; and therefore they were moſt commonly invoked at their Sepulchres. It is even believ'd, that this Opinion, which was ſpread in *Spain*, had oblig'd the Council of *Elvin* to forbid the lighting of Tapers in the Church-yard, for fear of diſturbing the Souls of the Saints. If the Fathers were wrought upon to pray for the Dead, there are alſo the ſame motives drawn from the immediate ſtate of the Souls after Death, which obliged the *Jews* to pray for them, and to celebrate their Anniverſary Feaſts.

VII. Their Doctrine * of the nature and different Revolutions of the Soul after Death, is very much cumbered. Upon this matter they ſay ſo many fooliſh things, and wrap them up ſo obſcurely,

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* Lipman. in Jobum, n. 299 † R. Elias Levita in Thisbi, Menaſſe de Reſurr. Mortuor. *l.* 11. *c.* 6. *p.* 171. R. Abdias Sphurnus in Or Haſhem *p.* 91. Windet, *p.* 197. ‖ Pii 1. Ep. Conc. *t.* 1. *p.* 157. * R. Jitzcach Lorienſis de Revolutionibus Animar *c.* 4. Babb. denud. *p*, 3. *p.* 258. &c.

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that it is hard to comprehend them. Our design is not to search into the bottom of this Abyss. We will only give you some scantlings, that so you may have a formal Notion of it. *Adam* represented all Mankind, whose Chief he was; and in him were included all those Souls that were created the first Day. Every Spark of the Soul (for they divide every Soul into several Sparks) is forced to separate the Good, which is found mixed with the Evil by the first Man's Fall; and this is done by an exact observation of the Negative Precepts, which they multiply to the number of 365. The Soul ought also to fulfill the Good, by Religiously observing the positive Precepts. As it is impossible to attain to that perfection on a sudden, or in the space of one Life, by reason that Man's Constitution raises an almost invincible Obstacle against it, the Soul is compell'd to come again upon Earth, and enliven other Bodies, that they may attain that degree of Perfection which God requires.

VIII. By establishing this Revolution of Souls that go from Body to Body, some pretend to remove all those Objections that arise from the Death of the Saints and Holy People. As for Example, we see many that Dye in the Flower of their Age, altho' they lead an exemplary Life. From whence does this proceed? Why does Death come so soon to extinguish a light which shined with so much Glory? Should not Piety rather be moved to defer Death than hasten it? It is answer'd, that those Saints as *R. Bon*, Dyed young, because having early attained to Perfection, they had nothing more to do upon Earth in a Mortal and Frail Body. Some Saints, as *Moses*, dyed against their wills and with regret, because they had not fulfilled all those Duties that concern'd the Sanctuary, or the Land of *Canaan*, and for that reason the Soul of that Prophet is subject to Revolutions, as well as others, and to go into the *Messiah*: Others, on the contrary, rejoyce at their Deaths, and find it happy, because they have fulfilled every thing. *Daniel* was one of those to whom God said, * *Go thy way till the end be, for thou shalt rest.* Thus by the help of these Revolutions, they explain the different Opinions that are held about Death.

IX. These Revolutions † of the Soul are perform'd after two different manners, the One is call'd *Embryonat*, and the Other *Revolution*.

The *Embryonat* is the descent of a Soul into a Man already Born, and consequently who has another. It seems, that this new Soul coming into him at the Age of thirteen Years, dilates him as a Child that is formed in the Womb of its Mother, and therefore he is called an *Embryo*. The Soul comes down from Heaven to animate that Body, or else to purchase some new degree of Perfection that is wanting in it; and then she is obliged to undergo all the Infirmities of the Body, or else comes to help him whom she so animates to perform his Duty; and then this second *Holy Soul* is look'd upon as the Father of him whom it animates; and it is in this Sence that the Rabbies say, that the Saints may have Children in the other World.

X. The *Revolution* is perform'd when a Soul goes into a Body newly formed, either to expiate some Sin which she had committed in her former Life; or to become more Holy; or lastly, to help a weak Soul to overcome Sin, and then she does not Sin in that new Body; because it would not be reasonable that the Holy Ghost should make a Soul already Sanctify'd, lyable to Corruption. This Revolution is sometimes done in order to Marry a Woman whom that Soul had not deserv'd in her first Life. Some Doctors add, that some gross and sensual Souls have ardent desires to come back again upon Earth, and be re-united to their Bodies; whereas others more Refined, and out of Conceit with the World and all its Pleasures, fly up to Heaven, there to settle their Habitation; and this love for the Earth makes a fifth Reason for the Revolution of Souls.

XI. These Revolutions are perform'd three or four times, and to that these words of *Job* are apply'd, || *Lo all these things worketh God, oftentimes* ('tis twice or thrice in the *Hebrew*) *with Man.* However, other Interpreters explain those words with reference to the number of Souls, that may enter into one Body, and believe that there may be three Souls found in one and the same Body; but they never exceed this number. The truth is, *Job* does not speak of the Revolutions of Souls, nor of their number; but of the Deliverances which God grants to Man, when the danger is pressing, and he is threat'ned with a sudden Death. But it is enough for the *Jewish* Doctors to find in these Words the number of Three, to make it the Ground and Prop of their Fancies, concerning the return of Souls.

XII. They distinguish two sorts of Souls in these Revolutions, which have been from the beginning; the first are the Souls of *Cain*; the others those of *Abel*. In the first Evil is mingled with Good, but the second are of a more excellent Nature. As for example, the *Egyptian* whom *Moses* slew was one of *Cain*'s Souls. *Cain* had killed *Abel* out of Jealousy for a Woman; and therefore the Scripture says that it was done *in a Field*, and the Field signifies a Woman. *Moses* calls the *Egyptian* his Brother, because indeed he had *Cain*'s Soul, and *Moses* that of *Abel*. Before he kill'd him, he look'd on every side, to see if there was any Body, that is to say, he consider'd whether a Proselyte would not arise from that *Egyptian*, because then he would not have killed him; but finding that there was nothing good in that Infidel, he took away his Life, and sent his Soul into *Jethro*, his Father-in-law, where it was purify'd, since *Jethro* became a Proselyte, shining all over with Glory. The Souls of *Abel* went into the Saints and faithful of the *Old Testament*; and *Moses* had one of them. King *Solomon* was of *Moses*'s Revolution. Some Doctors * pretend that *R. Simeon Jochaides*, that liv'd fifty Years after J. CHRIST, and to whom a Collection of the *Cabalistick* Explanations of the Law are ascribed, had also *Moses*'s Soul, tho' it was not so resplendent as that of this Prophet when he came down from the Mount, where he Conversed with God. I know not whether this Tenet was borrowed from *Pythagoras*, or from the *Orientals*; but at leastwise they have disguised this Philospher's *Metempsychosis*, as we may see by the following Verses of *Ovid*.

Morte † carent animæ: Semperq; priore relicta
Sede, novis domibus vivunt, habitantq; recepta.
Ipse ego (nam memini) Trojani tempore belli
Panthoides Euphorbus eram: Cui pectore quondam.

Omnia mutantur: Nihil interit, errat, & illinc
Huc venit, hinc illuc, & quoslibet occupat artus
Spiritus, eque feris humana in corpora transit,
Inque feras noster: Nec tempore deperit ullo.

XIII. The *Jews* as well as *Pythagoras*, extend their Transmigration of Souls into Beasts, and even to inanimate Creatures: For a Doctor affirms || that the Soul of a Slanderer whom he knew, was revolv'd into a *rapid stream*, and that he knew it again there;

* Daniel. *c.* 12. *v.* 13. † Revolut. An. ibid *c.* 5. *p.* 263. & Tract. 1. Pars altera ibid. *p.* 375. † Ovid. Met. *l.* 15. Cabbala denud. *p.* 3. 375. ibid. *p.* 439.

|| Job. *c.* 33. *v.* 29. * De Revol. Anim. *c.* 24. 25. || Tractatus 1. de Revol. Pars Alt. Collectan primum

This Story he tranſmitted to his Diſciples, that ſo the Memory of it might be preſerv'd after him. The Souls alſo go ſometimes into Womens Bodies, but then there happens a great Misfortune, For they remain Barren in Women. They ſeldom go through theſe Revolutions of Souls, becauſe God will not ſuffer them to be perfect; and therefore ſome affirm, that as there are more Women than Men, ſo God doth more Deeds of Juſtice and Severity, than of Mercy.

XIV. We muſt not imagine, that there are but a few of the Modern and leſs celebrated Rabbies *, who maintain this fantaſtical Opinion. No, it is quite otherwiſe, the number of its Defenders is very conſiderable; The moſt famous Doctors are of that Mind, and ſtrive to prove it. What they ſay, that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Virgil* and others, who had ſpoken of it, had taken this tenet from the Writings of the Prophets is falſe, ſince we can find no traces of it in the *Old Teſtament*, and that God's threat to *Adam*, *Duſt thou art, and unto Duſt thou ſhalt return*, can't without Violence be apply'd to the Tranſmigration of Souls; and only concerns Death, which puts Man again into the boſom of the Earth from whence he came. But the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt upon *Iſaiah*, which is very antient, has followed this Opinion; for in explaining thoſe words, *(viz.)* If ever this Iniquity be forgiven you, that you *dye not*; he means a *ſecond* Death; and this ſecond Death is not Hell, but that which happens when *a Soul that has animated a Body a ſecond time, ſeparates from it.* The ſame thing is found in the Book of *Zohar*. *Philo* † maintain'd alſo, that ſome Souls did return upon Earth and entred again into a Body which they greatly lov'd; whereas others look'd upon the Body as a Priſon, or a Grave, in which they had ſuffer'd.

* R. Manaſſ. Concil. in Geneſ. Q. 43. *p.* 66. Id. de Reſurr. *l.* 2. *c.* 17. V. etiam Lent. de Theol. mod. Jud. *c.* 17. Th. 10. 11, &c. † Philo de ſomniis.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Origine of Hell among the Jews: *Whether they borrow'd it from the* Greeks.

I. *Whether the* Jews *borrow'd Hell from the Heathens.* II. *Whether the Heathens took it from the* Jews. III. *A third Opinion about it. Every Nation had its Hell.* IV. *The* Jews *rather took this Tenet from the* Perſians. *The* Perſian *Religion upon this Article explain'd.* V. *The different Opinions of the* Jews *and* Greeks. VI. *Some Proofs of the Prophets believing a Hell and a Heaven.* VII. *St.* John's *Explanation upon the* fire that is not quench'd. *Whether he ſpeaks of the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem. VIII. *Why the Prophets made no mention of Hell.*

I. AFTER we have unravel'd the Revolution of Souls, let us examine what ought to be their Reward or Puniſhment at laſt. *Luke* of *Bruges* aſſures us, that the *antient Jews* were very ignorant upon this Matter. They thought of nothing but of the Rewards and Puniſhments of this preſent Life; but having been intermix'd with the *Pagans* during the Captivity, and with the *Greeks* after *Alexander*'s Conqueſts, they began to examine what the *Greek* Poets ſaid of the *Elyzian* Fields. This diſcuſſion divided the Doctors; One Party whereof ſiding with the Heathen Poets, defended the reality of future Torments, whileſt the Others oppoſed it, and it was that Diſpute which formed the Sect of the *Saducees*.

Several Criticks who have adopted this Opinion, endeavour to prove that Hell was never ſpoken of till after the return from the Captivity. *Homer* had invented this Manſion for the Dead, and ſome Poets liking his Fancy, becauſe it kept People within the bounds of their Duty, have followed it, and laboured to ſpread this Opinion by their pathetical Deſcriptions of Hell. *Pythagoras* forbad Eating of Beans, * *becauſe they reſemble the Gates of Hell which is* † *inflexible*. *Numa* alſo forbad the uſe of Beans; and the Prieſt who ſacrificed to *Jupiter* durſt neither touch them, nor name them, becauſe there was a Notion of Death attached to them; and that this Notion ought never to come into *Jupiter*'s Sacrifices, he being *the Father and Author of Life*. They were reſerved for Funeral Ceremonies, and to appeaſe the Devils that came to torment dead Bodies.

Cumque || *manu purè fontana perluit unda;*
Vertitur, & nigras accipit ore fabas.
Averſuſque jacit: ſed dum jacit, hæc ego mitto,
His, inquam, redimo meque meoſque fabis.
Hæc novies dicit, nec reſpicit: umbra putatur
Colligere, & nullo terga vidente ſequi.

However it be, *Pythagoras* knew *the Gates of Hell*: *Socrates* would not ſpeak of it, either becauſe he gave but little credit to it, or becauſe he found the matter too intricate to unravel: And therefore his Diſciples were ſurpriſed to ſee that *Plato* ſhould dive ſo far into this Myſtery. It is believed that he ſhewed the Rabbies the way; for the Prophets never mentioned it, and they would not have been ſilent upon ſo important a matter, and ſo fit to keep People in Obedience, had they but known it.

II. Others, jealous of the Glory of the *Jews*, maintain, on the contrary, that the Heathens have taken their beſt Productions from them. They have mangled the original Truth with Fables, and invented ſuch Puniſhments as Men of ſenſe think ridiculous: However, the Heathen had taken from *Moſes* the Ground of this tenet. Moſt of the Fathers honour Religion ſo far, as to ſay that the Heathen had only given a new turn to the *Jewiſh* Opinions, which they adorn'd with fabulous Stories to make them the more acceptable to the People. Therefore the Rabbies give out, that the Nations * had *a Knowledge of ſeveral Truths*; *but it was only the dregs of the Religion of the Children of* Iſrael.

III. We take a Medium between the Antients and Moderns concerning this Point. I am perſuaded that the *Jews* never lent their Hell to the *Greeks*, nor ever borrow'd it from *Homer*, nor from *Plato*'s Writings, which they had but little knowledge of.

The *Greeks* had ſome Notions of Hell before *Homer*; and he only related what the Nations before him had believed concerning it. And indeed the Poets did not contrive Hell; but only added the turns of their own Fancies to make the Deſcriptions of it more terrible. Thoſe Men, and eſpecially the *Greeks*, that were full of vivacity, being convinced that Crimes

* Diog. Laert. *l.* 8. S. 34. in Pythagor. † *The* Greek *Expreſſion is* ἀγόνατ᾽ *ν*, without Knees, *becauſe they caſt themſelves at the Knees of thoſe whom they would ſoften.* || Ovid. Faſt. *l.* 5. * R. Shem Tobh in Libro Fidei porta, *c.* 4.

ought

ought to be puniſhed, and ſeeing that wicked wretches who died peaceably and quietly in their Beds, believed that ſome Puniſhments waited for them after Death; they were even oblig'd to urge the certainty of thoſe Puniſhments, which ſerv'd as a bridle to Men's Corruptions, and without which they could not have been eaſily perſuaded to Vertue. If Vice proſper'd, and was never puniſhed, it would be a powerful Argument to wallow in Sin, and neglect Vertue. But People are eaſily perſuaded that there is another Tribunal beſides that of Men; and that there are Puniſhments in the other World. There was no neceſſity for this Notion to have been taken from *Moſes*'s Writings; becauſe our reaſon and the Ideas of God's Juſtice naturally leads us to it.

IV. But it is an Affront to the *Jews*, to pretend, that they ſtood in need of *Homer*'s Verſes, or *Plato*'s *Phædo*, to find out Hell which was before unknown to them. For in truth the *Jews* had as much Senſe as other Nations, and might reflect upon the Proſperity of the Wicked. And indeed we ſee that they did it more upon this Article than upon any other; and it was eaſy for them to conclude from thence, even by natural reaſon as other People did, that there were Puniſhments after Death. It is a very wonderful thing, that People will have the *Jews* to have been ignorant of thoſe Truths that were known by the Pagans. Beſides, this Tenet was rather to be brought from *Perſia* than any other place. *Bardeſanes* in *Euſebius* affirms, that the *Perſians* kept Dogs to devour their ſick Friends. *Agathias* ſays alſo, that they expoſed their dying People to the Wild Beaſts, giving each a Stick, and a little Bread and Water; and that thoſe that recover'd and eſcaped were look'd upon as Ghoſts, and not fit to be converſed with, till they were purify'd. For which reaſon one of the Articles of *Coſroes*'s Treaty with *Juſtinian* was, that he ſhould give the *Chriſtians* leave to bury their Dead, which the *Perſians* did not. One wou'd think, that this barbarous Cuſtom would have deſtroy'd the Notion of future Rewards and Puniſhments; but it did not, for the *Perſians* believ'd that thoſe whoſe Carcaſſes were ſoon devoured were happy after Death, but that the others were cruelly tormented, And they have even ſtill to this day ſome relicks of this antient Cuſtom; For tho' they will not let Beaſts devour dead Bodies which they do not bury, yet they expoſe them to the Birds. If the Raven plucks out the right eye of a dead Body, his happineſs is certain; but if the Carcaſs remains entire, they lament and roar, and look upon the Dead with horrour. They alſo make uſe of a Dog, by ſending him to the Carcaſs that has a bit of Bread in his Mouth; If the Dog eats the Bread, they believe the Dead to be happy; if he runs away inſtead of going cloſe to it, or waiting for the dying Body's laſt Gaſp, they conclude he is miſerable. However, they dare not weep over it, for fear of ſwelling, by their Tears, that River wherein he is tormented. So that the *Perſians* had ſome Notions of Heaven, and Hell; and the *Jews* might have taken theſe Ideas from them, eſpecially after the Conqueſt of *Cyrus*, who was their Deliverer. It was more natural to draw from this Spring, than from that of the *Greeks*, ſo little known at that time of day. And yet we do not ſee, that the *Jews* and the *Perſians* do not in the leaſt agree about this matter.

V. It is affirmed, that the *Jews* borrow'd from *Pythagoras* the *Gates of Hell and the Beans*; but doth J. CHRIST alſo copy this Philoſopher, when he ſpeaks of theſe *Gates?* It was a general Notion that Hell was a Priſon, in which the Guilty were ſhut up, and from whence they cou'd not get out. The Rabbies even give this term a quite different Signification from that of *Pythagoras*. For they mean by it the Explanation of a Tenet; and therefore often mention *the Gate of* Moſes; and a Learned Man gives to the Sections of his Book the Title of *the Gates of Truth*. In the *Miſnah* there are † *three Gates, the firſt, the middle one, and the laſt*. Theſe are three Diſcourſes upon *Wrongs*, in which, as is pretended, the Myſteries of the Law and Tradition concerning this Point are unfolded. The firſt Gate that is open'd is always the moſt Material, the ſecond is leſs, and the third only runs upon Conſequences drawn from the Law, and the Maxims of the Doctors, for the reparation of thoſe Injuries they have ſuffered. Nothing was then more common among the *Jews* than this Expreſſion. It is not neceſſary to go back to *Pythagoras* to find the Original of it; and J. CHRIST, who found it frequently us'd in the Nation where he taught, might ſay, without copying this Philoſopher, that the *Gates of Hell ſhould not prevail againſt his Church*.

As for the Beans, every one knows that *Moſes*, who put ſuch ſtrict Bounds to Food, never forbad them. A learned Critick maintains, that the High Prieſt of the *Jews* never eat any; but the Ground of this Conjecture is very weak. The High-Prieſt, ſays he, did eat no Beans, becauſe he was not ſuffered to be ſorrowful: and the Rabbies ſay, that it was the Food of thoſe that mourn'd and were ſorrowful for the Dead; but tho' they were uſed in time of mourning, they were nevertheleſs eat at other times; and we do not find in any part of Scripture, that they were forbid upon any Occaſion either to the Prieſt or the People. Nay, even that Conjecture of the Doctors is very uncertain, which aſſures us, that Beans were eaten when *Abraham* died, and that *Haran* was burnt Alive: Or rather their thought ſeems overſtrained, for they ſpeak of Pulſe in general, and ſhew by that an Abſtinence from Meat, which ‖ laſted ſome time.

VI. The Prophets believed the Immortality of the Soul, and it was an old Tenet in the *Jewiſh* Church. It was ſpoke of before the Captivity, and in believing the Soul immortal, they were obliged to appoint a State for her after Death, and of neceſſity to put her into a place of Happineſs or Miſery.

The Prophets alſo believed the Reſurrection of the Body. *David* ſpoke of it very clearly; and it was not a new Doctrine which he introduced into the Church: but ſuppoſing him to be the Father of it, we ſtill ſhould be obliged to own that it was older than the Captivity. But what wou'd this Reſurrection of the Body ſignify, if no place was then known to put them in, either Heaven, or Hell?

The Prophets believed a future State of Happineſs. They often mention it; and *David* made the hopes of poſſeſſing it one day, his greateſt Comfort. However Heaven, and Hell, tho' oppoſite one to the other, are ſo cloſely linked together, that it is impoſſible to believe that the Souls of good Men ſhall be rewarded in the other World without being convinced at the ſame time that thoſe of the Wicked ſhall alſo be puniſhed; and that is Hell.

VII. I own, that the Name of Hell was but little known by this antient Church; and when any one impartially weighs all the Paſſages of S. Scripture who ſeeks rather to be inſtructed than to make his own opinion triumph; he will hardly find one, where the term *Scheol* *, or Hell, ſignifies any thing but Sepulchre; but then again it muſt be acknowledged with the ſame Sincerity, that when St. *John* the Bap-

† Miſnah in Edit. Surenhuſ. *t.* 4. ‖ Windet de Vitâ functor. Statu, Sect. 5. *p.* 92. * שאול Sepulchre, à שאל *to ask.*

tiſt ſays * that the Chaff *ſhall be burned with unquenchable fire*, it is to be underſtood of the eternal Puniſhments which the Wicked muſt undergo in the life to come. To have recourſe to that Fire, which reduced *Jeruſalem* to Aſhes, and to ſay, that *it is eternal, and never to be put out, becauſe that miſerable City was not to recover it ſelf*, is to make the Sacred Writers ſpeak according to their own Fancy, without ever conſidering the common acceptation of words. Hath any Hiſtorian in the World, who ſpeaking of Cities that were deſtroy'd and never rebuilt, ever ſaid, *that they burned with unquenchible fire?* Were *Babilon*, *Nineveh* and many others thrown into *everlaſting fire?* Would a wiſe Man ſpeak at this rate? But *Jeruſalem* is not here meant. For the Unbelieving Inhabitants of *Judæa*, and thoſe who came from all Parts to be Baptized, are they that St. *John* the *Baptiſt* threatens with that fire *which ſhall never be quenched*. In order to give any meaning to thoſe words, it ſhould be ſaid that their Souls ſhould be annihilated, and their Bodies remain in the Duſt; but it is eaſy to conceive that St. *John* had another quite different View, and that this Expreſſion doth not ſignify the Soul's being annihilated.

VIII. The Prophets always threatned the People with the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and with the Judgments that God would inflict upon the Nation. They had two Reaſons for it; One, that it was in reallity a preſent, and ſenſible Chaſtiſement, wherewith God would puniſh his Peoples Idolatry. Thus when Perſecution ariſes in a Kingdom or threatens a Church, thoſe ſenſible Misfortunes which hang over the People's heads are made uſe of to move them the more. They are pathetically told, that God is ready to ſtrike; and a lively Deſcription is made to them of the Fall of their Temples, of the Light of the Word which is extinguiſhing; of the taking their Children from them, of the Violence offer'd to thoſe that are expiring; and of Baniſhment, and the Calamities that attend it. Preachers, improving the preſent Circumſtances, rather preſs their Auditors by theſe Objects which ſo nearly concern them, than by the diſtant Fear of Hell, which is common to all the Wicked, and from which every one flatters himſelf he ſhall be freed, by ſome Motions of Repentance upon their Death-Beds.

But there was a particular reaſon which induced the Prophets to uſe this Method. For beſides the general Impreſſion which theſe Objects that we now ſpeak of make, the Land of *Canaan* was looked upon as a Token of God's Love. That was his Mountain, his City, his Temple; Nothing then could be more moving to the People, than to threaten them that God was going to forſake the Mountain of *Sion*, to deſtroy *Jeruſalem*, to burn his Temple, and to carry away his People into Strange Countries. That Nation had ſuch an entire love for their own Country, that the *Perſians* have called *Jeruſalem* Ghanghdiz-Houcht, *the* Jew's Paradiſe; becauſe they continually heard theſe Refugees talk of their Country, and of the God that was worſhipped at *Jeruſalem* ||.

We have ſufficiently proved that the antient Church believed a Hell before the return from Captivity, and their Communication with the *Greeks*. Let us now ſee how the Rabbies have altered this Tenet.

* Matth. 3. 12. ἀσβέστῳ. || V. Ezra. 7. 15.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of Hell, of Purgatory, and of Heaven.

I. *Hell is in the Centre of the Earth.* II. *Seven different Appartments of Hell, in oppoſition to the Four of the* Roman *Church.* III. *The Gates of Hell in the Deſart, and other places.* IV. *The heat that is felt, and the fire that burns in it.* V. *Of the violent Cold that freezes the Members of the Body.* VI. *St.* Jerome's *Apology.* Beda *cenſured* VII. *Different Opinions concerning the Eternity of Hell fire.* VIII. *Whether it would not be better to ſay, that there is no fire in Hell. The Fathers Opinion confuted.* IX. *Whether the Pains of Hell expiates Sins.* X. *The* Jews *Purgatory.* XI. *Compared to that of the* Roman *Church.* XII. *Of the Limbo's.* XIII. *Of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe.* XIV. *Its Deſcription* XV. *Whether* J. CHRIST *put the Thief into the Terreſtrial Paradiſe.* XVI. *Whether the Souls go immediately to Heaven.* XVII. *Whether the Reſurrection is perform'd by the means of a Bone call'd* Luts. XVIII. *Whether the wicked ſhall riſe again.* XIX. *Of the laſt Judgment.* XX. *The Conflagration of the World expounded.* XXI. *The Opinion of the* Jews *about that Matter.*

I. THERE are three ſorts of Souls, whereof every one goeth to his own place, the Good, the Wicked, and thoſe that keep a *Medium* between both, becauſe they are not altogether good, nor altogether bad. Let us ſee what will be their doom after this life, and begin with the Wicked.

The Souls of the Wicked go into the *bottomleſs Pit*. This is an Expreſſion moſt commonly * uſed among the Rabbies by which to ſignify Hell, becauſe of the Valley of *Hinnon*, which was near *Jeruſalem*, where formerly Children were offered to *Moloch*, which afterwards became a receptacle of Filthineſs. They generally place it in the Centre of the Earth; and compare Heaven to Tent; God dwells at the top of its Vault; the hollow of the Tent is fill'd with Spirits, Men, and Beaſts; its Borders extend to the Sea, where it ends, and under it are Subterraneous and empty places in which Hell is placed. The *Jew* judg'd of Heaven and the extent of it, by what he fancied that he ſaw, and by deceitful Appearances, The polite *Greeks* and *Latines* have not been wiſer than they. *Ennius* repreſents Heaven juſt as the *Jews* do:

Quæq; freto cava cæruleo cortina receptat.

And it is known that they plac'd Hell Underground; The *Chriſtians* have ranked among Hereticks thoſe that believed the *Antipodes*, who make the falſhood of this Hypotheſis manifeſt.

II. The Roman-Catholicks † made four different Appartments in Hell. The place of the Damned;

* Tertius Author de Morte Moſis à Gaulm. editus *p.* 36. R. Eleazar in Pirke, *c.* 11. Targum Ap. Windet, *p.* 243.
† Codex Irwin. *c.* 2. *p.* 19. 107, &c.

Purgatory,

Purgatory; the *Limbo Patrum*, and that of Children. The *Jews* * multiply them to Seven; becauſe they find that in Scripture this place is called by Seven different Names; and they are perſuaded, that there is a vaſt difference between the degrees of Pain which the damned ſuffer. J. CHRIST authorizes this laſt Notion, when he ſays, that *it ſhall be more tolerable for* Tyre *and* Sidon *at the Day of Judgment* than for the *Jews*; but we muſt not multiply the Appartments of Hell proportionably to the degrees of Pain, for the Wicked may all be in one and the ſame Place.

III. Hell has three Gates. The firſt is in the Deſart; and it was by this Gate that *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* † *deſcended into Hell.* The ſecond is in the Sea, for || *Jonah* that was caſt into it, ſays, *that he cried unto God out of the belly of Hell.* The third and laſt is placed at *Jeruſalem*; for * *Iſaiah* ſays, that *the fire is in* Sion, *and the furnace in* Jeruſalem. There is ſome reaſon to conclude from theſe Explanations that the Rabbies often meant Hell by the word *Scheol*, which we interpret *Sepulchre*; but at the ſame time it is eaſy to obſerve that they are miſtaken, ſince Hell is not meant by any of thoſe Texts of Scripture which they produce. And it is more eſpecially ſurpriſing, that the *Jews*, who were ſo jealous of the beauty of *Jeruſalem*, ſhou'd have put one of the Gates of Hell in it. The *Heathens* alſo put Gates to Hell:

Porta adverſa ingens, ſolidoq; adamante columnæ.
Vis & nulla virum non ipſi exſcindere ferro
Cœlicolæ valeant.

IV. There are three different Puniſhments in Hell; Heat, Cold, and the Confuſion of the Soul. The Heat is cauſed by a very violent Fire, and was created the ſecond Day; and therefore for that reaſon God did not bleſs that Day. The Rabbies † repreſent it as a River of Fire, which falls upon the Wicked, thereby repreſenting the abundance of it; but at the ſame time they ſay, that this River increaſes daily by the Sweat of thoſe *Beaſts* that draw God's Chariot, which Alluſion they have borrowed from *Ezekiel*'s Viſions falſly interpreted. Others with more Senſe agree upon a thing that is alike unknown to all Men; For they ſay, that this Fire created by God is very ſubtil, "It is not properly a Body, "that can receive its ſuſtenance from Wood and "other combuſtible Matter reducible to Aſhes; but "God maintains and feeds it, and keeps it ſhut up "in a place, as he has placed Millions of An-"gels in Heaven. Some believe that this Fire will not laſt for ever; and thus they explain this Axiom of the Doctors, the *torment ſhall fail*; *but the damned ſhall not fail*, becauſe in ſtead of the Fire which ſhall ceaſe, God will ſubſtitute the Sun, which at the end of the World he will remove from its Centre, and that iſſuing forth all its Heat will cauſe a moſt dreadful Puniſhment; This they prove from the Prophet *Malachi* ||, which ſpeaks of a hot Oven, and a Day that ſhall burn them up. *Origen* ſaid that J. CHRIST will baptize the Wicked with a River of Fire; but he meant by that the Terrors of a guilty Conſcience, and it was not until the laſt Day, that this Fire which was to burn up the World, ſhould fall upon the Wicked. This Father then agrees with the *Jews* in his Expreſſions and Thoughts.

V. The Damned ſuffer Cold as Well as Heat. The Author of the Apocryphal Book of *Eſdras* invented this ſecond Puniſhment. He puts the Souls between Fire and Water; the Fire is on the right hand, and the Water on the left; and the Rabbies * have followed him very exactly. They really believe it was from Hell that God fetch'd two great Plagues, (*viz.*) The Fire with which he burnt *Sodom*, and the Water of the Deluge that covered the Earth. The Heathens likewiſe as well as the Rabbies have made a River of Fire for the *Phlegeton*

——Turbine † anhelo
Flammarum reſonans, ſaxoſa incendia torquet:

and on the contrary the Acheron had Waters as cold as Ice:

—Gelidam ejuerat cum murmure arenam:

and it was by theſe two different Puniſhments that they attoned for their Crimes:

Aliis ſub gurgite vaſto
Infectum eluitur ſcelus, aut exuritur igni,

ſays *Virgil.*

VI. They that maintain, that St. *Jerome* had adopted this Opinion of the *Jews*, and eſtabliſhed it in his Commentary upon *Job*, are mightily miſtaken; for that Work was made long after him by *Beda*, who had no Commerce with the *Jews.* He had rather taken it from a *Saxon* named *Drithelmus*, who conceited that one Side of the Damned burnt, whileſt the other was a kind of Hail, an inſupportable Cold or Snow. Indeed *Job* had ſaid || that *Drought and heat* conſume the *Snow waters, ſo doth the Grave thoſe who have ſinned.* I know not how his Interpreter * could find in this two different Puniſhments, one of Fire and the other of Water, for the Devil and the Ungodly. He moreover, affirms, that J. CHRIST countenanced this Thought, by obſerving, that *in the burning Lake of fire, there would be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.* Since Cold cauſes the gnaſhing of teeth. Beſides, change of Torments is a redoubling of the Puniſhment; ſometimes to burn in Flames, and then again to freeze in Ice. He explains this by the Example of an Ague, wherein we ſuffer Heat and Cold in their turns one after another, and yet thoſe Accidents proceed from one and the ſame Cauſe. Laſtly, to theſe Tortures which Heat and Cold ſhall produce, the *Jews* add the Sorrows and Anxieties of the Soul:

Patiturq; ſuos mens conſcia Manes.

VII. This Puniſhment is not generally acknowledged to be everlaſting. We ſhall not yet ſpeak of thoſe who one day are to come out of Hell; but of the Ungodly of the firſt Rank, who are caſt into the deepeſt place. *Leo* of *Modena* † ſays plainly, *that there are ſome Men condemned for ever to ſuffer thoſe Torments, without any hopes of relief*, and *R. Menaſſe* || who had perfectly ſtudied the Doctors Opinions, ſtrenuouſly maintains the eternity of Torments from the Immortality of the Soul, which is received as a certain Truth in the Synagogue. He reckons up three ſorts of Perſons that muſt undergo this diſmal Doom, tho' their Life be never ſo Upright; the *Atheiſt* that denies the Being of a God; they that withſtand the Divinity of the Law,

* Bart. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 2, *p.* 131. † Numb 16. 33. || Jon. 2. 2. * Iſaiah 31. 9. † R. Moſes Ben Nachman. in Torah Ha Adam. Bartol. *t.* 11. *p.* 134. || Malachy 4. 1. * Simeon Ben Jochai in Zohar, *p.* 281. Windet de Statu, &c. *p.* 215. † Silius Italicus de Bello Punico, *l.* 13. || Job 24. 19. * Beda in Job Oper. *t.* 4. *p.* 726. † Leo *of* Modena *Cerem. of the* Jews, *p.* 4. *c.* 10. *p.* 204. || Menaſſe de Reſurr. *l.* 11. *c.* 8. *p.* 181.

they

they mean by this Expreſſion the *Oral Law*; and laſtly, they that deny the Reſurrection of the Body.

Nevertheleſs it can't be deny'd, but that there are ſome Doctors * as the famous *Maimonides*, *Abravanel*, and other Rabbies of great Authority, that maintain the Annihilation of the Soul. There are ſome alſo that limit the Sufferings of the Damned to twelve Months, becauſe after that time the Soul *conſumes to Aſhes*; *it looſes its form*; *and becomes as matter that is burnt*. *Origen* alſo deny'd the Eternity of Hell-torments, and we might find among the *Modern Chriſtians* ſome Divines, that are perſuaded that this Opinion is very convenient to clear God about the Origine and Cauſe of Evil; and even believe that Souls have a Power to deliver themſelves from the Torments of Hell; but that they will not, becauſe they perſiſt in the bad choice they have made; and chuſe rather to ſuffer than forſake it, as we ſee ſome Children that chooſe rather to be poor, and diſinherited by their Parents, than be forced to forſake their Miſtriſs, or their Debaucheries †.

VIII. Thoſe that maintain that there is a material Fire in Hell, are obliged to encounter with a great Objection, that ariſes from the Activity of this Element, and its natural Effect upon Bodies. The Fathers have contrived a Fire that nouriſheth Bodies, inſtead of conſuming them: *it burns and reſtores them* ||. They compare this Fire to that of Thunder, which touches Bodies but does not burn them, and to that of Mount *Ætna*, which always burns, becauſe its inward fire breeds inſtead of deſtroying it ſelf. And indeed this is the Notion that the Poets give of it:

Sed quanquam largo flammarum exæſtuat intus,
Turbine *, *& aſſidue ſubnaſcens profluit ignis.*

But theſe Compariſons do prove nothing, becauſe they are falſe; for Thunder reduces to Aſhes all that it ſtrikes, and the Fire of Mount *Ætna* or of *Veſuvius* doth not beget it ſelf. Philoſophers grant that after the bituminous part of the Matter is conſumed by the Flames, the Fire goeth out, or at leaſt diminiſhes conſiderably; Nothing remains but the Hearth, till ſomething is laid on it to kindle and cauſe a new Conflagration. The Fathers that have produced theſe Phænomena to prove to the Heathens the nature of Hell-torments, did not know them. It is almoſt impoſſible to conceive that a Fire ſhould for ever burn upon a Body made up of ſeveral different parts, without dividing them. Would it not be ſufficient to aſcribe to thoſe Souls loaded with guilt, the checks of Conſcience, cruel Agitations, and a Deſpair that might conſume them like Fire? This is ſo much the more likely, becauſe the Souls of the Wicked will be tormented long before they can be reunited with their Bodies by the Reſurrection, upon which alone a material Fire can have any Power.

IX. Some attribute to the infernal Torments the Power of purifying Souls, and expiating Sin. I don't know whether this Doctrine be borrow'd from the *Academicks*; but it is certain *Plato* believed, that Souls were cleanſed by the Torments they endured. *Origen* and *Lactantius* ſaid it after him; and the *Jews* are ſtill of this Opinion. Tho' it be a common Axiom among the Rabbies, that *there is no room for repentance after death*; yet they bring forth the Souls out of the dark Dungeon of Hell. How can theſe things that ſeem ſo contradictory, be reconciled? They do it by ſaying, that the God of Mercy is always moſt inclined to Compaſſion; that it would not ſeem juſt that any one ſhould ſuffer eternally for Crimes which were oftentimes but trivial. They praiſe the excellency of *Circumciſion*, by vertue of which they are Saved. *Abraham* who is the Patron of it, deſcends from time to time into Purgatory to fetch out the Circumciſed. Laſtly, they appeal to the Law, which as ſevere as it ſeems to us to be, yet is a ſource of Deliverance. For it ſuffers not any one that puts it in practice, to periſh; therefore they maintain that very few *Jews* remain in Hell.

X. The *Roman Catholick* boaſt of finding among the *Jews* † a Purgatory like to theirs; and they are not miſtaken. The *Jew*'s Purgatory is Hell itſelf; but this makes no conſiderable difference, ſeeing the Purgatory of *Rome* is next Neighbour to the Place of the Damned, and 'tis the ſame Fire that burns in both. This Place is allotted only for the *Tranſgreſſors of Iſrael*. By which are to be underſtood thoſe that are neither abſolutely good, nor abſolutely bad, and that Die without doing Pennance. The *Roman* Purgatory likewiſe only atones for Venial Sins. The *Jews* Purgatory is not only in Hell; for the Rabbies relate, that *Akiba* one Day met a Man loaded, running very faſt; whereupon he ſtopt him to have ſome Diſcourſe with him; but the other informed him he was a Dead Man, and condemned to carry Wood for the Atonement of a Sin which he had committed at the *Cuſtom-houſe*, (whereof he had been a Commiſſioner) by favouring the Rich and oppreſſing the Poor; that he was making haſte to perform that Task, for fear of being whipp'd at his return by thoſe Spirits that had the charge of him. Juſt ſuch another Story they tell at *Rome*; how that a Biſhop knew a Man again after he was Dead carrying Water at the Bath, and making his Purgatory there. The *Jews* get the Souls out of that Place by many Prayers; and it is alſo by Maſſes, and by the Suffrages of the Saints, that the *Romiſh* Souls come out of their Purgatory. The *Jews* ſell Indulgences to the People, that they may be delivered the ſooner, and the ſame is done at *Rome*. The Sabbath is a Priviledge Day whereon the Fire of Hell is reſpited; and a Rabbi ſenſibly proved it to an Unbeliever, by ſhewing him, that no Smoke came out of his Father's Tomb that Day. But above all, the Dead are taken out thence at the Day of Expiations, in which God opens his Regiſter-book, and ſees the condition of thoſe that ſuffer. And thus *Chriſtians* are perſuaded, that there are Priviledged Days and Years to deliver Souls out of Purgatory; and this Belief is kept up by ſuch Miracles as often amaze the Judicious. There is only this difference, viz. The *Jews* are not ſo Ingenuous as the *Romiſh* Prieſts: For beſides, that they ſeldom miſuſe this Tenet ſo as to ruin Families, or drain the People; they have alſo limited the duration of thoſe Sufferings to *Twelve Months*. This Expreſſion I muſt confeſs is a little affected; for they will not ſay not *a Year*, for fear of prolonging the time; becauſe ſome Years have an Intercalary Month; but *Rome* has been cunning enough to prolong the Puniſhment of the Dead to whole Centuries, and ſometimes further, that they may ſtill enjoy the Income.

XI. It is pretended || that beſides Purgatory, the *Jews* admit of a *Limbus* in which the Souls of the Fathers are Repoſed; but this is only grounded upon a diſtinction of Hell. 'Tis true, they divide the bottomleſs Pit into two parts, the One above, the Other below, where the Torments are more wracking; yet it is ſtill the ſame Place. The Souls ſuffer in both, and are neither quiet nor happy in this Retire-

* Moſes Nachmanides Porta Retributionis. Lent Theol. Jud. *p.* ult. Choiſie, *t.* VII. || Minut. Felix in Octav. *p.* 39. * Silius Italicus. † King de Orig. Mali Appendix, & Bibl. || Bartol. ibid. † Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* II. *p.* 150, &c.

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ment, as those of the Fathers were in the *Limbus*. The uppermost part is allotted for the less Sinful, who there atone for their Crimes. It is true, they sometimes speak of *Abraham's Bosom*; for they say that R. Ada *sits this Day in* Abraham's *Bosom*, to shew that he Dies; but this Expression is very rare among them, and a famous Doctor says plainly in so many Words, that this *Limbus* is forged. *We deny that there is any* Limbus *in Hell.* He gives a Reason for it too; for if the Souls of the Patriarchs and Righteous Men, such as *Enoch* and *Noah*, enjoyed the Grace of God, whilst their Souls were united to Polluted Bodies, they much more ought to enjoy the Glory after Death. Those that are jealous of this Conformity about the *Limbus* of the Fathers, and defend it, did not think it was only contriv'd, because the *Messiah* was to open Heaven by his satisfaction and Death; and as in the Synagogue they have no Notion of the *Messiah*'s making any Atonement for Sin by his Sufferings, nor of his opening Heaven by his Blood, which they think already opened by the fulfilling of the Law, and by the Blood of the Circumcision. No Man ought to impute this Tenet to the *Jews*, unless he would have them argue very Fantastically. Besides, the Glory and Advantage that is drawn from this Conformity with these Doctors, is thereby lost.

XII. It is an Article of the *Jewish* || Catechism that God never denies a Recompence *to any one, and that he will give it to those that keep his Commandments*; and the same thing is repeated Daily in the Prayers * that are offered up to God; but there are two different Opinions in the Nation concerning the nature of those Pleasures and Joys which make up the Saints Reward.

First, Some believe that Souls go after Death into the Garden of *Eden*. Therefore in the Prayers that are made for the Dead, they generally beg *that his Soul may have his Portion in* Eden, *and in the World to come*, and the Angel of Death forbids the Living to come in. It is said, that *R. Azariel* deceived this Angel, and went into the Seven Appartments of that Place; but they only designed to say, that that Rabbi gave as lively a Description of this *Paradise*, and the different degrees of Reward which the Souls receive in it, as if he had been there, and seen it.

XIII. There is † a magnificent Description made of that Place. The Houses are built of precious Stones, which agrees with what St. *John* says of the Heavenly City in his Revelations. The Rivers flow with Wine and Perfumes, and one may live in it without Care or Trouble. The Souls are carried thither after Death in an I know not what kind of Chariot or Garb that God gives them, where they shall remain quiet till the *Messiah* comes. Then the Souls will come out of the Receptacles wherein they were shut up, and being re-united to their Bodies, they shall live under the Rule and Government of the *Messiah*. They shall Eat and Drink with Pleasure as they do now; and beget Children too As the Earth would never be big enough to contain every Body that has been born in the World, none but the Saints and the Righteous shall rise again to enjoy the Bliss that the *Messiah* shall procure for them. This Happiness is to last forthe space of three Hundred Years, or a Thousand, that is to say, a long time; and then the Body annihilating it self, the Soul only shall go into the other World, or into the Heavenly Paradise.

Maimonides heads this Party. *Menasse* ||, whom we have often quoted, and who is one of the last and most judicious Rabbies, supports it upon the testimony of several Doctors. They also prove it by the conformity that is to be between the Saints and *Adam* in his state of Innocence, and by the Wisdom of God that makes nothing in vain. For what reason should he have put Plants and Fruit in Paradise, unless it were to feed those Men that he would put into it? Why should the Bodies rise again, if they were not to re-act the same things which they did here in this Life? He pretends, that the Land of *Canaan* will belong to the Patriarchs, and that the Tithes will be paid to resuscitated *Aaron*, which would be needless, if he was not to make use of them for his maintainance. *Abravanel* adds, that as the Soul will find her Bliss in God, so the Body must enjoy those Pleasures which are suitable to its Nature.

There are also some footsteps of this Opinion found in the Second of *Esdras* *; for the Souls of the Righteous ask, *when cometh the Fruit of the Floor of our Reward?* They are answer'd, *When the number of Seeds is filled in you*; and in another place it is affirmed, *that the full Store-houses shall suddenly be found empty.* These Store-houses are the Receptacles from whence the Souls shall come out on a sudden, when the *Messiah* appears, to enjoy with their Bodies a more compleat Happiness. Marrying and Eating after Death seem to have been a common Opinion among the *Jews* in Our Saviour's time; since the *Sadducees* asked him, how a Woman that had Seven Brethren for Husbands, could claim one; saying, *In the Resurrection whose Wife shall she be?* A Question that supposes a notion of Marriage; and upon this Authority St. *Augustin* † does not stick to ascribe the same Opinion to the *Jews* of his time; but it is very strange that the *Christians* should have adopted part of it. The *Essenes* in J. CHRIST's and *Josephus*'s time looked upon Paradise, in which the Souls were to be gathered togethe, as into a Place where no Rain nor Snow fell, and in which no inconveniency was found. *Justin Martyr* || disputing against a *Jew*, maintains also, that the Souls of the Saints remain some where in a very agreeable Place. *Tertullian* did more; for he said, that this Place was separated from the known World by a Zone of Fire. All the Doctors of the Primitive Church that were *Millenarians* agreed with the *Jews* in this point, tho' these Notions are gross and carnal.

XIV. The Cause of this Error is, that the *Jews* giving the Name of Paradise both to the Garden of *Eden*, wherein *Adam* was put, and to Heaven, this Expression that ought to have been understood in a Figurative, was taken in a Literal Sense. The Error of the Doctors that have believed a *Millenarium*, and a Temporal Felicity of the Righteous during that time, is a demonstration that the Ideas of the Soul's Happiness is not sufficiently refined; and that not only the Vulgar, or some Doctors of little Note, may fall into those Carnal Fancies, but that even the Learned, and the bulk of the Learned too, may be also imposed upon in this Matter.

XV. Some Modern Criticks * maintain two things: One that this Opinion of the Soul's Felicity, which we have related, is common and reigning among the *Jews*. The Other, that it is so Antient, that J. CHRIST spoke conformably to it, when he promised to the converted Thief, *that he should be with him that Day in Paradise*. This Thief, who was used to hear his Doctors speak of those Pleasures that were to be enjoyed in the Terrestrial Paradise, could have

|| Quæst. 10. * Orden de las Oraciones † Maimonid. apud Windet de Statu, &c. p 134. || Menasse de Resurr. *l.* 111. *c.* 11. p. 343. *c* 9. 320. de Creat. Probl. 17. *p.* 71. &c. & 75 * 2 Esdras 4. 35. 36 & 6. 22. † Augustin in Ps. 44. *p.* 395. || Justin. Martyr Dial. cum Tryph. * Grot. in Luc. 23. 43. Cr. 1. *t.* 6. *p.* 1498.

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no other Idea of it, nor otherwiſe underſtand J. CHRIST, when he ſpoke in the Language of thoſe Doctors. But this Fancy is grounded upon two ſuppoſitions. One, that the *Jewiſh* Doctors ſpoke and thought in Our Saviour's time juſt as the *Talmudiſts* have done ſince. This is a common Method, *viz.* When any Expreſſions are found among the Rabbies like thoſe of the Evangeliſts, or any Opinion that has ſome relation to that of J. CHRIST, both the Goſpel and J. CHRIST are explained by the words and deſigns of the Rabbies. But this is not fair, ſince none can be ſure that the Doctors, who liv'd in this Nation four or five Hundred Years after J. CHRIST, have given the ſame conſtruction to figurative Expreſſions that he did. No Writers in the World are ſo little to be depended upon, as to the ſucceſſion of Tradition and Faith, as the *Jews* that are uſed to prefer their own Fancies to the Law of God; for the Imaginations of Men have no bounds. It is ſufficient to ſee how they wreſt the Paſſages of the Law to ſupport their ſhallow Fancies. One word being altered in the Senſe, will do their Buſineſs. It does not follow, that becauſe the Rabbies have taken the word Paradiſe for the Garden of *Eden*, and there placed the Souls of the Saints, that therefore the Doctors, the common People, and the Thief who was Crucify'd with Our Saviour, were of the ſame Opinion. Had this Style been in uſe, JESUS CHRIST would have alter'd that word, and made uſe of another, to give the Thief a higher Idea of the Happineſs that he promiſed him. What Intereſt had the Redeemer of the World to keep the People or Doctors in their Errour, inſtead of teaching the Truth to him that knew it not? Did it become that Son of God to promiſe Reſt in the Garden of *Eden*, at a time when it was abſolutely neceſſary for this new Convert to get his Heart looſe from this Earth, and to have it raiſed upon high in ſearch of Heaven?

XVI. But *Grotius* improperly ſuppoſes this to be the Opinion of the *Jews*. He ſhould have diſtinguiſhed two Parties, whereof the One believes that the Souls will be exalted to the Contemplation of God immediately after Death. It is || agreed, that moſt of the *Jewiſh* Doctors in *France* and *Spain* are ſtanch in this Opinion; and this Teſtimony can't be ſuſpected, ſince *Abravanel*, one of the Chief of the contrary Party, tells us ſo, It is obſerved that the Soul *enjoying from the Hour of Death the Glory of the Divine Majeſty, and a ſupreme Felicity*, none ought to believe or think, that the Saints will quit that happineſs to come and dwell in a deſpicable Place, full of croſſes, and near the bottomleſs Pit. The Sages add, that if *Moſes* had no need of Food upon the Mount, being ſuſtained by the Light and Glory of God; the Faithful that are to riſe again, ſhall be preſerved by the ſame Light; that is to ſay, *by the will of God, and by his Spirit*, that will be within them for their ſupport. Laſtly, there are ſome Sermons in which God is introduc'd ſpeaking to the Soul of *Moſes*, which was affraid of Death, and endeavour'd what ſhe could to put it off. *Defer not, Daughter*, ſaid God to her, *for I am going to ſet you upon the Throne of my Glory, near the Throne of the Cherubim and Seraphim.* That none may imagine this privilege to be peculiar to that Prophet, the *Talmudiſts* affirm, *that not only the Soul of* Moſes *is placed under the Throne of Glory, but alſo that the Souls of all other Saints have the ſame advantage*, which invincibly proves the variety of their Opinions concerning this Matter, whereof One draws near that of the Antient *Millenarians*, and the Other is the Faith of Orthodox *Chriſtians*.

XVII. The Reſurrection * of Bodies is one of the chief Articles of the *Jewiſh* Faith; ſince thoſe that deny it are Damned with the Wicked. Here you have what is remarkable upon this Subject.

Queen *Cleopatra* being convinced of the Truth of the Reſurrection, asked *R. Meir* one Day whether the Dead ſhould riſe again Naked or Dreſſed. He anſwer'd by the example of Corn that is thrown Naked into the Earth, and comes out of it with ſeveral covers: So the *Jews* † determine that the Dead ſhall appear again Clothed with ſeveral Suits. Moreover, there are ſome Dead Bodies that muſt revive twice, for the Saints muſt come out of the Earth to Reign with the *Meſſiah*, and Eat with him the Viands he has prepared. And they will dye a ſecond time to riſe again at the Day of Judgment, and enjoy the Glory of God. Nevertheleſs, *Elijah* left a contrary Tradition; for he told his Diſciples that thoſe that ſhould riſe again with the *Meſſiah* ſhould never return into the Duſt.

God will raiſe the Dead by the means of a little Bone that is in the Back-bone, and called *Luts*. They maintain that this little Bone, which is unknown to every Body, is incorruptible; they prove it by *David*'s Words, who ſays that God will preſerve the Bones of the Righteous, and that *not one of them ſhall be broken*. *Chriſtian* Interpreters underſtand by this, that God will ſo protect the Righteous, as that none of their Bones ſhall be broken, and they find this Oracle fulfill'd in the Perſon of the *Meſſiah*; but the *Jews* will have God's Care to extend to a particular Bone that neither can be broken, nor corrupted. They prove it by the Example of the Emperor *Adrian*, who laughing at the Reſurrection, and what a *Jew* told him concerning the Virtue of this Bone, made Experiment of it; *for it was put under a Mill-ſtone, and was not broken; it was caſt into the Fire, and it was not burned*; but it is childiſh to ſuppoſe that the Emperor *Adrian* then going into *Judæa*, to puniſh the famous Rebellion of *Barchochebas*, ſhould diſpute there upon the Reſurrection. This Prince's Conference with that Rabbi, is all imaginary, and his Diſpute chimerical. Laſtly, They rely upon the Teſtimony of the Doctors that have authenticated this Tradition, (*viz.*) That all the parts of the Human Body, diſperſed into never ſo many Places, will gather together about this Bone, and make up the ſame Bodies that Men had here when they were alive.

XVIII. Some Doctors || fancy, that none but the Saints ſhall riſe again. They exclude the Wicked, becauſe they ought not to partake of the Happineſs which the Saints are to enjoy with the *Meſſiah* here upon Earth. And indeed this naturally follows from their Principle, but that Reaſon does not always affect them. *Menaſſe* *, for Example, tho a Defender of this Carnal Felicity, owns, that according to Reaſon and Scripture, the Wicked muſt riſe again to be puniſh'd in their Bodies that have ſinned. He even maintains, That this is the Tradition of the Fathers: So that this Truth, tho' oppugn'd by Great Men, is ſtill preſerv'd in the Synagogue. Moſt of the Doctors affirm, that God alone raiſes Men from the Dead to reward and puniſh them, but there are alſo ſome that acknowledge no other Motive in the Operation of this Miracle, than the Will and All-mighty Power of God, which appears with great Splendour. Others believe it is done to accompliſh what is want-

|| R. Iſaac, Abarbanel in Nachalath Abboth Rad. 14. R. Jehudah Zabata in Michtaf Techiia, *c.* 6. R. Meir in Aſſodat Haccodeſch fol. 54. apud Lent Theol. mod. Jud. c. 19. *p.* 673. & Windet de Vita funct. Statu Sect. VII. *p.* 157. & 158.
* Menaſſe de Reſurr, *l.* 11. c. 15. *p.* 202. † Ex Gemera Tit. Sanhedr. *c.* XI. S. 4. Coch. duo Tituli, Talmud, *p.* 309. & 317. ||Maimonides, Joſeph Albo, Iſaac Abarbanel. * Menaſſe *c.* 8. p. 177.

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ing in their Obedience, and then it would not be general. In ſhort, as the *Jews* are infatuated with the Beauty and Excellency of the Land of *Canaan*, ſo we muſt not be ſurpriſed, if they believe, that the Reſurrection of the Dead ſhall be there. They prove it by ſeveral Paſſages of † Scripture which it wou'd be needleſs to relate, as well as the conſequence which they draw from *Adam*'s being made of that *Holy Earth*, which is a falſe ſuppoſition.

XIX. After the Reſurrection comes the Judgment. We have already obſerved, that ſome believe that there ſhall be a ſpace of three Hundred or a Thouſand Years between theſe two Events; but there is another Opinion conformable to that of the *Chriſtians*, *viz.* that this Judgment will be perform'd at the very moment of the general Reſurrection. God Judges Men every Year on the firſt Day of *Tiſri*, which anſwers the Month of *September*. He Judges every one at the Hour of Death; but he will Judge them all at the end of the World in the Valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, near the Mount of *Olives*. For this Reaſon the *Jews* delight in burying their Dead near *Jeruſalem*. They do not obſerve that when *Joel* ſays, that *the Nations ſhall be gather'd together and brought down to the Valley of* Jehoſhaphat, *and that the Lord ſhall ſit to Judge all the Heathen round about*. Joel. 3. 2. & 12. That he ſpeaks of a Temporal Deliverance of his People, in which their Enemies ſhall be routed as the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* had been in that ſame Valley.

XX. *Chriſtians* are perſuaded, that in the Day of Judgment the Elements ſhall paſs away with a great Noiſe, and be melted with fervent Heat; that the Earth alſo, and the Works that are therein, ſhall be burnt up, as St. *Peter* ſpeaks, 2 *Peter* 3. 10. This Tradition was common among the *Pagans*. Some even believe, that the Sacred Fire of *Veſta* was not worſhipp'd among the *Romans*, but as an Image of that Fire which is ſhut up in the Centre of the Earth, and is one Day to break out and burn the whole World. *Cæſar* was formerly comforted for not having made any Funerals for his Soldiers after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, by this Reaſon, that the ſame Fire which is to burn the World, would reduce them to Aſhes, and that they ſhall have the ſame Coffin as the whole Univerſe.

Hos * Cæſar *Populos ſi nunc non uſſerit Ignis,*
Uret cum Terris, uret cum gurgite Ponti;
Communis Mundo ſupereſt rogus, Oſſibus aſtra
Mixturus.

No Body is ignorant of what the Stoicks thought concerning the Conflagration of the World, cauſed by the want of thoſe exhalations which now ſerve to nouriſh Beings. None of the Philoſophers, except *Ariſtotle* and his Diſciples, believ'd the World Eternal; even *Epicurus* made it to end in one Day:

Una † Dies dabit exitio, Multoſq; per Annos
Suſtentata ruet moles & machina Mundi.

They go beyond this; for they now prove this general Conflagration by Natural Cauſes, which make it more ſenſible. For this, it is not requiſite to remove the Sun from its place, nor open the Centre of the Earth. According to antient Tradition, ſays an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian ||, Forty Years before the end of the World the Rain-bow ſhall diſappear, and that will demonſtrate a prodigious Drought; but others have fancy'd, that *Elijah*, who ſhall then appear, will ſtop the Rain. However it be, this great Drought will be a preparation for the Conflagration of the World *. The Mountains that have long ſince caſt out many Flaſhes of Fire, and of Bituminous and Pitchy Clouds, ſhall then open and ſet all the Neighbouring Places on fire. I know not whether St. *Auguſtin* may be credited when he ſays, that one Day Mount *Ætna* did caſt out ſuch a prodigious quantity of Flames, and threw them ſo far, that the Rocks of the Sea were blacken'd by it, and the Pitch of the Ships that then ſailed by, was melted; but every one knows, that nothing is ſo diſmal as the Diſorders cauſed by thoſe Flames: The Rocks and Stones caſt with Fury into ſeveral Places, and the Earth-quakes, ſhall cauſe new Deſolations, as when *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* periſhed; the Earth opening by violent Earthquakes, ſent forth a vaſt quantity of Sulphur and Bitumen, kindled by the Fire of Thunder and Lightning, ſo the ſame ſhall happen at the end of the World. The Stones and Rocks ſhall melt away as they generally do when a Fire is violent and laſting. The Waters that continually are running through ſubterraneous Channels into the Sea, ſhall be dryed up; The Rivers that fill and ſwell it, ſhall be drained; then it will diſappear and become a heap of Sulphur and Bitumen, and thoſe Waters being Salt and agitated, will eaſily kindle. Sometimes this is carried much farther; and ſome pretend that this Conflagration is to begin in *Italy*, it being the Seat of *Anti-chriſt*, which Our Saviour J. CHRIST will deſtroy at his ſecond coming. And hard by that Place are the Mountains, by whoſe Vomiting of Fire the Deſtruction of the World is to begin. Laſtly, it is maintained by ſome, that the World will be renew'd by this Conflagration, and that J. CHRIST will come and reign in it for a thouſand Years with his Elect.

XXI. The *Jews* follow an antient Tradition, which imports, that the World ſhall laſt ſix Thouſand Years, after which a perfect Peace will be enjoy'd in the *Meſſiah*'s Reign for one Thouſand Years. They look upon God's Creating of the World in ſix Days, and reſting the ſeventh, as a Type of this. They † add, that the Letter ו, which ſignifies a thouſand, is repeated ſix times over in the ſame Verſe of *Geneſis*; and that *Elijah*, who lived one Hundred and fifty Years after the Reſtoration of the Temple, determin'd this Queſtion. *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Auguſtin* have followed this, tho' ill-grounded, Opinion, becauſe they took it from the *Jewiſh* Tradition, or becauſe it is a common Notion, that the World ſhall laſt ſix Thouſand Years, for that God was ſix Days in making of it. *Voſſius* alſo made uſe of *Elijah*'s Oracle, to make the duration of the World agree with the Verſion of the LXX. But he has been deſervedly upbraided for this falſe Calculation, ſince he was forced to encreaſe the number of ſix Thouſand Years, by thoſe that were ſpent from *Adam*'s time to *Noah*, as if they belonged to another World. The Rabbies do not believe that the World will ever periſh. Our Doctors || in vain juſtifie *Philo* the *Jew*, and make him ſay, that the World ſhall not be deſtroy'd; and if any change happens to it, it ſhall be only to make it more perfect: For that is not his thought. He maintains, that the World is incorruptible, and that if ſome of its parts fall off and rot, it does not therefore

† Exod. 6. 4. Numb 18. 28. Deut. 11. 9. & 31. 16. Eſaie 26. 19. Ezech. 36. 20. & 37. 9. * Lucan. *l.* 7. † Lucret. *l.* 3. || Hiſt. Scholaſt. *c.* 35. * Burnet Theoria Telluris, *l.* 111. *c.* 6. &c. † Reineccii Traditio Eliana de ſex durationis Mundi Millenariis. || Zanchii Miſcell. *p.* 92. Philo, quod Mundus ſit incorruptib. *p.* 746.

follow that the whole muſt; becauſe, that as a Man ceaſes not to live after his Finger or Hand is cut off; ſo why may not the World ſubſiſt; notwithſtanding the Corruption of ſome of its parts. *Maimonides* alſo pretends, that all the Texts in Holy Scripture, which mention *the new Heavens and a new Earth*, are Metaphorical; and it muſt be owned, that the Prophet *Iſaiah*'s Oracle, which is uſed to prove the Reſtoration of the World in its perfection, and in the ſame ſtate that heretofore the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, the Garden of *Eden*, was, points out to us the *Meſſiah*'s Reign under the Goſpel. He concludes, that the World ſhall not be deſtroy'd, ſeeing, that the Sacred Pages ſay nothing of it. That Rabbi, ſomewhere mentioned by * *Gaſſendi*, on the contrary, drew the Deſtruction of the World from expreſſions of the Law; but he could not do it, without the help of the *Cabala*.

* Gaſſendi Oper. t. VI. *p.* 12.

End of the Fourth BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

BOOK V.

Containing their RIGHTS and CEREMONIES.

CHAP. I.

Of the Sanhedrim : *Its Origine and Government.*

I. *The Deſign of this Book.* II. *The Council eſtabliſhed by* Moſes. III. *The* Jews *Opinion concerning this Inſtitution, confuted.* IV. *The Hiſtory of this Tribunal down to the Captivity of* Babylon. V. *Remarks upon this Hiſtory.* VI. *A Continuation of theſe Remarks.* VII. *Proofs that the* Sanhedrim *did not ſubſiſt under* Joſhua. VIII. *Nor under the Judges*, &c. IX. *Nor at the return from the Captivity.* X. *Whether it was eſtabliſhed under* Alexander *the* Great. XI. *Whether* Gabinius *inſtituted it.* XII. *Confutation of that Opinion.* XIII. *Its Origine under the* Maccabees. XIV. *Objections that may be ſtarted againſt this Opinion.* XV. *Whether it was compos'd of Lay-men. Whether the Scribes were admitted into it.* XVI. *The Perſons that were excluded.* XVII. *Precautions taken in Capital Judgments.* XVIII. *The Uncertainty of theſe Regulations.*

I. GOD could not more ſeverely puniſh the *Jewiſh* Nation, than by depriving it of the Liberty of uſing thoſe Ceremonies that were injoyn'd in their Religion. It is the Inclination of all People to love ſenſible Objects; but the *Jews*, who ſaw God to countenance this Inclination, and to imploy them by a long Train of Rites and Ceremonies, had increaſed their Love and Affection for them. Their Anceſtors had in vain cry'd out, *It is a Yoke that neither we, nor our Fathers were able to bear.* They could not without extreme Grief ſee this Yoke broke; they ſtill lament the Ruin of their Temple, to which the Obſervation of theſe Ceremonies were faſt'ned; In a word, notwithſtanding the violent Obſtacle which the fall of the Temple effected towards the fulfilling of the Antient Rites, they nevertheleſs charge themſelves with a great many, and obſerve them very zealouſly. The *Miſnah*, and *Talmud*, are a Collection of Determinations concerning an infinite number of Scruples of Conſcience, that ariſe from the practiſe of thoſe Rites. The Rabbies have made it their chief Work and Study for theſe many Ages. They particularize to ſuch a Degree, that it is eaſy to judge how very fond that Nation is of Ceremonies. Beſides, the Rabbies teach in the Synagogues, that they have Paſtors, and Houſes of Judgment, wherein all Doubts of Conſcience are determin'd; and thoſe that tranſgreſs the Laws are ſeverely puniſhed. We ſhall not follow the Rabbies in the explanation of their Government, and Ceremonies; but thus much at leaſt is neceſſary, to relate the moſt material things which they have practiſed, in order to give a juſt Notion of the Religion and Hiſtory of this People.

II. Every body knows that *Moſes*, being overcharged in judging all the Cauſes of Six hundred thouſand Souls, deſired to be eaſed of ſo weighty a Burden. God commanded him to intruſt ſeventy Elders with that Care, whom he animated with his Spirit, and who made up the Grand *Sanhedrim*. The *Jews* ſay, that *Moſes* was very much perplexed in the choice of theſe Councellors, becauſe if he had choſen Six out of every Tribe, there would have been two too many; if but Five, then Ten would have been wanting. Neither could he take Six out of one Tribe, and but Five out of the other, for fear of cauſing a Jealouſy. What cou'd he do to extricate himſelf out of this perplexity? He reſolved to take Six out of each Tribe, and to caſt Lots for the excluſion of thoſe two that were Supernumerary. He put Seventy Tickets on which the word *Elder* * was written; and added two blank Tickets, which unhappily were drawn by *Eldad*, and *Medad*, to whom *Moſes* ſaid, God *will have none of you.* This Lawgiver †

* Zaken. † Excerta Gemaræ Tit. Sanhedrim *c.* 1. Sect. 17. apud Coch. duo Tituli Thalmudici.

did not favour his own Family, for these two Men were his Brothers; his Father *Amram* had put away his first Wife *Jochabed* to take another, from whom came these two Persons whom God rejected. This Story is grounded upon *Moses*'s Authority, who says, that he wrote *the names of the Elders*; but however it is false.

III. And indeed *Eldad*, and *Medad* were so far from being cast off by God, that they were extraordinarily enliven'd by his Spirit. They spake and judged with such good success, that it was thought *Moses* would have been jealous of them. Some went in a spiteful manner, and told him that they prophesy'd; but this holy Man reply'd, *would to God that all the Lord's People were Prophets.* *Eldad*, and *Medad*, then were Judges, Members of the Council which *Moses* instituted, and Prophets inspired by God. These two Men were not *Moses*'s Brothers, Children of *Amram*'s second Wife, and the Divorce of his first Wife, tho' she was his Aunt, is Chimerical. Nor does it appear, that *Moses* chose these Counsellors by casting of Lots. It is more likely that it was the Gift of the Holy Ghost poured out upon LXX. Persons, which made them to be distinguished from the rest of the People; For *Moses* observes, that God gave them his Spirit, and he did not *write the Names of Elders* till after the Election was over, and that was done to make them the more easily known by the People. Lastly, it can't be said, that this Tribunal lasted after the Death of *Moses*, since the *Divine Inspiration*, which was the ground of this Establishment, was transitory, and that in after-times there is no mention of this Grand Council. Nevertheless the *Jews*, and the *Christians*, who blindly follow them when it concerns the Antiquity of their Rites and Government, do obstinately maintain, that this formidable Tribunal has all along subsisted; that It judged the Kings before the Captivity; and that *Ezra* re-established it after the return by the Name of the Grand Synagogue. It is also seen in the Gospel invested with great Power, notwithstanding the decay of the Republick. *Selden* has given the Names of all the Presidents of that Council who succeeded one another, and this Catalogue seems to prove that the Chain of this Succession was never broke.

IV. A Critick * not satisfied to bring back the Origine of the *Sanhedrim* to *Moses*, relates the History of its different Vicissitudes, till the time of the Captivity of *Babylon*. This Tribunal, says he, was seen to act and determine about War and Peace while the Republick lasted; for the *Elders* of the Congregation, restored to the Tribe of *Benjamin* the Land that was taken from them by the War, and who after they had advised the *Benjamites* to carry away the Daughters of *Shiloh*, said, *when* † *their Fathers, or their Brethren come unto us to complain, we will say unto them, be favourable to them for our sakes.* Here is a Tribunal ‖ made up of *Elders*, before whom the Oppressed were to bring their Complaints; and this Tribunal was in being, even when there was no Judge in *Israel*, and that *every one did that which was right in his own eyes.* It alter'd in *Jeroboam*'s Reign; because instead of its being taken out of the Twelve Tribes, most of the Counsellors forsook their office to follow their Brethren, and enter with them into the Schism; So that they were reduced to the two Tribes of *Benjamin* and *Judah*; but nevertheless the number of the LXX. was kept up. In short, *Jehoshaphat* made another distinction; for he placed the High-Priest at the head of this Council to Judge of those things which related to God; a President for the King's Business; and the *Levites* were before them to judge all the Differences that arose: So that the *Sanhedrim* was in being in all those times that preceeded the Captivity of *Babylon*. There was only some Alteration in the form of it. All these things deserve to be examined, for the Origine of the *Sanhedrim* does not appear to be of so old a Date.

V. First, The Epocha of the War against the *Benjamites*, caused by a *Levite*, whose Concubine had been ravished, is not favourable to the *Sanhedrim*; For it was natural and proper for the injur'd *Levite* to complain to the *Sanhedrim* of the Affront he had received. The Law of Nations was infringed; the Law of God transgressed by an infamous Debauchery; and the Crime had been committed against a *Levite*. The Grand Council was the natural Judge of this Business; why then did not the *Levite* apply to it? To say, as some do, that the Great Council never appear'd but when Peace was to be proposed and settled, is to be willing to impose upon ones self; For the *Levite* did not know whether the Tribes would arm upon that Matter. He ought at least to have had recourse to the usual Forms of Justice, known by all the People, and the *Benjamites* Rebellion against the Chief Tribunal might very well have given the People occasion to make War. 'Tis true, after the Victory was obtained and the Crime punished, the *Elders* judged and advised the *Benjamites*; but it is not observed that the *People were gathered together*. They were then the Chief of all the Tribes that made up this Judgment, in the Name of the whole Nation then Assembled; and those Elders that headed their Tribes, had no relation to the *Sanhedrim*, whose Tribunal should have been fixed. There was then no Grand Council, when *every one did that which was right in his own eyes.*

VI. Those that relate such a formal History of the *Sanhedrim*, and the Alterations which have happened to it, must build upon Conjectures. From whence do they know that the Senators chosen out of the Ten Tribes, forsook their Honourable Office at *Jerusalem*, to go and live retired? and how do they know that those Elders would have quitted the High-Priest, the Temple, and the Holy City, purely to enter into the Schism? What proof had they, that *Rehoboam* fill'd up their Places with the Elders of the two remaining Tribes? It might be said with more probability, that the Ten Tribes would have erected a Tribunal like the *Sanhedrim* of *Jerusalem*, if they had known the Use and Authority of it; but they did not think of it, because there was no *Sanhedrim* at that time. It is true, *Jehoshaphat* did set up a Court of Justice at *Jerusalem*, but this was no *peculiar* to that Capital City; For he did the same thing in all the other Cities of his Dominions. That Prince seeing the Laws infring'd, resolv'd that Justice should be restored, and for that purpose he erected several Courts of Justice for the People; but those Tribunals set up for the Conveniency of those that would Plead there, were not the *Sanhedrim*; on the contrary, the erecting of those Courts of Justice plainly shew, that the Grand Council of the *Jews* was not known in that King's Reign; For if it had, the Historian would not have fail'd to have mention'd it.

VII. The generality of Criticks * and Divines vindicate the Antiquity of the *Sanhedrim*; but a

* Goësius Pilatus Judex. Animadv. *p.* 4. 6. 14. † Judges 21. 22. ‖ Goësius ibid. * V. Surenhusius in Misnam Tit. Sanhedr. Præf. Brunus de Benediction. XII. Patriarchum, *p.* 82. Ferrand's *Reflections upon the* Christian *Religion. t.* 2. *p.* 26.

Learned

Learned Man †, who weighs every thing with a Care and Exactneſs worthy of imitation, has diſcovered and proved, that it is ill grounded. And indeed upon Examination of the old Hiſtory, it is found that this Tribunal, tho' neceſſary to the Nation, diſappear'd immediately after the Death of *Moſes*. *Joſhua* governed the People with great Authority. He ſettled the Portion of ſome Tribes in the Land of *Canaan*. That of *Ephraim* who thought their lot too little, went and complained to him. The *Levites*, who ought to have been judged by the *Sanhedrim*, apply'd only to him. Laſtly, it was *Joſhua* that as General and Chief of the Nation disbanded the Army, and ſent beyond *Jordan* thoſe Tribes which had aſſiſted their Brethren in Conquering the Land of *Canaan*. How could he have ſpoken and acted with ſo much Authority, if he had been curb'd by a Supreme Council.

Joſhua's Government was not Abſolute. There were ſome important Affairs to which the *Elders of the Nation* were call'd; but even this helps to ſhew, that there was at that time no conſtant Council; for if it had always remained at *Shiloh*, or followed *Joſhua*, there would have been no diſtinction made between thoſe Affairs that came under the cogniſance of the *Elders of the People*, and thoſe that *Joſhua*, tho' of great Conſequence, judged alone. He himſelf tells us, who they were that were call'd, and conſulted || *The Elders and Fathers of the Tribes*; for there was *in each a head of the houſe of their Fathers among the thouſands of* Iſrael. Thoſe Deputies were they that made up the Grand Council of the Nation; but that was not the *Sanhedrim* which we look for. Laſtly, there were ſome Concerns in *Joſhua*'s Reign, about which the whole Nation was Aſſembled to take care of their own intereſts, and of that which related to their Religion; as it was done, when the Tribes, parted by *Jordan*, raiſed an Altar upon the Border of that River.

VIII. After the death of *Joſhua*, God rais'd Judges, whom he endow'd with extraordinary Courage and Underſtanding. Theſe miraculous Deliverers were not the Heads of the *Sanhedrim* as 'tis ſuppos'd. Neither *Gideon*, *Samſon*, *Jephthah*, nor all the other Antient Hero's ever conſulted it: For they always acted as Maſters that were independent on the Senate. It is not material to take notice, that *Grotius* * who owns it to be ſo, falls afterwards into a kind of Contradiction, making the Power of the Senate equal to that of Kings: or to obſerve, that the *Suphes* or *Suffetes* among the *Carthaginians*, who borrow'd their Name from the Judges *Sophetim*, had not the Supreme Power. For that do's not prove, that the Judges acted dependently on the *Sanhedrim*, which was not yet inſtituted: and when there were none of theſe Judges in *Iſrael*, *every man did that which was right in his own eyes*. How could the *Jews* have degenerated into licentiouſneſs; if there had been a conſtant Tribunal of LXX. Elders, choſen out of every Tribe, inveſted with the Supreme Authority to reform Abuſes, and puniſh Criminals? The Kings, who ſucceeded the Judges, and whom ſome pretend that they depended on the Grand *Sanhedrim*, never mention this Council. They have ſometimes Suſpended the High Prieſt; or order'd him to alter the Publick Worſhip of God. Then indeed the *Sanhedrim*, which is repreſented as infallible in its Sentences, ought to have exerted its Authority and Power; but we never find that it either condemns Idolatry, or oppoſes the Incroachments of Kings who were to be their Inferiors. The Prophets, who ſo ſeverely cenſured the Wickedneſs of the People, never referr'd them to the *Sanhedrim*, or complain'd *that* this Court was too remiſs and indulgent in puniſhing of Crimes. That Senate was to Judge or Examine whether Prophets were true or falſe. However, we do not find any where that they ever made any ſuch deciſion, either to undeceive the People when ſeduced by Impoſtors; or to confirm them in their Faith when it was in danger. Let them ſay what they pleaſe; ſo general and ſo obſtinate a Silence of all the Sacred Writers for ſo many Ages, ſufficiently proves that this Tribunal did not then Subſiſt; whereas in the Goſpel, tho' it be ſo very ſhort, and within the narrow compaſs of the Hiſtory of three or four Years, mention is made of the Great Council of the *Jews*; becauſe it was then in Being. So that it wou'd be impoſſible but that this Tribunal ſhou'd have been mention'd by ſome of the Writers of the Old Teſtament, had it been eſtabliſh'd and well known in their time.

IX. But are not we oblig'd at leaſt to own, that it was eſtabliſh'd by *Nehemiah*, and *Ezra*, after the Captivity of *Babylon*? No; for thoſe two Hiſtorians being wholly ſilent in the Matter, we have good grounds to draw the ſame Inferences from their Silence, that we drew from the Silence of their Predeceſſors. *Nehemiah* cauſed the Covenant to be ſigned by the Heads of the Nation; and there they think the *Sanhedrim* is found: And indeed had it been eſtabliſh'd at that time, the ſignature of that Body Repreſentative of the whole Nation, aſſembled to be its Judge, as in whom the abſolute Sovereignty was depoſited, wou'd have been ſufficient; but *Nehemiah*, inſtead of cauſing the Treaty to be ſign'd by the *Sanhedrim*, aſſembled three different Bodies; the Deputies of the High Prieſts; thoſe of the *Levites*, and thoſe of the *People*. This was an Eccleſiaſtical and Political Aſſembly (as the Councils in *France* were during the Second Race of their Kings) which had no manner of relation to the *Sanhedrim*, and whoſe place of Reſidence was to be fix'd and perpetual. *Joſephus*, cou'd never have forgot a Matter of Fact of ſuch great concern as was the eſtabliſhing of an Infallible Tribunal, and of the Great Synagogue: And his profound Silence wou'd be conſtrued as an Injury done to the Nation.

X. Some pretend that the *Sanhedrim* was not eſtabliſh'd till the time of *Alexander* the *Great*; becauſe that Name is *Greek*, and the *Greeks* being then Maſters of *Judæa*, 'tis very probable they were the firſt occaſion of that Eſtabliſhment. It is indeed very odd, to look into the firſt Centuries of the *Jewiſh* Church for the Original of a Council, the Name of which is *Greek*; and nothing in the World is † a harder task for the *Jewiſh* Maſters, than to find out the meaning of a Word in their Tongue that is not derived from it. They fancy that in it is comprehended the Duty of Judges, who above all ought *to hate Preſents*, and *to have no reſpect of Perſons*. 'Tis alſo a hard matter to find the *Hebrew* Name of that Council before *Alexander* the *Great*; whereas all thoſe Difficulties vaniſh, by acknowledging that the word is borrow'd from the *Greeks*, who cou'd never have taken it from the *Caldæans* or *Syrians* ||. To this purpoſe *Livy* * obſerves, that thoſe Senators, whom the *Macedonians* truſted with the Adminiſtration of their Government, were called *Synedrii*, from whence came the

† Sentimens des Theol. d'Holl. Lett. 10. Reſponſ. Lett. 6. || Joſhua 22 14 * Ferrand's *Reflections upon the* Chriſtian *Religion*, *t.* 2. *p.* 26. † Surenhuſius Præfat. ad Miſnah. *t.* IV. Tit. Sanhedrim. || Brunus de Bened. XII. Patriarchar. *p.* 82. Sentimens des Theol. d'Holl * Tit. Liv. Decad. 5. *l.* 5. *p.* 588.

Name

Name of *Sanhedrim*. This more may be added, that *Ariſtotle* had ſaid long before the *Roman* Hiſtorian's time; that *Alexander* had us'd to call thoſe Judges *Synedrii*, whom he had appointed to take place in Council.

XI. *Pompey* having conquer'd *Judæa*, *Gabinius* was oblig'd to make War againſt *Alexander* the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and having defeated the Rebel, he conducted *Hircanus* back again to *Jeruſalem* to take care of *the Temple*, *Prieſt-hood* and *Religion*. In the mean while he divided *Judæa* into five Parts, and eſtabliſh'd a *Sanhedrim* in every Juriſdiction; One at *Amathus*, another at *Jericho*, the third at *Sephora*, a Town in *Galilee*; the fourth at *Gadara*; and the conſiderableſt of all was kept at *Jeruſalem*. Here we find the Names to be the very ſame, and this is the firſt time that *Joſephus* * has mention'd the *Sanhedrim*. The Council ſetled by *Gabinius* at † *Jeruſalem*, was compoſed of the Chief Men of the Nation, to whom he gave the Adminiſtration of Affairs. This Council was inſtituted to reſtore publick Tranquility, which had been before diſturb'd by *Alexander*, and to bring that Commonwealth into good Order again; and as among the *Jews* Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs were always confounded together, ſo this Tribunal took cogniſance of all manner of Cauſes, whether Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Criminal.

XII. I was dazl'd at this Conjecture of mine, while I was writing the Firſt || Book of this Hiſtory. But I have found ſince, that it was neither new, nor ſolid; it is in *Petavius*, * and it may be overthrown by theſe three material Difficulties. For 1. how can any body conceive that a Council of ſo freſh a Date, and inſtituted by a *Roman* Governour, cou'd in ſo ſhort a time have acquir'd ſo large an Authority both in the Nation and Church? for a few Years after its Eſtabliſhment, and in J. CHRIST's time, this Council took cognizance of all Matters of Religion. There is hardly any mention made of thoſe other Councils ſetled by *Gabinius*; becauſe they had little Power given them, and were of a ſhort duration; whereas every body paid profound reſpect and veneration to the *Great Sanhedrim* of *Jeruſalem*; and from it came all Orders and Conſtitutions any ways relating to the Temple, Sacrifices, and Worſhip of God. Can one fancy, that *Gabinius* had eſtabliſh'd this Eccleſiaſtical Court; or that being at its firſt beginning but a kind of Civil Juriſdiction ſetled by that Governour, it ſhould in ſo ſhort a time have changed its Form, and judg'd of all Points of Religion, and of Eccleſiaſtical Matters? But 2. The *Sanhedrim* was very well known in the time of the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt, who is believed to have been before J. CHRIST for he makes uſe of that Name. † The LXX. Palms are called the 70 *Sanhedrims*. He ſays that *Boaz* ſtood at the Door of the *Sanhedrim*; that word muſt needs have been of an antient Standing among the *Jews*, ſince it was commonly uſed. Beſides, *Gabinius* made five *Sanhedrims* in *Judæa*, and we look but for one; conſequently this cannot be the Inſtitution of the Great Council ſo famous among the *Jews*; and *Gabinius* acted only in imitation of what he had ſeen at *Jeruſalem*, and multiply'd Councils in order to have Juſtice done with more Eaſe and Expedition. There was beſides a Political Reaſon for it, for by multiplying of Councils their Authority was leſſen'd, and the People were the more eaſily kept in awe, by putting over their heads Wiſe Men in the reſpective Parts of the Country.

This Council appears in the time of the *Maccabees*; either *Judas* or *Jonathan* were the Inſtitutors of it; but 'tis more likely the latter was the firſt Founder.

XIII. Do but read the Hiſtory of *Jonathan* in the Firſt of the *Maccabees* ||, and you will find there, 1. His Election by the Votes of *Judas*'s *Friends*, there being then no Set form of Government. The principal Officers that had ſerved under *Judas*, made choice of a new General. 2. That General called the People ſeveral times together, and it was by the advice and conſent of the People aſſembled that he refuſed the Advantageous * Offers that *Demetrius* made to the whole Nation. 3. But when the ſame *Jonathan* did ſend Letters to the *Lacedemonians* to procure an Alliance with that Republick, his Letters were in the Name of the † *High-Prieſt*, *the Senate*, *Prieſts*, and *People*. There *the People and the Prieſts* are named; and alſo a *Senate*, *and the High Prieſt* at the Head of it. It is then a very eaſy matter to diſcover what ſort of Government the *Jews* had at that time; for in all publick Affairs of Moment the People and the Prieſts were Summon'd. At the Head of this Aſſembly was a Senate, and at the Head of the Senate was the High Prieſt, Tributary to the Kings of *Syria*, of whom he deſired to be confirm'd in his Office when he could not otherwiſe avoid doing it; how ready ſoever he was to ſhake off that Yoke, as often as the frequent Revolutions in *Syria* cou'd permit it. 4. The People choſe *Simon* to fill up *Jonathan*'s Place; but the Council was ſtill in Being. And the Letters ſent into *Egypt* under *Hircanus* his Pontificate, in order to oblige the *Jews* to keep the Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, and of the Purification of the Temple, were written in the name *of the People who lived in* Jeruſalem, *of the Senate and of* Juda. The Senate was then Standing, and in their Name were written all Letters ſent to foreign Countries.

XIV. It muſt however be own'd that there are great Difficulties about this laſt Letter of the Senate of *Jeruſalem*; becauſe neither *Juda*, a Prince of the Nation in *Judæa*, nor *Ariſtobulus*, Tutor to the King of *Egypt*, were known at that time. The *Latin* Interpreter, who has chang'd the date of this Letter, as if it were written in the Year 108. according to the *Æra* of the *Seleucides*, with an Anticipation of fourſcore Years, is of no avail at all; becauſe at that time there was neither ſuch a *Judas* at *Jeruſalem*, nor ſuch an *Ariſtobulus* in *Egypt*. Some Authors are of Opinion that *Judas*, who Signed the Letter, was the firſt of the *Maccabees*; and becauſe he was dead many Years before, they pretend that the Date of 188 ought to have been put at the end of a Letter which preceded. But this Conjecture is manifeſtly falſe; for the Year was commonly ſet down at the top of all Letters, and that cuſtom muſt not be altered.

If any body has a Mind to correct the Date which the Latin Interpreter has chang'd, he muſt read in the Year 148. wherein *Judas* did celebrate the Purification of the Temple the 25th of the Month *Caſleu*, or the 7th of *December*; and that Correction takes off all manner of Difficulty. But in that caſe the Inſtitution of the *Sanhedrim* muſt be plac'd at the time of *Judas Maccabeus*. But if this Conjecture be not accepted, there are two other things that might be

* Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 13. *c.* 10. Συνέδρια κατασήσας. † Idem de Bello *l.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 722. || Lib. 1. *c.* 4. *p.* 131. * Petav. Doctr. Templ. *l.* 1. *c.* 27. *p.* 81. † Exod. 15. Ruth 4. Pſ. 107. 32. & 122. 5. || 1 Mac 9. 28. * 1 Mac. 10. 46. † 1. Mac. 12. 6.

further

further alledged; One, that *Juda*, whose Name is seen at the top of this Letter, was *Aristobulus* the Son of *Hircanus*, who sometimes took that Name, as is testify'd by *Josephus*. His Name is indeed set down after that of the Senate; for tho' he was not High-Priest, nor had the Rank and Authority of his Father; however, he was considerable enough to have the Command of the Army. *Rupert* puts in this place one *Judas* an *Essene*, whom they made a Prophet, because sometime after he foretold *Antigonus*'s Death; but to be a Prophet was not a sufficient qualification to sign the Senate's Letters: He must besides have a rank of Distinction, as *Judas* the High-Priests Son, and the Head of the Nation. Moreover, *Aristobulus* was at that time living in *Egypt*, and tho' not then Tutor to the King, yet he might keep that Title, because he had been in that post, which was a great honour to him. 'Tis needless to dwell any longer upon all these difficulties; because what has been said was only out of a design to render the History of the *Jews* as plain as possible. And in the History of the *Maccabees* we plainly see a Senate; for there was at that time a Reason which made that establishment necessary; because the *Maccabees* changing the nature of the Government, wanted the content of the People, or at least a Body that represented them, that they might act with more Authority; and tho' they did not then assume the Title of Kings, yet however they would have their Resolutions Authenticated by a Council.

XV. The *Jewish* Doctors ascribe to that Senate a form which is not very likely, because it is grounded upon a false supposition, that this Council being establish'd by *Moses*, continued under the Judges and Kings, and during all the time that their Republick lasted. They say that the King could not be elected one of the Senate, because *it is not allowed to contend with him*; the High-Priest himself was never admitted into that Council, but when his Merit procured his Election. However, it can hardly be believ'd, that the Chief Men both in Church and State should not have a Right to set therein; for we find that the *High-Priest* was always in that Assembly; but we no where read in Scripture, that the Imposition of Hands was any ways necessary to have him installed in that Place.

The *Maccabees*, who had instituted that Council, would not to be sure exclude themselves from it. I do not doubt therefore but the *High-Priest* was by his Dignity born President of that Council. Some in the room of the *Prince* have substituted || *a Father of the Senate*; but that is a Chimerical Dignity.

The Senate was made up of Priests and Lay-men; and as they made choice of those that were distinguished for their Learning in the Law, and the *Scribes* being the Principal Doctors of it, they must needs have had a Right to sit therein. I can't imagine how this * can be disputed, since St. *Luke* observes, that St. *Paul* being brought before the *Sanhedrim*, the *Scribes*, who were there together with the *Saducees* and *Pharisees*, declared for him. One must shut his Eyes very hard not to see them in that part of Sacred History. To make them but simple † Assessors or Registers, is imposing a meer Conjecture for Matter of Fact; for they had their Vote in the Senate, seeing they stood for St. *Paul*; *Act.* 23. 9. they were also sufficiently qualify'd to take place in it, since they were learned and skilfull in the Law, and that none but such were commonly chosen.

XVI. Some Writers suppose || that all these Senators were of *David's Family*, because of the Authority given them in the *Talmud*, *to judge the Tribe, the King, the False Prophet, and the High-Priest*, but this Fact is utterly false, since most of the Judges were Priests. * Examination was made of the Age, Manners, Trade and Profession of the Candidate who was to be admitted into so Venerable a Body; *Gamesters*, *Usurers*, *those that taught Pigeons to fly*, were rejected. They would never admit Eunuchs, Old Men, nor those that had not Children, because they were supected of being Cruel or hard-hearted. There were three Secretaries elected; One to write the Sentences of those that were Absolved; the Other had Condemnations under his care; and the Third was appointed to enter in the Books the Pleas of the contending Parties. There were besides three different Classes of Candidates to be instructed; and in case of vacancy, the Place was immediately given to the Senior. It is however affirmed by some, that from them the † Judges of Inferiour Courts were preferr'd, as being skilful in Judgments

XVII. Sentences of Death, if we may believe the *Jewish* Doctors, were pronounc'd and past with the utmost caution and exactness; for after the Witnesses were heard, and the Matter in question decided, the Judge did put off the Sentence till the next Morning. Then the Judges went home, Eat but little, and Drank no Wine. They met again two by two, in order to weigh all the particulars of the Tryal. Next Morning he that had past the Sentence of Condemnation, had power to Absolve; but he that once had delivered his Opinion for Absolving the Criminal, cou'd not afterwards alter his Mind. As soon as the Judge had pronounced the Sentence, the Malefactor was conducted to the Place of Execution about Sut setting, an Herald going before on Horse-back, and crying out such a one is condemned for such a Crime; but if any Body can alledge any thing in his behalf and defence, let him speak. If it happened that any Body came to the Gate of the Court, the Door-keeper made a sign to the Herald to bring back the Malefactor; two Judges standing by his side to receive what he cou'd say for himself, and to consider whether it was any thing material *; and if it prov'd so, the Prisoner was sent for five different times.

XVIII. These Formalities are indeed described in the *Misnah*; but were they not contrived since, with a design to recommend the Justice and Equity of the antient *Jewish* Tribunals? For besides that, no other Nation ever has observed such cautious Formaties, so favourable to those that were found Guilty; there is not the least mention of it in Sacred History. They that suppose the *Sanhedrim* to be instituted soon after the Deliverance out of the Captivity of *Egypt*, would do well to find those Rites if they can, either in the Law, or in the Practice of that Nation; but I believe they are not to be found in any part of History; whereas Matter of Fact, and Maxims directly contrary to them, are to be met with in the *Talmud*. A Prisoner being conducted to the Place of Execution, declared upon Oath, that he was Innocent; and for a confirmation, the false † Witnesses recanted; but the Judges would not take any Notice of their Retractation, and said only, *Let the false Witnesses perish, but a Judge cannot recall his Semence when it is once past and pronounced.*

|| Nasi, Abdin, *Prince and Father of the Judgment.* Valesius, &c. ibid. || Brunus in Benedict. xii. Prophet. * Misnah. Tract. de Synedr. *c.* 6. *p.* 233. * Ferrand's *Reflect on the* Christ. *Religion*, *p.* 19. * Misnah de Tract. de Synod. S. 3. *p.* 221. *t.* 4. † Ex Gemera Tit. Sanhedr. *c.* 6. S. 4 Coch. duo Tit. Thalm. *p.* 251. † Grotius, † Ibid. 228.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Authority of the Sanhedrim : *Whether it was Infallible ; and cou'd judge to Death in* JESUS CHRIST's *time. Of its different Tranſlations before and after the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

I. *Infallibility given to the* Sanhedrim *by the* Chriſtians. II. *Its Power over Kings.* III. Judæa *Subject to the Laws of the* Romans. IV. *The Power of the* Synagogues, *and of the* Roman *Governors diſtinguiſhed in Hiſtory.* V. Lightfoot *and* Lamy's *Opinion.* VI. *The* Jews *Confeſſion, that they had no power of Life and Death. Some particular circumſtances of the Death of* J. CHRIST. VII. Paul's *Appeal to* Cæſar. VIII. Stephen's *Martyrdom.* IX. Higeſippus's *account of St.* James's *Death.* X. *That of* Joſephus *contains more particulars.* XI. *Sentences to Death by the* Sanhedrim, *all falſe.* XII. *Different Tranſlations of the* Sanhedrim. XIII. *Arguments to prove it, examined.* XIV. *That Opinion confuted.* XV. *Whether the* Sanhedrim's *Authority extended over the other* Synagogues. XVI. *That Opinion confuted by* Joſephus. XVII. *Rules obſerved in Appeals taken out of* Maimonides.

I. THE Antient *Jewiſh* Church never pretended to Infallibility : It has been only a preſent made by *Chriſtians* to the *Sanhedrim*, that they might have a Foundation for their own. In the XIIth Century *Maimonides* ſpoke in very plain terms againſt his Church's Infallibility ; for, ſaid he, if the *Sanhedrim is in an Errour*, and the People fall into Sin by following their deciſion; in that caſe the *Sanhedrim* is obliged to offer up a Sacrifice to expiate their own Sin, and that of the People, when they come to know their Errour. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, 1. That *that* Honourable Council was not of great Antiquity among the *Jews :* Then how cou'd the *Maccabees* confer upon it an Infallibility which they had not themſelves ; or how did the Church come by that Privilege, ſince it had been without it for ſo many Centuries? The ill uſe they made of it in *JESUS CHRIST*'s Condemnation ſhou'd perſuade *Chriſtians* to reject with Abhorrence ſuch a carnal and imaginary Prerogative. Had not the *Jewiſh* Doctors Grounds to ſay, as well as the Biſhops of our Age, *the Church has pronounced* ; the Matter in hand is decided ; the Tribunal that gives the Judgment is infallible ? Tho' 'tis a Matter of Faith, this is not a diſpute upon a Matter of Fact, but of Right. The Judgment is ſo formal, that there is no queſtion made about the different Senſes it can bear. J. CHRIST is condemned ; he dies by virtue of that Condemnation. Had the *Sanhedrim* been infallible, they ought to have Sign'd his Condemnation ; for the Church had pronounced it. They may, as much as they pleaſe, call this a *Jewiſh* Argument, it undermines and wholly overthrows the Infallibility of the Church ; ſince J. CHRIST appeared at the bar in an humble manner, deſpiſed of Men ; and there was no other Tribunal that could judge of the Truth of his Doctrine and Miracles. Some ſubtile *Jews* have taken advantage of this Liberality of the *Chriſtians*, and have of late held that Infallibility did belong to their great Council.

II. They aſcrib'd to the *Sanhedrim* a Power to judge Kings ; but beſides my Remarks on this Matter againſt the Learned *Schickard*, who has amply and fully treated of it, I don't ſee when this Authority cou'd have been employ'd ; ſince this Council was inſtituted but in the *Maccabees*'s time, and the *Gemariſts* aver, that this Privilege was aboliſh'd in *Alexander Jannæus* his Reign. That Prince being cited to appear before the *Sanhedrim* *, to give an account of one of his Officer's behaviour, wou'd ſet down ; but *Simon* the Son of *Scerah* commanded him *to ſtand up. Alexander* deſired it might be put to the Vote ; whereupon every one of the Senators look'd down upon the Ground and durſt not give his Vote. *Simon* in a Paſſion threat'ned them with a ſpeedy Death, and his Threat was put in execution by the Angel *Gabriel* who deſtroy'd them all. But leſt ſuch Misfortunes ſhou'd befall them for the future, *the King neither judges, nor is judg'd.* So the interval of this pretended Authority over the Kings ſhou'd have been very ſhort. 'Tis to no purpoſe to bring for an inſtance, that *Herod* appear'd before the *Sanhedrim* as a Criminal, for he was then but Governour of *Galilee* ; and when he came to be King, he caus'd all the Senators Throats of that great Council unmercifully to be cut, excepting only *Sameas* who had made an atonement for his Crime, by perſuading the People to open the Gates of *Jeruſalem* to that Uſurper : but the *High-Prieſt* had not the ſame Privilege that the King had ; for the *High-Prieſt judges and is judged* ; which ſhews that he was not look'd upon as an infallible Judge, nor as being above the Law.

III. The third Queſtion relating to the *Sanhedrim*'s Authority, is, that of *judging of Life and Death.* No body denies them that Power before that *Judæa* was ſubdued by the *Romans* ; but 'tis believed, that thoſe haughty Conquerors took away that Privilege from them. For it was the conſtant practice of the *Romans* to let conquered Nations enjoy their Temples and their Gods ; but in all Civil Matters they were bound to act in Obedience to the Laws and Orders of their Republick. *Syria* being conquered by *Pompey* obtain'd to be continued in the Privilege of being govern'd by its own Laws, by giving great Summs to his Favourite *Demetrius.* This was ſo great an Advantage that the City of *Antioch* had it ſtamp'd upon Medals, in Memory of the Favour. It aboliſh'd the *Æra* of the *Seleucides*, which had been made uſe of thitherto in all Contracts, and took a new one, which went under *Pompey*'s Name. *Cæſar* deſigning to ſhew his Gratitude to the People of *Antioch*, for having declar'd for him aſſoon as he had got rid of *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s Son-in-Law, continued them in the ſame Privilege ; and for an Acknowledgment of ſo great a Grace, they reſolved, after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, to eſtabliſh the *Æra Cæſariana*, which was anticipated two Years, by beginning it from the Year 705. as † Cardinal *Noris* does invincibly prove it.

Judæa ‖ was not exempted from the general Law of the *Romans* when *Pompey* ſubdued it. He gave away to *Demetrius* the Town of *Gadara*, and reſtored ſome others to *Syria* ; and thoſe Towns as well as *Gaza*, enjoyed the ſame Privilege as the

* Ex Gemara Tit. Sanhedr. *c.* 11 S. 1. Coch. duo Tit. Thalm. *p.* 168. 169. † Noris Epocha Syro Mac. Diſſertat. III. *c.* 2. 3. *p.* 151, &c. ‖ Joſeph. de Bello, *l.* 1, *c.* 5. *p.* 722.

Province

Province to which they were reunited: but *Judæa* having neither redeemed their Privileges, nor found favour with *Pompey* to obtain them, loſt them. *Judæa* fared yet much worſe, when reduced into a Province after *Archilaus* was baniſh'd: So that at the time of J. CHRIST's Condemnation, the *Romans* were abſolute Maſters of all Temporal Juriſdiction; and all the Authority left to the *Jews* was only in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. The *Talmudiſts* own it; for they confeſs that all Authority of Judging was taken from the Senate forty Years before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, that is to ſay, three Years before J. CHRIST's Death. * *Wagenſeil* is of opinion, that there is a Miſtake in the *Talmud*, and that we ſhou'd read four Years inſtead of forty, becauſe they did put St. *James* to death a little before the War, and the *Talmudiſts* affirm, that this Privilege was taken from the *Jews* at the time when the Gates of the Temple open'd of themſelves, which happen'd four Years before its Conſumption by Fire. But this is raiſing a Miſtake where there is none; for *Maimonides* who wrote in the XIIth Century, ſays, that the Power of Life and Death was taken from the *Sanhedrim* forty Years before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and proves it by the Authority of the *Talmud*. A great many Years are gone and paſt ſince that Confeſſion was made, which perfectly agrees with the Sacred Hiſtory.

IV. J. CHRIST foretold to his Diſciples that they ſhou'd be Scourged *in the Synagogues, and delivered up to the Governours*. He diſtinguiſhes here two degrees of Perſecution. The *Jews* had Power to inflict *Flagellation* upon thoſe that violated the Law: but when they deſigned to make a more ſevere Example; then they made application to the *Governours* who had the Coercive Power in their hands, and deſired them to inflict a greater Puniſhment. Can one think, that if the *Jews* had Power to puniſh the Diſciples of J. CHRIST, they wou'd have *delivered them up to the Governours*, and ſent them before Pagan Judges? As they ſcourg'd in their Synagogues, becauſe they had leave to do it, and ſo they have to this Day; They wou'd likewiſe have condemned to Death if they had had Authority to do it, inſtead of waiting for the *Governour's* Judgment and Sentence. J. CHRIST who had made that Prediction was dragg'd † before the Governour; for it was *Pilate* that condemned him. The ſame *Pilate* had already mingled the Blood of the *Galileans* with that of their Sacrifices. *Fadus* having clear'd the Province of thoſe High-way Men and Robbers that did ravage it, condemn'd to Death *Ptolomeus* the Chief of that Gang. The ſame Governour did likewiſe put to Death *Eleazar*'s Accomplices, and ſent him to *Rome* to be there puniſh'd as he deſerv'd. Theſe Governours never conſulted the great Council in ſuch caſes; and they were never accuſed for having aſſumed to themſelves the Power of Life and Death, and for depriving the *Jews* of it. In that they acted as all other Governours of Provinces, whoſe Buſineſs it was to take cognizance of all capital Crimes, and to puniſh them with Death as they deſerved.

V. *Lightfoot* || affirms, that the *Sanhedrim* had yet all its Authority; but the great Number of Malefactors and the remiſneſs of the Judges were the cauſe that it was not made uſe of at the time of J. CHRIST; But if this Council ſpar'd the Maſter, it ſoon exerted its Power upon his Diſciples, of which St. *Stephen* is an inſtance. St. *Paul* had been ſerved ſo too, had he not prevented their Sentence by his Appeal to the Emperor. *Eleazar* did remember that he had ſeen the Daughter of a Prieſt burnt; and 'tis written in the *Talmud* that *Ben* was ſton'd by Sentence of the *Sanhedrim* ſeveral Years before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. Another Learned Man * pretends, that the Power of judging to Death was ſtill lodg'd in the *Sanhedrim*; but they were bound to beg Leave of the *Roman* Judge for the free exerciſe of it: and where the *Jews* ſay in the Goſpel, that *it is not lawful for them to put any body to death*, it muſt be added, *becauſe of the Feaſt* which was *a high Day*, and which they cou'd not have kept after having crucify'd J. CHRIST. This laſt Argument is *Cyril's* of *Alexandria*.

VI. I can't but admire to ſee the Pains ſome People take to darken what is very clear and plain. The *Jews* were acted by a Helliſh fury againſt J. CHRIST; they had him in their hands, and they hazarded all by ſubmitting to the Judgment of a Pagan, who was not tranſported with hatred ſo much as they were. However, the *Sanhedrim* did not Condemn him; they proſecuted him indeed to Death, but durſt not pronounce the Sentence, and they juſtify their doing ſo by Saying, That *it was not lawful for them to put any body to Death*. A Man muſt needs be ſtrangely prepoſſeſs'd to affirm, that the *Sanhedrim* had Power to Sentence to Death, after they publickly confeſs'd that they had it not. *Pilate* had no mind to take upon himſelf the Guilt, which he found was to be contracted by condemning J. CHRIST, ſince he was willing to ſend him back to his Accuſers; *Take ye him, and judge him according to your Law* †. Thus he gave them leave to judge him. However, thoſe inveterate Enemies of the *Meſſiah*, did not preſume to make uſe of it; becauſe it was *not lawful for them to put any* || *body to Death*. They don't make here an exception to their Right, *viz.* Becauſe of the Feſtival, as they had done, when the Buſineſs was to enter into the *Prætorium*; they don't confine themſelves to the Example of J. CHRIST, who had been taken into Cuſtody in an extraordinary Juncture of time; the Confeſſion is made in general, it is *not lawful* for the *Jews to put any body to Death*: And that diminution of Authority of the *Jews* was according to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*. I don't ſee then upon what Ground this Power can be allowd them, when they themſelves ſay, it does not belong to them.

VII. St. *Paul*'s Appeal to *Cæſar* forms an Argument ſo like that we have taken from the Hiſtory of J. CHRIST, that they ought never to be parted. 1. A bloody Mob dragg'd this Apoſtle before the *Sanhedrim*; 'tis not material to enquire into their Deſign; but the Senate having at the Bar of their Tribunal a Man infinitely hated by all the *Jews*, they ought to have paſt Sentence upon him, but they did not do it. 2. The Authority was ſo entirely in the hands of the *Romans*, that *Lyſias* who commanded the Garriſon took away the Priſoner from the Judges. 3. The High-Prieſt *Ananias*, inſtead of ſitting as Preſident at the Tryal, and giving Judgment, inſtead of appearing there as the Judge, acted as a Party; and we may eaſily believe, he did not willingly diveſt himſelf of that Authority of which he deſigned to make ſuch an ill uſe. 4. The *Roman* Governour was the Judge; and St. *Paul* having appeal'd to *Cæſar*, that Appeal which was made by vertue of the Laws and the dependency of the *Jews* upon the *Romans* in Civil Juriſdiction, was received, and the Apoſtle was remitted

* Wagenſeil Tela ignea Satanæ in Oraculo Jacob. † Joſeph. Antiq. *l.* 20. *c.* 1. de Bello, *l.* 2. *c.* 12. || Lightfoot in Evang. * Lamy Conc. Evang. Appar. Chron. *p.* 11, *c.* 3. § 4. *p.* 142. *t.* 2. † John 18. 31. * || Obſerve.

to *Rome* there to have his Tryal. It was not then the Puniſhment that might be juridically inflicted, but the Fury of the *Jews* that St. *Paul* wou'd prevent; and all Parties there acknowledg'd the *Roman* Governours, or the Prince that gave him his Commiſſion, as Judge.

VIII. However St. *Stephen*'s Martyrdom ſeems to overthrow all that we have already alledged in this Matter. For the * *Libertines* that took him Priſoner, brought him to the Bar of the *Sanhedrim*, where the *High-Prieſt*, as Preſident, tendered the Interrogatory to St. *Stephen*, heard the Witneſſes, and they according to cuſtom threw the firſt Stone at this Martyr. But if in the beginning of the Tryal they proceeded in a regular and juridical form, at the end of it there were no formal Proceedings at all; for the Council did not judge, and the *High Prieſt* did not pronounce the Sentence of Death; but the Mob *ruſh'd in all at once*, and fell upon St. *Stephen* who was ſtill Pleading his Cauſe. That furious Croud *dragg'd him out of the Town, and ſton'd him*, I don't deny, but the *Sanhedrim* had the Cognizance of all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and received Informations againſt the Infringers of the Law. They proceeded in that manner againſt J. CHRIST, and he was as all others brought before the Council; but the buſineſs is to ſhew that this Council juridically condemned to Death. St. *Stephen*'s Martyrdom does not prove it; for the Council did not there pronounce the Sentence, but the Head-ſtrong enraged Mob ſeized upon the Priſoner before he had had a full Hearing; and murder'd him out of a Pang of *Zeal*. But that violent act, which the Governour conniv'd at, does not eſtabliſh a lawful Authority.

IX. The death of St. *James*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, which is brought in as a new Argument for the Council's Authority, does entirely deſtroy it. It is left to our choice to take *Hegeſippus*'s † account, or that of *Joſephus*, no matter which. We find in the firſt, that the *Phariſees* had placed St. *James* at the top of the Temple to oblige him to Preach to the People againſt J. CHRIST; but afterwards being themſelves deceived, and angry at it, they violently threw him down, and as he was at Prayers upon his Knees after ſuch a terrible Fall, a Fuller knock'd him down with his Club. I ſhall not ſay any thing againſt all this: Notwithſtanding there are in this Narration ſome Particulars which ſmell ſo rank and ſo like Fables, that it is very ſtrange, they ſhould be divulg'd by ſo Antient an Hiſtorian, or that he is to this Day ſo much credited after he has wrong'd his Judgment ſo groſsly, and ſhewed ſo violent an Inclination for Stories and Fables. However, even by that account St. *James* was made a Martyr by a popular Commotion; from whence no Inferences can be drawn in favour of the Council of the *Jews*, for in all this, there is not the leaſt mark of its Authority.

X. *Joſephus* || relates, that *Ananus*, a very ſevere Man of the Sect of the *Saducees*, which Profeſſion made him more untractable, called the Council together, and cauſed *James*, the Brother of J. CHRIST, to be condemned to Death with ſome others who profeſs'd the ſame Impiety, and contemned the Laws. The Sentence was executed and St. *James* Stoned. There we ſee the Council aſſembled with all the Formalities, that judges and condemns ſeveral Perſons to Death, as being the Supreme Power. But at the ſame time *Joſephus* takes notice of two things that entirely ruin that Authority, which the *Sanhedrim* uſurped; One that *Ananus* had taken a very favourable time for it, *viz.* During the interval that was between the Death of *Feſtus* and the coming of *Albinus*, both Governours of *Judæa*. He affirms, that the Supreme Power did belong to the Governours; but *Ananus* took his time when there was none in the Country for one was lately dead, and his Succeſſor was on his way to *Jeruſalem*. Beſides, *Joſephus* obſerves further, that there were Complaints made of *Ananus* to the Governour and to King *Agrippa*, for having acted againſt the Rules of the Court. Therefore this inſtance is ſufficient to make us infer, that the *Sanhedrim* had not then a Power of Life and Death; ſince the time of the Governour's abſence was taken for ſuch Executions, which were afterwards condemned as being contrary to Law.

XI. Laſtly the two inſtances, which *Lightfoot* has taken out of the *Talmud* are *Apocryphal*. It has been obſerved already, that the *Jews*, to whom *Eleazar* made the report of the Condemnation of a Prieſt's Daughter to be burnt alive, did take the report as a very uncertain Tradition; ſince it came out of the Mouth of a Child whoſe Father *carried him upon his Shoulders*, and was the only Evidence. The ſecond inſtance proves nothing, becauſe it proves too much; for the Sentence of Death was pronounced at *Lydda* after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*: But it remains beyond queſtion, that after the taking of that great City by *Titus*, the *Jews* had no longer any Power to judge to Death. They were entirely under the Yoke of the *Romans*, who left in the Province but a very few wretches without the leaſt ſhadow of Authority. *Lightfoot* ſuppoſes, that the *Sanhedrim* was transferred from *Jeruſalem* to *Japhné*, from *Japhné* to *Lydda*, and from thence to *Tyberias*, and that's what I am going briefly to examine.

XII. The Rabbies affirm, that they have found thoſe different Tranſlations of the *Sanhedrim* foretold in the *Cabala*; and that *Titus* during the Siege of *Jeruſalem* gave leave to the Great Council to go out of it, and to form a Tribunal in a neighbouring Town. In a word, the Judges that had been Preſidents are nam'd, till at laſt removing from place to place, they came to *Tyberias*. This ſeems to be a poſitive Matter of Fact; therefore the *Chriſtian* Criticks agree with the Rabbies to defend that Syſtem.

XIII. What is alledged out of the *Cabala* ought to be of no weight at all, becauſe in it one may find whatever he pleaſes. The Permiſſion given by *Titus*, is likewiſe a Fiction. To think that the Rabbies are better verſed in their own Hiſtory, than the *Chriſtians* who make it their Study, is a grand Miſtake. Indeed if thoſe Sages had Monuments and Antient Chronicles, that cou'd not be look'd into but in the Synagogues, and that *Chriſtians* were debarr'd the Advantage of reading them, then there wou'd be ſome reaſon to grant them that Privilege. If all the buſineſs was only about ſome particular Matters of Fact, that had happen'd in the Nation ſome hundred Years ago, their Tradition might carry a conſiderable weight with it; But when examination is made of what has been done ſeventeen Centuries ago, ſurely it is a mere illuſion to pretend that Tradition has been kept pure and entire for ſo many Ages in a Nation diſpers'd all over the World, and forced to fly their Country. The moſt antient Monuments, which the *Jews* can boaſt of, are the *Miſnah* and the *Talmud*, and they were written long after the Deſtruction of the Temple, and corrected by ſeveral different Hands. There is

* Act. 6. 12. † Heges. apud Euſeb. *l.* 11. *c.* 23. *p.* 64. || Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 7. *p.* 698.

therefore

therefore no relying upon the Teſtimonies and Tradition of their Sages in Hiſtorical Matters.

XIV. Moreover it is falſe, that the *Sanhedrim* was transferred forty Years before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, ſince J. CHRIST was brought before that Tribunal, as St. *Stephen* and St. *Paul* likewiſe were ſome time after; and to prevent all cavilling, and ſaying that we quote only our own Monuments, *Joſephus* affirms, that this Tribunal was ſtill kept there at the time of the War made by the *Romans*. A general View of his Hiſtory is ſufficient to make every body believe, that this Tranſlation is a meer Fiction, and that the Senate reſided all along at *Jeruſalem*. If *Titus* had given leave to that Council to remove, and tranſport themſelves elſewhere to be ſecur'd from the diſmal effects of War, cou'd that Hiſtorian, a *Jew*, and full of Zeal for his Nation, have forgot ſuch a material Circumſtance? It is a contradiction to ſay, that the Senate had been transferr'd forty Years before the Deſtruction of the Temple, and to affirm that *Titus* granted that favour during the Siege. There is a double contradiction in it, to ſay, that the Patriarch *Jochanan* obtain'd that Privilege * of the Emperor in conſideration of his great Learning; for beſides that there was then no Patriarch in *Judæa*, if *Jochanan* had fill'd up that place, he died before the Siege of *Jeruſalem*. In a word, by the Account that *Joſephus* has given us of the taking of that City, we may plainly ſee, that there remained in *Judæa* neither a *Sanhedrim*, nor indeed any mark of Authority.

XV. 'Tis affirmed that the *Sanhedrim*'s Authority extended over all the Synagogues, whether they were in *Judæa* or in foreign and remote Countries; and that no Appeal cou'd be made from their Sentences; becauſe a Pleading to the Juriſdiction of their Court was puniſh'd by Death. The Deputies of the *Sanhedrim* went from Town to Town to make choice of thoſe, that ſeem'd the fitteſt to fill up the Vacancies in their Aſſembly. At the ſame time they decided the moſt important Affairs, they even judged the Prophets; and 'tis pretended that J. CHRIST alludes to that, when he ſays, that a Prophet ought not to die out of *Jeruſalem*; becauſe there reſided the Tribunal, that decided about the Life and Death of thoſe who were accuſed of *Hereſy*, or upon the account of Religion. Alſo to the ſame Council belong'd the Power of judging the Woman charg'd with Adultery; and as her Crime diſcovered it ſelf by a wonder, it was thought that all thoſe Senators were Magicians. They made new Orders concerning Religion, which were reſpectfully received. Laſtly, it appears by the Hiſtory of the Acts, that this Council impoſed Laws, and extended its Determinations as far as *Rome*; ſince the *Jews* that lived in that great City, and to whom St. *Paul* addreſſed himſelf, received him favourably, only becauſe nothing was written from *Jeruſalem* againſt him; which ſuppoſes that the Senate wrote againſt thoſe whom it had condemned, and that their Advice was followed.

XVI. We have no intereſt to carry on in our impugning this degree of Authority. It is very natural, that as this Council was compos'd of the *High-Prieſt*, and the ableſt Doctors of the Nation, they ſhould rather conſult it upon new Controverſies, and receive their Deciſions, than that of others. Nevertheleſs, *Joſephus* obſerves, that the Heads of every Synagogue conſulted the *People* about the Government, and took their Advice, inſtead of going ſo far as *Jeruſalem*, and waiting to receive the final Determination of their Doubts from thence. The Hiſtory of St. *Paul* does not deſtroy this thought. For the Proceſs being begun at *Jeruſalem*, and this Apoſtle having appealed to *Cæſar*, it was natural to inform the *Jews* at *Rome* of what had happened in a buſineſs of Religion that concerned them all. The Confederacy of the Churches only requir'd that Inſtructions ſhou'd be ſent there, without our being able to conclude that it was done by Authority. The Rabbies were ſo jealous of the *Sanhedrim*'s Power, that they extended it as far as they could; but we are not obliged to follow them exactly.

XVII. *Maimonides* has traced out to us the formality that was obſerved in bringing a Law-Suit before the *Sanhedrim*. The Buſineſs was firſt to be examined in the Inferiour Courts; if it could not be decided there, the Judges ſent to *Jeruſalem* to conſult the Judgment-Chamber, that ſat upon the Mountain of the Temple. From that firſt Tribunal they proceeded to that which was at the Temple-gate; And laſtly, from thence they went to the great Council-Chamber that was held in one of the Appartments belonging to the Temple; and this laſt Council determined with ſo much Juſtice and Authority, that there were no Diviſions ſeen during all the time the Second Temple laſted. Thus ſpeak the Doctors who are opinionated with their own Church. They do not conſider, that by heightening the Glory of the *Sanhedrim*, they do it at the coſt of *Moſes*, the Judges, and the Prophets, that could not under the firſt Temple prevent the Diviſions and Rebellions which ſet God at war againſt his People. Beſides, they muſt be altogether ignorant of their own Hiſtory, and of all that has been ſaid of the *Caraites*, of the *Phariſees*, of the *Sadducees*, and of the *Eſſenes*, who in the time of the ſecond Temple divided the Nation into ſo many different Sects.

* V. Supra *l.* III. *c.* p. 614.

CHAP. III.

Of the Houſes of Judgment.

I. *Their Original.* II. *The number of Judges proportioned to their Buſineſs.* III. *This Order overthrown by* Joſephus. IV. Grotius *confuted.* V. *Whether the Judges underſtood* LXX *Tongues.* VI. *The Learning of the* Jews *examined.* VII. *Their Ignorance proved.* VIII. *Objections confuted.* IX. *The Judges diſintereſſedneſs proved by an Example* X. *Love for Law-ſuits.* XI. *The uſual form of the Judgment Seats.*

I. THE *Sanhedrim* being brought to nothing by the Ruin of *Jeruſalem*, and the diſperſion of the Nation, it is probable that it was ſome time quaſh'd by ſo violent a Blow. It was difficult to preſerve or reſtore their Authority in ſo general a Calamity; but when the *Jews* began to breath again, they re-eſtabliſhed in every City where there were *Jews*, ſome Courts to determine Caſes of Conſcience, and private Controverſies: Beſides the great Council, every City had their peculiar Judges. This cuſtom was renewed, and as it was at *Tiberias* that the *Jews* began to lift up their Heads; it was there alſo that they erected a Tribunal, and this new Erection gave occaſion afterwards to have it ſaid, that the *Sanhedrim* had been tranſmitted to that Place. *Maimonides* * maintains, that there are no Houſes of *Judgment*, for ſo they call thoſe Juriſdictions, unleſs it be in the *Holy Land*, or in its Neighbourhood. It is true, they drew their Riſe from thence; but that did not hinder the eſtabliſhing of Tribunals in all Places where the *Jews* were. The *Chriſtian* Emperors have even Authorized theſe Tribunals; and *Juſtinian* by forbidding the *Elders and Maſters to judge Differences between a* Chriſtian *and a* Jew, or to *Excommunicate* in ſome Caſes, is a clear confeſſion that they had a power to do it between thoſe of their own Nation. In fine, theſe *Houſes of Judgment* are in being to this Day in all thoſe places where Synagogues flouriſh.

II. The Doctors † proportion their number of Judges to the importance of the Queſtions which are to be determined. They maintain, that Pecuniary Cauſes may be judged by three Perſons. *Meir* added to them Defamatory Cauſes; that is to ſay, as when a Man complained that his Wife was no Virgin: But the Doctors obſerving that the Puniſhment of Death was linked to Adultery, Decreed, that in ſuch a Caſe the number of Judges ſhould be multiplied; the number of three being ſufficient only for the *Laſh*.

Theſe three Judges alſo conſult upon the Intercalations; if they do diſagree, they add two to their number, then two more, and the Seven decide the Queſtion. They alſo lay Hands upon the Elders, tho' *Judah* has ordered there ſhould be Five.

Thoſe Crimes that deſerve Death are judged by three and Twenty Perſons. They || add three Orders of Diſciples, and every Order is alſo made up of three and Twenty Perſons, who hear for their better Inſtruction; but yet are conſulted with in ſome Caſes; and if the Voices be equal, the Preſident of the firſt Order gives his Vote, and his Vote is reckoned the Caſting Vote.

Laſtly, Their moſt weighty Concerns were carried to the Council of LXXI. A whole Tribe, or a falſe Prophet, could not be judged by any other Council. This is the notion that the Myſtical Doctors and *Talmudiſts* give of their Antient Government.

III. *Joſephus* * overthrows this Syſtem; for this Hiſtorian, who ought to have known the Rites of his Nation, maintains, that there was not above ſeven Judges in every City, and that then two *Levites* were added *to each Tribunal*, which made up the number of Nine.

Grotius. † has endeavour'd to reconcile *Joſephus* with the *Talmudiſts*, who are blindly followed, when the *Jewiſh* Laws are in queſtion. He pretends that every Counſellor had *two Levites*. There were then fourteen in that Aſſembly, who with the ſeven Judges made up One and Twenty; and the better to fill up the number of Twenty three fixed by the Rabbies, he adds to them two Supernumerary Judges.

IV. I know not how ſo Judicious and piercing a Critick as *Grotius*, could thus explain *Joſephus*. Is it not a down-right contradiction to add Supernumerary Judges when the number of ſeven is fixed? Beſides, where ſhall we find that Ἀρχὴ ſignifies *each Counſellor?* The *Latin* Interpreter has tranſlated it thus, I own; but ought *Grotius* to have followed him? This Expreſſion generally ſignifies Empire or Government. We ought not therefore to forſake this Natural meaning in pure Complaiſance only to the *Talmudiſts*. In ſhort, why will he have it that the number of *Levites* ſhould be double to that of the Judges? It agrees with good reaſon, that there ſhould be ſeven Judges of known probity to determine in Civil Matters; and that there ſhould be *two Levites* joyn'd to them, becauſe Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes are oftentimes mixt and interwoven with the Civil. We muſt then at this rate acknowldge, that there were but nine Judges; and to make *Joſephus* and the *Talmudiſts* agree, he had better own, that after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* things were alter'd; and that they both ſpake acccording to what was done in their time, for nothing is more common.

V. Thoſe Tribunals were compoſed of the moſt upright and ableſt Men of the Nation. Some Rabbies ‖ affirm, that none could ſit in the *Grand Sanhedrim*, unleſs he underſtood ſeventy Tongues. The *Chriſtians* eſpouſe this Fancy; and ſome ſay, that in every particular Tribunal there ought to be two at leaſt that could underſtand ſeventy Languages.

VI. True it is, that the *Jews* became a little more curious after the Captivity of *Babylon*. Their mingling with ſtrange Nations in *Chaldæa*, had forced them out of neceſſity to be leſs haughty and more tractable. They learn'd their Maſters Tongue; but at the ſame time forgot their Father's; inſomuch, that they had need of Interpreters to make them underſtand the *Holy Scripture*, which was written in *Hebrew*, The *Grecians* being afterwards ſpread into *Judæa*, and the Neighbouring Provinces in the Reign of *Alexander*; and the Trade with *Egypt*, being become neceſſary and common, doubtleſs they learned *Greek*, ſince ſeveral Interpreters were found capable to Tranſlate in that Tongue: For the ſame reaſon they were obliged to learn *Latin* when the *Romans* came near *Judæa*, and ſent them Governors after

* Maimon in Miſnam. † Miſnah Tract. de Synod. *l.* IV. *c.* 1. S. 1. *p.* 288. ‖ Ibid. *p.* 210. * Joſephus. *l.* 4. *c.* 8. *p.* 122. † Grot. in Matth 5. 21. *p.* 168. ‖ R. Jochanan. Gemar. Babyl. ad Tit. Menachot. *c.* 6. Selden de Synedr. *l.* 2. *p.* 399. Braun. Selecta Sacra *l.* 5. *c.* 2. *p.* 595.

their

their Conqueſt. And therefore we ſee that the Superſcription of the Croſs was written in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, which were the three Languages at that time known in *Judæa*. Conſidering that the *Jews* had but little commerce with other Nations, I know not why the Judges of the *Sanhedrim*, or of other private Tribunals, ſhould be oblig'd to learn ſeventy Languages. The *Talmudiſts* being uſed to triſle with numbers, would needs have ſeventy Tongues; for they believ'd there were ſeventy Judges and ſeventy Nations in the World.

VII. *Joſephus*, who ought to underſtand the ſtate of his own Nation better than thoſe Writers who flouriſh'd ſeveral Ages after, owns, that thoſe who *learned to ſpeak many Tongues*, were not much eſteem'd in *Judæa*. This ſcorn of Learning, natural to the Synagogues, who were too proud of their own Laws to ſtudy any others, continued in *Origen*'s time *; ſince he obſerves, that the *Jews* of his time did not much trouble themſelves to know either the *Greeks* or their Tenets. This Contempt increaſed after that; for we read in the *Miſnah*, that it was forbidden to teach Children *Greek*. The *Talmudiſts* have ſo often confounded Hiſtory, that we can be in no doubt but that their Ignorance has been verygreat. *Sedaias*, one of thoſe Maſters, who is yet reverenc'd by the Nation for his profound Learning, doth not ſcruple to ſay, that *Alexander* divided his Conqueſts among four Perſons. He gave *Rome* to One *Romanus*, *Antioch* to *Antiochus*, *Alexandria* to *Alexander*, and *Ptolemais* to *Arudus*. What frivolous ſtuff is this! and how can we conclude after this that the Judges of every Tribunal were obliged to know, at leaſt to learn, all Languages.

VIII. The Objections made againſt us are frivolous, and I am ſurprized that ſo able a Man as *Selden* could be able to ſay, that *Ariſtotle* being inſtructed by the *Jews*, at his Death had recanted whatever he had taught contrary to the Law; and I wonder that he has drawn this concluſion from thence, as alſo many other learned Men have done, *viz.* that the *Jews* believe that the Philoſophers had known and plunder'd them. What matters it whether the *Jews* believed a thing that flatters their Pride, ſince they have built upon evident Falſhoods? *Ariſtotle* had ſo little knowledge of the *Jews*, that he confounds them with the *Indian Bracmans*. This is a groſs Ignorance for a Philoſopher that knew ſo many things. St. *Paul* born at *Tarſus* (where there was an Academy) and the Holy Writers may have learn'd *Greek*, which was then ſpoken over all the *Roman* Empire, without being able to draw a general Inference from thence of the *Jews* their Learning, nor a particular one for the Judges that took their Seats in the *Sanhedrim*, or in any other Tribunal: For it is ſufficient for them to be learned in the Law, and in the *Jewiſh* Polity.

IX. And indeed *Maimonides* † making an enumeration of their neceſſary qualifications, does not ſpeak of that great Learning. 'Tis true he owns, that they are not ſo exact in the choice of Perſons, when it only concerns the Juriſdiction of three Judges. But could it be poſſible that he ſhould entirely forget the ſtudy of Languages, if it had been required as abſolutely neceſſary to Magiſtrates? What was chiefly required of them was Prudence, a good Reputation, love for Juſtice, and Diſintereſſedneſs. They relate upon this Subject that *R. Iſhmael* had a Gardener, who brought him a Basket full of Fruit every Week. This Gardener having a Law-ſuit, came with his Fruit to his Maſter a Day ſooner than ordinary. *Iſhmael* ſurprized at this, demanded of him the reaſon of it. I have a Law-ſuit, ſaid the Gardener, and I hoped to pleaſe you by this. *Iſhmael* would neither receive his own Fruit, nor be his Judge in the Cauſe. As he walked alone by himſelf, he began to think how he might do his Servant a kindneſs; but he made this Reflection, Wo be to him that takes Preſents; for if I am ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of a Gardener that gives me what is my own, what muſt others do? How many Judges and Magiſtrates had need to think on this, when they aſcend the Tribunal? They do not often think on any thing elſe but how they may deſerve the Preſents they have received, and how they may aſſiſt their Vaſſals and revenge themſelves of their Enemies. However, the *upright Judge* * *takes care to make the Glory of God to reſt upon* Iſrael, *and the wicked Judge makes it his to Cloud and overſhadow it.*

X. Law-ſuits are much in requeſt at theſe *Houſes of Judgment*; and it is moved as a doubtful queſtion, whether it be allowed to reconcile the contending Parties. *R. Eliezar* determines, that he who *makes Peace, Sins, and that thoſe who bleſs the Peace-maker, Blaſpheme.* Judgment † ought to pierce the Mountains. It was *Moſes*'s Opinion. *R. Juda* maintains on the contrary, that both Parties ſhould be demanded whether they will agree to loſe part of their Right before they are judged; and he juſtify'd his Opinion by the Authority of *Moſes* and the Law.

XI. Some ‖ have believ'd that all Judges were Eccleſiaſtical; nevertheleſs *Joſephus* reckon'd in his time, but two *Levites* and ſeven Magiſtrates that were of the Laity. The Lay men now perform this Function, except it be in the poor Synagogues, where the Rabbi is alone by himſelf, and does all.

Every conſiderable Synagogue chuſes three Judges every Year by the plurality of Voices, and they generally pitch upon the richeſt and moſt honourable Perſons. *Lightfoot* *, having read in the *Talmud* that *three Paſtors* were choſen to gather the neceſſary Taxes, and then to diſtribute that Money, was ſo prepoſſeſſed with theſe words, that he confined there the whole Miniſtry of the *Parnaſim*, or Paſtors, to this Employ. *There are* † *two ordered to gather the Collection, and a third to diſtribute what is received.* It can't be deny'd but this is one of their Functions; but it is a miſtake to think it the only one. In effect they are the *Parnaſims* that have the care of the Synagogue, either to repair or rebuild it. They provide all things neceſſary for the Church, and chiefly for the Poor. They are Judges of all Diſputes that concern the People or Religion. They have a Power to *excommunicate* Rebels. In ſhort, their Authority is great in their Juriſdiction; ſince there is no Head of the Captivity, nor any Patriarch, and that all the Synagogues are become Independant.

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* Orig. contra Celſ. *l* 2. *p.* 80. † *See what we have already ſaid upon this Head in the III Book. See alſo* Edward's *Truth, and Authority of the Holy-Scripture, ch.* VIII. *p.* 268. &c. *where he proves that the Heathens have known the events of the Holy-Scriptures, and have ranſacked them.* † Maimon. de Synedr. *c* XI. * Ex Gemara Tit Sanhedr. *c.* 1. S. 6. Coch. duo Tit. Thalm. *p.* 138. † V. ibid. S. 2. *p.* 128, 129. ‖ Goeſii Pilatus Index. * Lightfoot Horæ Hebraicæ in Matth. *t.* 1. *p* 249. † Vitringa de Syn. *l.* 2. *c.* 10 *p.* 578.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Synagogues.

I. *No Synagogues in the Old Teſtament.* II. *Objection drawn from the* 73. *Pſalm.* III. *This Pſalm explained.* IV. *Unknown in* Antiochus's *time.* V. *Their true Origine.* VI. *Oratories, their uſe.* VII. *Whether they be mentioned in the Goſpel.* VIII. *Their Situation.* IX. *The uſe aſcribed to them, confuted.* X. *Their Government.* XI. *Diſtinction of Places.* XII. *Rites of the* XII. *Century.* XIII. *Alterations that happened in the latter times.* XIV. *Diſtinction of Synagogues.* XV. *Their Situation.* XVI. *Their Deſcription.* XVII. *Their manner of Reading the Law. The* Jews *Crown inſtead of Hats. The paſſage of* Ezekiel *explained.*

I. IT is a ſurpriſing thing that the *Old Teſtament* ſhould make ſo little mention of *Synagogues.* The *Jews* were obliged to keep the Sabbath; and ſo ſtrict were they in their obſervation of it, that they durſt not gather up any Chips of Wood upon pain of Death. There were alſo other Days appointed for ſolemn Devotion. There was but one Tabernacle, or rather * one only Temple, where the *Jews* from all parts of *Judæa* could not meet every Week. God allotted ſome Towns for the *Levites*, whom he diſperſed throughout the whole Nation; but if he had deſigned to place one or more of them at the head of each Synagogue, he would have put them in all their Towns, inſtead of appointing certain places for themſelves. How were the Sabbaths kept, if there were neither Temples, nor any other publick Places Conſecrated for Devotion? This Objection is puzling. However, the Scripture is ſo profoundly ſilent in this Matter, that we are not able to diſcover any one of theſe Places.

II. It is true, that *Aſaph* complained to God, that his Enemies had ſet fire *to his Synagogues*; and ſince *Aſaph* lived in *David*'s time, it might be concluded, that in thoſe Days there were in many parts of *Judæa* publick Aſſemblies. But this Pſalm ſpeaks ſo plainly of the Captivity of *Babylon*, that it is not eaſy to be deceived by it. To ſay † that the Prophet who liv'd many Years before, had in his view the Deſolation which was to befall the *Chriſtian* Church, or thoſe of the Captivity of *Babylon*, as ſome learned Interpreters have done; it is to forget that the Prophet here makes a Prayer to God; and can we imagine that any one ſhould make bitter Complaints to God, and beg of him in very pathetical terms, to deliver them from an Evil which is not yet come, nor will come till I know not how many Ages after?

If *Aſaph* deſcribes the Evils to come, as if they were already paſt, well and good; but could he ask the Deity *why he had forſaken his People*, ſeeing that he had not done it, nor could they fear it till ſeveral Ages after? Could he ſay to God, *why doth thine anger ſmoke* when he was appeaſed? Why *the Temple was laid waſte*, when it was actually in Being? Laſtly, why there *were no more Prophets*, when there were ſo many in the Reigns of *David* and || *Solomon?* We muſt diſtinguiſh Prayers from Oracles; and the deſcription of paſt Evils from the predictions of thoſe that are to come. The Learned * *Bochart* maintained, that *Aſaph* lived in the time of the Captivity of *Babylon*; and that he bore that Name becauſe he deſcended from that *Aſaph* who liv'd in *David*'s time. If any refuſe his Conjecture, it may be ſaid, that the Title of the Pſalm was ill put, and that the Work of a Prophet tranſported into *Babylon*, is aſcribed to *Aſaph*, ſince there are many Pſalms that were compoſed, during that Captivity, whoſe Authors are not known.

III. This does not ſolve the Objection. For we ſhall be obliged to own, that there were Synagogues before the Captivity of *Babylon*; ſeeing that the *Caldeans* had burnt them during their Irruption into *Judæa*. We have no intereſt of our Own in oppoſing this Piece of Antiquity; Nevertheleſs we may obſerve, it is very wonderful that this ſhould be the only place in Holy Writ, which mentions Publick Places ſet apart for the Service of God. Further, the LXX Interpreters have tranſlated it thus, *Let us deſtroy all the Solemnities of God upon Earth.* The old *Caldee* Paraphraſes have kept the ſame Senſe in making the Prophet to ſay, that the Enemies of God *had burnt all his Feaſts. Theodotian* has follow'd the ſame Steps, and ſaid, that they had burnt *the times* † of God. *Theodoret* approves the *Septuagint* Verſion. St. *Jerome* owns, that he has tranſlated like them, and the ſame thing is found in the Vulgate. Theſe Interpreters therefore did not believe that any Temple or Synagogue had been burnt; but that the *Aſſemblies* that met together on ſolemn Feſtival Days were diſpers'd, and they were not ſuffer'd to celebrate them to the honour of God. If any will keep to *Aquila*'s Verſion, which makes the Prophet to ſay, that the *Caldeans* had burnt *the Synagogues*; and ſtick to the Original word, which properly ſignifies *to burn*, ſince from thence the Seraphim and burning Serpents have borrowed their Name; And laſtly, if they will maintain that this Expreſſion can't be apply'd to any thing but Buildings; and that the Antient Interpreters have ſtrain'd the Prophet's words by applying them to Times and Aſſemblies; to conclude from thence that there were Synagogues, I will not oppoſe it. But it muſt alſo be own'd that the Silence of all the Writers makes the contrary Problematical; and that it is ſome ſort of Preſumption to reject the Figure which all the Antient Interpreters have found in *Aſaph*'s Expreſſion. Perhaps it is here ſpoken of the Temple in the Plural Number, to ſtrengthen the more forcibly the Peoples Complaint; For there were certainly ſeveral places of *Aſſembly* in the Temple. In it were celebrated all their Feſtivals; and when that Edifice was burnt, *all the Feſtivals and Aſſemblies of God ended upon Earth.* This is the Conjecture of a learned Man || who believes, that the Synagogues were not eſtabliſhed till after the *Jew*'s return from the Captivity, that they might execute the Orders given them by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, concerning the reading of the Law.

IV. It is alſo * ſaid, that the *Jews* diſperſed in the *Eaſt*, began to erect Synagogues, becauſe the Temple, which was look'd upon as the Centre of Religion, and the only place wherein they ought to worſhip, was deſtroy'd. Beſides, theſe private Aſſemblies became neceſſary to re-unite the Nation,

* V. Vitringa de Synag. Vet. *l.* 2. Jeroz. P. 1. 2. 3. *c.* 29. *p.* 984. *&c.*
† Burman Exercit. Academicar. Pars poſterior.
|| Pſ. 74. 8. 9.
* Bochart. † Καιρὸς. || Vitringa de Syn. Vet. *l.* 1. *p.* 2. *c.* 10. *p.* 405.
* Sigonius de Rep. Jud. *l.* 2. *c.* 8. *p.* 90.

and

and inſtruct the People in their Law, which otherwiſe would have been forgot in a ſtrange Land. It is very likely, and ſtands to good reaſon, that where ever they had the Liberty to do it, they made theſe Aſſemblies; Nevertheleſs we are not to look here for the true riſe of the Synagogues of *Judæa*: For firſt, the Temple being Re-built, after the return from the Captivity, the *Jews* had as great a Veneration for that holy Place, as their Forefathers had in the foregoing Ages. They thought it unlawful to worſhip any where elſe, and that it was to violate the Law to erect any other places of Aſſembly. The Temple of *Garizim*, which was look'd on as a breach made upon the antient Inſtitution, awaken'd the Zeal and Jealouſy of *Ezra*, multiplying of Temples and Houſes of Prayer would have been as they thought, the authorizing of Schiſm, eſpecially in the firſt Years of their return. The Neceſſity, which had cauſed little Synagogues to be ſet up at *Babylon*, was now at an end; ſince there was a Temple, in which all the People might Sacrifice, and be inſtructed in the Law; and that the Tribes of *Judah*, and *Benjamin* being but few in Number, and not living far from *Jeruſalem*, might eaſily come to it. *Nehemiah*'s and *Ezra*'s ſilence authorize this Conjecture. For thoſe holy Men, 'tis true, commanded that the Law ſhould be read every Sabbath-Day; but it might be read in the Temple; and if they had changed the antient Cuſtom, by ſetting up Synagogues for the reading of the Law, we ſhould have found ſome mention of it; whereas we can't diſcover the leaſt tittle concerning the Matter, not even in the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, which is of much larger extent. There are Complaints in it about the Profanation of the Sanctuary; but not one word of the overthrowing of Synagogues. The People driven out of *Jeruſalem* gathered together in *Miſpa*, where formerly ſuch like Aſſemblies had met together to make Prayers to God; but we do not find that there was any Houſe of Prayer. Alluſion is made to the cuſtom of the firſt Ages, without inſinuating that there was then any manner of Change. Could it be poſſible that *Antiochus*, who declared War with the Sacred Books, and burnt the Exemplaries of the Law, would have left thoſe places ſtanding in which this Law was read and taught every Sabbath-Day; For that having commanded them to be overthrown in all *Judæa*, the People ſhould not have once murmured at it? Perſecution generally begins with the Temples, the Aſſemblies are broke, then the Books are taken away from private Perſons; and this Deſtruction of the Houſes of Prayer always cauſes great Cries and Lamentations; for the People think all loſt from the very moment that they are deprived of the Means of aſſembling together to be inſtructed. And yet not a word is there ſaid of any Synagogue's being demoliſhed during the whole Perſecution of *Antiochus*, which is an evident Argument and proof that there was none in his Reign. This ſame Silence of the Hiſtorians, which ſhews that the Synagogues were unknown before the Captivity, ſhews alſo that none were erected till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*.

V. St. *James* giving his Opinion in the Council of *Jeruſalem* ſays, that *Moſes in old times* † hath *them in every City that preach him, being read every Sabbath-Day*. This Expreſſion has made an Interpreter go back to the *firſt* times, and ſay, that the Synagogues are of as antient ſtanding as *Moſes*; But then on the other hand St. *James* here uſes the ſame Expreſſion as our Saviour J. CHRIST did to ſhew the riſe of the Traditions which altered the Law. *It was ſaid to the Elders*; And as theſe Traditions were not ſo antient as *Moſes*, but had been invented by ſome Doctors that lived in the reign of the *Aſmonæans*, ſome few Ages before J. CHRIST, ſo we have good reaſon to believe, that the Synagogues were of the ſame Antiquity. The Zealous Traditioniſts, who made long Commentaries upon the Law, thought it a Crime to keep the People in ignorance of them, whoſe applauſe they mightily deſir'd, and inſtead of confining their Explications to *Jeruſalem*, where they found themſelves too much ſtreightned and limited, they carried them into every City, where they founded Oratories and Publick places of Aſſembly. Before this, private Perſons made their Prayers to God in their own Houſes, where they had places ſet apart for that Holy Exerciſe. It was generally upon the top of the Houſe that the Family, and their Friends met together to read ſome Portion of the Law, on the Sabbath Days; and when there was any Prophet in the City, the devout People aſſembled at his Houſe. This appears by the *Shunamite*, who was asked by her Husband the reaſon of her going to *the man of God*, ſince *it was neither New Moon, nor Sabbath*; 2 Kings 4 23. But this was not fixed, becauſe the Prophets often removed their Habitations. Thoſe that were rich, kept a *Levite* in their Houſes to reſolve their Doubts; Others made uſe of the *Levites* or Prophets that travell'd through their Country. This further appears by the ſame *Shunamite*, who made a little Chamber for *Eliſha*. After the Doctors had added their Traditions and Commentaries to the Law, the Miniſtry of Interpreters became ſo much the more neceſſary; becauſe thoſe Traditions were not written. So that the number of Interpreters and Interpretations increaſed daily: And therefore convenient places were made choice of, that the People might the better meet together to be inſtructed; and from thence in all probability it is that they derive their Synagogues. For this reaſon alſo they were call'd *Houſes of Interpretation or Study*, || בית המדרש which have been ſince transform'd into Schools.

The Number of Synagogues increaſed very conſiderably, becauſe they were found convenient for the exerciſes of Piety. But moſt of them were but Chappels and Oratories, wherein Companies of Tradeſmen, or private Families met. Inſomuch, that they reckon'd 460. of them at *Jeruſalem*.

VI. Some * Learned Men have thought that *Oratories* † were different from Synagogues; becauſe in the One they only made Prayers to God; and in the Others they expounded the Law. Beſides, it is ſaid, that the Oratories were put to other Uſes. *Druſius* || affirms, that Apples were ſold in them, and he proves it by this Inſcription:

P. CORFIDIO SIGNINO POMARIO A PROSEUCHA.

And others * Imagine, that theſe places were deſpiſed; becauſe Beggars, who ſtood at the Doors whil'ſt the People were at their Devotions, to crave their Charity at their coming out, after Service was over, got into them, and there lay.

VII. There is no mention of theſe Oratories in the Goſpel, nor in the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles.

† Acts 15. 21. || Le Moyne Var. Sacr. *t.* 2. *p.* 71. * Druſius, Heinſius, Scaliger. † Προσευχαὶ || Druſ. in Matth. *c.* 21. 13. Crit. 5. *t.* 6. *p.* 632. * Turneb. adverſ. *l.* 1. *c.* 19. *p.* 22.

JESUS

JESUS CHRIST indeed says, *that they made of the house of Prayer a den of Thieves*; but in that was meant the Temple consecrated to Prayer. St. *Luke* says also, that J. CHRIST spent *the whole Night in Prayer* † *to God*. To find an Oratory in this, and to maintain that the Name of God is added by opposition to Pagan Chappels, consecrated to false Gods, is too great a refinedness and Subtility. For St. *Luke* only tells us, that *JESUS went out into a Mountain to pray, and continued all Night in Prayer to God*.

The Passage of the Acts of the Apostles which is quoted has more difficulty in it. For St. *Paul* coming from *Philippi* went to the place || *where Prayer was wont to be made*. St. *Chrysostom* believ'd, that this was an Oratory besides the Synagogue which the *Jews* had in the City. *Grotius* tells us, that the *Jews* having no Synagogue in *Philippi* by reason of their small Number in that City, or because the Magistrates would not suffer the free exercise of their Religion in it, they had an Oratory without, by the River side. This Argument may be good; but no notice is taken of the difficulty, which arises from St. *Luke*'s words, that St *Paul* went to the place *where Prayer was wont to be*. *Be* and *make* Prayer is one and the same thing.

No body speaks thus of a Temple, or of a Place. It would be then better to say, that they usually *made Prayer there*. There generally was *Prayer*; that is to say, it was made in that place; and it was for want of Chappels that Prayer was made in an open place by the River-side; for **Philo* represents the *Jews* who were deprived of *their Chappels*, running early in the Morning *to the Banks of the neighbouring Rivers to pray there to God*.

VIII. The Sacred Writers have not adopted this Expression of Oratories; But the *Jewish* Authors as *Philo* † and *Josephus*, that liv'd in their time often mention it. It would be needless to copy all those places where it is found, since they are sufficiently known. Let us only observe what the first of these Authors says, *That there were a great many of these Chappels in all the Parts of the City of* Alexandria; *but that they were pull'd down, burnt, or made useless, by setting in them the Images of* Caligula *contrary to the Law*. So that Oratories were known before J. CHRIST's time, and very common in great Cities; tho' the Sacred Historians have said nothing of them.

These Chappels were the same thing as the Synagogues, and I know not why they are distinguished; since there is no reason for it. They were generally || situated on the Banks of Rivers, without any Roof, in imitation of the Temple of *Jerusalem*; and from thence it was that the Heathens of that time upbraided the *Jews*, of worshipping the Heavens, and the Clouds:

*Nil * præter Nubes & Cœli Numen adorant.*

Judæus † licet & porcinum Numen adoret,
Et cœli summas advocet Auriculas.

Tertullian || placed the Oratories on the River-side, and made the *Jews* to pray uncovered. Lastly, St. *Epiphanius* * observes, that the *Samaritans*, *who were the* Jews *Apes*, had one of these Oratories at *Sichem*, or *Napolousse* in which they were exposed to the Sun, and all Weathers, because there was no Roof. This being the Place where they assembled to make their Devotions, no wonder that Beggars flock'd thither also. *Juvenal* both knew the begging Temper of the *Jews*, and their Oratories:

Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem.

IX. It might happen, that some of the Poor people did lie in the Porches, and under the Galleries of the Oratories, as round the outward Court of the Temple, to shelter there; But it was not the Habitation of Beggars, as *Turnebius* has thought, neither could it be so; because the Doctors prohibited Sleeping † in Synagogues. If the Sages have permitted Eating and Drinking in them, it must have been in pure Devotion, the Evening before the Day of Propitiations; and this Exception confirms the general Prohibition. But above all, it is ridiculous to look upon them as places wherein *Apples were Sold*. *Drusius*'s Inscription does not prove it: It only shews the Religion of *Corfidius*, who was a *Jew*, and a Fruiterer; but it does not argue that he Sold his Apples in the Oratories:

Ede || ubi consistas, in quâ te quæro Proseuchâ.

X. The Government of the Synagogues has been often chang.d In our Saviour's time they were regulated by a certain number of Doctors, more or less, proportionable to the Wealth of the Cities, and number of the Inhabitants. There were one or two Persons set over these Doctors; the President, and Vice-President, were call'd the *Chiefs of the Synagogue*. *Lightfoot* * gives this Title to three Persons who were set over ten Leaders. 'Tis also from thence that the *Christian* Church has taken its Discipline; For in the beginning of every Church, there was a certain number of Priests ordered, proportioned to the Number of *Christians*. When the Cities were large, as *Jerusalem* and *Rome*, they placed two Bishops in them: as in other places there were several Heads of Synagogues. But most of the *Christian* Churches had but one Bishop, as most of the Synagogues had but one Head. There was no other difference put between Bishops, and Priests, but that of Presidency, which was given to Age and Merit; and therefore the Names of Bishops and Priests are so often confounded in the Gospel, as well as among the *Jews*. All the Doctors † that took care of the Synagogue, were of the same Order, and held the same Rank. In following this Original of Discipline, which is Natural, since the *Jews*, jealous of their Rites, laid the Foundation and Peopling of the first Churches; It is easy to take off the Objections against Episcopacy, which would become very difficult, by following other Principles. It seems that the *Christian* Church hath also borrow'd from the *Jews* even to their very Names: For that of Apostles, which were the Patriarch's Officers, was not known till after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. The *Jews* had also a Bishop, who was call'd the *Angel of the Assembly*; and this Angel took care to see that the Service of God was not neglected: He presided over the Reading, and the performing of all other Ceremonies. For this reason St. *John* in his Revelation censures *the Angel of* Thyatira, *and the Angel of* Smyrna, because those Bishops had neglected their Duty. The Conjecture of a Divine || who believes, that St. *Paul* alluded to that Pastor of the Church, when he ordered the Women to be cover-

† Ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Luke 6. 12. || Acts 16. 13. οὗ ἐνομίζετο εἶναι προσευχή. * Philo adv. Flaccum. † Philo adv. Cajum. || *See above*, l. IV. c. 21. p. 308. * Juven. † Petron. || Tert. de Pudicit. c. 16. * Epiph. Hæres. Hær. Lxxx. † Orach, Chaiim, Hilcot, apud Vitringa de Syn. l. 1. P. 123. || Juvenal. * Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. in Matth. p. 250. † Vitringa ibid. || Burman. Dissert. Acad. Pars. poster. Dissert. 4. p. 37.

ed;

ed; *because of the Angels*, seems to be just, for that Title was in use both among the *Jews* and *Christians*. This appears by the Revelation of St. *John*, and why might not St. *Paul* have used it in the same sence?

XI. The *Talmudists* * after their old manner stretch finely, when they give the description of the Synagogue of *Alexandria*. For they maintain that there were in it seventy Gold Chairs, set with Precious Stones, in which the LXX. Elders sate; and that every Trade had their particular Benches. So that any Stranger who came in, went directly and placed himself among those of his own Calling. *Philo* ascribes this Practice to the *Essenes*, whereof the greatest number resided in *Egypt*. For they took place according to their Age, and there was a partition-wall between the Men and the Women, for fear least their sitting together should cause some Disorder. The *Christians* also followed this Custom in their Assemblies; for St. *James* † in his time upbraids them with their distinction, *What man*, says he, *that has a gold Ring, comes in to the Synagogue*, that is, the Church, *you say unto him sit here in a good place, but to the poor, you say, stand thou there*. The Clerk was charged with this Distinction, and there were even at that time Benches for Persons of Quality, but the Poor were forced to stand.

XII. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* ||, who in the Twelfth Century, ran over most of the Synagogues of his Nation; describes that of *Damascus* governed by a Senate, at the head of which were two Chiefs. There was *Ezra*, and his Brother *Sarchalom*; the one Chief, and the other Prince of the Senate. There was *Matsliah* the Preacher, and *Joseph* the *first of the Consulters*: He reckons even ten that performed different Functions in that Senate, to whom belong'd the Knowledge of all Controversies and Scruples.

The Synagogue * of *Lunel* was also governed by nine; There were among them five Brothers, Children of a famous Rabbi, one of whom Studied the Law Night and Day, and eat no Meat. This Senate was so Charitable as to keep all those that came to Study there. There were two Synagogues upon the Sea-side at *Marseilles*; whereof the One was governed by three Rabbies, the Other by four. I take notice of this, that none may imagine the Senate was always fixed to a set Number, either of five, seven, or ten Persons. Their Number was more or less, according to the Cities, and the Number of *Jews* that dwelt in them. For this reason the same *Benjamin*, speaking of some Synagogues that were very poor in *Egypt* sets but one Doctor over them. Most of the Synagogues in the *East* were oblig'd to beg the Ordination of their Rulers from the Chief or Head of the Captivity; and this was the most considerable Alteration that was made in the Antient Government known by the Gospel.

XIII. There is now a distinction made between the Judges and Doctors. In every Synagogue there is one or more Rabbies that are call'd by the name of *More*, or Doctor, preferably to that of Rabbi, especially in *Italy*; Besides this, there is a Court of Justice, or a Senate made up of some of the most considerable People of the Nation. Whereas the Antient Senate was form'd of Doctors of the same Rank and Order, that both taught the Nation, and judg'd their growing Differencies; these two Functions have been since divided. The Rabbi is sometimes call'd into the Senate, but this is done only when they design to Honour him, or when a Dispute arises about some Point of the Law. The Rabbi receives Wages of the Pastors, call'd *Parnasim*; but these last have nothing but the bare Honour of their calling. The Rabbi *teaches*, and the Parnasim *judges*.

XIV. The *Jews* put a mighty difference between the Synagogues of the *Holy-Land*, and those of *Babylon*. They still have a great Veneration for the places where the Temple or Synagogues were built, tho' they are destroy'd; because their Holiness remains for ever. But those of *Babylon*, and consequently of all other Countries, do not deserve the same Veneration, by reason that they have but a transitory Holiness, which will cease at the time of the *Messiah*, when they will be forced to forsake them to follow him. There was no Eating nor Sleeping † in the Synagogues of *Judæa*, excepting upon some religious Occasions where the Observation of the Law requir'd it; neither were any permitted to go into them for shelter when it rain'd; but only in those of *Babylon*, and that too not till after they are half demolish'd.

XV. It was an antient Custom to build their Synagogues without the Cities, and to surround them with Trees, tho' it was not lawful to do the same thing about the Temple. But it appears by the Prayers which they make in the Country-Synagogues, that Necessity obliged them to build there; for being struck with Fear of the Danger they were expos'd to, they appointed some Prayers, towards the latter end of their Services to beg of God that he would deliver them from it. And indeed they have often been so odious that they would not endure them to be in Cities.

When the *Jews* had more Liberty, they chose the highest part of the City for their Synagogues, and rais'd them above any House whatsoever. From thence arose some Imperial Laws which prohibited them not only to build new Synagogues; but also to inlarge or raise the Roofs of those that were already built. They think it a Dishonour to God to have his House inferiour, or so much as equal to those of Men; and threaten the City in which that happens with a speedy Desolation. However, they except Towers and Castles whose heighth is absolutely necessary, and extend their Law no further than to Private Houses.

XVI. We || shall not here offer to give a Description of the Synagogues, It will be sufficient to observe, that there was a Cup-board, in which were lock'd up the five Books of *Moses*; and this is the Memorial of the Arch, wherein the Fables of the Law were kept. In the midst of the Synagogue there was a Desk or Pulpit, where the Rolls were brought, whereof some Portion was to be read three times a Week; They stood upon this Desk when they read and explain'd the Law.

XVII. The Reader puts a Veil over his Head all the time he's performing the holy Office. The *Jews* generally went bare-headed; and we do not even find among them any Expression that denotes the usual covering of their Heads. They only ty'd their Hair with a Ribbon, and that was call'd a Crown. For this reason *Ezekiel* * threatning the People with a Desolation for which they should not mourn nor be afflicted, says, that Men shall have their *tires upon their heads*. Thus our Interpreters have translated it; and *Grotius* following the same No-

* Vitringa ibid. *l.* 1. *p.* 1. *c.* 9. † James 2. || Benjamin Tudel. Itiner. *p.* 56. * Ibid. *p.* 6. & 9. † Vitringa ibid. || Vitringa ibid. * Ezekiel *c.* 24. *v.* 23.

tion, repreſents the *Jews* as Travellers, who provide themſelves with Hats to keep them from the Sun: But in the Original it is, You ſhall have your *Crowns*. And the *Jews* Misfortune is repreſented by that, becauſe inſted of having their Heads cover'd, as it was uſual in the time of Mourning, they ſhould then be ſeen array'd as in the time of Proſperity. And indeed they were never cover'd, but during the time of their Affliction, or when they read the Law; following thereby the Example of *Moſes*, and the antient Prieſts, who commonly officiated with their Heads cover'd. *Joſephus* alſo obſerves, that they took a great deal of Care in adjuſting their Caps, or Turbants on their Heads, for fear leſt they ſhould fall during the Service; and *Maimonides*, explaining the Traditions of the Fathers upon the Pontifical Dreſs, does not forget the Turbant wherewith they cover'd their Heads. The *Jews* of *Italy*, † *Germany*, and *Arabia*, do now cover to this Day their Heads in their Synagogues; but this Covering is different from the Veil, uſed by him that reads the Law.

† Leo *of* Modena *ſays it of the* Jews *of* Italy; Buxtorf *of the* Germans, *and* Adiſſon *of thoſe of* Barbary.

CHAP. V.

Of their Academies.

I. *The Academies of the Patriarchs. The City of Books.* II. *The Schools of the Prophets.* III. *What was learn'd in them.* IV. *Their Monaſtick Diſcipline.* V. *Their Number.* VI. *The Cities of the* Levites *ſo many Schools.* VII. *The Riſe of their Academies.* VIII. *That of* Japhné. IX. *Of* Lydda. X. *Of* Tyberias. XI. *Of* Sephoris *or* Dioceſarea. XII. *Several Academies.* XIII. *The Ordination of the Doctors.* XIV. *Many Ceremonies about their Ordination.* XV. *The* Power of the Keys *explain'd. Cord-locks.* XVI. *Authority of the Doctors.* XVII. *Whether they taught Sitting.* XVIII. *The Rabbies and* Petit *confuted about this Poſture.* XIX. *The Office of the Doctors.* XX. *They judge Controverſies.* XXI. *Give Indulgencies.* XXII. *Of the* Sciamas. XXIII. *Women excluded from the Schools.*

I. BEſides the Houſes of Judgment, and the Synagogues, there are Academies, which the multiplicity of Laws, and contradiction of the Doctors render abſolutely Neceſſary. They are often Confounded with the Synagogues, becauſe they are join'd together; and even Lectures are read in the ſame Places where the People meet for Divine Service. They are not diſtinguiſhed one from the other; but where they are rich enough to have different Houſes and Appartments.

The *Jews* make *Adam* their firſt School-Maſter, and ſay, that God gave him an excellent Book, for his and others Inſtruction; that He took it away after his Sin and Fall; and reſtor'd it again to *Adam* upon his Weeping and being Penitent. That God alſo gave him an Alphabet, the Letters whereof had been engraven round his Crown from all Eternity *. That *Enos*, under whom many gather'd together to *call upon the Name of the Lord*, Geneſ. 4. 26. taught thoſe of his Communion their Catechiſm and Religion. That *Noah* alſo kept a great School; and wrote the Hiſtory of the Creation of the World. The *Chriſtians* are not much more reaſonable than the *Jews* as to this Point; for one of them † affirms, that the *Rephaim*, that is to ſay, the Giants, *were the Reſtorers of Piety*; that they made Lectures upon it, and had eſtabliſh'd their Academy in the City of *Aſhtaroth*, the Capital of *Og* King of *Baſhan*, which was the City of *Uz*, where *Job* liv'd, and taught. That *Melchiſedec* had his Academy in the *City of Books*, or *Kiriath-Sepher*. That *Abraham* who was inſtructed by *Heber*, taught in *Caldæa*; but he ſet up a School of Diſpute in *Egypt*. That he propoſed ſeveral *Theſes* to the Learned of that Country, upon which they raiſed ſeveral Arguments. They look'd on him as a great Maſter; and for that reaſon, they made no Scruple of ſitting under his Feet, and Learning Aſtronomy of him. His Grandſon *Jacob*, who improv'd by his Learning, kept School alſo; for the Scripture ſays, || *that he was a plain man dwelling in Tents*; but the *Caldee* Paraphraſt * has tranſlated it thus, Jacob *was a perfect Man, and a Miniſter of the houſe of Doctrine*. He was then Uſher to ſome School, while *Eſau* went a Hunting; and by following the Original, the Rabbies conclude, that thoſe *Tents* were the Schools of *Heber* and *Melchiſedec*, which *Jacob* held after thoſe great Men.

Of all theſe Notions there is but one worthy our taking notice of, which is, that *Joſhua* found in *Canaan* a City call'd *Kiriath-Sepher*, or the City of Books, which looks like an Academy, wherein there was a Library. The *Jewiſh* Doctors, who are uſed to enlarge upon all that they handle, affirm, that indeed this City was call'd *Daber*, when the *Perſians* were Maſters of it; but the *Jews* having conquer'd it, *Othoniel* preferr'd it above all others, for teaching there, and gave it the Name of the City of Books.

But I can't imagine to what purpoſe the *Perſians* are brought in here, for they were not ſo much as known at the time of the Conqueſt of the *Holy-Land*; neither do I conceive why they make *Othoniel* to change the Name of this City; ſince it was *the City of Books*, long before *Moſes* appear'd; which proves that there were Books of older ſtanding than this Law-giver, and that he was not the moſt antient of all the Writers, as the Fathers of the Church would have it. The *Canaanites* it may be lodged their Records in this City with their Regiſter-Books, and thoſe few antient Monuments which they had left; or ſuppoſing they had an Academy there, what is that to thoſe of the *Jews* which we look for, and which are of a newer Date?

* Boulduc Archivor. Vet. Teſtamenti. † Sanderus Viadiciar. Biblicar. *l.* 2. *c.* 3. Sect. 2. *p.* 146. Vide plura in Apparatu Biblico Collectore Ordinis Carmelitarum Diſcalceatorum Religioſo, *t.* 9. *p.* 568. Lovan. 1704. fol. *See alſo* Urſini Antiquitates Hebraicæ Scholaſtico-Academicæ. || Geneſ. 25. 27. * Targum Onkelos in Bibl. Le Jeay *p.* 86.

II. It

II. It was in *Samuel*'s time that *the Schools of the Prophets* appear'd; and since the Scripture does not mention them till his time, who was both Judge and Prophet in *Israel*, we may venture to conclude that he was the Founder of them, or at least that they were not long before him. *Abravanal* gives grounds for this Conjecture, by observing that the Spirit of Prophesie was almost decay'd under the Ministry of *Eli*, and that it reassum'd its strength under *Samuel*: But he spoils all again that he said, in proving that by those Words of the Holy Scripture, God appeared most in *Shiloh*; and by imagining that the Virtue of the Holy Ghost is like the Sun, which darting against the Wall by reflection, heats and scorches other Places. He pretends, that Revelation being too abundant for *Samuel*, over-flow'd upon others, who sharing in this Advantage, Prophesied like him. This Rabbi gives a false Notion of Grace, and of the Schools of the Prophets, and is thereby in the wrong.

III. And indeed it is not to be imagined that all those who frequented those Schools became inspired Men, or were able to foretel what was to come. It is *Kimki*'s fancy, who deplores the loss of the Oracles of all those Prophets, because they were not written; but at the same time he makes of Prophesie an Art, or rather a Human Science, and deprives it of all that is Miraculous and Divine. It is more likely, that the Prophets brought up their Youth, by teaching them to explain the Law, and to serve God by a frequent practice of Devotion. Some pretend * that they reveal'd to their Scholars the future Events, after they had received them from God; but they took more especial care to inform them of the time of the *Messiah*'s appearing, his Death and Resurrection; but this is too *Christian* like. These Scholars † rather compos'd Psalms and Spiritual Songs after an Enthusiastick manner. Others were but Ministers and Servants to the Prophets. To conclude, some of them became Prophets themselves: But God did not fix his Inspiration to these Schools, for we find that few of the Prophets, whose Writings are extant, came from these Colleges.

IV. St. *Jerome* out of these Prophets has made so many Monks, because most commonly they went and seated themselves on the Banks of the River *Jordan*, and far from Cities in the Desarts, where they liv'd upon Pulse and Herbs. And indeed we find those Sons of the Prophets in the time of *Elisha* complaining that they were too much straiten'd in the Places where they lived, and begging leave of him to go to the Banks of *Jordan*, there to make *every one a Habitation to dwell in.* One would think by this that they were in a Monastery, in which every one had his Cell. Some also kept their Virginity, but that state of Life was not absolutely enjoyn'd them, because we find that || *a certain Woman of the Wives of the Sons of the Prophets cryed unto* Elisha. It is certain that they were obliged to live under a very Austere Discipline in that Retirement.

V. There are ordinarily reckon'd but two of these Schools, the One at *Bethel*, the Other at *Jericho*; but the Rabbies, who are used to multiply what is for their Advantage, maintains, that there were some of them in all the Cities of *Judæa*. A * learned *Christian* erects one upon Mount *Carmel*, where *Elijah* was the Chief: and I think him in the right, because that Mountain, which was cover'd with Trees, was fit for such a Retirement. *Elijah* was often there, and it is not likely he dwelt on it by himself: Besides, *Elisha* went back to that Place after the Death of his Master without doubt to see the Youths whom he had left there, and was still willing to continue his Lectures to them. But because those Schools of the Prophets did not last always, for none were seen after the Destruction of the First Temple; therefore we can't say that those were the Academies which we are in search of.

VI. At *Jerusalem* the † *Jews* taught in the Temple, since it was there that J. CHRIST sitting in the midst of the Disciples, explain'd the Prophet *Isaiah*. They also taught in the Cities of the *Levites*; at least we may think with a great deal of reason, that those Cities were as so many Schools in which Masters vers'd in the Law, expounded it to the Children, and that it was for this reason that they paid Tithes, not only to the Priests Ministring in the Temple, but also to the *Levites* that kept School in the Towns allotted to them. Lastly, they taught in other Cities; for it is apparent, that *Gamaliel* had a School, and that St. *Paul* was brought up at the Feet of that great Master.

VII. The Principal Academies were erected after the Destruction of the Second Temple, either by this means to supply the *Sanhedrim* and Courts of Justice, whose Jurisdiction was quite extinct, or else to preserve the Law and Traditions, that were in great danger of being lost through the dispersion of the People, and Destruction of the Temple. *Jerusalem* being the Centre of Religion, and the Body of the People flocking thither Yearly, to perform the weighty Matters and Ceremonies of the Law, it was almost impossible they should forget it. But this Succour failing, together with the Succession of the Priest-hood, by the Destruction of the Temple, it was convenient to seek some Remedy for the Cure of so great an Evil; and none was found more effectual than the erecting of Academies, in which the People might be taught the Religion and Laws that they were to observe for the future.

VIII. It is said || that the first of these Academies was at *Japhné*, which was afterwards call'd *Ivelyn*, and whether the *Sanhedrim* had been transferr'd before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. But we have already shew'd the falshood of this Translation, which was only devised to prevent our believing, that this Venerable Council, was bury'd under the Ruins of *Jerusalem*. There is perhaps as little ground to say, that there was an Academy in it, where *Gamaliel* St. *Paul*'s Tutor taught.

The famous *Jochanan* had a School in the same City, or at least in the Neighbourhood of it; but seeing he was there the Chief of that Great Council, how came he to humble himself so far as to keep a School? He is suspected to be the same *John* of the Priestly Family that sate in the Council held against the *Apostles*; and who seeing that it was impossible to deny the Miracles which J. CHRIST had wrought, forbad the *Apostles* to speak any more in his Name. If this be true, it is false that the Council was then at *Japhné*, and that *Jochanan*, who resided at *Jerusalem* with the other Priests, should be the Chief of the Academy of that Place. It is also said, that he dy'd in an Unbelief unworthy to be Chief of an Academy, or of Religion: For his Disciples perceiving him to cry upon his Death-bed, and asking him what was the Cause of his shedding so many Tears, he ingenuously own'd that the uncertainty of his Salvation or Damnation had brought him to that dismal Condition. " If * I had to do

* Lightfoot Centuria Chorographica. *p.* 165. † Vitringa de Syn. *l.* 1. *p.* 2. *c.* 7. || 2. Kings 4. 1. * Vitringa ibid.
† Lightfoot Centur *p.* 165. || Benjamin Tudel. Iter. * S. Lightfoot Centur. *c.* 15. *p.* 34.

" with an Angry Prince, ſaid he, I ſhould not be " ſo much concern'd at it; for his Wrath, his Chains, " and even Death itſelf, which he might inflict up- " on me, would not laſt for ever; but I am now " going into an Eternity of Pain or Pleaſure. There " are two ways; the One leads to Heaven, and the " Other to Hell, and I know not which I am going " to take.

IX. At the ſame time there was another Academy at *Lydda* which was St. *Jerome's Dioſpolis*. It was there that St. *George* delivered a King of *Libia's* Daughter: But I fear this is the Hiſtory of *Perſeus*, who delivered *Andromeda* in the Neighbouring City of *Joppa*, and was taken by the *Chriſtians* out of *Ovid's Metamorphoſis*, and put into their Legend. The famous *Akiba* was one of the Profeſſors of this Academy; but *Gamaliel* turned him out from that to *Japhné*, atd took his place. But after his Death *Tarphon* appeared, who ordered a Faſt for him.

X. The moſt conſiderable Academy in *Judæa* at that time, was that of *Tiberias*. It is a ſtrange thing that the Reſidence of Learning ſhould be tranſported into *Galilee*, whoſe Barbarous Language made its Inhabitants to be known where-ever they went, as it appears by the example of St. *Peter* in the *High-Prieſt's* Court. And yet the Scholars forſook *Japhné* and *Lydda* to go and ſtudy at *Tiberias*, which *Herod* the *Tetrarch* had built in a Place where they before had bury'd their Dead. There it was that thoſe great Maſters, ſo much Reverenc'd to this Day among the *Jews*, taught. *Judah* the Saint, and *Chanina*, *Jonathan* and many others were there. The *Miſnah* and *Talmud* of *Jeruſalem* were compoſed in this Academy. Laſtly, it is pretended, that the *Maſorites*, who pointed the Bible, taught alſo at *Tiberias*.

XI. *Judah* the Saint did a mighty prejudice to this City, in leaving it for *Sephoris* or *Dioceſarea*, which is accounted the Native City of the Bleſſed Virgin's Father and Mother. *Herod* had fortify'd it, as being a fit Place to ſecure his *Tetrarchy*; and perhaps *Judah* the Saint choſe it as a much quieter Retreat than *Tiberias*. He Dy'd there, after he had taught in it ſeventeen Years. The Inhabitants were ſo exceſſively Afflicted for his Death, that they threatned to kill every One that ſhould dare to affirm that he was not Alive; and as the Academies are valued by their Maſters Reputation, ſo this was in great Repute for ſome Years. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* aſſures us that *Judah* the Saint's Tomb was ſeen in his time in this City. with that of the Prophet *Jonas*; but he oppoſes the Tradition of his Maſters, who ſay, that if *Judah* the Saint Dy'd at *Sephoris*, he was bury'd in great Pomp at *Bethſaarim*, ſo that *Benjamin* could not then have ſeen his Tomb there.

XII. The *Jews* did not fail to erect Academies in the *Eaſt*, in imitation of thoſe that were in *Judæa*. About the end of the II. Century they eſtabliſh'd one at *Sora*, another at *Pundebita*. Some time after they raiſed more at *Nahardea*, *Machuza* and *Perutz Schibbur*. It would be to no purpoſe to run over all the other Places where the *Jews* have had thoſe Schools, ſince they erected them in thoſe Places where they enjoyed the greateſt liberty. They had ſeveral in *France*, whither they were forced to fly for Refuge when they were driven out of the *Eaſt*. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* mentions that of *Baucaire*, at the Head of which was *Abraham* the Son of *David*, who kept his Scholars when they were Poor. They have one at *Sapheta* a City of *Galilee*, *&c.* They have ſeveral likewiſe in the *Ottomon* Empire, and eſpecially at *Salonichi*, which is the old *Theſſalonica*. We ſhall only obſerve, that tho' the Academies of the *Eaſt* flouriſh'd longer, and were more famous than thoſe of *Judæa*, yet theſe latter were the moſt eſteem'd, becauſe the Doctors that taught in them were more moderate: For Diſputes in *Judæa* were handled with a great deal of Mildneſs, Love and Charity; whereas thoſe of *Babylon were ſharp and violent*. For this reaſon, † *The Doctors are put among thoſe three things which bear one another an irreconcilable Hatred*. This Theological hatred is too unhappily known among *Chriſtians*, as well as among *the Diſciples of the Doctors of* Babylon.

XIII. *Leo* of *Modena* || aſſures us, that none of his Nation ever ſeek for the Doctorſhip, becauſe it is a ſhameful Vanity ſo to do. For this reaſon thoſe that pretend to that Title are never examin'd; but when they *find any one learned enough to be a Rabbi, common Report declares him Doctor*. We muſt not diſpute with this learned *Jew* about the Cuſtoms of his Nation; but it appears by this that they often change. Their Doctors and Academies are now more ſcarce, and the Profeſſion leſs profitable, ſo that they do not effect this Title, with ſo much eagerneſs as they did when it was more honourable. And indeed the Antient Maſters willing to oblige their Diſciples, who were numerous, conferr'd the Impoſition of Hands upon them, and gave them a Title as an aſſurance of their Capacity, and a Character of Diſtinction, by which they were declared Capable of Inſtructing, of Preaching and Governing a Synagogue before they were call'd to it.

XV. We have already obſerv'd that the Synagogues in the *Eaſt* choſe their Doctors, and preſented them to the Chief of the Captivity, who laid Hands upon them. He then had the ſame Privilege as the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Rome*, that ordain'd generally all the Biſhops belonging to their Dioceſſes; but the Chiefs of the Captivity being aboliſh'd, this Cuſtom has been chang'd in the *Eaſt*; and the Peo- People now confer, and 'tis the common Voice that declares a Doctor. In *Italy* and *Germany* the moſt Antient Doctors by word of Mouth gave the Title of *Caver Rau*, *the Maſter's Companion*, when he is a Young Man; or that of *Rau* when he is Aged; and that Word is their whole Ordination. Thus the School-Divines have given Power to the Pope to make a Prieſt, by ſaying, *be thou a Prieſt*. This has been long in uſe; for in the *Talmud* they ask " from whence is it known that a Prieſt was or- " dain'd by three Perſons? for *Moſes* was alone " when he gave the impoſition of Hands; and if he " alone repreſented the College of LXXI. the diffi- " culty would be much * greater, ſince for want " of *Moſes* the ſame number would be requiſite. " Moreover, they ask whether the Doctor ought " to be made by the *impoſition of Hands*, and to all " theſe Queſtions they anſwer, that it is ſufficient " to give the *Title of Maſter* to him that is advanced " *to the Doctorate*..

XV. By aſcending higher than the *Talmud*, we do not only find that they laid Hands on the Doctors; but they likewiſe gave them the five Books of *Moſes* with a Key, to ſhew them, that they had liberty to open the Myſteries of the Law; and they added, as we have already obſerv'd, that they had *power to bind and to looſe*, that is to ſay, to determine what was *lawful or unlawful*. A new Critick † links two things together, and believes, that J. CHRIST taking from

† S. Urſini Antiquitates Hebraicæ Scholaſtico-Academicæ. Gemera Tit. Sanhedr. *c.* 1. § 14. Coch. duo Tituli Thalm. *p.* 160.

|| Leo *of* Mod. *Cerem. of the* Jews, *p.* 2. *c.* 3. *p.* 53.

* Ex

† Novum Teſtam. cum Notis Critic.

the

the *Jews* the Ordination of the Apoſtles, and their Expreſſions, alluded to the Locks and Keys of the Antients, which were made with Cords; but J. CHRIST did not give to his Diſciples the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, *to bind and to looſe*. Theſe are two different Metaphors, which the Maſters made uſe of in Ordaining their Diſciples; and they are very natural, becauſe the Law is ſhut up to the Ignorant Vulgar, and it is that which binds or looſes Conſciences. It had been better to have obſerved, that J. CHRIST having taken from the *Jews* thoſe Expreſſions which ſhew'd the power of the Apoſtles, we ought to go to the ſource, to find out their true meaning. For if we will examine theſe words impartially, we ſhall find that J. CHRIST only gave Power to his Diſciples of unfolding the Myſteries of the Goſpel, which were then but little underſtood, and take off thoſe difficulties which puzled the Conſciences of many People; for that is truly the Key *of the Kingdom of Heaven*, and what J. CHRIST calls *binding and looſing*. And as the Ordination given to the *Jewiſh* Doctors by theſe words, did not not give them an abſolute Power to forgive Sins; ſo likewiſe we can't attribute this Authority to Prieſts, without deſtroying the alluſion which J. CHRIST made to the words of this antient Ordination.

XVI. The Power of the Doctors is great among the *Jews*; and they omit nothing that may draw the Veneration of the People. They repreſent themſelves as Men inſpired by God; or like the Angels *of the Miniſtry*; and even to that Man mentioned by * *Daniel, that was clothed with Linnen, whoſe Loyns were girded with Gold of* Uphaz. One of their Maxims is, that if a Child by the Law is bound to fear and honour his Father, he is yet more obliged to reſpect his Maſters †. A Child that ſees his Father and Maſter over-loaded with a Burden, or Groaning in Bondage, ought to unload his Maſter, and redeem him from Slavery, before his Father. The *Phariſees* under a pretence of Religion, taught Children to forſake their Fathers. This was ever practiſed. Have not ſome *Religious* Perſons, tho' they be *Chriſtians*, taken theſe Maxims from the Antient and Modern *Jews*, and practiſe them ſtill with the ſame cunning and Avarice?

The Doctors ‖ often equal their Power to that of God himſelf; for they tell their Diſciples, that he who contradicts and fights againſt his Maſter's Opinion, *in ſome meaſure oppoſes and fights againſt the Deity*; and that he who murmurs againſt a Doctor, murmurs againſt God; That he who tarniſhes *his Maſter's Reputation, is the cauſe of God's withdrawing from* Iſrael. Scholars are not allowed to ſalute their Maſter as other Men; but they muſt bend their Knee before him. It is a Crime to pray to God either by his Side or behind his Back. It is an enormous Sin for a Scholar to ſet up a School near to that of his Maſter's; *and he that ſpits in his Face, deſerves to be puniſhed with Death. Buxtorf* * has tranſlated it, *he that ſpits before his Maſter*. But ought the greateſt Puniſhment of all in this World to be inflicted, for having ſatisfied the neceſſity of Nature? Doubtleſs a Crime which deſerves Death is the greateſt of all; and by that is meant a publick and intolerable Affront. However, they can't carry their Authority further than to put thoſe to Death that that do not reſpect their Maſters. They formerly looked upon the Ignorant with the laſt Contempt and Scorn, and were ſo hard-hearted as to refuſe them their Arms. They alſo accounted their Death as nothing, if he had been killed by a learned Man.

XVII. The Doctors taught in a ſitting Poſture; and to that J. CHRIST alludes, when he ſays, that the *Phariſees ſate in* Moſes's *Chair*; but we cannot eaſily gueſs what was the poſture of the Scholars. There is a † Tradition, that from the time of *Moſes* to that of *Gamaliel* they ſtood; and that after this Doctor's Death, under whoſe Feet St. *Paul* ſate and ſtudied, they were permitted to ſit, by reaſon of a Sickneſs which then reigned, and that it was *at that time that the Glory of the Law decay'd*, becauſe this poſture was leſs reſpectful.

Many Doctors have believed, that *Jacob* had this Cuſtom in his View, when he foretold that the *Lawgiver ſhould not depart from* Judah's *Feet until* Shiloh *come*, and that he would thereby ſhew, that ſome Diſciples ſhould always learn the Law at their Maſter's Feet.

XVIII. I will here only obſerve two things. One, that the *Jews* and the *Chriſtians* who pretend, that *Jacob* made alluſion to the Cuſtom of the Diſciples lying on the Ground, are manifeſtly miſtaken; for without taking notice that this does not concern the Diſciples hearing the Law, but a Maſter that gives it; and that it cannot be ſaid, that the Diſciples *depart from their Maſter's Feet*, becauſe their number fails. *Jacob*'s Oracle was ſpoken ſo long before the Law, or that there were any Schools among the *Jews*, and any Rules eſtabliſh'd for ſitting of Scholars; that I can't conceive how any one can ſeriouſly give a Dying Patriarch the thoughts of alluding to ſuch a trifle, or to God that of Miraculouſly revealing this Rite to him, in order to make it the Subject of his Propheſy. 2. The Paſſage of St. *Paul* ſeems clear to me. He was Fed, or Inſtructed at the Feet of *Gamaliel*. What can this mean, unleſs the Rabbies at that time made their Scholars to ſit upon Mats on the Ground, or upon little Benches, under them and at their Feet. It is needleſs to alter the pointing of thoſe words, thereby to give them another turn and ſence, and to make St. *Paul* ſay, that he was brought up at *Gamaliel*'s Feet, and inſtructed in the Law; for here Education and Inſtruction means the ſame thing. Mr. *Petit* ‖ is ſtill more remote from his meaning, when he maintains, that St. *Paul* would ſay, that he ſlept under the feet of *Gamaliel*'s Bed, becauſe he was his Boarder, or Servant. St. *Ambroſe* aſſures us, that the Tradition of the Synagogues import, *that the Diſciples were lying in the Schools*, and *Joſes* the Son of *Joezer* adviſed the Young Men *to wreſtle in the Duſt of their Maſter's Feet*, and to *drink their words with greedineſs*. It is doing violence to theſe words, to ſay, that that Rabbi deſign'd to teach Youth not to forget their Leſſon, even when they were at play; for Wreſtling is a Recreation. It is more probable that he alluded to the Duſt, in which the Diſciples roll'd at the Feet of their Maſter's; and that he adviſed them to go conſtantly to School, where they were ſent at the Age of ſeven Years. Here the Rabbi is St. *Paul's* Commentator.

* Daniel 10. 5. Ord. 111. Naſcim Cod. 3. *p.* 72. Bart. Bibl. Rabb. *t* 111. *p.* 489. Ordo v. Kodaſchim Cod. 3. *p.* 136. ibid. *p.* 643. † Maimon. Tract. de Studio Legis, *c.* 5. *p.* 22. ‖ *See here abov, l.* 111. *c.* 29. apud Carthurigth. Mellific. Hebr. *c* 11. *p.* 3115. * Buxt. Floril. Hebr. *p.* 78. † Maimon de Studio Legis, *c.* 4. *p.* 17. ‖ Petit Obſ. *l.* 3. *c.* 2. Wagenſeil Tela Ignea Sat. *t.* 1. p. 265.

Upon

Upon * ſome Stones you have J. CHRIST repreſented teaching his Diſciples. In One he is ſitting in a great Chair, and the Twelve Apoſtles ſtanding round about to hear him; In the Other, J. CHRIST is ſtanding with Eleven Apoſtles; but St. *Peter* appears ſate in a lolling Poſture at his Eaſe. I ſhould not have taken notice of theſe Figures, if ſome had not given to the firſt ſo venerable an Antiquity. I obſerve, that no inference can be drawn from an Ingraver's Fancy, who gives little Caps or Hats to Six of the Apoſtles, and leaves the other Six bare-headed. It is no wonder that St. *Peter* ſhould be made to ſit before his Maſter, ſince there is oftentimes more Power aſcrib'd to him than to J. CHRIST, as well upon Earth as in the Church. But this Divine Maſter taught Sitting, or Standing, according to the times, places, and number of People that heard him, as we may ſee in St. *Mark*'s Goſpel.

XIX. The *Jewiſh* Doctors have the care of inſtructing the People in the Law of *Moſes*, and the Traditions of the Fathers. They determine what is clean, and what is not; what Meat may be eaten, and what muſt be abſtained from. St *Jerome* ſays, that in his time the Doctors not being able to judge by their Eye, whether the Blood that flows every Month, be clean or unclean, were obliged to taſte it, and thereby to give their Opinions one way or other. Their Determinations are commonly received with a great deal of Reſpect, but yet they cannot eaſily gain Credit, nor make any one to obey them. The Rabbies † complain, that the *Jewiſh* People when they did no longer ſtand in need of them, maſſacred them; but then on the other ſide they continue to kill *this execrable Mob*. At leaſt it is || ſaid, that the Rabbies do not receive the Teſtimony of Laicks, nor ever travel with them. This is enacted by their own Laws, and they never infringe them but in caſes of abſolute Neceſſity: which often ſtirs up the Peoples hatred and Rebellion againſt them.

XX. The Rabbies alſo prohibit Pleading at any Foreign Bar, or Judicatory, becauſe their Proud and Haughty Temper is ſuch as makes them || think it a *Shame to ſubmit to a ſtrange Power*. To their antient Haughtineſs they have added a hatred againſt the *Chriſtians*, which makes them ſay, that what we call a *Tribunal*, or Court of Judicature, ought to be call'd, the *Ditch houſe*, or Houſe of Office, and that *the King's face ought to be Call'd the face of a Dog*. Some pretend, that St. *Paul* alludes to the antient Cuſtom of the *Jews*, who ſubmitted in every thing to their Doctor's Opinion; when he forbids the Believing *Chriſtians* to go to Law before the Unbelievers, or *Jews*; and asks of them *if there were not a Wiſe man among them?* 1 Cor. 6. 6. *No, not one that ſhould be able to judge between the Brethren.* This title of *Wiſe* the *Jews* gave to their Maſters; but the Apoſtle here only ſpeaks of an Umpire that might be choſen *among the faithful* or Believers. For at that time there was no Civil Judge eſtabliſhed among the *Chriſtians*, as there was among the *Jews*; ſo that this Alluſion could extend no farther than the Name.

XXI. Theſe Maſters are not ſatisfied with Judging the preſent Affairs, but they alſo ſell Indulgencies and Powers to the People of delivering them from Hell to all Eternity. And the better to authorize this Sale, and to make it the more conſiderable, they give out that by reaſon of that vaſt and excellent Knowledge they have of the *Talmud* *, the Fire has no Power over them; but like the *Salamander* they can live in the midſt of the Flames, and not be conſumed. They go further and ſay, they have a Power to confer this Privilege to others, and this reaſon they alledge for it, (*Viz.*) that as the Altar which was overlay'd but with a thin leaf of Gold, withſtood the Fire for many Ages; So the *Iſraelites* ſacrificed, or conſecrated to God ought much more to enjoy the ſame Advantage. And therefore *Rome* is not the firſt that invented Indulgences, and given Power to her Prieſts of delivering Souls from the Violence of the Flames of Hell, and Purgatory. Thoſe † that will neither believe nor obey thoſe Maſters, deſerve the greateſt Puniſhments; For it is one of their Axioms, that *he who contemns the words of the Sages, is worthy of Death.* They || formerly bore ſo great a deference to their Maſters, as not to dare to ſpeak in their preſence, or teach, but at twelve Miles diſtance, for fear of cauſing a Jealouſy, and that the Diſciple ſhould be thought more Learned than his Maſter.

XII. Under theſe firſt Preceptors there are * other Miniſters in the Synagogues; One ſerves as a Precentor to direct the Singing of the Prayers, and performs much the ſame Functions as the Reader does in the Reform'd Churches, who Sings Pſalms and takes Care of Divine Service: The other is call'd *Sciamas*, and only cleanſes the Synagogues and lights the Candles. I cannot imagine why ſome compare the Deacons of the Primitive Church to theſe *Sciamas*, or Sweepers of the Synagogues; For tho' the Name of Deacon had been uſed to expreſs the Service of a running Foot-man that raiſes a duſt by his nimbleneſs; yet it is alſo true, that the Deacons of *Jeruſalem*, mention'd in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, had a nobler Imployment, which was that of diſtributing the Alms; and *Philip* who was one of them Preached the Goſpel. When one would diſtinguiſh, as a learned Critick in theſe Matters does, the Deacons of *Jeruſalem*, as extraordinary Miniſters, from thoſe whom St. *Paul* gives a Character of in his Epiſtles, it is ſtill true that they cannot be confounded with the *Sciamas*'s, or Keepers of the Modern Synagogues.

XXIII. Women have † no ſhare in the Service of the Synagogues, they cannot ſo much as keep School; for fear leſt the Fathers going there to ſee their Children, ſhould ſeduce them. Beſides, they don't deſerve that Reſpect which is ſhewn to Maſters. A Diſciple ought not to contradict his Maſter, tho' he determines againſt the Law; but civilly to ſay to him, *Maſter, you have taught us ſo and ſo.* They muſt often go and viſit their Maſter, walk a little backwards as it were behind him, pull off his Stockings, and tear off his Clothes when he is Dead. They would be aſhamed to do all this to a Woman. They do not ſo much as ſuffer *a Woman* to learn the Law; ſo that if ſhe Studies, ſhe is not much the better for it.

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* Apud Wagenſeil. Not. in Sorah, *t.* 3. Miſnæ pag. 316. † Ordo 11. Mœd. Cod 3. *p.* 49. Ibid. 403. || *See above, l.* 111. *c.* 29. * Cod. Avodah Sarah, fol. 46. Apud Majum Synopſ. Theol. Jud. Loc. XXI *p.* 302. * Ex Thalm. Cod. Chaghigà, *c.* 3. *p.* 27. V. Bart. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 11. *p.* 157. † Ord. 1. Zeraiim Cod. Beracoth. *c.* 1. *p.* 3. Ibid. *t.* 111. *p.* 361. || T. Hieroſ. Scheviit, fol. 63. & Maimon. de Studio Legis. * Leo of Modena's *Ceremonies of the* Jews, *P* 1. *c.* 10. *p.* 26. Symonvile's *Supplement.* c. VII. *p.* 58. Vitringa de Synag. vet. *l.* 111. *p.* 2. *c.* 5. 6. &c. † Maimon. de Studio Legis *c.* 2. *p* 8. Id. *c.* 5. *p.* 28. *c.* 1. *p.* 1. & 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Proselytes.

Six Periods in which they were differently treated.

I. *The* Gentiles *worshipp'd in the Temple.* II. *Their Gifts receiv'd.* III. *The Distinction that was made of them.* IV. *Their Sacrifices offer'd.* V. *Whether they were suffer'd to observe the Law.* VI. *The first Period under* Moses. VII. Valesius's *Confutation about the* Autoctones *and the Archi-Proselytes.* VIII. *Nations entirely excluded from God's Covenant.* IX. *The Privilege of the* Egyptians *and other Idolatrous Nations.* X. *Some Reflections upon God's little care of making Proselytes and increasing his Church.* XI. *Whether there were any Proselytes in* David's *and* Solomon's *Reigns.* XII. *The Cause of the smallness of their Number. The Contradictions of the Rabbies. The Court of the* Gentiles *unknown.* XIII. *The third Period since the Captivity.* XIV. *The title of Stranger whether Shameful, or Honourable.* XV. *The Proselytes of the* Pharisees *were not from the Heathens.* XVI. *They were scarce in* Judæa *in* J. CHRIST's *time.* VII. *The Laws of the* Talmudists *against Proselytes.* XVIII. *Their great Number in the* Messiah's *time contested.*

I. THE *Gentiles* were allow'd the Liberty to go and worship in the Temple. St. *John* says, that *certain Greeks*, who were come to the Feast had a Mind to see JESUS CHRIST. Shall we understand by these, the *Jews* of the Dispersion, or the Proselytes of the Nations? But this term in the Gospel seems appropriated to express the *Gentiles*, and it was thus translated by the antient *Latin* and *Syriack* Interpreters. The Gospel distinguishes three sorts of People. The *Jews* altho' dispersed among other Nations that still retain'd the Name of their first Origine; The *Proselytes* of Justice, which the Scripture calls *devout people, or people fearing God*; And the *Greeks*, or *Gentiles*, that made up the third sort. These *Gentiles* accustom'd to many Gods, and to follow, him whom they thought the most Powerful, came often to *Jerusalem* there to honour God. They * pray'd unto him; *for the Tradition imports, that if a Gentile makes Prayers to God, the* Jews *are oblig'd to say, Amen.* They also made Vows, brought Presents, and went in with the Proselytes to the *Porch of the Nations*, but could go no further. For this reason it was rail'd in, and Writings were put up in several Places, and in several Languages to forewarn those Strangers from going in to the Sanctuary, who might have done it through ignorance. Pompey † *with his Attendance went in to the Holy place, where the High Priest only had a right to go.* He examin'd the Tables, Candlesticks, Gold, and Silver, that was in it. *Otho* of *Fresingan* says, that the Temple was polluted by the Sacrifices, which *Pompey* offer'd; but he is mistaken. For the Sacrifices were offer'd by the Priests pursuant to the old Ceremonies. *Hircanus* himself, who was but just re-establish'd, in the Office of High-Priest officiated. *Pompey* won the good will of the People by his Mildness; and the only thing that vex'd them, was to see him in a place, where the *Gentiles* were not suffer'd to come.

II. Gifts sent by any Prince, or private Idolaters, either to thank God for some Favour, or because they would not neglect a powerful Deity, were also receiv'd in the Temple. *Julia* || sent golden Cups, and other Ornaments to the Temple of *Jerusalem*, which were receiv'd with Acknowledgment: and the Sages judiciously demonstrated, that the Gifts of the Pagans were some of the chief Ornaments of the Temple.

III. However there was a great Distinction made concerning these Gifts. If the Rabbies are to be believ'd, 1. Neither Pagan, nor Samaritan, could offer the half-Shekel for the Temple, nor the Doves for the Purification of Women. *It was a constant* * *Rule to accept of nothing but what was given by Vow, or wilful Oblation.* 2. No Tithes, no First-fruits were taken from Strangers. 3. Lastly, they were not suffer'd to contribute any thing towards the re-building of the City, or Temple, tho' their Contribution was voluntary; because *Ezra* had said; *It belongeth to us to re-build the house of the Lord.* However the same *Ezra* had accepted of *Cyrus*'s Bounty to re-build the Temple, and could not have done it without this Prince's liberality.

The *Christians* as well as the *Jews* have vary'd about this Matter. Some Bishops have taken Pride in haughtily refusing the Presents of Princes, because they were Hereticks; and others have receiv'd from the *Arians* not only Presents, but the Priesthood, which they could not exercise without their Approbation.

IV. The Sacrifices which the Pagans offer'd for Sin were receiv'd in the Temple. *Augustus* had order'd an Ox, and two Lambs to be offer'd daily for him, and this Sacrifice lasted a long while after his Death. Some † were very forward in offering Sacrifices for *Caligula*; For this was the first Temple, in which any had been made for him. To conclude, the Decree whereby it was forbid to receive Presents, and offer any Sacrifice, *but for those of the Nation*, was one of the principal Causes of the War under *Nero*, because the Sacrifices offer'd for the Emperour were abolished.

The *Jews* || made a distinction of Sacrifices, as well as of Presents. For they receiv'd of the Heathen no other Sacrifices, but *for Sin*; and it was not lawful to offer incense with these Victims. But for fear of disgusting the Pagans, they took from them all that they gave; and the Priest afterwards directed it in his Mind for Sin, tho' the Sacrifice was offer'd for another thing.

V. This Complaisance for the *Gentiles* arose after the Captivity of *Babylon*. Their wanting the *Persian* King's favour, the mixture of Nations caused by the Conquests of *Alexander* the Great, who went into *Judæa*, and their frequent trading with the *Egyptians*, had oblig'd the Clergy to slacken that great Severity, which the Law seem'd to impose upon them, concerning Strangers. The *Romans* also becoming Masters of *Judæa*, and governing it by Procurators, encreas'd this Obligation. But notwithstanding all this Compliance, The Rabbies affirm, that the Infidels were neither suffer'd to observe the Precepts of the Law, nor the Sabbaths, nor Holy days, nor even to have Publick Prayers

* Bereschith Rabba Parasch 66. fol. 74. † Joseph. de Bello *l.* 1. *c.* 5. *p.* 720. || Joseph. ibid. *l* 2. *c.* 17. * Misna Tit. Siklim *c.* 1. † Philo Legat. ad Caj. *p.* 793. || Joseph. de Bello *l.* 2. *c.* 17. *p* 308.

at

at their ſet Hours, and that thoſe who would have *attempted it in Judæa* became *guilty of Death*. This is ſo peremptory, and fantaſtical, as it can't eaſily be credited, tho' the Doctors of the Nation affirm it. For it is not the firſt time that they have been miſtaken about their antient Rites. Beſides, they contradict themſelves. For they maintain, that the Voice of him that deliver'd the Law upon Mount *Sinai*, ſounded from one end of the Earth to the other; that it was Grav'd upon ſeventy Columns in as many Tongues, for all the Nations of the Earth; and that moreover every Nation ſent for a Copy of the Law, that they might know and practice it: And now ſince we have ſpoken of the *Gentiles*, who perſever'd in Idolatry, let us come to the Proſelytes.

VI. We * muſt diſtinguiſh ſix Periods, wherein the Proſelytes were differently us'd. The firſt was, the *Jews* going out of *Egypt*, at which time *Jethro Moſes*'s Father-in-Law was admitted, and a Letter added to his Name as God had done to *Abraham*. For before he was call'd *Jether. Revel.* It was alſo at that time that a great number of *Egyptians*, aſtoniſh'd at *Moſes*'s Miracles, or drove to it by Neceſſity and Miſery, join'd with the *Iſraelites*, and were confounded with that Nation. *Africanus* † pretends, that the Genealogy of theſe antient Proſelytes was preſerv'd till J. CHRIST's time, and that it was an honour to be deſcended from them. They are even call'd in ſome Manuſcripts *Archi-Proſelytes*. *Valeſius* || follow'd this reading in putting ſo great a difference between the *Antient and Modern Proſelytes*; but there never was any Archi-Proſelytes among the *Jews*. This Expreſſion which he finds in ſome of *Euſebius*'s Manuſcripts, was foiſted in by ſome unknown Hand, who had a Mind to ſhew thereby the diſtinction he made of two ſorts of Proſelytes.

The ſame *Valeſius* has alſo too ſubtily diſtinguiſh'd *the Strangers and Autoctones*, mention'd by *Moſes*, when he orders every Man to be deſtroy'd, *that ſhall eat leavened bread, whether he be a Stranger or born in the Land*; for when he reads, *that one Law ſhall be to him, that is home-born, and unto the Stranger*, he maintains that there were two ſorts of *Egyptians*, that joyn'd with the *Iſraelites* when they went out of Bondage; the one *born in the Land call'd* Autoctones, and the other were *Farmers* that rented the Land of *Egypt*. But *Moſes* doth not there ſpeak of the Proſelytes, that follow'd the People; he makes an Order for the Celebration of the Paſſe-over in future times, and in the Land of *Canaan*. So that by *the home-born*, he means thoſe *Jews*, that ſhould be born in the Land which they were going to Conquer; and by the Strangers, thoſe that ſhould embrace the *Jewiſh* Religion, or partake of its Ceremonies.

What ever the Rabbies may now ſay, it is certain that thoſe who went out of *Egypt* with the *Iſraelites*, *mingled with them*; and this mixture gave them the ſame Rights and Privileges, which the natural *Jews* enjoy'd. In proceſs of time there * was no real diſtinction made of the antient Proſelytes, whoſe Families were confounded by Marriage in the Deſart, and in the Land of *Canaan*.

VII. God in that firſt Period was very ſevere to the Idolatrous Nations. For *the tenth Generation of the* Moabites *was not ſuffered to enter into the Congregation of* Iſrael, becauſe of *Balaam*. It is true, the Rabbies ſtrive to prove by the Example of *Ruth*, who was receiv'd into their Alliance, and whoſe Name is honourably ſet down in JESUS CHRIST's Pedigree, that this Law only concern'd thoſe who could not marry *Jewiſh* Women; but this Example of *Ruth* is a peculiar one, and an Exception to the General Law. For the *Moabites* are excluded from the Covenant beyond the tenth Generation, without diſtinction either *of Men, or Women*. The ſame Law without doubt concern'd all the People of *Canaan*, whom God likewiſe *utterly deſtroy'd*. For this reaſon he ſeem'd diſpleas'd at the League that *Joſhua* had contracted with the *Gibeonites*, tho' it was obtain'd by Craft. All theſe Nations then might embrace the *Jewiſh* Religion; but theſe Proſelytes were never reckon'd in the number of the *Jewiſh* Families, nor incorporated into the Nation.

IX. The *Egyptians* were more favourably treated by the *Jews*; becauſe they had liv'd among them. However, it was not a *Jewiſh* Wife, or a Mother, that confer'd the Privilege of the Covenant. For it was fix'd to the third Generation. Doubtleſs the ſame Right muſt be given to all other Nations, that were not formally excluded from the Law.

X. If Men would reflect upon God's Proceedings, it would Cure them of many Prejudices. One wou'd have Truth to ſhine as bright as the Light, that it might force People to believe it. He fancies that God is always running after Man, to remove all the Obſtacles that might oppoſe his Knowledge, and reveal his Laws unto him in ſuch a manner, as he may not be able to juſtify himſelf by what is call'd an invincible Ignorance. Another would have God to foreſee, and prevent all the Errours which might happen, and thereby keep Men from ruining themſelves. Laſtly, there is a great and wide Door made to the Church, to be ſeen at a diſtance, and Men go eaſily into it, otherwiſe the Deity could not be excuſed. We'll let the Philoſophers weigh the Power, Juſtice, and Goodneſs of God, by ſpeculative Arguments; but if we examine his Proceedings, we ſhall ſay with the falſe *Eſdras*, *that there comes but little Gold from the Mold of the Earth*; many Men are created, but few ſaved. We ſhall obſerve that for four Thouſand Years together, God took but little care to make himſelf known. He ſeem'd not to concern himſelf with reclaiming his People from their Errours; and ſo far was he from opening the Door of the Church, or Salvation, that many Nations were formally excluded from it, and that for many Generations. To others he impos'd difficult and burdenſome Conditions, as we have ſufficiently prov'd.

XI. The ſecond Period includes the reigns of *David*, and of *Solomon*. *Maimonides* affirms, that thoſe Princes receiv'd no Proſelytes; becauſe it was to be feared, that the Proſperity of their *Reigns* rather than the love of Religion, might have drawn them. And indeed *Solomon* when he built the Temple made no *Porch for the Gentiles*. But this is diſputed by *Villalpand* *, who endeavours to find out ſome myſterious Reaſons for *Ezekiel*'s not meaſuring it. But it would be impoſſible, that ſuch a conſiderable part of the Temple ſhould be forgot, and no where mention'd in Scripture; and the general ſilence of the Sacred Writers, who have left us an exact Deſcription of that ſtately Building, ought to prevail over all the Conjectures of Criticks.

XII This Porch of the *Gentiles* is found in *Joſephus*, and in the *Apocalypſe*; becauſe there was one in the latter times. But in vain do we look for it among the antient || Writers. For they ſay not one word of one. Why did not *Manaſſah*, when he raiſed up

* Semoth Rabbath Paraſ. 17. Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. *l.* 2. *c.* 2. † African. apud Euſ. *l.* 1. *c.* 7. || Valeſ. Not. *p.* 14.
* Ferrend's *Reflect. on the* Chriſt. *Religion.* † Villalp. in Ezech. *l.* 3. *c.* 28, *p.* 206. &c. 34. *p.* 226. *t.* 2. || Pineda de Rebus *l.* 5. *c.* 5. *Q.* 19. Adrichomius Deſcript. Terræ Sanctæ, *p.* 162.

Altars

Altars *in the two Courts of the Houſe of the Lord for the Hoſt of Heaven*, did he not put ſome in the Court of the *Gentiles*, if there were any at that time? *Tho' it were true, that the Devil prefer'd the moſt Sacred places of the Temple to any other*, would it follow, that he neglected the Court of the *Gentiles*, in which Idols were neceſſary for the Devotion of thoſe Nations that were us'd to worſhip them? The Wars that were between *David*, and the Infidels, and the hard uſage which they receiv'd from that Prince, compleated their hatred for his Religion, and the *Jews* did not endeavour to gain thoſe they utterly deſtroy'd. The Rabbies ſay, that *Solomon* made of his Wives ſo many Proſelytes; but beſides that they contradict their Maſters, they contend with the Scripture, which affirms that *Solomon*'s Wives drew him into Idolatry. As for his League with *Hiram* and *Pharaoh*, it was Political, and made no alteration in Religion.

XIII. During the Captivity, the *Jews*, being ſpread among the *Medes*, and in *Chaldæa*, where they were mingled with the Idolaters, became more tolerating. *Alexander*'s Conqueſt; the neceſſity of finding a Sanctuary, or of ſubmitting to the Kings of *Syria*; ſoftn'd this Nation, who before look'd upon all others with Scorn. Far from rejecting Proſelytes, they then drew them, and gladly receiv'd thoſe who embraced the Truth. If we will give any Credit to their own Hiſtory, we can't doubt but they were alſo admitted to Imploys; for *Abtalion* and *Schemaia*, Preſidents of the Council, and Chiefs of the Nation, were Proſelytes, born of a *Jewiſh* Mother. *Abtalion* is made to deſcend from *Sennacherib*, who worſhipped the true God after he had waged a Cruel War againſt him; and as there is in the *Roman* Code a Law, which bears the Name of *Abtalion*, it is ſuppos'd that he gave it before he forſook the worſhip of Idols.

XIV. *Joſephus* obſerves, that there was a great deal of care taken to ſend the Genealogies of the Proſelytes from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem*, and alſo of thoſe that married with Strangers; but this exactneſs only concern'd the Prieſts: For Lay-men, tho' deſcended from Paganiſm, were *admittable* to all Offices, excepting the Prieſthood. Some learned Men fully perſuaded that this Law mention'd by *Joſephus*, extended to all ſorts of People; add to prove it, that the Shame of being born of a Stranger was ſo great, that St. *Paul* to avoid it, affirms that he was *a Hebrew born*, and of *Hebrew Parents*. Beſides, when in any of the Maxims of the Fathers, ſome of *Jochanan*'s are produc'd, he is quoted in a myſtical manner *, becauſe being a Proſelyte, there was a blot in his Birth, which hindered his being named.

We muſt not ſtretch the thing too far, by fancying that they thought it an honour *to be deſcended from the antient Proſelytes*; and that they carefully preſerved their Pedigree to prove it. It was more glorious to be a *Hebrew born of the Hebrews*, as St. *Paul* ſays. We only maintain two things, One, that during the third Period which laſted from the Captivity to J. CHRIST, the Secular Proſelytes were admitted to Offices, as *Abtalion* and *Schemaia* prove it. The Other, that theſe Proſelytes were confounded by degrees with the *Jewiſh* Nation by their Marriages, and Poſterity; ſo that after ſome Generations there was no diſtinction made among them. The Example of *Jochanan*, which is produc'd, doth not overthrow this Opinion. For that *Fagius* believ'd him a Proſelyte, it is not certain; and *Maimonides* found in this Expreſſion בג בג *Bag Bag*, two Cotemporary Rabbies, in ſtead of *Jochanan*.

XV. At the beginning of *Chriſtianity*, which is the fourth Period, the Phariſees *compaſſed Sea and Land to make one Proſelyte*, However I doubt whether this ardent Zeal did in any way concern the Converſion of the *Gentiles*. In the midſt of ſo many different Sects, which then divided *Judaiſm*, every one ſtrove to ſtrengthen his Party. It is the Character of every Private Society, to work for their own particular intereſt, rather than for the Publick Good of Religion. The *Phariſees*, far from endeavouring to Convert the *Gentiles*, look'd upon them *as Dogs*; For it was from them that J. CHRIST borrowed the Expreſſion he uſed to try the Woman of *Canaan*'s Faith.

XVI. It is true, *Cornelius* the Centurion had learnt in *Judæa* to worſhip the true God. Nevertheleſs the greateſt number of Proſelytes came from *Aſia*, *Egypt*, and other places, where the Tranſlation of the LXX. was ſpread, and contributed to the Converſion of Infidels. I own, there have been † a great many learned Men that did not read it; but the Ignorance of ſome Writers, as *Trebellius*, *Pollio*, *Pliny*, and *Plutarch*, who never ſaw the *Jewiſh* Writings, does not afford a general Proof againſt all the Idolaters: For in Matters of Religion the Learned are often Ignorant of what the Vulgar know. The Pagan Authors have not been very exact in ſpeaking of the *Chriſtians*, altho the Goſpel *had been preached unto every Creature under the Heavens*. The ſame thing might happen to the *Jews*, though the Tranſlation of the Scripture was read in all the Synagogues of *Egypt* and *Aſia*; and thoſe private Men who deſired to be inform'd of the *Jewiſh* Religion, had it in their hands.

XVII. Beſides, what we have ſaid of the Neglect and Contempt of the *Phariſees* with reference to Strangers, we ſee by the *Miſnah* || that they ſtill kept them off even after the Deſtruction of the Temple; For it was one of the Chief Subjects of the great Diſpute which *Gamaliel* had with *Joſhua*, who *was made Prince of the Senate*. One *Judah* ſtriv'd to get into the School, while *Gamaliel* II. was Patriarch of it; but he ſhut the door againſt him, becauſe he was an *Ammonite* Proſelyte, and that the Law forbad the *Ammonites* * *to enter into the Aſſembly till the tenth Generation*. *Joſhua* maintain'd that this Prohibition was of no effect, becauſe the Nations were confounded when the King of *Syria* carried them away from their Habitations. To this *Gamaliel* oppos'd *Jeremiah*'s Oracle †, in which God ſays, *I will bring again the Captivity of the Children of* Ammon. *Joſhua* reply'd by a Paſſage of *Amos* ||, in which God ſhew'd that he would bring back the Captivity of *Iſraël*, tho' he had not done it. The Diſpute * upon this and other Articles went ſo far that *Gamaliel* was put out of his Place, as we have already obſerved.

The *Talmudiſts* have continued in the ſame Mind as *Gamaliel* was; For we ſee the Complaints which the Chiefs of the *Jewiſh* Nation carried to *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, to demand their Protection againſt the Judges of their own Nation, that receiv'd the Abjurations of thoſe Pagans and *Chriſtians*, who deſired to enter into the Synagogue. This perhaps was only affected; but they have excluded Proſelytes from Offices, from being Judges, and the honour of being reckon'd *Jews*. They have even regu-

* *He is call'd* Son of Bag Bag, *which ſignifies by way of Abridgment the Son of a Pagan Father, and of a Pagan Mother*, Pirke Abbot *c.* 5. §. 22. *p.* 75. & Leuſden Not. *p.* 88. † Hody de Ver. Auth. Verſ. Græcæ, *l.* 2. *c.* 3. pag. 104. || Miſnah Tract. ידים manus, *a Treatiſe of the Waſhing of Hands*, c. 4. S. 4. t. 6. p. 489. * Deut. 13. 4. † Jer. 49. 6. || Amos 9. * *See Book* III. *c.* 3. *p.* 466.

lated the Prerogatives of Matrimony, and the Birth of Proſelytes.

XVIII. Finally, there will be a ſixth and laſt Period for the Proſelytes in the *Meſſiah*'s reign. Some of the Sages maintain, that the Church-Door will be ſhut againſt the Nations, by reaſon that the ſparkling Proſperity of his reign will render their Converſion ſuſpectful. But Others have a contrary Notion; becauſe the People conquer'd by the *Meſſiah*, will embrace his Religion, and obey his Laws. *Abravanel* alſo maintains, that the whole World will then be in perfect Peace, ſince all differences in Religion ſhall be aboliſh'd. We read that a Maſter having ſeen his Oxe ſick, put a Horſe in his room; the Oxe being well, and the Maſter unwilling to loſe the Horſe, joyn'd them together. This ſick Animal is the fallen *Jews*, in whoſe room God hath ſubſtituted the Pagans, and he joyns them to the *Jews* after their Repentance. Laſtly, God is introduced in the *Gemara* *, acknowledging the *Jews* and *Gentiles* for his Family, *Why ſhould I loſe them*, ſaid he, *are not they both the Work of my hands?*

* Ex Gemara *c.* xi. Sect. 35 *p.* 358.

CHAP. VII.

Different Orders of Proſelytes.

The manner of receiving them into the Church. Their Baptiſm examin'd.

I. *The firſt Orders of Proſelytes the Slaves. Their Privilege of committing Inceſt.* II. *Proſelytes* of Abode, *or of the Gate. Alterations made in the Law for them.* III. *Whether the Obſervation of the Sabbath was a Crime worthy of Death.* IV. *Whether it was permitted to fall into Idolatry again.* V. *Whether the* Noachides's *Precepts are found in the Council of* Jeruſalem. Schickard *confuted.* VI. *Third Order of Proſelytes. Thoſe of* Righteouſneſs. *Their Circumciſion: how adminiſtred.* VII. *Their Baptiſm not in uſe in the firſt Ages.* VII. *Its Origine taken from the* Phariſees. IX. *The Neceſſity of it. It was never repeated.* X. *New Name.* XI. Tacitus's *Reproach of the Proſelytes apply'd to the* Jews. XII. *The Privileges of the Proſelytes extenuated by the Rabbies.*

I. THE Scripture does not ſpeak of different Orders of Proſelytes; none but the Rabbies have contriv'd their Diſtinction, according to their Quality, and degrees of Converſion. They only ſpeak of the Proſelytes *of the Gate, and of Righteouſneſs.* But three different Sorts may be reckon'd among them. The firſt is that of Slaves, who embrace the *Jewiſh* Religion without receiving their Freedom. They were but Demi-Proſelytes, who neither belong'd to the *Jews* nor the *Gentiles*, and nothing could ever repair for this defect. *Maimonides* relates a diſpute that the Rabbies had about this Principle, the Determination of which ſtrikes horrour; For they affirm, that a *Demi-Proſelyte* Slave may know *his Siſter, Mother, or Daughter*, without committing Inceſt; becauſe being no ways related to the *Jews*, among whom he is not fully entred, nor with the *Gentiles*, whom he has forſaken, all manner of Relation ends; and this Annihilation of Kindred leaves him a full liberty of committing the worſt of Inceſts without a Crime. So that while they refuſe the Slaves or Proſelytes, I know not by what Advantages belonging to their Nation, they make them amends, in permitting them to wallow in the moſt crying Sins. This is an abominable Doctrine.

II. They had * a ſecond Order of Proſelytes, that were call'd *of Abode*. Theſe ſame *Jews*, that ſcrupled to force any one to profeſs their Religion, conſtrain'd upon Pain of Death all that came to ſettle in *Judæa*, to forſake Idolatry, and to obſerve the Precepts of the *Noachides*. They were obliged to make this Profeſſion before three Perſons, either *Jews*, or Proſelytes, after which they might ſettle their Abode where they pleaſed. *Maimonides* † excepts *Jeruſalem*, but he is miſtaken; And we muſt even obſerve, that this Law was not always kept. It was infring'd every time that either the *Jews* ſtood in need of the Pagans, or fear'd them, or the Heathens were two powerful in *Paleſtine*. The *Jews* own, that it diſcontinued with the *Jubilees*, becauſe *Judæa* being often ſubject to Pagan Kings, and the Confuſion of Nations becoming too great, the *Jews* had not Power enough to demand theſe Confeſſions of Faith, nor to conſtrain the *Gentiles* to forſake Idolatry, or their eſtabliſhment in *Judæa*. So that by this means Converſion became Voluntary.

III. Two things that are Singular are ſaid of theſe Proſelytes. One that it was || a Crime *worthy of Death* for them to go beyond the Seven Precepts of *Noah*; as to obſerve the Sabbath, and ſtudy the Law; becauſe it is call'd the Inheritance of *Iſrael*, and belongs to none, but them. The *Talmudiſts* are they that have deviſed this Strictneſs; for on the contrary, they ſhould have delighted to have ſeen the Proſelytes of the Gate make ſome Progreſs in the knowledge and love of Religion. Beſides, ſome Doctors have withſtood this; for *Meir* * ſays, that a Pagan Studying the Law becomes like a Prieſt. 'Tis true indeed, this is underſtood of the *Noachides*'s Principles; but the Interpretation is ſtrained, the *Law* ſignifies the Precepts given by *Moſes*. The Pagans would not ſuffer any to celebrate, nor even to be at the Celebration of their Myſteries, unleſs they were initiated; but the Law far from acting with the ſame Severity againſt Strangers, order'd that he, who *dwelt within the Gates of* Iſrael *ſhould obſerve the Sabbath*; and the LXX Interpreters knowing the Law-giver's meaning, have render'd it more clear, *The Proſelyte having his Abode among you ſhall keep the Sabbath.* So that none but the *Talmudiſts* have contrived this Severity againſt the Proſelytes of the Gate.

* Gemara Hieroſ. ad Titul. Jabimoth, *c.* 11. fol. 12. † Maimon. Hal. Iſuri-bia, *c.* 14. Selden de Jur. Nat. & Gent. *l.* v. *c.* 17. *p.* 661. || Excerpt. Gemar. Sanhedr. *c.* 7. Sect. 6. Apud Coch. duo Tit. Thalm. *p.* 274. & Galatin de Arc. Cathol. Verit. *l.* 2. *c.* 9. 10. * Gemar. ibid.

IV. *Mai-*

IV. *Maimonides* † affirms, that these Proselytes were not oblig'd to keep the Law *out of the Holy Land*; and that a Man going back to his own home, might fall again into Idolatry, and not be Guilty. To this is apply'd the example of *Naaman*, for *Elisha* suffered him to kneel, and worship him in the House of *Rimmon*.

Let us add a third thing concerning these Proselytes. Their Sacrifices were offer'd with the same Scruple, and Care, as those of Strangers; and even now, if any will raise an Altar upon the Ruins of *Jerusalem*, and offer Sacrifices there, they are taught how a Victim was Kill'd; but the *Jews* will have no hand in the Choice of the Place, for fear of offering in the Holy place what should not be offer'd but in the Court of the *Gentiles*; and because the Temple, tho' demolished long since, doth still preserve its Holiness.

V. The Seven Precepts of the *Noachides*, which they pretend the Proselytes of the Gate took upon them, are sufficiently known. *Schickard* || would have it, that the Apostles renew'd them in the Decree of the Council of *Jerusalem*. He even dazled *Selden* by it; but this dimness did not last long; For that great Man afterwards confuted him. And indeed it was not the design of the Apostles to introduce a *Demi-Christianity*, by receiving Proselytes of Abode, as the *Jews* did. There were then no Disputes about *Noah*'s Precepts, which the Rabbies have perhaps since invented; but the Controversy ran upon some Ceremonies of the Law, whereof those *Pharisees* were Jealous who had left the Synagogue to enter into the Church. Besides, it was needless to have forbid Idolatry to the Heathens already converted and become *Christians*. For that was the first Act of their Abjuration. But they fancied, that they might still partake of the Entertainments which their Friends and Relations made after their Sacrifices; and it was this remainder of Idolatry that the Apostles condemn'd, and which had no relation with *Noah*'s Precepts. How can any one find Murder in the abstaining from things *stifled and from blood? Noah*, so far from establishing this Law, gave leave to eat of Beasts that were stifled and dead. Again, where can any one find in the Decree of the Council of *Jerusalem*, the Condemnation *of Theft, and the Establishment of Tribunals?* 'Tis said indeed, that there are Manuscripts in which these words are to be found, *do not unto Others what you would not have done to you:* and this Article is very old; since the Emperour *Severus* is suspected to have borrowed it from the *Christians*, and that St. *Cyprian* had already found it in his Copy. Let any give this Maxim as Antient a Date as they think fit, I will not oppose it; but since it has been violently thrust into the Decree of *Jerusalem*, with which it has no Connexion, there will be need of new Machines to draw from it a particular Condemnation of Theft, and the erection of Tribunals to punish Offenders. Nay, even good Sence will not suffer these things to be found in it; since it can't be done but by a long series of Consequences: So that of *Noah*'s seven Precepts, there are two wanting in the Council's Decree. There are even grounds to suspect, that by *Fornication*, (which is a general term, that St. *Paul* uses to express the Incest committed at *Corinth*) is to be understood those unlawful Matches forbid in *Leviticus*, and permitted among Heathens. Let us then agree, that the Apostles assembled in Council, had no regard to the Precepts of the *Noachides*, nor to the Proselytes of the Gate.

VI. The third Order of Proselytes are those of Righteousness. They profess'd the *Jewish* Religion, and took upon them to observe all its Rites. Three Persons instructed them in their Law; examin'd them carefully, and receiv'd them by Circumcision, Baptism, and Sacrifice.

First, They administred the Circumcision to the Proselyte, but if he had already receiv'd it, as indeed it was receiv'd among the *Æthiopians*, and several other Nations, they only took two or three drops of Blood from the Wound; and this was call'd *the blood of the Covenant*. St. *Epiphanius* * assures us, that when a *Samaritan* became a *Jew*, he was again Circumcised. He even expresses in what manner it could be done. St. *Augustin* contradicts him, by maintaining that Circumcision was never repeated; from whence he draws an Argument against the repetition of Baptism. And indeed some *Jewish* Doctors say, that they only took a little Blood; but we must own, that they have differ'd. 1. St. *Epiphanius* is in the right to say, that the *Samaritans* receiv'd a second Circumcision, since it was administred to *Symmachus*. It is true, *Origen* says that the Circumcision was forbid to the *Samaritans* at that time. His Observation is right, for *Antonius* had taken from the *Samaritans* that Liberty which he restor'd to the *Jews*; but the Consequence drawn from it is not good, because the Prince's Law was often transgressed. 2. A few drops of Blood was sufficient. Three Witnesses were present at that Ceremony, to make it the more Authentick. They praised God at the same time, and put up their Petitions to him in the behalf of the Proselyte, and of the Standers by. *O God*, said they, *Grant that we may find in the Law good Works, and thy Protection, as thou hast introduced this Man in thy Covenant.*

VII. After their Wound was healed, they were Baptized; but this Custom is not so old as is generally believed; for we do not observe that the Multitude of *Egyptians*, or the Family of *Jethro*, who followed *Moses*, were Baptized in the Desart after they had embraced the *Jewish* Religion. *Maimonides* who derives the Origine of these Baptisms from the time of *Moses*, and quotes these words, † *There shall be one Ordinance for you and for the Stranger*, manifestly strains them. For the thing there in question does not concern the reception of Proselytes into the Church, nor their Baptism; but that God would have a Stranger in the offering of his Sacrifices, observe the same Rites and Ceremonies as the *Jews*. *Josephus* relates the forc'd Conversion of the *Idumæans* wrought by *Hircanus*, who oblig'd them to be Circumcised; but he does not speak of any Baptism confer'd upon that Nation. Shall it be said, that he included Baptism under the other Rites of Judaism which that Nation observed? That may be, but it must be own'd, that as *Josephus* never spoke of those sorts of Baptisms; and forgetting them in a Circumstance where they ought to have been mentioned, there are some Grounds to believe, that their use was not yet known in *Hircanus*'s time.

VIII. The Rabbies, that speak of this Baptism, are divided about the Origine, and Necessity of it. R. *Alphes* maintains, that it was added to the Circumcision by the *Jews* to make a greater Separation between them and the *Samaritans* that did not

† Maimon. Apud Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. Mens. *t.* 11, *p.* 172. † Numb. 15 15. || Schick. de Jure Regio, *c.*5. Theor. 17. *p.* 129. * Epiph. Pond.

Baptize. Some would have it, that this Baptiſm went from the *Chriſtians* to the *Jews*, which is not very likely. It is yet more unlike, that the Heathens borrow'd from the *Jews* that Baptiſm which they confer'd upon thoſe who were admitted into the Myſteries of *Iſis*. The Idolaters had long believ'd, that Sin could be waſhed away by the Baptiſm of pure Water; But the *Phariſees* extremely multiplied Waſhings, as we find by CHRIST's upbraiding them with it; and perhaps they compell'd every one, that entred into their Sect to waſh themſelves in order to expiate their paſt Crimes. And the Baptiſm of this Sect became afterwards a general Rule for the reception of Proſelytes; or at leaſt this uſe gave the Rabbies occaſion to ſay, that *Moſes* had ſo ordered it. Indeed theſe words of the Law-giver *waſh your Raiments* neither concern'd the Proſelytes, nor their Baptiſm.

IX. *Maimonides* believ'd this Baptiſm abſolutely neceſſary to a Proſelyte. But this does not ſeem ſo much an Eccleſiaſtical Rite, as a *Political* Law: At leaſt it is the *Houſe of Judgment* that orders this Baptiſm; and the Ceremonies of it. The three Judges muſt be preſent, and the abſence of one makes Baptiſm uſeleſs. They that are Baptized muſt get a Certificate under their Hands, without which they are not receiv'd into the Church, becauſe the truth of their Baptiſm is queſtion'd. A Child unborn partakes of that Baptiſm which his Mother received, when ſhe was big with it.

Beſides, the other Sages are not ſo ſevere as *Maimonides*: For we read in the *Gemara* * that he that is Circumciſed without receiving Baptiſm is a Proſelyte, becauſe *our Fathers were Circumciſed without being Baptized*; and he that is Baptized without receiving the Circumciſion is nevertheleſs a Proſelyte, *becauſe our Mothers* were Baptized, *and have no foreskins to loſe*. Women, that embraced the *Jewiſh* Religion were to be Baptized like the Men; but the three Witneſſes were to withdraw, turning their Back towards the Perſon that came out of the Font. The Water was to touch every part of their Body, otherwiſe the Ceremony was void. It was never repeated among the *Jews*, no more than among the *Chriſtians*. Laſtly, they offered a Sacrifice for the Proſelytes; but this Cuſtom is aboliſh'd by the deſtruction of the Temple, and of its Altars.

X. Theſe Ceremonies being ended, the Proſelyte was *counted a* Jew *like Others*. He took the title of it, after that Name became common to the whole Nation, he chang'd his Name, renounc'd his Kindred, Family, and Wealth, and receiv'd as it is pretended a new Soul. For this reaſon he was call'd a new Man, a new Creature, and his Converſion, a *Regeneration*, or a Second Birth.

XI. *Tacitus* reproaches thoſe that forſake Heatheniſm, with learning *firſt to deſpiſe the Gods to forſake their Country, Children, and Kindred, whom they look'd upon with Indignation.* This Reproach can't be apply'd to the *Chriſtians*, unleſs it be own'd, that it is a Calumny of this Hiſtorian who had but little Knowledge of them; For tho' the *Chriſtian* Religion teaches to deſpiſe falſe Gods, yet it inſpires Charity for Men; but this is ſo much the more applicable to the *Jews*; becauſe *Tacitus* affirms, that they received the Circumciſion, in entring into the Religion whereof he complains; and that in reality this Baptiſm and change of Religion, broke all the Bonds of Blood and Friendſhip, which were contracted before.

XII. The Rabbies now leſſen the Privileges of theſe Proſelytes. For they maintain, 1. That they always retain their quality of Strangers, without being able to aboliſh it by a long ſeries of Generations. 2. That a Proſelyte could have no Office, either Military or Civil. 3. That a Woman Proſelyte could not marry a Prieſt. 4. That the Children of a Proſelyte Man, and a Heatheniſh Woman, were counted Heathens, and *Gentiles*. 5. That the Children of a Proſelyte Man, and a *Jewiſh* Woman, were look'd upon as *Jews*; becauſe of the excellency of the Blood, *Partus ventrem ſequitur*. 6. Laſtly, if Salvation and eternal Life be granted to them, it is upon Condition that they ſhall ſuffer Hell Torments for a whole Year; becauſe they have retarded the *Meſſiah*'s Coming, and can't be look'd upon but as the *Scurf of Iſrael*.

* Gemara Tit. Jabimoth, *c.* 4. *fol.* 46.

CHAP. VIII.

Rites of the Circumciſion.

I. *Circumciſion taken from the* Egyptians. II. *That Opinion of* Marſham *confuted.* III. *It went from* Abraham *to the* Arabians. IV. *From the* Iſraelites *into* Egypt. V. *St.* Ambroſe *juſtified upon the Circumciſion of Maids.* VI. *Whether Circumciſion was neglected in* Egypt. VII. *In the Deſart.* VIII. *Whether perform'd with Stones or Knives.* IX. *The ſecond Circumciſion explain'd.* X. *Reaſons for the Choice of the eighth Day.* XI. *Maids little eſteem'd. The Prayers of thoſe* Jews *that deſpiſe them.* XII. *The Office of Circumciſor.* XIII. Elijah's *great Chair to ſee the Circumciſion.* XIV. *The Child's entry into the Synagogue.* XV. *Ceremonies of the Circumciſion.* XVI. *Reaſon of its Inſtitution by* Philo. XVII. *By ſome Modern Rabbies.* XVIII. *Effects attributed to it.* XIX. *How it is practiſed by the* Chriſtians.

I. SOME pretend * that the Circumciſion was known before *Abraham* in *Egypt*, and that God borrow'd it from that Idolatrous Nation, as he had borrow'd from Nature the Rainbow to be a ſign unto *Noah*, that the World ſhould be no more deſtroy'd by a Flood. *Sanchoniathon* † affirms, that *Saturn* firſt gave the Law of Circumciſion, after he had practiſed it himſelf. It ſoon went into *Egypt*, where it became neceſſary. Indeed *Pythagoras* could have no Society with the Prieſts of that Country, till he was Circumciſed; and moſt Hiſtorians || conclude that the *Ethiopians* and People of *Colchis* came from thence, becauſe they receive Circumciſion. Laſtly, * *Herodotus* ſays; that the *Phenicians* and *Syrians*, that is to ſay, the *Jews*, own they deriv'd this Rite from the *Egyptians*, who had uſed it from the beginning. Religion was not concern'd in the Cuſtom which had

* Spencer. de Leg. Hebr. Marſh. Chron. Ægypt. Sæc. 5. *p.* 74. † Sanchoniathon apud Euſeb. de Præp. *l.* 1. *p.* 38.
|| Clem. Alexandr. Strom. *l.* 1. *p.* 302. * Herodot. Euterpe, *c.* 56. *p.* 80.

only

only been eſtabliſh'd in theſe Nations for a more peculiar mark of diſtinction. St. *Ambroſe* ſays, that the Women were alſo circumciſed at the Age when the motions of Concupiſcence firſt began to be felt, to ſtop their titillations; but *Marſham* can't imagine from whence that Father took this Notion. It is ſufficient for his purpoſe, that the *Egyptians* had circumciſed their Children *from the beginning*.

II. 'Twas no wonder for *Celſus* an Heathen, and an Enemy to the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, to make this Objection, as he did, who prefer'd the teſtimony of *Herodotus*, or of the Fictitious *Sanchoniathon*, to that of *Moſes*; but 'tis very ſtrange he ſhould be Copied by the *Chriſtians*. Indeed we ought not from a prejudice of Religion to engage on the ſide of *Moſes*, or make him ſpeak as deciſively on the ſubject as *Origen* has done, who introduces him ſaying, that *Abraham was the firſt that received the ſign of Circumciſion*; for *Moſes* only relates that God gave him *Circumciſion as a ſign of his Covenant*. But we may obſerve four things: Firſt, That *Herodotus* did not know the *Jews*, and ſtill leſs the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs, who preceded the erection of this Republick, by many Ages. There is no reaſon therefore to take his word for it, that the *Syrians confeſs'd* they had taken Circumciſion from the *Egyptians*. On the contrary, all the Sacred Hiſtory informs us, that they would not have received this Sacrament from the Hand of Idolaters. 2. *Herodotus* does not carry the Hiſtory of the *Egyptians* higher than *Abraham*. Indeed they exiſted long before, and even pretended to the Antiquity of a vaſt many Ages; but that's no ſufficient Argument to prove a Cuſtom upon them from their firſt Original; it being impoſſible to know exactly their Rites and Cuſtoms, without having their Hiſtory diſ-engag'd from Fables. Whoever owns his Ignorance, as to theſe primitive dark Times, or full of Fables, can't believe what they advanced about Circumciſion to be certain; and the Expreſſion uſed by *Herodotus*, *from the beginning* is accidentally dropt, without proof, and according to the ſtyle of the Vulgar, which always aſcribes a great Antiquity to all its Cuſtoms. 3. *Moſes* has another Character. He knew the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs, and particularly that of *Abraham*: He neither vents Fables nor Popular Reports, nor contents himſelf with an indefinite term about the Original of Circumciſion; but ſpecifies the circumſtances and cauſes of it; and, in fine, wrote a long while before *Herodotus*. This therefore is moſt truly the firſt time of mentioning Circumciſion; and till more antient and ſolid proofs are produc'd than *Herodotus*'s indeterminate expreſſion, *in the beginning*, we ought to believe this to be its firſt Original. 4. *Abraham* had already Travell'd, and made ſome ſtay in *Egypt*, and his Hiſtorian does not bring him back Circumciſed like *Pythagoras*. Therefore he derived not this Cuſtom from the practice of Idolaters, but from the inſtitution of God, who gave him this Seal of his Covenant.

III. From *Abraham*, Circumciſion paſs'd down to the Inhabitants of *Canaan* by *Jacob*'s Children, who gave it rather by way of violence than in Zeal to Religion. 'Tis alſo very probable that *Hircanus* who impoſed this Seal of the Covenant upon the *Idumæans*, deſign'd rather to leave the Mark of his Victory, than of *Judaiſm* impreſs'd in this Conquer'd Peoples Fleſh. This Cuſtom being taken up by the *Canaanites* by *Abraham*'s ſojourning among them, their Neighbours the *Syrians* borrow'd it. *Abaham* alſo communicated it to the *Arabians*, his Poſterity, by *Ketura* his ſecond Wife. *Philoſtorgius* ſays, the *Homorites*, who Sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, had a Cuſtom of Circumciſing their Children eight Days after they were born. *Mahomet* did not inſtitute it, as is ſuppoſed, there being no Precept in the *Alcoran* about it; but having found this very antient Cuſtom among the *Arabians*, he left them to continue its practice. The *Abyſſins* deſcended from the *Homorites*, or *Arabians*; and if that Conjecture be ſound, we ought no longer to wonder, that Circumciſion had long ago come into *Ethiopia*.

IV. The *Iſraelites* deſcending into *Egypt*, carried it with them. Nor is it ſtrange that the *Egyptians* ſhould have borrow'd this Rite from the *Jews*, tho' they were very odious to them, ſince *Joſeph* had been highly eſteem'd by them whilſt he liv'd. *Moſes* inſinuates, that many of the Royal Succeſſors of *Pharaoh*, to whom he had been Miniſter of State, preſerv'd the Memory of his Services, and it was a long time before they were forgotten, to the ill uſing his Poſterity. So that a conſiderable Tract of Time had paſs'd wherein the *Egyptians*, as Friends of the *Iſraelites*, might imitate this Rite. A Rabbi aſſerts, that they cancell'd this Uſage after *Joſeph*'s Death, and reduced the *Præputium*, that they might have nothing in common with a Nation of Shepherds whom they infinitely hated: But *Herodotus* affirms, they were ſo far from forgetting this Rite, that they always practiſed it.

V. St. *Ambroſe* had reaſon to ſay that the *Egyptians* Circumciſed their Women, and deſerved not *Marſham*'s Cenſure for it, as if he had publiſhed an unheard of Abſurdity. *Strabo* † mentions ſome Nations who had the Cuſtom of Circumciſing Virgins. The *Ethiopians* ‖ do it at this Day, and we find ſeveral inſtances of it among the Orientals.

VI. 'Tis pretended that Circumciſion was mightily neglected in *Egypt*, where the People lived under great Oppreſſion. And the *Talmudiſts* maintain, that God for this reaſon obliged *Moſes* to Circumciſe his Son, that the Nation might be induced to follow his Example. But if we except that Seaſon when *Pharaoh* cauſed all the *Iſraelite*'s Male children to be killed before they had reach'd the Eighth Day, appointed for this Ceremony; why ſhould they prohibit the *Iſraelites* from being Circumciſed, ſince 'twas the common Cuſtom of the *Egyptians* who had borrow'd it from the *Jews*?

VII. This Ceremony was rather interrupted in the Wilderneſs, by reaſon of the long Marches that were to be made. As God at that time diſpenſed with the celebration of the Paſſe-over, he was alſo pleaſed not to require of the *Jews* the execution of a Law that would have coſt a great many Children their Lives, tho' ordinarily it could not be violated, without risking exemplary Puniſhments. *Theodoret* alledges, as a reaſon of this Interruption, that the ſign of diſtinction was unneceſſary to the People, whilſt Travelling in the Deſart, ſeparate from other Nations; but that Father had forgotten that this ſign was a Seal of the Covenant and a Sacrament; and was as neceſſary as Baptiſm to the *Chriſtians*.

Some ſuppoſe, that the People being obliged to ſtop a long time at the foot of Mount *Sinai* to receive the Law, and build the Tabernacles, they then began to Circumciſe the Children, having opportunity for it, as they renewed the Celebration of the Paſſe-over; but this is a meer Conjecture. The *Talmudiſts* reject it, and ſay, that God would by no means require them to be Circumciſed during their Journey, ſince the North Wind, which was neceſſary to refreſh the Wound, ceaſed to blow for Forty Years, being

† Τὰ θήλεια ἐκτεμνειν, fœminas exſcindere ſolent, Strabo *l.* 17. ‖ Ludolf. Comm. in Hiſt. Æthiop. *p.* 237.

ſtopp'd

ſtop'd by God, leſt it ſhould drive away, or diſperſe the Cloud by its violence. *Cunæus*'s * Notion is no better, who ſays, that none of the Children that were born in the Deſart dyed, leſt they ſhould be expoſed to the Puniſhments denounced by the Law againſt the neglect of this Sacrament: But this is making Circumciſion of indiſpenſable obligation. The Children that died before the eighth Day, were exempted from the Curſe of the Law; and the *Jews*, who at preſent Circumciſe them after Death, and in the Grave, are Guilty of Superſtition. If God had diſpenſed with Circumciſion whilſt they Travell'd through the Deſart, and till he had given *Joſhua* freſh Orders to obſerve it; there was no neceſſity of Miraculouſly length'ning all the Children's Lives that were born in the Deſart, to ſecure them from the Divine Malediction.

VIII. *Joſhua* was commanded to reſtore Circumciſion, that had been interrupted for ſo many Years. *Make thee* † *ſharp Knives*, ſaid God, *and Circumciſe again the Children a ſecond time*. Theſe words give occaſion to two difficulties. The Hiſtorian employs a word that ſignifies a *Stone*. The LXX. ſpeaking of *Zipporah*, make her uſe *a Stone* in cutting off the Fore-skin of her Son *Eleazar*. They alſo give *Joſhua* Knives of Stone. St. *Auſtin* has followed this Interpretation, which ſeems the more juſt, becauſe the Heathens made uſe of it for a more violent Operation:

Mollia ‖ *qui raptâ ſecuit Genetalia teſtâ.*

Indeed this was the way that *Atys* caſtrated himſelf:

Devolvit ille acuto ſibi pondera ſilice.

And the Prieſts of the Antient *Gauls* made no more Ceremony about it. 'Tis alſo pretended, that Stones have a peculiar Vertue to heal the Wound. Laſtly, many learned Men maintain, that the word * uſed by *Joſhua* never ſignifies a Knife; not even in the Pſalm, † where *David* ſays, thou haſt alſo *turned the edge of his Sword*. In the mean time the *Modern Jews* explain *Joſhua*'s words otherwiſe, and make uſe of a Razor inſtead of Stones: Beſides, could they have found Stones enough of this ſort to Circumciſe all *Iſrael*, as they were obliged to do it then all at once?

IX. God ordered *Iſrael* to be Circumciſed *a ſecend time*. The *Talmudiſts* ſometimes take this Repetition of the Sacrament literally, and anſwer the objected impoſſibility by *Barchochebas*'s Example, who cauſed thoſe that embark'd in his Party to be Circumciſed a ſecond time. They alſo offer other reaſons for it which might defile the Imagination. Some explain *Joſhua* by ſaying, that God only gave *Abraham* an *imperfect Circumciſion*, whereas that of the *Jewiſh* People was entire; and therefore it is called the ſecond Circumciſion. *Kimki* aſſerts, that this word relates not to the Sacrament, but to the Command given to *Joſhua*, to go *once* and *twice* into the Camp, to oblige every Body to diſcharge this Duty. The *Chriſtians* ſeem as much at a loſs as the *Jews* upon this ſubject; and fly to a Myſtical Interpretation. 'Tis pleaſant to hear *Juſtin Martyr* teaching them, that the Idols of the Heathens were the Foreskin that God had cut with the Stone, that is JESUS CHRIST, *who has cut off the worſhip of the falſe Gods by his word*. St. *Jerome* underſtands by it the *purity of the Soul, which is produced by the little Knife of the Goſpel*. We ought not to refine ſo ſubtilly upon *Joſhua*'s words. Circumciſion had been interrupted in the Deſart, and God's Order to renew it was a *ſecond Inſtitution*, or a ſecond Circumciſion. The firſt was inſtituted in *Abraham*'s time, and *Joſhua* was the ſecond Eſtabliſher of this Ceremony.

X. The Eighth Day from the Birth was always Conſecrated to its obſervation; but they divide into three or four Opinions about this choice. The *Jews* ſay, that the Sabbath corroborates the Children to undergo the Operation. The *Chriſtians* ſometimes aſſert ‖ that the Eighth Day repreſents the Eternal Life, in which Sin ſhall be perfectly cut off. Some diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſaying, that we don't reckon all ſorts of Creatures in the number of Animals, till the Eighth Day, either becauſe we are not aſſur'd they live before, or that ſo many Days were neceſſary to cleanſe them from the impurity they bring with them into the World: And for that reaſon they could not be offer'd in Sacrifice before that time. But it is more certain and eaſy to ſay, that God had no other Reaſon in the choice of that Day than his own good Pleaſure, which appears in moſt of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, about which People trouble their Heads in vain. We have ſaid enough of the Antient Circumciſion, let us now come to the Ceremonies of the New.

XI. When a Child is to come into the World, the *Modern Jews* take care to write upon the Doors and Walls of the Chamber theſe words, *Adam* *, *Eve*; *away from hence Lilit*: which is a kind of Prayer to God, that if he gives a Daughter ſhe may reſemble *Eve* rather than *Lilit*, and have an Husband to whom ſhe may be an Help-meet: And that if a Son be born, he may marry a Wife that is neither ſtubborn nor wicked like *Lilit*, but obedient and gentle like *Eve*. They expreſs little joy upon the Birth of a Daughter, and the *Jews* make ſo little account of this Sex, that in their uſual Prayers the Man thus addreſſes to God: *Bendito* † *que no me hizo muger: Bleſſed be thou Creator of Heaven and Earth, that thou haſt not made me a Woman*; and the Woman abaſed Daily ſays, *Bendito tu que me bizo como ſu volontad, Bleſſed be thou who haſt made me as thou pleaſeſt*. They only ſix Weeks after the Birth of a Girl muſter together a parcel of young Children about the Child's Cradle, which they lift up with their Hands, after giving her a Name, and divert themſelves. This is all the ‖ Solemnity obſerved vpon the Birth of Daughters; but the joy is much greater for that of Sons. But not to inſiſt on the Ceremonies of the Goſſips and Entertainments, we are to give an account of that of Circumciſion.

XII. All the Synagogues have Circumciſors * by right of Office, and they even attribute a kind of merit to this Function. The new beginners give Money to the Poor to learn this Art, by practiſing upon their Children. However, it is in the Father's power to Circumciſe his Child himſelf, or cauſe the Ceremony to be done by one of his Friends. This Sacrament is Adminiſtred in the Houſe, or in the Synagogue, as the Father pleaſes. 'Tis frequently done in the Synagogue, and then two large Elbow Chairs are placed near the Cheſt, in one of which the God-father and the † Mohel ſeat themſelves, and the other is reſerved for *Elias*, who fails not to be preſent to examine whether this Ceremony be Religiouſly obſerved or not.

* Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. *l.* 3. *c.* 5. *p.* 318. † Joſ. 5. 2. ‖ Juvenal. Sat. 6. * Tſur. Gladius. † Pſ. 89. 44. ‖ Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. Scultet. Exercit. Evang. *c.* XVIII. * Adam, Chava; Churs Lilis. † Orden de las Oraciones quotidianas. Manana de Cotidiana, *p.* 12. ‖ Ferdinandus Heſſius apud Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. *c.* 2. * Mohel. Leon de Modene Ceremonies des Juifs, *l.* 4. *c.* 8. *p.* 142. Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. *c.* 2. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 3 *p.* 895. † Mohel à מול circumcidit.

XIII. They

XIII. They ſuppoſe, that in this Prophets time the People of *Iſrael* had renounced Circumciſion; for when he complained to God that they had *forſaken his Covenat*, he meant the Circumciſion they had abandonn'd; and this ſo mortally afflicted him, that retiring into a Cave, he deſired to end his Days there: *'Tis enough now, O Lord, take away my Life.* God could no ways comfort him, but by promiſing that ſuch a Calamity ſhould never happen again. Now to ſee whether he has not been deceived, he aſſiſts at all the Circumciſions, and takes his place in the great Chair prepared for him. Nevertheleſs, to induce him to do this honour for the Children, Proclamation is made aloud that he may hear, *This is Elias his place*; and whether he can't always come the Moment he is call'd, or whether in reſpect to him, they leave his Chair in the Synagogue for three Days. Laſtly, they † pretend that the God father manifeſtly ſees him take his place: And they tell how *Juda* the Saint not ſeeing *Elias* his Co-aſſiſtant, foretold the Child ſhould be wicked, ſince the Prophet would not honour him with his preſence. The truth is, he turned *Chriſtian*. 'Tis no wonder the People ſhould feed their Fancies with ſuch Viſions; but 'tis ſtrange they ſhould have ſo great a reſpect for *Elias*, who was a *Schiſmatical* Prophet, and exerciſed his Miniſtry at *Samaria* under *Ahab* and *Jeſabel*.

XIV. The Circumciſor and the God-father being ſeated, they ſing a Hymn; preſently arrives a little proceſſion of Children, bringing every thing neceſſary to the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament: One carries a Candleſtick burning with a dozen of Wax-Candles, to repreſent the Twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*; Two others bring two Veſſels filled with Red Wine: A fourth holds a Razor; another follows with a Plate full of Sand; and laſtly comes a Baſon with Oyl and Linnen in it, neceſſary to bind up the Wound. The God-mother brings the Child to the door of the Synagogue, where it is met and received, becauſe ſhe is not privileged to enter; and at the ſame time it is proclaimed, *Bleſſed* || *be he that comes.* There are two great Myſteries in theſe words: Firſt the Letters contain a number of eight, which denotes the time of the Circumciſion made on the eighth Day. Secondly the Letters of theſe two Words may ſignifie, *Behold Elias comes.*

XV. The *Mohel*, or Circumciſor takes the Child upon his Knees, and ſometimes makes uſe of Silver Pincers, to hold the part he goes to cut off. Holding the Razor, he cryes, *Bleſſed be the Lord who hath commanded us Circumciſion.* He cuts off the *Præputium*, tears the Skin, and caſts what he has cut off into a Veſſel of Sand. By this they pretend to recal the Memory of the firſt Mans fall, cauſed by the Devil, and to give the Fore-skin and the Sand for that Enemy of Mankind to feed upon, in order to accompliſh the Curſe pronounced upon him, *Duſt ſhalt thou eat.* They waſh the Wound and bind it, whilſt the Father gives thanks to God, and prays him to bleſs his Infant, that he may prolong his Days in Proſperity; that he may fulfil the Commands of the Law; that he may ſee the Houſe of God Rebuilt: Divine Vengeance upon his Enemies, and their Faces cover'd with ſhame. He deſires that his Name may be among the Righteous and the Wiſe. Laſtly, he cryes, *O God! Thy will be done*; and the Aſſembly anſwers, *Cauſe your Son to enter into the Law, into Marriage, and good Works*, as he enters into the Covenant of *Abraham*. The *Mohel* having cleanſed his Hands and taken Wine, riſes with the God-father; makes a Prayer for the Child and his Parents, and dipping his Finger in the Veſſel where he has put the Blood and Wine, rubs the Lips of the Child, and gives it its Name, pronouncing theſe Words of *Ezekiel*, *Live in thy Blood*; believing that the Blood of Circumciſion will contribute to the preſervation of Life, and lengthning of his Days. He continues his Prayers for the Congregation: chants the 128. Pſalm, and recompences the Children that have waited on him, by giving them the remainder of the Wine. The Child is brought home, and his Circumciſion celebrated with a Solemn Feaſt, in imitation of *Abraham*. Sometimes they have a Sermon. The Circumciſor is oblig'd to keep a Regiſter of thoſe he has Circumciſed: The Names of the Father and the Child, of the God-father and God-mother are interwoven in it, with ſeveral Texts of Scripture. Theſe are the Ceremonies of Circumciſion, let us ſee what Notions they have of its effects.

XVI. *Philo* *, who could not bear to have a Ceremony ridiculed, that coſt his Nation ſo much Blood, explained the reaſons of its Inſtitution. He believ'd it was neceſſary to prevent a Diſeaſe call'd a *Carbuncle*, to which the Uncircumciſed were very ſubject. Beſides, it preſerved a greater Purity. And thus the *Egyptians* cauſed their Prieſts to be ſhorn, leſt any defilement ſhould remain in their Hairs. 'Tis ſtrange that an Ingenious *Jew* ſhould alledge theſe motives that are purely Human; but he adds, that this Sacrament repreſented the Circumciſion of the Heart, and that it was inſtituted by God, to inſtruct Men in their obligations to retrench all the Pleaſures of Senſe, and to diveſt themſelves of a certain Pride, wherein the Father's Glory, as thinking themſelves like ſo many Gods capable of producing Children after their own Image and Reſemblance.

XVII. Some Modern Rabbies have imitated *Philo*, in giving no very eſſential Reaſons of this Inſtitution; for they think God ordained it as a Character of diſtinction, that the *Jewiſh* Nation being more excellent than all others, might be diſcovered amongſt all the People of the Univerſe: But if this was the deſign of God, he ought not to have ſuffer'd it to paſs among the *Syrians*, *Arabians* and *Egyptians*, and the Nations of *Judæa*, from whom it was more neceſſary to be diſtinguiſh'd by a ſenſible mark, than from thoſe that were more remote. Another affirms, that God meant to inſpire all the particulars of his Nation with a more ardent Charity to their Brethren, ſince they all wore the ſame Seal, and the ſame Character. And thus St. *Paul* made uſe of Baptiſm, which was ſubſtituted in the room of Circumciſion, to unite *Chriſtians* in ſtricter Bonds of Union. You have all *the ſame Baptiſm.*

XVIII. But a Multitude of *Jewiſh* Divines run into another Extreme; maintaining, 1. That the Blood of the Circumciſion is the *Support of Heaven and Earth*: ſince God ſays, *he would not have fix'd the bounds of Heaven and Earth, if his people had not kept his Covenant day and night.* 2. They don't believe that their Fathers were ſaved from Death and the hand of the deſtroying Angel only by the Blood of the Paſchal Lamb, which they Sacrificed the Evening before; but maintain that all the Children of the *Iſraelites* were Circumciſed that Day: That their Blood was mingled with that of the Lamb; and that the Doors of the Houſes being ſprinkled with

† Buxtorf. Synag. *c.* 2. || Baruch Habha א ב ה Hinne Ba Eliahu, *Ecce venit Elias.*
5. 2. 1.
N. 8.

* Philo de Circumc. *p.* 525. Id. Liber. de Vict. pag. 661.

it,

it, was the Means of their escaping the Vengeance of God. 3. They place *Abraham* at the Gates of Hell, who gives all the Uncircumcised free Admission; but he stops all those of his Nation, and sends them to Heaven; because Circumcision opens the Gate of Paradise, and renders the Souls acceptable to God. They look upon it as the Fountain of Life; and therefore cry in administring it: *Live in thy blood*, for they think it absolutely necessary; and *Maimonides* look'd upon Death as an inevitable consequence of the contempt of this Sacrament: He puts this difference betwixt the Children of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, that is, the *Arabians*, and the *Israelites* descended from *Isaac*; that the former were obliged to be Circumcised the eighth Day, especially after they were mingled with the *Jews*; but that this Obligation was not so strict as with the *Jews*, since they merited not Death when they neglected it. We shou'd not admire to see the *Jews* ascribe so much to Circumcision; 'tis the general Character of People to attribute too great an efficacy to sensible Signs. Don't most *Christians* ascribe too much to the Sacraments? There are even Divines * who pretend to see the Necessity of the Satisfaction in the Blood that flows in Circumcision, and the absolute destruction of Sin by Death, in the abscision of the Fore-skin.

XIX. A Learned Man † has been of Opinion that this Ceremony was grown peculiar to the *Mahometans* and *Jews*; but 'tis hard to be conceived how a Man of such vast Reading should have forgotten that the *Ethiopians*, tho' *Christians*, have retain'd it. The Inhabitants also of the Isle of *Socotora* in the Neighbourhood of *Ethiopia* have preserved this antient Institution; but they don't consider it as a Sacrament. The Confession of *Claudius* King of *Ethiopia* publish'd by Mr. *Ludolf*, is an undeniable Proof of this. "We "have not, said that Prince, the same Idea of Circumcision as the *Jews*; for we have learn'd from "St. *Paul* that Circumcision is nothing, and that "Faith and the new Creation in JESUS CHRIST "is Necessary. We have all the Writings of St. *Paul*, "and we follow his Doctrine concerning Circumcision and Uncircumcision. We observe not ours "with respect to the Law of *Moses*; but in obedience to a custom purely Human. We circumcise "with us, as they castrate in *Egypt*, and bore the "Ears in the *Indies*.

* Majus Syn. Theol. Jud. *l.* 16. *p.* 250. Lent de Mod. Theol. Jud. *c.* 16. *p.* 562. † Le Moyne Varia Sacra. *p.* 761. ‖ Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. *l.* 3. *c.* 1.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Feast of the Passe-over and of Unleavened Bread.

I. *Cases of Conscience about the* Azymes. II. *The search after the leaven'd Bread.* III. *The way of making the Bread without Leaven.* IV. *The vast Multitudes of People assembled for the Feast.* V. *Its Duration.* VI. *Whether the Laity sacrificed the Lambs.* VII. *The Fast and Preparations for the Feast.* VIII. *Slaves regale with their Masters.* IX. *The Entertainment of the Feast.* X. *The Differences betwixt the Antient and Modern Rites.*

I. THE Feast of the Passe-over is joyn'd with that of Unleaven'd Bread; which the *Jews* call *Mazzot*, and which ought to be eaten for the space of seven Days. This Subject contains abundance of Cases of Conscience, which the *Talmudists* have made their principal Study. Here follow some of their chief Decisions.

He that * neglects taking the Leaven out of his House deserves the Scourge; he that eats it by mistake and without consideration is amerced a Fine. *R. Jehuda* is absolutely for having it burnt, but the Sages allow it to be thrown into the Water, provided it be crumbled into little Particles, that are easily dissolved.

Tradition † permits the Eating the leaven'd Bread that an Idolater has preserved in the Feast time; *but this is only to be understood of the Places where a Commerce with Strangers is allowed.* Thus in *Spain* they Eat the *Christians* Bread, without troubling their heads whether it was baked before the Feast; but 'tis a great Crime for a *Jew* to keep any Bread with design to Eat it after the Passe-over.

The Law ‖ absolutely condemns the *Cuzah of the Babylonians*; which was a dish of mouldy Bread and Milk: *the Beer of the* Medes, *the Vinegar of the* Edomites: This was Barly which was suffer'd to ferment and sowr in Water: *The* Zythus *of the* Egyptians; which was a sort of Medicine compounded of Saffron, Barly, and Salt. Lastly, they forbid *Book-seller's Paste*, because there is Meal in it.

The same Law provides, that three Women that bake at the same Oven, shall not Mould their Paste at the same time, lest the Oven being too little, they be obliged to wait, and whil'st they wait the Paste may rise. And therefore it not only exactly regulates all their Movements in proportion to the dryness of the Wood, and the leisurely heating of the Oven; but it commands them to throw Water upon the Paste, to avoid the Fermentation. In fine, some are so superstitious, that they will not mention the name of *Bread* before their Children, for fear of exciting their desire of eating it. And thus they hardly ever name a Swine, for fear of making * this Creature known: The Doctors exhaust their Application in deciding such Cases of Conscience as these; and this has for a long time been the main of their Study, since we find these Decisions in the *Misnah*; but instead of following the Doctors in all their Decisions, let us offer at something more material.

II. They make a distinction of three things: The nice Enquest; the Destruction; and the Execration of the leaven'd Bread. First, the Father of the Family makes a diligent Search. Not satisfied with the light the Sun and Moon afford, he lights a Candle, the more carefully to examine all the holes of the House, and to sift out the Crumbs of this leaven'd Bread: And that this exactness may neither appear ridiculous nor

* Misnah Ordo Festorum, *t.* 2. *p.* 138. Maimonid. de Solemnit. Paschatis *c.* 1. Fascic. VII. *p* 839. † Misnah ibid. *p.* 139. ‖ Ibid. *p.* 142. * *They call it* דבר אחר another thing; *or as the* Greeks *speak*, πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον. Weems *his Christian Synagogue*. Par. IV. *p.* 130.

useless

uſeleſs to the People, care is taken to conceal in a corner ſome Scraps of leaven'd Bread, the diſcovery whereof cauſes a mighty Joy. If a Dog, or even a Rat, be perceived to bring in any Morſel of Bread, the Search muſt begin again with the ſame exactneſs. 2. When 'tis ended, The Father of the Family reſerves what is neceſſary for his Family till the 14th of the Month *Niſan*, * and burns the reſt, making his Prayer to God, That *all the leaven'd Bread in the Houſe, as well what he has found, as what he has not found, may become as the duſt of the Earth, or entirely periſh.* And leſt there ſhould remain any crumb or even ſmell of the Leaven, they waſh the Moveables, ſcour the Kitchin-Utenſils, paſs them through the Fire, or new caſt them. There are *Chriſtian* Women who brighten up all their *Moveables on* Eaſter-Eve, *in memory of the Reſurrection.* Bartolocci † owns it: But how can he afterwards juſtify theſe Women from Superſtition? This Cuſtom is far more irrational than that of the *Jews*. The waſhing the Furniture has no relation to our Saviour's Reſurrection, whereas the *Jews* are obliged to remove the leaven'd Bread.

III. The Monks ‖ are particularly careful in the choice of the Corn the Hoſts are made of. They obſerve innumerable Precautions about the manner of Cleanſing, Grinding and Baking it. The *Jews* are alike ſolicitous for their Unleaven'd Bread. The Wheat, or Barley which they uſe where Wheat can't be had, muſt be the beſt. They ſeparate all the moiſt Grains; carry it not to the Mill upon Horſes bare backs for fear it ſhould heat; examine the Sack wherein they put it, leſt there ſhould be any remainder of the old Meal. They dare not mingle it with Salt, or Butter, or Oyl; But they have the *Azyme* of the *Rich and Sick*, which they make up with Eggs and Sugar, to make it ſhorter. A Child, or a Fool, a Deaf Man, a *Gentile*, or a *Chriſtian*, muſt not venture to put their Hands in't. A *Jewiſh* Man muſt make the Paſte, and the Rabbies account it a point of Honour to work at it.

IV. Whileſt the Temple ſtood, the *Jews* made it a particular Devotion to appear there from all Parts of *Judæa*. *Joſephus* * relates how *Ceſtius*, deſigning to perſuade *Nero* that the *Jewiſh* Nation was not ſo deſpicable as he believed, cauſed the People to be numbred by the Sacrificers. At the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over they killed 255600 Lambs. There was a Lamb to each Family; every Family conſiſted of ten, and ſometimes of twenty Perſons; but by reducing them all to ten, there would be two Millions, five hundred, and fifty ſix Thouſand Perſons that celebrated the Paſſe-over; and near eleven hundred thouſand Men periſh'd at the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, becauſe they were come to keep the Feaſt when it was Beſieged.

V. Authors vary about the time that the Feaſt continued; Some reckon Eight days of unleaven'd Bread; and others ſpeak of but Seven. *Joſephus* himſelf follows both theſe Reckonings in different places of his Book. The Contradiction is eaſily ſolved by obſerving, that eight Days are to be reckon'd when that of the Paſſe-over is brought into them, and but ſeven when it is left out. *Leo* of *Modena* † aſſoils the Contradiction another way, by ſaying, that the *Jews* who were without *Jeruſalem* and its Diſtricts continued this Feaſt eight Days.

VI. The Sacrament conſiſts in the eating of a Lamb which was to be Sacrificed betwixt the *two Evenings*; that is from Mid-day, or One of Clock, to Sun ſetting. Each Family brought a Lamb to the Court of the Temple, and the *Levites* and Prieſts kill'd it. *Philo* pretends ‖, that beſides the *Levites*, the Laity were imployed in this Miniſtry. He has been attack'd for it, as if he was ignorant of what was done at *Jeruſalem*, or had broach'd in the antient Church the ſame Opinion, which *Tertullian* has followed in Chriſtianity, by giving the Laity * *liberty to offer.* Laſtly, they ſcruple not to ſay, that all the *Jews* of *Egypt* were not Orthodox, from the time that *Onias* cauſed to be built a Temple in the City *of the Lions*, in which they ſacrificed, ſince the Laicks offer'd the Paſchal Lamb there.

But there is no reaſon ſo ſeverely to Condemn of Ignorance and Heterodoxy an Author who could not but know the Rites of his Nation, and was one of its Principal Chiefs. The Power he aſſigns to the Lay-men in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments was neceſſary among the *Jews*. Each Father of a Family has the power to Circumciſe his Child, and it is not requiſite to be a Prieſt, or Head of a Synagogue to confer this Sacrament. They had alſo the Privilege of killing the Lamb. 'Tis eaſy to reconcile *Philo* and *Joſephus* about the immolation; for there is no doubt but the Prieſts and *Levites* Sacrificed as many as they could, as *Joſephus* ſays. But 'twas neceſſary for the Lay-men to come in with their aſſiſtance, as *Philo* affirms; for otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible for the *Levites* to have killed 255600 Lambs, between the time of half an hour after One, and Six at Night. God muſt have wrought a perpetual Miracle to continue a Supernatural ſtrength and activity to the *Levites*, if they had perform'd this laborious Miniſtry in ſo ſhort a time. The Prieſts only received the Blood of the Lamb. Laſtly, the Father of the Family perform'd the Sacerdotal Function, in his diſtribution of this Sacrament, and bleſſing the Cup: And why might he not do the ſame in the Immolation? By this it appears, that tho' the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over was Solemn, yet the greateſt part of it was ſpent in painful Services, and the reſt began not till towards the Evening: For beſides Sacrificing the Lamb, they were to ſearch for the leaven'd Bread. The *Modern Jews* having neither Temple nor Sacrifices, nor liberty to kill the Paſchal Lamb, have only retain'd the Cuſtom of removing the leaven'd Bread, and eating the *Azymes* for ſeven Days

VII. On the *Eve* of the Paſſe-over, all the firſt-born of the Family faſt, in Commemoration of their being ſaved by the deſtroying Angel in *Egypt* The Men go to the Synagogue in the Evening, where they begin the Service with reading the Hiſtory of *Terah* who worſhipp'd falſe Gods: They proceed to the places of Scripture, which ſhew that God has call'd this Nation to the Knowledge of him: They come to the Captivity, and the Miſeries they ſuffer'd in *Egypt*. The Women ſerve up a very neat Table, on which are ſet Cakes without Leaven; two pieces of a Lamb; a roaſted Shoulder, in remembrance that God deliver'd them with a ſtretch'd out Arm: The other Joynt is boiled in memory of the Sacrifice. To this they add †, as is ſaid, ſome *little Fiſhes*, becauſe of the *Leviathan*; *an hard Egg*, on account of a prodigious large Bird, which they call *Ziz*: Meat, by reaſon of *Behemoth*; Peaſe and Wall-nuts for the Children, for fear they ſhould fall aſleep, or that they may enquire the reaſon of this Ceremony. They have a kind of Muſtard, or rather Mortar, which they formerly compounded of Dates

* *It anſwers to* March *and* April † Bartol. Ibid. *p.* 733. ‖ Martenne de Rit. Eccl. * Joſeph. de Bello Jud. *l.* 7. *c.* 17. † Leo de Mod. *Cerem. of the* Jews, *c.* 3. *p.* 83. ‖ Philo de Vita Moſis, *l.* 111. * Ferrand. *Reflections upon the* Chriſtian *Religion*, *t.* 1. *p.* 283. † Machazor. Bonor. 1. par. Paſchatis. Bartol. ibid. *p.* 736.

and dry Figgs, and at preſent of Cheſnuts and Apples, to repreſent the Labour of Brick-making. They call it *Charoſſet* ||. Some have ſaid the Charoſſet was not commanded by the Law; but R. *Eliezer* * maintains the contrary. Laſtly, they forget not Wild Succory and other bitter Herbs.

VIII. The Father of the Family ſeats himſelf at Table with his Children and Slaves; becauſe every body is free that Day. Only the Diſciples dare not ſit in preſence of the Rabbies, unleſs they give them leave. Some think, that before they ſit down, they cauſe their Feet to be waſh'd. An inſtance of this we find in the Goſpel, where JESUS CHRIST waſh'd his Diſciples feet, inſtead of imploying the Miniſtry of Servants, as the Cuſtom was. He alſo cenſured the Superſtition of St. *Peter*, who in imitation of the Devout of that time, would not only have his Feet, but his Body waſh'd all over. Being waſh'd and ſeated, the Head of the Family takes bitter Herbs about the bigneſs of an Olive, which he tempers in the *Charoſſet*; and then eats, and diſtributes a like quantity to all the Company. 'Tis pretended, that this was the Sauce in which *Judas* dipp'd his Bread, when our Lord foretold he ſhould betray him. Having eaten this, the Table is drawn a little back, and then a young Lad, who is order'd to ſing the Hymn, asks himſelf many Queſtions about the Origine of theſe Ceremonies. He interrogates himſelf, Why they eat *that night Unleavened Bread?* Why they only uſe *Bitter Herbs?* &c. The Table is brought back, and the Father of the Family explains the Hiſtory of the Paſchal Lamb, and of all the Rites obſerved in it. He concludes with ſaying, they are to bleſs God for vouchſafing their Anceſtors ſuch a glorious Liberty; to pray to him for the Reſtoration of *Jeruſalem*, and the antient Sacrifices, that they may be able to eat the Paſcal Lamb, and pacify God by his Blood.

IX. Prayer being ended, the Maſter of the Family waſhes his Hands, becauſe it is not lawful to eat with Dirty Hands, and there is reaſon to fear they ſhould have contracted ſome Impurity, ſince the ſitting down at Table. He takes one of the Unleavened Loaves, breaks and bleſſes it. He beſtows not his Benediction upon the other Loaves he ſees on the Table, ſince they ought to be contented that Night with a Morſel of Bread; becauſe it is a *Bread of Affliction, a Bread deſign'd for the Slaves and the Miſerable.* He mingles the Unleavened Bread with the Herbs and Charoſſet, and eats it, bleſſing God for having given this Ordinance to his People. Afterwards he takes a piece of the Lamb, which he eats with the like Acts of Thankſgiving. At laſt, they † take a little piece more of Unleaven'd Bread, after which they are permitted to eat no more; but they drink a third and fourth Cup of Wine, diluting it with a little Water. The Poor and the Rich are to drink equally alike; even the Beggars are ſubject to this Law, and thoſe that love not Wine can't be diſpens'd with from taſting it. They chant a Thankſgiving || and particular Pſalms all the while the Ceremony laſts: There is ſome Difference betwixt the Schools of *Hillel* and *Schammay* about thoſe Pſalms, and the Number of Verſes they are to ſing; but it is not conſiderable.

X. The Doctors * obſerve many Differences betwixt the antient way of celebrating the Paſſe-over and the Rites obſerv'd at preſent. 1. As they have no Sacrifice at preſent, the Child that ſings the Hymn, and makes the Interrogatories, does not ask the Reaſon why they *eat the Meat only Roaſted.* This was the antient Cuſtom. The Lamb was to be roaſted whole: But ſince the Abolition of the Sacrifices they have changed this Cuſtom, and it is no longer lawful to ſerve a Lamb upon the Table entirely roaſted, or entirely boil'd; becauſe that *would be offering and eating Sacrifices out of* Jeruſalem *and out of the Temple.* They remove this Scruple by boiling one part, and roaſting another of the Lamb, or elſe by mutilating it: For the want of any part ſuffices to incapacitate the Beaſt for Sacrifice. 2. This Want of the Sacrifice obliges them to Strike ſome Hymns out of the Service relating to the Paſchal Lamb. 3. Their Diſperſion alſo at preſent obliges the *Jews* to add ſome Prayers to God for the Reeſtabliſhing of the City, the Temple and Sacrifices, as he formerly deliver'd his People from the *Egyptian* Bondage, and for capacitating them to render him the ſame Thankſgivings. 4. In Imitation of *Hillel*, who, as they ſay, was uſed to take a little Bread, a few Herbs, and a ſmall piece of the Lamb, to ſauce it altogether in the Charoſſet, and to eat it without any Thankſgiving, they do the ſame thing at preſent. 5. Whereas the laſt Meſs they formerly did eat of, was the Lamb, that the Reliſh of it might remain the longer, at preſent they conclude with the Unleaven'd Bread, that both the Taſte of that, and of the Lamb, may remain, becauſe the Law commands to eat them both. 6. Laſtly they neglect at preſent the Girding of their Loins, the pulling off their Shoes, and taking a Staff in their Hand; but they Stoop with their Heads during the Repaſt: At leaſt this is a kind of Devotion, that thoſe who would be more remarkable, religiouſly obſerve.

XI. They doubt not but this Ceremony is of great Efficacy. They derive from it the Merit of the Blood which *Abraham* ſhed in receiving Circumciſion: Of that he deſign'd to ſpill in ſacrificing his Son, and even of the Blood of the Paſchal Lamb. Some aſſociate † the three Patriarchs *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; as if they concurr'd to render this Repaſt more Efficacious. R. *Bechai* maintains more judiciouſly, that the Blood of the Lamb is no Security to the Sinner: But that he, who placing his Confidence in God, and without fearing *Pharaoh*, had the courage to Sacrifice the Abomination of the *Egyptians* (that is the Lamb, which was one of their principal Divinities) obtain'd Pardon. He aſcribes all to Faith, and derives the Deliverance from God alone. Laſtly, they regard this Sacrament as Eternal, peculiar to the *Jewiſh* Nation; to thoſe who have already received Circumciſion; and as the Fountain of good things in this Life, and in the World to come: And if after this Feaſt they ſpend Thirty three Days in Mourning without Marrying, or Shaving themſelves, or from having new Cloaths, 'tis from a particular Reaſon taken from the great Mortality which was formerly among *Akiba*'s Diſciples: Which ſtopp'd the Thirty third Day.

|| חרוסת * Miſnah *p.* 173. † Miſnah, *p.* 175. || Pſ. 113. ad 136. 137. * Miſnah *p.* 174. † Wagenſeil Tela Ignea Satanæ 1. *p.* 34. & 35. Majus Agno Paſchat. Loc. x. *p.* 262. Leo de Modena. *p.* 97.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the time of Celebrating the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over. A Diſſertation upon the manner of Reckoning the Hours, Days, Months, and Years.

I. *The time to which the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over was fix'd.* II. *Hours unknown. Time meaſured by the Shadow and the Feet.* III. *Hours invented by* Anaximander. IV. *Proofs of the Antiquity of this Invention.* V. *The Negative Proof, drawn from the Silence of antient Authors, confuted.* VI. Ahaz *was the firſt who taught the* Jews *how to diſtinguiſh the Hours.* VII. *The Hours unequal.* VIII. *The Sun's Retro-gradation on* Ahaz *Dial explain'd by the unequal Hours.* IX. *Hours noted in the Goſpel.* X. *Three different ſorts of Days. Their Diſtinction and Names.* XI. *The difficulty of regulating the* Jewiſh *Months.* XII. *Three ſorts of Lunary Months. They regulated them by the Phaſes of the Moon.* XIII. *Precautions for diſcovering the Moon.* XIV. *Each Synagogue had its Sentries.* XV. *The Months of the Patriarchs were of Thirty Days.* XVI. *The* Jews *of* Egypt *uſed the Solary Year.* XVII. *According to* Petavius *they preſerved the Solary Year in the Wilderneſs.* XVIII. *Proofs that the Months were Lunary.* XIX. *The fourth Period under the Kings of* Syria. *The Agreement of the* Jewiſh *Months with thoſe of the* Macedonians. XX. *The* Macedonian *Months of Thirty Days.* XXI. *Proofs to the Contrary.* XXII. *Four ſorts of Years among the* Jews. XXIII. *The adjuſtment of the Courſe of the Sun and Moon, neceſſary.* XXIV. *The Year of Three hundred and ſixty Days.* XXV. *The* Syrian *Year become Solary according to* Uſher. XXVI. Dodwell *proves the contrary.* XXVII. *The Difficulty that ſtill remains.* XXVIII. *The Tribe of* Iſſachar *commiſſion'd to regulate the Year.* XXIX. *The Solary Year of the* Egyptians *known by the* Jews. XXX. *The firſt Rule for fixing the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over.* XXXI. *The Second and Third Rule.* XXXII. *A Model of the Intercalations.* XXXIII. *Cycles then unknown.* XXXIV. *Proofs of this Aſſertion.* XXXV. *Why* Joſephus *called the* Jewiſh *Months by the* Macedonian *Names.* XXXVI. *The change that happen'd in the Calendar by the* Julian *Reformation.* XXXVII. *Cycles were not yet made uſe of.* XXXVIII. Bucher's *Conjecture about the Cycles.* XXXIX. *The Novelty of the Cycles proved.* XL. *The Uſe of the Cycles began in* Egypt *after the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem. XLI. JESUS CHRIST *violated no Rule, when he did eat the Paſſe-over.* XLII. *Whether he made uſe of the Rule* Baddu. XLIII. *The Novelty and uſe of this Rule.* XLIV. *The Feaſt of Unleaven'd Bread was the great Feaſt.* XLV. *The Reaſons that obliged* Akiba *to make two ſucceſſive Intercalations, falſe.* XLVI. *Different Reformations defective.*

I. THE Feaſt of the Paſſe-over was always celebrated after the Equinox of the Spring * on the Fourteenth of the Month *Niſan*, when the Moon is in the Full. God himſelf gave this Law; For when the People came out of *Egypt*, he changed the Order of the Times, and appointed the Month *Niſan*, which anſwers to thoſe of *March* and *April*, to be the firſt of the Year, that the Deliverance he wrought for his People might be more exactly remembred; but this change only related to the Feaſts of the Church.

The Day of the Paſſe-over had been fix'd by the Law; but as the Months were Lunary, and it was Neceſſary to make them Quadrate with the Courſe of the Sun, the Criticks fail not to intereſs themſelves in this Subject, and to offer abundance of Conjectures. That we may the better diſtinguiſh the times we'll begin with the Hours: Afterwards we'll examine the Days, Months and Years of the *Jews*.

SECT. 1. *Of the Hours.*

II. We are accuſtom'd to ſee the Night and Day divided into equal Hours, and this Cuſtom ſeems ſo Natural and Eaſy, that we are apt to think it never was otherwiſe. In the mean time it is of no very antient Date, and the politeſt Nations were a long time ignorant of it. The great *Salmaſius* aſſerts, that the Hours and Dials began to be firſt known by the *Greeks* † a little before *Alexander the Great*, ſince neither the Comical Poets, as *Menander*, nor the Philoſophers, as *Plato*, ever ſpeak of the Hours, but to indicate the Seaſons. They divided the Day into three Parts ||, the Morning, Noon, and Twilight of the Evening. The *Romans* had only the *Morning* and *Evening*, and Noon divided the two Extremes. They meaſured the Time by the Feet, from the Shadow of the Body: And in this manner the Peaſants without Dial and Clock can tell you the Hour of the Day by the Shadow of their Cottages. The difference of great or little Bodies made none at all in the Hours, becauſe the Feet are always proportion'd to the Stature: And thus it was that *Pythagoras* meaſured the heighth of *Hercules*, by his foot-ſtep which he had imprinted upon the Sand in the Olympick Games. They reckon'd up to twenty Foot of Shadow, and vindicated their Appointments and Meal-times by *ſuch a Foot*, as we diſtinguiſh them at preſent by the Hours: And hereby we are to underſtand the Raillery of a Comical Poet upon a Man who had been invited to Dinner at the Shadow of *twelve Feet*, and who for fear of being diſappointed roſe before Day, and took the Shadow of the Moon for that of the Sun.

* Vendelin *aſſerts, That* Hipparchus *being the firſt that made Aſtronomical Obſervations upon the Courſe of the Sun; Nothing but the Solſtice was known before his time. So that the* Jews *had no regard to the Equinox for the Celebration of the Paſſe-over, which ſometimes happen'd eight Days before. He goes upon the Authority of* Eliezar *Son-in-Law to* Gamaliel, *one of the Patriarchs. But can it be conceived there was any need of* Hipparchus's *Aſſiſtance to notify that there was a time when the Days and Nights are equal? Could not the* Egyptian *and* Caldean *Aſtronomers, whoſe Experience and Knowledge we hear ſo often boaſted of, be able to make this Diſcovery? And ought* Eliezar's *Authority to prevail over the contrary and general Tradition of the* Jews? *Be it how it will, that Feaſt is not celebrated at preſent till after the Equinox.* Vend. Ep. Contr. Antiquit. Orient. Ep. 41. *p.* 355.

† Homer *ſpeaks of the Hours.* Odyſſ. λ v. 293. & ω v. 141. *But he means by them the Seaſons.* Philo *followed the ſame Notion long after the Invention of Hours.* Τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας. Philo de Mundi Opif.

|| Ἔσσεται ἠὼς ἢ δείλη ἢ μέσον ἦμαρ. Homer Il. φ.

We * ſhould be to blame to ſeek for a Sun-dial here with *Scaliger*: For the Poet evidently alludes to the ſhadow that was meaſured by the Feet. This was a very ſtupid Cuſtom. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* knew nothing of Hours and Dials, till the firſt Punick War †; and twas *Meſſala*, who returning from *Sicily* after the taking of *Catana*, brought one of them with him, and erected it in a publick Place.

The *Jews* don't appear to have been more Ingenious than the *Greeks* and *Latins*. They diſtinguiſh'd the Day into || three parts, which they call Morning, * Noon, and Evening. The fourth part contain'd the watches of the Night, during which the Prieſts were to relieve one another in the Temple. If they borrow'd their Dials from the *Greeks*, and their equal Hours from the *Romans*, as we are told, that Cuſtom came very late among them. In the mean time, I think we may obſerve three things, 1. That the Hours and Dials were much earlier known among the *Greeks* than *Salmaſius* has believ'd. 2. That the *Jews* had them before the *Greeks*. 3. 'Tis only true, that their Hours were unequal; and from thence we explain in an eaſy and manifeſt manner how the Sun went backwards ten Degrees on *Ahaz* Dial. Theſe three things are to be proved.

III. *Pliny* relates that *Anaximenes* was the firſt that ſaw a *Sun-dial* at *Lacedemon*. *Salmaſius* † has attack'd him ſmartly; becauſe having lived above two Hundred Years before *Alexander* the *Great*, it would be impoſſible the Hours and Dials ſhould have been no better knownin that Prince's time, if the uſe of them had been ſo antient. He aſſerts, that the Invention of *Anaximenes*, or rather of *Anaximander* his Maſter, conſiſted in ſome Mathematical Inſtruments by which he uſed to diſcover the Meridians and Solſtices. I am amaz'd that *Salmaſius* has not given || *Diogenes Laertius* a Commentator of great Authority, in ſupporting his Conjecture by the teſtimony of * *Euſebius*, who ſays that *Anaximander* invented the Inſtrument by which they *diſcover'd the Revolutions of the Sun, of the Seaſons and Equinoxes*. This Commentary is exactly to the purpoſe; but the Invention aſcribed to *Anaximander* ought not to rob him of the Glory of being the firſt that found out Quadrants and Dials for the *Greeks*. On the contrary, as he made Aſtronomy and the courſe of the Sun his principal ſtudy, he might eaſily diſcover a more exact and compendious way of diſtinguiſhing the Diurnal courſe of that Luminary into ſeveral parts, and of making Dials that preciſely noted the Hours. *Suidas* † has diſtinguiſh'd theſe two Inventions which ought not to be confounded, and whereof one does not deſtroy the other. There is only one miſtake therefore to be corrected in *Pliny*, that of confounding *Anaximenes* with *Anaximander*, the Diſciple with the Maſter: For it is more Natural to ſay, it is he that is miſtaken, than *Diogenes Laertius*. *Anaximander* diſtinguiſh'd the Hours, and brought Quadrants and Sun-dials to the *Greeks* in the Fifty-eighth *Olympiad*, in the Year || two Hundred and eight from the building of *Rome*, and above two Hundred Years before *Alexander* the *Great*.

IV. This Conjecture which *Salmaſius* endeavours to invalidate by the ſilence of Authors, who liv'd betwixt that time and *Alexander* the *Great*, becomes manifeſt and ſtrong by the teſtimonies we ſhall produce. *Anacreon* lived at the ſame time with *Anaximander*: Nevertheleſs he ſpeaks poſitively of Hours:

Μεσονύκτιοις * ποθ' ὥρης.

The Interpreter, tho' a very Ingenious Man, has ill tranſlated it, *Nuper ſilente Nocte*; for the Poet makes Love ramble about *in the Hours of the Night*. I know not how *Salmaſius* came to over-look this Ode of a Man that was Co-temporary with *Anaximander*.

He has ſtrugled hard to get rid of *Ariſtophanes* † by correcting his Text; and rejecting the Authority of *Pollux*, who thinks the word employed by that Poet ſignifies the *Needle of a Dial*. He diſputes about another word, as if the *converſion* of the Sun could only be applied to the diſtance from the Solſtice. Laſtly he ſays, that the Comedian, inſtead of asking *what a Clock 'tis*, deſired to know whether the Sun *was far from the Solſtice, and how many Days had paſt ſince that time*. But *Salmaſius* makes this Player ask too Aſtronomical a Queſtion, no ways agreeing to his Character. 'Tis more natural for him to ask *what Hour the Needle of the Dial pointed to*. The word uſed by *Ariſtophanes* has often ſignified the Needle of the Dial; and ſo no violence is done to the Text. Thus you have two Witneſſes that prove the diſtinction of Hours to be much antienter than *Alexander* the *Great*; for *Ariſtophanes* lived in the LXXX. *Olympiad*, a little after *Anaximander*.

Herodotus || makes a third Evidence: He lived in the Reign of *Xerxes*, and poſitively ſays two things, 1. *That the* Greeks *took the uſe of Dials from the* Babylonians. 2. *That they divided the Day into twelve parts*; and he uſes the ſame word *that* Ariſtophanes *has employed to ſignify the Needle of the Dial.* 'Tis true, he does not give *Anaximander* the glory of inventing Dials; for he aſcribes it to the *Babylonians*: But he may be in the right; for *Anaximander*, who had travell'd into *Chaldea*, brought the Dials to the *Greeks*, who thought he had invented them, becauſe they never ſaw them before.

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* Menander:

Ὃς κληθεὶς πότε
Εἰς ἑστιατὶν δωδεκάποδ' ὄρθει'
Πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἔτειχε τὴν σκιὰν ἰδών
Ὡς ὑστερίζων καὶ παρῆν ἄμ' ἡμέρᾳ

† *In the Year of* Rome 491. Pliny *ſays* 477. *but he muſt be corrected; for this happened the ſecond Year of the* 129. Olympiad, *the* 491. *of* Rome. || Weemſe's *Expoſition of the Judicial Laws of* Moſes. *t.* 4. *c.* 25. *p.* 89. 90. * *He aſſerts alſo, that the Hours took their* Name *from the* Hebrew *word* אור Aor, *which ſignifies* Light; *from whence alſo is derived that of Horns given to* Apollo. *But the* Jews *never uſed this word to ſignifie the Hours. They had that of* שעה *which is well known in Scripture. The* Talmudiſts *ſay,* every one has his שעה Hour, *to ſignifie that no Body ought to be deſpiſed, and every one can find his Seaſon to do us Miſchief.* † V. Salmaſ. Exerc. Plin. in Solin. *t.* 1. *p.* 446. Caſaubon. in Athenæum *l.* 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 5. Scaliger in ſecundum Iſagog. Manilii, *p.* 254. Id. de Emend. Temp. *l.* 1. *p.* 5. || Diog. Laert. lib. 2. Εὗρε δὴ καὶ γνώμονα πρῶτος καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν σκιοθήρων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. * Euſeb. Demonſt. Evang *l.* x. *p.* 104. *He calls it the* Gnomon, *which word ſignifies the* Needle of the Dial † Suidas *t.* 1. *p.* 241. || Salmaſius *aſſerts, that he was* 60 *Years old at the* 58. Olympiad. * Anac. Ode 3. Henr. Steph. *p.* 5. † Ariſtophanes *in* γηρυτάδῃ *ſpeaks thus:*

Πόλος τὸ δ' ἐσὶν ἕκαστα ποσὴν ἥλιος
Τέτραπται.

Salmaſius *reads,* ἑκασάτω δὴ ποσὴν τέτραπται. *His Conjecture illuſtrates the ſenſe; but he ſays,* πόλος *does not ſignifie a Dial; that* τρέπεσαι *relates to the diſtance from the Solſtice, from whence the Heliotropes are ſo often ſpoken of* ἥλιος τρέπται. *Laſtly, he would have it underſtood* ποσὴν ἡμέρην *inſtead of* ποσὴν ὥρην. Salm. *p.* 447. || Herodot. *l.* 2. Πόλον καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης ἐξεῦρε Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον Ἕλληνες.

Indeed

Indeed he does not give the Name of Hours to these *twelve parts of the Day*; but, on the contrary, according to the old Custom, calls the different Seasons of the Year, *Hours*; but these difficulties are no obstacle to the division of the Day into *twelve parts, taken from the* Babylonians, *and known by the* Greeks, in the Reign of *Xerxes*, long before *Alexander* the *Great*.

We'll add a fourth testimony, which *Salmasius* did not know of; which is that of *Xenophon* † who followed *Cyrus* the Younger in his Expedition, and who makes *Euthidemus* say, that the *Sun which is Luminous, discovers the Hours of the Day to us*; and that the Gods have made the Stars to shine in the obscurity of the Night, that knowing how the *Hours of it pass, Men may act* accordingly. *Socrates* adds, that the Moon shews *the parts of the Months as well as those of the Night.* So that in *Socrates* and *Xenophon*'s time the Day was divided into Hours, the Name of them was in use; and there were Dials that indicated those of the Night.

V. His Negative Argument, on which he bottoms, has four considerable defects; 1. The silence of Authors, who lived betwixt *Anaximander* and *Alexander* the *Great*, is not *universal*; since we have now produced four Witnesses, which is a great number for Ages so remote, and amidst so great a scarcity of Authors. 2. *Salmasius* is even mistaken in the Fact; for *Plato*, whose silence he reckons a decisive Argument, knew both Hours and Dials; for || *Athenæus* relating, that *Ctesibius* had invented a Musical Instrument, says, that *Plato* had some Idea of that contrivance, since he had made *a Night-dial much resembling that Instrument*; and this Philosopher ordered the Sovereign to put Women into *Lucina*'s Temple, to observe what was transacted at the Celebration of Marriages; which Women were to stand Sentry every Day the *third part of* * *an Hour*. I confess *Serranus* has put *Day* instead of *Hour*; but the antient Editions note the third part of an Hour, and *Marsilius Ficinus* has so translated it. 3. We easily perceive the reason of other Authors silence; for Dials being very rare, and most People measuring the shadow and time with their Feet, they were not obliged to speak of this Invention. Dials were a long while after so rare among the *Romans*, that they had Servants in pay to tell them what a Clock it was.

Puer qui nunciat Horas.

Casaubon affirms that the first who used the Word *Horologium*, was one *Batton* a Comick Poet, whom he places towards the decay of Comedy. This Invention must needs have been very antient in his time, since he speaks of portable Dials.

Ὥσε † περιφέρειν
Ὡρολόγιον δόξε τις ἐχὶ λήπυθον. *read*, λήκυθον.

Lastly, this Argument drawn from silence, proves too much; since two things are acknowledged: 1. That Dials were invented before *Alexander* the *Great*. 2. That many Authors who lived under that Prince, or after him, have not spoken of them. The silence therefore reaches too far; and we have reason to conclude, that those who preceded that Prince might have said nothing of this Invention, tho it was a long time before them.

VI. Hours are much more antient than *Casaubon* and *Salmasius* have imagined; but whatever Antiquity can be assign'd them among the *Greeks*, the *Jews* enjoy'd that advantage long before. We have cited the passage of *Herodotus*, who acknowledges that this Science was brought from *Chaldæa* into *Greece*. Indeed those People as well as the *Egyptians* were the first Astronomers; and the light which the Antients had in this Science was borrowed from them. As the *Jews* had a great Correspondence with *Chaldæa*, whether by the Ambassadors that were sent thither, or received from thence, or by reason of the Ten Tribes that had been carried thither; 'tis easy to conceive, that *that* distribution of time, and invention of Dials was easily conveyed into *Judæa*. This can't be doubted, since there was in the Court of *Hezekiah*'s Palace a || *Sun-dyal* that *Ahaz* had caused to be set there. This Prince had not only made a league with *Tiglath-Pilneser* King of *Assyria*, who came to his assistance; but he espoused the Rites and Superstitions of that Foreigner, with whom he had a long interview at *Damascus*. He was the first that brought into *Judæa* the division of the Day into twelve Hours, and the use of Sun-dials, which was common among the *Babylonians*, and unknown to his Nation. The Dial of the Court was called *Ahaz's Dial*, even in the Reign of his Son, because 'twas he that introduced that Custom, and they gave him the honour of it; so then the distinction of Hours which was antienter by two Hundred Years among the *Jews* than the *Greeks*, began under King *Ahaz*, in the Twelfth *Olympiad*.

VII. However, 'tis to be observed, that in these first Ages; and even long after the Invention of Dials, the Hours, were not equal, as they were in the *Romans* time. They still reckon'd twelves Hours to the Day; but as they went by the Zodiac and the Sun's declinations, the Hours of the Day were much shorter in Winter, and longer in Summer. This created a great difficulty in the making of Dials, since they were to note the changes that happen'd in the Hours every Month; but however, they discover'd them by lines much after the same manner as they shew the Minutes upon the Dial plate of Watches. 'Tis said, that the unequal Hours are at present call'd *Antique*, because the Antient *Jews* thus divided time; but this practise was common to the *Chaldeans*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, and that for a great many Ages.

VIII. This Observation removes the difficulty which we find in the Miracle God wrought, in causing the Sun to go *down ten Degrees on* Ahaz's *Dial* * to assure *Hezekiah* of the recovery of his health. For there is no need to seek out one of the longest Days of the Year, to corroborate the truth of the Miracle. There is no necessity that the Day should be Twenty-two Hours long, or that the Heathens should be sensible of so extraordinary a Change. I confess I have thought it a considerable difficulty in this Event, that the Heathens have never mentioned a Day of so enormous a length, nor the manifest disorder that Nature suffered by it. How came the *Assyrians* who were already great Astronomers not to observe it? I formerly solved the difficulty, by supposing that the Ambassy †, which the King of *Assyria* sent the Year following to *Hezekiah* was grounded upon the Curiosity of knowing the reasons and manner of so remarkable a Miracle being wrought for the King

† Xenophon ἀπομνευμάτων, *l.* 4 *p.* 503. *He repeats the word* ὥσε *twice for the* Night, *as well as for the* Day. || Athenæus Deipnos. *l.* 4. *t.* 1. *p.* 174. * Plato de Legibus *l.* 6. *p.* 626. † Batton apud Athen. *l.* 4. || 2. Kings 16. & 20. * כי ישוב הצל אחרניתּ עשר מעלות Sed Umbra revertatur retrorsum decem Gradibus, 2 Kings, 20. 10. † V. Basnage's *History of the Old and New Testament.*

of

of *Judæa*; but I have ſince obſerved that this difficulty only riſes or grows conſiderable, becauſe we have a Notion that the Cuſtom at preſent was the practice of all times; and that the diſtinction of Days into twelve equal Hours was as antient as *Hezekiah*; whereas this is a miſtake, ſince the inequality of Hours was received in all Nations. They notified this inequality on the Dials by Lines, that they might know the Hours in Winter as well as Summer. They were thoſe Lines that ſhew'd the inequality of the Hours, which the Sacred Hiſtorian calls *Degrees*. Theſe Degrees could not be entire Hours, ſince *Hezekiah* could not have the choice of making the Sun go forward or backward ten Degrees; and therefore they have changed them into half Hours, that they might not overturn all Nature. But it's much more Natural to ſay, theſe *Degrees* were Lines which noted the inequality of the Hours in every Month There were many of theſe Lines betwixt every Hour noted upon the Dial; and ſo the Sun or its Shadow might go ten Degrees backwards without prolonging the Day above an Hour or two; which Change was neither ſo difficult, nor ſo conſiderable, as to awaken the curioſity of all the Neighbouring Nations, who perhaps did not mind it.

IX. We are told, that the *Jews* || continued this inequality of Hours, till they came under the Dominion of the *Romans*, who communicated to them the Reformation, which they themſelves had made ſome time before. This is a very probable Conjecture: But yet nothing in the Goſpel determines us to believe it. This only informs us, that they continued to count the Hours from Sun-riſing at Six a Clock; and that the Day was divided into four Parts; the beginnings whereof were notify'd by the Sound of the Trumpet, on Feaſt-days; becauſe then they reſum'd afreſh their Devotions and Sacred Exerciſes. The Firſt of theſe four Portions was from Six a Clock in the Morning till Nine; The Second from Nine till Twelve: The Third from Twelve till Three: And the Fourth from that time in which they made the Offering, till * Six; They ſeldom counted the Hours that paſs'd between theſe Diviſions: at leaſt they are very ſeldom mention'd. St. *Mark* ſays †, that CHRIST was Crucified at the *third Hour*, becauſe then his Tryal began, and the Sentence was proſecuted before *Pilate*, by vertue whereof he was Crucified: for that was the Hour in which the *Jews* and *Romans* commenced their Suits and Proceſſes, *exercet tertia Cauſidicos*. The Indictment was made at the third Hour, as St. *Luke* ſays, and the Sentence was executed about the ninth Hour, or three Hours after Noon. The *Samaritans* and the other *Modern Jews* in Civil Matters follow the diſtinction of Hours receiv'd in the Countries where they live: but they have ſtill their Hours conſecrated to Prayer and Divine Service. They divide each Hour into a thouſand and four hundred Scruples, and they reckon eighteen Scruples to each Minute.

SECT. 2. *Of the Days.*

X. The difficulty is not near ſo great concerning the Days as Hours. They are divided into three Sorts; Firſt the *Natural*, which contains both Night and Day. *Moſes* || brings God ſpeaking according to this Notion, when he ſays, that *he ſanctified all the firſt-born of the Children of* Iſrael, *for himſelf, on the day that he ſmote the firſt-born of* Egypt. In the mean time he ſtruck that fatal Blow in the Night, whileſt they lay at full ſtretch in reſt and ſleep, and *deſtruction came whileſt they thought themſelves ſecure*. This Natural Day began with the Evening at Sun-ſet, becauſe of the New Moon, the Feaſt whereof was to be celebrated, after the ſeeing its Creſcent. The *Modern Jews* * preſerve the ſame Cuſtom; and begin the Celebration of their Feaſts with the Evening.

The Second Day, which was call'd *Artificial*, conſiſted of Twelve Hours, and began in the Morning, at Sun-riſing at Six a Clock, and ended at Sun-ſetting.

They at firſt only diſtinguiſh'd the Days by their Number of Firſt, Second, *&c.* but for ſome Ages thoſe that are mingled among the *Chriſtians* give the Days the Planetary names. They are not ſo ſcrupulous as the *Greeks*, who have ſtruck out the odious name of *Venus*, and call *Friday*, i.e. *Dies Veneris Paraſceve*, or the Preparation. The Lord's Day is by the *Modern Jews* call'd *Sunday*. Some alſo call it the Day of the *Nazarenes*. The next Day is *Munday*, which as well as *Friday* is ſet apart for the Reading of the Law and the Exerciſes of Piety. If you ask them why they prefer theſe two Days before the reſt, they anſwer what *Moſes* relates, that *they journied three Days and found no Water*: that is, they ought not to ſuffer three Days to paſs without reading the Law, if they expect God ſhould ſupply them with the Neceſſaries of Life. 'Tis pretended that the Inhabitants of the Country come on this Day to the Cities to hear the Law, and that it was on one of theſe Days of Aſſembly that the Apoſtles † entred into a Synagogue at *Antioch*, where they Preach'd, for otherwiſe they muſt have kept the Sabbath with the *Jews*.

Laſtly, there is a *Prophetick Day*. We may give it this Title, becauſe the Prophets are the only Perſons that have call'd Years, Days. We have given an inſtance of it in explaining *Daniel*'s Seventy Weeks.

SECT. 3. *Of the Months.*

XI. The Months of the Antient Church were Lunary. But 1. The Lunary Months are very different. 2. 'Tis doubted whether the *Jewiſh* Church always compoſed the Year of Lunary Months. 3. When they made uſe of them they were forced to reconcile the Sun's and the Moon's Courſes, that they might not celebrate the Paſſe-over, and offer the Firſt-fruits in Autumn, or in Winter; and as they have taken different Methods to make this Adjuſtment, we find great difficulty in ſetting this Matter in a clear light; and the ableſt Chronologers || find themſelves ſo bewildred, that they take quite contrary Roads to the Point deſigned.

XII. There are three ſorts of Lunary Months. 1. The Moon ſpends twenty ſeven Days and forty three Minutes in running through the Zodiac, and returning to the ſame Point ſhe ſet out from. This is what is called her *Period*. 2. The Moon rejoyns the Sun, and returns to the ſame Point, where ſhe left him. This is what is called the *Synod* * or the *Conjunction* of the Moon. To make this Circuit ſhe employs twenty nine Days and twelve Hours. And therefore the Antients who reckon'd their Lunary Months from this Conjunction had two ſorts of Months; the One *hollow* † of twenty nine Days, the other *full* conſiſting of thirty Days: But there

|| Weemſe's *Expoſition of the Judicial Laws*, c. 25. p. 89. * V. Grot. Not. in Matth. 27. 42. † Mark 15. 25. Matth 27. || Numb. 8. 17. Ainſworth in Exod. 12. * *At* Athens *the Day alſo began with the Evening.* † Acts 13. 14. Lightfoot Harmonia quatuor Evangeliſt. P. 111. p. 476. || *See their ennumeration in* Selden, de anno civili Judæor. Præf. * Σύνοδος. † Menſes cavi, Menſes pleni.

was

was a great defect in their Calculation, since they had neglected the forty four Minutes which exceeded the twelve Hours; which Minutes being collected together in a long Tract of Years, threw the Moon horribly out of course. Many Criticks assert, that the *Jews* reckon'd their Months from the Conjunction of the Sun and Moon. 3. But 'tis much more probable, that they particularly depended on the Rising of the Moon, and observed its Crescent when it proceeded from the Rays of the Sun; and that Phasis, or *appearance* regulated the Feasts and the beginning of the Months. Two reasons induce me to prefer this Opinion; First, that the *Caraites*, who are the most tenacious Bigots of antient Customs, maintain to the *Rabbonists*, that this was the Primitive Usage of the Nation. Secondly, that the *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt* and travelling in the Desart, were not so well vers'd and skill'd in Astronomy as to regulate the Course of the Moon, and its Conjunction with the Sun. They made their Judgment by their Senses, and knew the time of the New-Moon by seeing it appear. This was the easier to them, because they travelled in the Mountains and Desarts of *Arabia*, where the Mysts that obscure the rising of this Luminary are very rare. The *Romans* * did the same thing; for *Romulus* order'd that every Month should begin with the first appearance of the Moon. Indeed this caused some inequality in the Months; but they afterwards corrected it by Experience. It may be said also, that when they had learn'd Astronomy from the *Caldeans*, they added the Rules of that Art to their Sense, and made use of them on occasion to rectify the Disorders that were crept into their Accounts. 'Tis so true, that this was the antient Custom of the *Jews*, that notwithstanding their present use of Astronomical Tables and Cycles, the *Jews* assemble to discover the Crescent, and when they perceive it, they make a Prayer, in which they call God the *Creator of the Planets, and Restorer of the New-Moon.* "They † lift themselves on Tip toe towards Hea- "ven; desire an exemption from all Evils; make "mention of *David*; salute one another, and disperse.

XIII, The *Talmudists* ‖ have pretended, that they used great precautions not to be mistaken about the *Phasis* of the Moon: For which purpose they set Sentinels on the top of Mountains, to discover it the Moment it appear'd. Those Sentinels were Select Persons who came in all haste to make their report to the *Sanhedrim*, or High-Priest, who intimidated them with Menaces, to oblige them to give the exacter account. He confronted this account with the figures of the Moon, which were drawn on the Wall of his Palace; and as soon as he was satisfied that the new-Moon had appear'd, he immediately dispatch'd Couriers to the Neighbouring Cities, to give them notice that they must Celebrate the Feast. The *Christians* *, who espouse all these Precautions, add, that the Couriers went not above ten Days Journey from *Jerusalem*, and that they rested not on the Sabbath. They fancy also that JESUS CHRIST alluded to this Permission, when he reproached the *Jews* of his time with violating the Sabbath.

XIV. But we only learn this exactness of the *Sanhedrims* examining the New-Moon by the Doctors, who came with an after-blow to imbellish their Narration, and describe such Customs as no where appear in any antient Monument. 'Twas impossible that those Couriers should make haste enough to give seasonable notice to all the Cities of *Judæa* of the Feasts that were to be celebrated during the Month. Tho' they had only gone ten Days Journey from *Jerusalem*, would not that have been enough to hinder the Celebration of the New Moons, and many other Feasts? What became of the more remote Synagogues? Did they continue in Ignorance, or had they some other expedient to avoid it, without the decision of the *Sanhedrim*, or High-Priest? They might easily foresee the Feast of the Passe-over, and promulge it, especially when they intercalated a Month; but they could not give such ready notice for the other Feasts, after the sight of the New Moon. 'Tis therefore much more probable, that without any dependance on the *Sanhedrim* and the Couriers it sent, each City examin'd the New-Moon, or caus'd it to be examin'd by some wise Person, to whom the *Caraites* give the honorary Title of *Prophet*. Each City had its Sentries, and determin'd it self by their report. There is nothing in our Saviour's discourse, that countenances the pretended Custom of the *Sanhedrim*, and that manifests his retorting the reproach that was made him, of violating the Sabbath by the Example of the Couriers that travell'd on that Day.

XV. 'Tis thought, the *Jewish* Church did not always use Lunary Months. This is what we are to examine; but in order to avoid Confusion, we'll distinguish four different Seasons.

The first Period is that of the Patriarchs till the Bondage of their Children in *Egypt*. *Ainsworth* † maintains that under the first Oeconomy, the Year was Lunary, composed of six hollow Months, and six full Ones, which made three hundred fifty four Days; but by examining the History of *Noah* more nicely, we find that the Year consisted of 360 Days, and the Months of thirty. For *Moses* reckons 150 Days, whilst the Rain fell, from the seventh of the second Month to the seventh of the seventh Month. It rained therefore for five entire Months; by dividing these five Months into thirty Days, you'll find the 150 mentioned by *Moses*. Besides I much question, whether in *Noah*'s time, they had sufficiently Studied the Course of the Moon, to distinguish the six hollow, and six full Months, by reason of the twelve Hours, the Moon imploys, beyond the twenty nine Days, to rejoin the Sun. They were not then so exact, and this Fraction of the Calculations came not in till a long time after. I think also they are mistaken in saying, that the second Month was that of *Jiar*, which answers to our *May*; for God had not yet instituted the Ecclesiastical Year, nor chosen *Nisan* for the first Month of it. The Deluge doubtless began in *October*, and God accommodated himself in this Miracle as near as possible to the order of Nature; in which time the Rains are violent in hot Countries. Let us add, that *Tisri*, which answers to *September*, is call'd in the Book of the Kings the Month of the *Antients* ‖. 'Tis also intitled the *Infancy* *, because the Patriarchs began the Year with it. These Patriarchs had an Year or 360 Days, which neither perfectly agreed with the Course of the Sun, nor with that of the Moon.

XVI. The *Israelites* rectified their Astronomy by their going down to *Egypt*; for as the Inhabitants of that Country had a Solary Year of Three hundred and sixty five Days, so they conform'd themselves to that Calculation, tho' it was defective. 1. They were obliged to submit to their Masters, who kept them under the Yoke. 2. As they were not bound by any Ceremony to keep a different Account, why

* Macrob. Saturnal. *l.* 1. *c.* 15. † Leo *of* Modena, *c.* 2. *p.* 82. ‖ Maimon. in Tract. קרוש החרש *c.* 1. & 2. Petit Eclogæ Chronol. *l.* 1 *c.* 1. *p.* 4. * Ferrand's *Reflect. upon the* Chaistian *Religion*, *t.* 2. † Ainsworth's *Annotations upon* Genes. 8. 13. ‖ Ethanim. * קרח Koreph, adolescentia.

should

ſhould they do it? But this ſecond Period is of no great importance.

XVII. *Kepler* and *Petavius* * aſſert, that *Moſes*, when he left *Egypt*, retain'd his Solary Year. 'Tis true, ſay they, the *Phœnicians*, who were their Neighbours, had a Lunary Year, whether they had obſerv'd in thoſe Navigations that made them ſo famous, that the Flux and Re-flux follow'd the Courſe of the Moon, or that they deſign'd an honour to their Patroneſs *Aſtarte*; but there was no reaſon, which obliged *Moſes* to prefer the *Phœnician* Year before the *Egyptian*, to which he was already accuſtomed. On the contrary, there was reaſon to fear that if the Months commenced with the New Moon, the People would imitate the Worſhip, which the *Phœnitians* paid to that Planet.

XVIII. Whatever Pre-poſſeſſions a Man may have in favour of theſe great Maſters, we can't be induced to follow 'em. Firſt, God changed the Order, they had followed in *Egypt*, and inſtituted a new Year, different from that of the *Egyptians*; and he was ſo little apprehenſive, in this Inſtitution, of their worſhipping the Moon, that he conſecrated the time of its appearance to his Service, and fixed the Deliverance of his People, and the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over to the time of its being in the Full. Beſides *Moſes*, and other Sacred Writers had given the name of the Moon †, and the New-Moon to a Month. From whence came this Affectation, if it had not regulated the Beginning and the Courſe of it? They celebrated the New-Moons in *Judæa*, ſince the King made a Solemn Feaſt at 'em; and *David* was obliged to be preſent in the Reign of his Father-in-Law. Some think likewiſe, that they offered Sacrifices ſince *David* excuſed his Abſence by the neceſſity of appearing at *Bethlehem*, where there was a *Solemn Sacrifice for his Family*. The Sacrifice was offered the ſame Day that *Saul* made the Feaſt in his Palace, whence they conclude, that they ſacrificed at the New-Moon. The Rabbies anſwer, that this was the beginning of the Year, which was proclaimed with the Sound of Trumpets, and that no Inference can be made from this Sacrifice for the New-Moons; but they ground their Conjecture upon no Proof. 'Tis better to ſay that Sacrifice, by which *David* juſtified his Abſence, was a Feaſt peculiar to his Family; but tho' they did not Sacrifice for the New Moons, yet they diſtinguiſhed them from other Days, and ſanctified them by ſome particular Devotion; and therefore the *Shunamite*'s Husband ſaid ||, wherefore wilt thou go to *Eliſha* the man of God to Day; for it is neither *New-Moon, nor Sabbath?* Why ſhould the Sabbath be joyn'd with the New-Moon, and Journeys be made at that time to the Man of God, if there had not been ſome particular Devotion at the New-Moons, before the Captivity of *Babylon?* The confident truſt they had in thoſe ſolemn Days was ſo great, that it has often been cenſured as Criminal by the Prophets; and that Superſtition, which began in the Prophets time, continued, and paſs'd even into *Chriſtianity* in St. *Paul*'s time, who intreated the *Coloſſians* * not to ſuffer themſelves to be *domineer'd* over, either in reſpect of the *New Moons* or Sabbaths. The Apoſtle, like the Author of the Book of Kings, joyns the Sabbaths and New Moons together. *Joſephus*, who muſt know the Hiſtory of his Nation, affirms, that the Months were Lunary, from their departure out of *Egypt*. Laſtly, we have obſerved, that they began the Day with the Evening, becauſe they were to ſee the New-Moon, before they celebrated the Feaſt, and according to the Rabbies, when report was brought to the *Sanhedrim*, that the Moon had appeared in the beginning of the Month *Niſan*, it was proclaimed aloud, *It † is ſanctified, it is ſanctified.* There are ſtill Prayers in their Liturgy for this Day. All theſe Reaſons prove, that the *Iſraelites* had changed their Year in leaving *Egypt*, and that it conſiſted but of three hundred fifty four Days during this third Period, becauſe the twelve Months were Lunary.

XIX. The fourth Period of the *Jewiſh* Church begins at the time it was ſubjected to the Kings of *Syria*, after the Conqueſt of *Alexander* the *Great*, till it came under the Yoke of the *Romans*. who reformed the Kalendar. *Joſephus* [] almoſt confounds the *Jewiſh* Months, with thoſe of the *Syro-Macedonians*. He obſerves that *Nicanor* was conquer'd in the Month *Adar*, which *is the* Dyſtrus *of the* Macedonians; and that the Feaſt of the Lots, *Purim*, was celebrated the ſame Month. Laſtly, *Joſephus* was ſo fully ſatisfied with the Agreement betwixt the *Jewiſh* and *Macedonian* Months, that he was not always at the trouble of naming thoſe of the *Jews*. Indeed he aſſerts that his Nation came out of *Egypt* the Fifteenth of *Xantippus* *; but this Remark removes not all the Difficulty, ſince the Learned are not agreed about the length of the *Attick* and *Macedonian* Months.

XX. A great Party maintains, that they were all compoſed of thirty Days, which made an Year of 360. *Scaliger* † and Cardinal *Noris*, followed with a great multitude, are at the Head of this Par-

* Petav. de Doctrinâ Temp. *t.* 1. *l.* 2. † *See* Exod. 11. Deut. 21. 1 Sam. 20. *The word* ירח *which ſignifies the* Moon, *and* חדש *which ſignifies the* New Moon, *ſignifies alſo a Month, and the firſt Day of the Month.* Maimonides *has wrote a Book intituled,* Kiddouſch Hachodeſch, *the* Sanctification of the Calends, *becauſe they ſanctified the firſt Day of the Month, or the New Moon.* || 2 Kings 4. 23. * Coloſſ. 2. 16. † מקרש Joſeph. Ant. 12. 17. 424. 11. 6. 382. 2. 6. 65. * *We may ſee a great many inſtances in* Dodwell's *Treatiſe of the* Cycles, Diſſ IX 522 *p.* 399. *or in Cardinal* Noris's *Treatiſe* de Epocha Syro-Macedonum, Diſſ. 1 *c.* 3.

A Table of the Twelve Months.

The Jewiſh *Eccleſiaſtical Months.*	*Macedonians.*	*Romans.*
1. Niſan.	Xanticus.	15. March.
2. Jiar	Artemiſius.	15. April.
3. Sivan.	Dæſius.	15. May.
4. Tamus.	Panæmus.	15. June,
5. Ab.	Lous	15. July.
6. Elul.	Gorpiæus.	15. Auguſt.
7. Tiſri.	Hyperberetæus.	15. September.
8. Marcheſvan.	Dius.	15. October.
9. Kiſleu.	Apellæus.	15. November.
10. Thebeth.	Audinæns.	15. December.
11. Sebat.	Peritius.	15. January.
12. Adar.	Dyſtrus.	15. February.

They intercalated the Month Adar, *and then they called it* Ve-Adar, *or the ſecond Adar.*

† Scaliger de Emendatione Tempor. *l.* 1. Petiti Eclogæ Chronologicæ, *l.* 4. *c.* 4. *p.* 20, &c. Noris de Epocha Syro-Maced. Diſſ. 1. *p.* 3. 4

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ty, and they found themſelves upon Arguments that ſeem very urgent; for *Herodotus*, reckoning a Life of ſeventy Years, aſſigns it a hundred and five thouſand and two hundred Days. Divide theſe Days by ſeventy Years, and you will find that each Year ought to contain three hundred and ſixty, and each Month thirty Days. It can't be reply'd that they made Intercalations from time to time, for *Herodotus* explains himſelf clearly, and excludes the Intercalary Months from his Computation *. *Ariſtotle* affirms, that Bitches are breeding their Whelps but the fifth part of the Year, which he confines to ſeventy two Days †. Five times ſeventy two make an Year of three hundred and ſixty Days. Laſtly *Pliny* obſerves, that the *Athenians* had erected three hundred and ſixty Statues to Demetrius Phalereus, *as many as there were Days in the Year* ||. Theſe Statues were thrown down almoſt as ſoon as they were raiſed, and then to flatter *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*, they called the *thirtieth* Day of the Month, *Demetrius*. We will not ſtand to multiply theſe Proofs, which may be ſeen elſewhere, and ſome of which demand Hiſtorical Diſcuſſions, which would carry us off from our Subject.

XXI. We alſo find at the Head of the other Party very eminent Learned Men. *Petavius* * could not agree with *Scaliger* upon this Point. He has had Diſciples and Defenders of great Renown, who maintain that if the Months of the antient *Greeks* were formerly of thirty Days, *Solon* reformed them long before *Mechon*, becauſe he perceived that the thirtieth Day fell ſometimes on the Old Moon, and ſometimes on the New. He therefore made them Lunary of twenty nine and thirty Days; and all *Greece* conformed to this Regulation.

One of the Proofs † produced with moſt foundation is the Teſtimony of *Geminus*, a famous Mathematician, who affirms, that the *Greeks* adjuſted their *Months to the Courſe of the Moon, and their Year to that of the Sun. Demoſthenes* ſays the ſame thing. They muſt have had a common Rule all over *Greece*, becauſe of the Games, Myſteries and Aſſemblies, that were celebrated at certain times. The Olympick Games were celebrated every four Years at the Full of the Moon, which follow'd the Summer Solſtice; and the Scholiaſt of *Pindar* obſerves, that it had ſometimes forty nine, and ſometimes fifty Months. This change proceeded from their having Lunary months, and being obliged to intercalate one the third Year, which made forty nine Months. They intercalated a ſecond at the End of the ſixth Year, which made the fiftieth Month the Scholiaſt ſpeaks of ||. The ſaying that theſe Intercalary Months were not full, is offering a pure Conjecture. The *Macedonians*, who enter'd into all the Aſſemblies of *Greece*, had doubtleſs the ſame Calendar. They communicated to the *Jews* their Lunary Months, after the Conqueſts of *Alexander* the *Great*; but this Queſtion of the Months is ſo allied to the *Jewiſh* Year, that we muſt put 'em together. We ſhall only obſerve that their Months were always Lunary of 29 and 30 Days alternately.

SECT. 4. *Of the Year.*

XXII. The *Jews* had four ſorts of Years; one for Plants; another for Beaſts; a third for Religion, and the Church; and the fourth was Civil, and common to all the Inhabitants of *Judæa*. The Year of Plants was reckon'd from the Month of *January* *, becauſe they paid Tythe-fruits of the Trees that budded at that time. The ſecond Year was that of Beaſts; for when they tyth'd the Lambs, the Owner drove all the Flock under a Rod, and they marked the Tenth, which was given without choice to the *Levites*; but they could only take thoſe which fell in the Year; and this Year began at the Month *Elul*, which was the Fifteenth of *Auguſt*. But the two Years, that are moſt known, are the Civil and Eccleſiaſtick.

The Civil began the Fifteenth of *September* †, becauſe 'twas an old Tradition, that the World was created at that time. From this Year they reckon'd the Jubilees; dated all Contracts; and noted the Birth of Children, and the Reign of Kings. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that this Month was appointed for making War, becauſe the great Heats being over, they then went into the Field; and *David* ſent *Joab* at the Head of all *Iſrael* to deſtroy the Ammonites, *at the time when Kings go forth to battle* ||; that is to ſay, in the Month of *September*.

The Eccleſiaſtical Year began in *March*, or the firſt of *Niſan*, becauſe that was the time of their coming out of *Egypt*. From thence they reckon'd their Feaſts; and from this the Prophets ſometimes dated their Viſions and Oracles; for *Zachary* * ſays, that the Word of the Lord came to him in the ninth *Month*, *Chiſleu*. This Month anſwer'd to that of *November*: And ſo the Prophet went by the Eccleſiaſtical Year which began in *March*. Laſtly, *Niſan* is noted in Scripture by the *Over-flowings of Jordan*, which were common, becauſe it was ſwell'd by the Snows of Mount *Libanus*, which melted at that time.

XXIII. The Year being Lunary, and compoſed of three hundred fifty four Days, there was a neceſſity of reconciling it with the Courſe of the Sun; otherwiſe they would have celebrated the Feaſt of the Paſſe over, and of the Firſt-fruits, ſometimes in Winter, and at other times in Autumn. Hence the great Faſt of the *Mahometans* has no fixed time, becauſe the *Arabians*, who have retain'd the Lunar Years, have not had the Precaution to accomodate the Courſe of this Luminary with that of the Sun. As we don't know the manner how the Antient *Jews* made this Reconcilement, each learned Man has thrown in his Conjectures; of which we'll here relate the chief.

XXIV. Firſt ſome Chronologers aſſign thirty Days to each Month, and make the Year of 360. Some, as *Allatius* †, call this Year Solary, and others make it Lunary. Nevertheleſs it was not Lunary, as containing more than 354 Days; nor Solary, ſince it wanted five Days, and ſome Hours. If the *Jews* had eſpouſed this Year, it would have ſufficed them to have intercalated five Days, for making one Month longer than the reſt; and this alſo is what ſome learned Men maintain.

XXV. *Uſher* || affirms, that the *Macedonians* reform'd their Calendar, and took a Solary Year betwixt the ſecond Year of the CVIII. Olympiad, and the ſecond Year of the CXI; or to ſpeak more intelligibly, in that twelve Years ſpace that paſs'd between *Philip*'s writing his Convention-Letter to all the Commonwealths of *Greece*, and the Battle fought the twentieth of *May* on the Banks of the *Granicus*

* Herodot. *l.* 1. Ἐμβολίμιε μηνὸς μὴ γιγνομένε. † Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. *l.* VI. *c.* 20. || Plinius *l.* XXXIV. *c.*6. * Petavius de Doctrina Temp. Allatius de Menſura Temporum, *c* XI. *p.* 105. Dodwel de Cyclis Diſſ. 1. *p* 15. &c. *He hath exhauſted the Subject.* † Petav. ibid. *p* 213. Diſſ. IV. adverſus Androtion. Allat. de Menſ. Temp. *c.* XI. *p.* 105. || Ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ τῆς σελήνης ὁ Ολυμπιακὸς ἀγὼν τελεῖται ---- γίνεται ὃ ὁ ἀγὼν ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τεσσαρακονθα ἐννέα μηνῶν ποτὲ διὰ πεντήκοντα. Scholiaſtes Eurip. ad Olymp. Ode III. *p.* 32. * Schebat, *or the* 15. *of* January. † Tiſri. Ainſworth *upon* Geneſ. 17. 11. *and* Exod. 13. *p.* 36. *and* 2 Samuel 11. 1. || Weems *Judicial Laws*, c. 28. *t.* 4 *p.* 106. * Zachar. 7. 1. † Allatius de Menſura Temp. *c.* XI. || Uſher de anuo ſolari Aſian. *c.* 1. *p.* 5.

by *Alexander* the *Great*. He proves it, becauſe the antient Hiſtorians have affirm'd, that this Battle happen'd in the Months of *Targelion* and *Daſius*. The firſt was that of the *Athenians*, and the ſecond that of the *Greeks*. It appears alſo from the Journal of *Alexander* the *Great*, that this Prince died in the ſame Month *Daſius* and *Targelion*. In the mean time theſe two Months could not jump with one another, if a change had not been made in the *Macedonian* Year, which became Solary at that time. The *Syrians* brought this Solary Year to the *Jews*, as is the Cuſtom of Conquerors: But the learned *Dodwell* * oppoſes *Uſher*'s Conjecture, and aſſerts, that they are Modern Writers, who have made the Correſpondence of *Daſius* with *Targelion*, and that even the Journal of *Alexander* the *Great*'s Life is a Spurious Piece.

XXVI. Indeed this learned Man † after having ſifted the matter with a ſurprizing Accuracy, which is the peculiar Character of all his Works, obſerves, that *Alexander* the *Great* had no reaſon to change the Lunary Year of the *Greeks* before he left his Country. The courſe of his Life was afterwards ſo tumultuous, that he had not leiſure to think of the Reformation of the Calendar. Would he have taken the Year of the *Caldæans*, in aſſuming their Habits and Cuſtoms? That is not likely. The Kings of *Syria*, to whom a great part of *Aſia* was Subject, preſerved therefore the Lunary Year, till the *Romans* having carried their Conqueſts into that Country, each City, which received *Cæſar*'s or *Auguſtus*'s Benefactions, began a new Epocha, and followed the Calendar, as reformed by *Cæſar*. The *Jews*, whoſe Months exactly anſwer'd the *Macedonians*, as is proved from *Joſephus*, preſerved alſo the Lunary Year, and made uſe of the *Calippick* Period to reconcile the Courſe of the Sun and Moon together; In a word, they had the ſame Months, the ſame Year, and the ſame Cycle of ſeventy ſix Years, as the *Macedonians*.

XXVII. However, theſe great Men, who diſplay ſuch a profound Erudition, remove not the greateſt Difficulty; for they leave that mighty Vacuum betwixt *Moſes* and *Alexander* the *Great*, during which there was no leſs Neceſſity of adjuſting the Courſes of the Sun and Moon, than has been ſince this Monarch's Conqueſts. Nor is it of more importance to know what was done under the Empire of the *Syro-Macedonians*, than in thoſe numerous Ages that preceded it; but on the contrary, if we knew what the *Jews* did from *Moſes* to *Alexander* the *Great*, we might eaſily conjecture the reſt; ſince it would be more probable, they would continue their antient Practice. We'll therefore attempt this Method, and endeavour to illuſtrate how they made the Intercalations in the time of *Moſes*, and the following Centuries.

XXVIII. Firſt it is undeniable, that they had need of Intercalations from the very beginning of the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, ſince they had always an equal intereſt to celebrate the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over at the Full Moon of *Niſan*. St. *Jerome* || ſays, that the Children of *Iſſachar* knew the diſtinction of Seaſons; that *thoſe were the Doctors that calculated the Times, and the Maſters that obſerved the Feaſts.* To this he applies thoſe words of *Jacob*, *he bowed his ſhoulder to bear*; which he had before explained of the aſſiduity of this Tribe in ſtudying the Law. This Tradition actually agrees with that of the Rabbies *, who ſay, that thoſe of the Tribe of *Iſſachar* ſtrenuouſly apply'd themſelves to the Study of Aſtronomy, and that their Father had *aſcended to Heaven, from whence he had brought the diſtribution of the Hour into* 1080 *Moments*. Laſtly, the Scripture authorizes this Tradition, by relating † that *the Children of* Iſſachar *were men that had underſtanding of the times, to know what* Iſrael *ought to do*. All that we learn from hence is, that the *Jews* in *David*'s time, and many Ages before, were careful to regulate the Times and Feaſts; but as their Obſervations are loſt, we muſt here put an end to our firſt Conjecture.

XXIX. When they had left *Egypt*, they changed the Solary Year by Order of God and *Moſes*; but they did not forget, that this Year was compoſed of 365 Days and ſome Hours, ſince that was the reckoning of the *Egyptians*, and they could not have lived amongſt 'em for ſo great a Number of Years without adopting their Calculation. They knew therefore from the firſt Foundation of their Republick, that they ought to reconcile the Courſe of the Moon with that of the Sun, whoſe Year conſiſted of three hundred ſixty five Days, whilſt that of the Moon contained but three hundred fifty four, and ſome odd Hours.

XXX. Beſides, the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over was obliged to theſe two Circumſtances; 1. That it ought to be celebrated after the Æquinox of the Spring. This Tradition is certain, not only from the Teſtimonies of *Joſephus* || and *Philo*, but from that of *Ariſtobulus*, that Peripatetick Philoſopher, who lived a long time before J. CHRIST under *Ptolomey Philometor*. *Anatolius*, who wrote upon this Subject, added one *Agathobulus*, for a fourth Witneſs; and *Bede* farther reckon'd one *Paniade*; but the firſt lived not till *Adrian*'s time, and the Second is an imaginary Man, ſprung up from the Miſtake of *Ruffinus*, who has ill tranſlated *Anatolius*'s Greek word, Ὁ παῦν. Beſides, the three other Writers are ſufficient.

XXXI. Secondly, they were to offer their Firſt-fruits at *Pentecoſt*. The Rabbies add a Third Reaſon of making Intercalations; when the Ways were bad, the Bridges broken, and the Ovens of *Jeruſalem* demoliſh'd: But beſides that this laſt Reaſon is Childiſh, we ought to ſtand to the two firſt Rules drawn from Holy Scripture, and a conſtant Cuſtom. Theſe two Rules neceſſitated the High-Prieſt to remove the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over, which would fall in the Months of *February* or *January*, in which they not only would have anticipated the Æquinox; but could not have offer'd the Firſt-fruits to God. They could not remove the Feaſt, without intercalating a Month, which was ſometimes *hollow*, of twenty nine Days, or *full*, as Neceſſity required. They therefore added a ſecond Month of *February*, *Ve-Adar*, to the Year, to make it longer, and bring the Fruits to maturity; and they were aſſiſted in theſe Intercalations by the Phaſes of the Moon, which they examined with extraordinary Care. Thus it is that the *Caraites*, who are religiouſly devoted to the antient Rites, explain the Matter.

XXXII. That we may render it manifeſt to every Reader, let us ſuppoſe, that ten Years after the Departure from *Egypt*, or the firſt of *Solomon*'s Reign, the firſt of *Niſan*, which anſwers to the Months of *March* and *April*, was the twenty third of *March*. The fourteenth of the Month, of the Moon, and the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over, were the fifth of *April*, after the Æquinox of the Spring.

The ſecond Year. They were to go backward eleven Days; and ſo the Moon, and the Month *Ni-*

* Dodwel de Cyclis Diſſ. 1x. † Ibid. *See there many other Proofs.* || Hieron. Quæſt. in 1 Paralip. 112. *t.* 1. *p.* 1390. *and in* Geneſ. 49. * Maimon. in Kiddoſch Hachodeſch, & Zachuth in Juchaſin. † 1 Chron. 12. 32. || Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 2 *c.* 10. Apud Euſeb. *l.* 2. *c.* 32. *p.* 287.

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ſan began the twelfth of *March*; and the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over, which was the fourteenth of the Month, and of the Moon, was celebrated the day of the Æquinox, the twenty fifth of *March*.

The third Year from the Departure. The Year would begin the firſt of *March*, becauſe they went backward eleven Days; but then the Æquinox, which was the twenty fifth of *March*, would have fell beyond the ſixteenth of *Niſan*, and they would have celebrated the Paſſe-over before the Æquinox, which was to be avoided; and therefore they intercalated a Month called *Ve-Adar*, or the *Second February*, becauſe they gave it the ſame Name, as to the laſt Month of the Year. The firſt of the Year, of the Month, and of the Moon, fell then on the twenty ninth of *March* after the Æquinox: and this Year had three hundred eighty three, or three hundred eighty four Days, according as the Month was *hollow* of twenty nine, or *full* of thirty Days.

The fourth Year began the nineteenth of *March* with the New-Moon, and the Paſſe-over was celebrated fourteen days after. It would be uſeleſs to carry the tireſome Calculations farther. It ſuffices to add, that they were obliged to make theſe Intercalations from time to time, to regulate the Feaſts of the Paſſe-over, and thoſe depending on it.

XXXIII. It do's not appear, that they had then a Cycle or Period. They contented themſelves with adding a Day more or leſs to the intercalated Month, to make it *hollow* or *full*, when that was neceſſary to adjuſt themſelves to the Courſe of the Sun or Moon. If there had been any ſettled Cycle, there would have been no need of advertiſing the remote Synagogues of the retarding the Year and the Feaſt; whereas they wrote to the Cities, to acquaint 'em with the Year, when the Intercalation was made, as appears by the Letter we have already * related. There was no need of changing this Method, when they became Subject to the *Syrians*. The Aſtronomers who have found the Cycles very convenient, to fix the Years and their Calculations more exactly, would fain lend 'em to the *Jews*, and perſuade us that they imitated Strangers in this Point; but they do not prove it. Beſides, the *Jews*, who were unexact, were contented with a rude reconcilement of the Lunary and Solary Year, without giving themſelves the trouble of the rigorous Calculations of the Aſtronomers.

XXXIV. *Petavius* refuted *Scaliger* concerning the *Calippick* Period, which was neither, ſays he, receiv'd by the *Greeks* nor *Jews*. He was in the right as to the latter; for I am perſuaded, that they had not then borrowed the Cycles, or Periods of Strangers. As they were not ſo exact in their Calculations as to carry them to a nicety, ſo they were contented to regulate their Years by the Vernal Æquinox, and the Phaſes of the Moon: And ſo much the rather, becauſe the Aſtronomers of that time did not remedy every thing. The truth is, they were ſtill very groſsly ignorant; for the Ec-centricity of the Zodiack was unknown to them. They placed the Signs differently; they were ignorant of the anticipation of the Solſtices and Æquinoxes, and of the preciſe entrance of the Sun into the Cardinal Points. In fine, tho' *Hipparchus* had diſcovered *Calippus*'s fault, in giving 365 Days and ſix entire Hours to every Year, yet the World went on for many Centuries without attending to his Obſervation, tho' very important. They perſever'd in the Error they had lived in; and *Julius Cæſar* did not make uſe of it in reforming the Calendar. 'Tis no wonder then that the *Jews* ſatisfied with their old Intercalations, made as occaſion offered, and as we may ſay by the eye, did not run after the Periods and Cycles of Strangers, who in reality did not remedy every thing as Experience has diſcovered. *Joſephus* only obſerves, that they kept the Feaſt of the Paſſe over, when the Sun *entered into* Aries, that is to ſay, after the Spring Æquinox, and never ſpeaks of Cycle or Periods. The *Caraites* reject the Aſtronomical Calculations of the Rabbaniſts, as a novel Invention; and an antient Author cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus* † ſpeaking of the *Jews*, ſays, they *neither celebrate the New-Moon, nor the Unleavened Bread, nor the Feaſt, nor the great Day, till the Moon has appeared.* 'Tis therefore in vain to examine, whether they adopted the *Calippick* Period of the *Greeks*, or the Cycle of eight, and nineteen Years, ſince it is certain, that they preſerved their Lunar Year, and regulated their Intercalations by the Phaſes of the Moon.

XXXV. 'Tis true, *Joſephus* has given the *Macedonian* Names to the *Jewiſh* Months; and this perhaps occaſion'd *Malela* to ſay, that theſe Maſters of *Judæa* and *Aſia*, had impoſed on their Subjects *the very names of their Months*; but to remove this difficulty, which ariſes from *Joſephus*'s Style, there is no neceſſity of changing either the Lunary Months of the *Jews* into Solary, or the Solary Months of the *Macedonians* into Lunary; for *Joſephus*‖ might indicate the Lunary Months of his Nation, under the Names receiv'd by the *Macedonians*, which were known over all *Aſia*, as we note theſe ſame Months of the *Jews* by the Names of the Solary and *Roman* Months, which we have adopted.

XXXVI. The firſt change that was made in the *Jewiſh* Calendar, was cauſed by the Reformation of *Julius Cæſar*, who fixed the Æquinox ‖ to the twenty fifth of *March* inſtead of the third of *April*. This Obſervation was not new, *Soſigenes* having brought it from *Egypt*; and we even ſee Tracts of it in *Greece* long before *Julius Cæſar*. However, it was not ſufficiently attended to. Secondly, they followed the Solary Year that was received in the Empire. 'Tis very difficult to fix the Year, in which they received the *Julian* Reformation in *Judæa*: One while it is ſaid, that it was five Years before the Birth of J. CHRIST; becauſe *Cæſar* having been kill'd quickly after his Reformation, it was not received, till *Auguſtus* made a new Decree, ordering all the Provinces to uſe the Calendar of his Predeceſſor. This Edict was not publiſhed till thirty ſeven Years after *Cæſar*'s Murther. To this muſt be alſo added twelve Years, during which, he had ordered there ſhould be no *Biſſextile* Year, to regain the three Days that exceeded. The *Jews* could not make a new Cycle, till forty nine Years after the Death of *Cæſar*, and five before our Saviour. This Notion is afterwards corrected, and 'tis thought that *Herod* the *Great* brought this Reformation to *Jeruſalem* a Year after he had taken it. Others † maintain, that no change was made during the Troubles which were frequent in *Judæa*, and all the time of that cruel War it was obliged to labour under. They have full liberty of making their Conjectures, becauſe there is not the leaſt Monument remaining, whereupon to ground them.

XXXVII. Tho' they reform'd the general Faults obſerved in the Æquinox, which had been ill-placed,

* See *l.* 11 *c.* 8. §. 13. *p* 445. *t.* 1. † Clem. Alex. Strom. *l.* VI. ‖ *We may ſee the Difficulties which are drawn from* Joſephus, *ſupported by* Dodwel de Cyclis Diſſ. IX. *and explain'd by Cardinal* Noris de Epocha Syro-Maced. Diſſ. 1. *c.* 13. *p.* 44. *to the* 66. * Petit Eclogæ 6. Chronol. *l.* 1. *c.* 8. *p.* 28. &c. *Believes that in the Year* 3914, *the* Jews *made a new Cycle of eight Years, in which they intercalated a Month, the Year* III. VI. & VIII. *p.* 30. † Dodwel de Cyclis Diſſ. 19.

and in the Courſe of the Sun, becauſe this was manifeſt, and ſupported by the Authority of the Emperors, yet the *Jews* had not hitherto any Cycles to reconcile the Courſe of the Moon with that of the Sun. St. *Epiphanius* gives 'em two Periods, One of fourteen, and the Other of eighty four Years; and 'tis believ'd, that theſe Cycles being very antient, the firſt *Chriſtians* borrow'd them of them to regulate Eaſter-day by, becauſe neither the Apoſtles, nor their Diſciples had leiſure to dwell upon Aſtronomical Calculations, and to make new Cycles to fix their Feaſt: And thus the Origine of the Cycles, which is ſtill uncertain, opens a new ſource of Conjectures.

XXXVIII. *Bucher*, who has deeply ſtudied this ſubject, and reſtor'd *Epiphanius*'s Text, was perſuaded that *Jaſon* † brought into *Judæa* the *Calippick* Period, which was of ſeventy ſix Years; and in order to accommodate it to the Cuſtom of the Nation, eight Years were added to it, ſo that the Period conſiſted of eighty four Years, which preceded from ſeven to ſeven. The little Period of fourteen Years multiply'd by ſix, makes eighty four Years. This Cycle was made uſe of in Our Saviours time: Nevertheleſs, as neither the Phaſis of the Moon, nor the Cycles themſelves, which were ſtill defective, could not fix the time preciſely enough: After the return from *Babylon*, where the Skill in Aſtronomy had diſcover'd theſe defects, they were || us'd to celebrate the Feaſts for two Days together, inſtead of one: and 'tis by this method that *Bucher* ſolves the difficulty which ariſes from Our Lord's celebrating the Paſſe-over a Day before the reſt of the *Jews*.

XXXIX. It can't be denied, but there is ſome probability in this Conjecture. Yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that the ſilence of the *Jews*, and particularly of *Joſephus* and *Philo*, who liv'd in Our Saviour's time, gives a kind of demonſtration againſt the Antiquity of the Cycles. Theſe Authors not only do never mention thoſe different Periods, which ſeem at preſent extremely neceſſary; but they tell us that they ſtill followed the antient Cuſtom of regulating the Year by the Phaſis of the Moon, and celebrating the Paſſe-over, after the Sun's entrance into the *Ram*. Theſe are the two Characters by which they regulated the Year, and the Paſſe-over Day. People commonly make the *Jews* more Ingenious than they are, and the *Chriſtians*, who have thought their Cycles antient and very accurate, have given them the Glory of this Invention. Whereas we don't diſcover they had ſo great skill in Aſtronomy, which was not perfected till a long time after. *Joſephus* contents himſelf to fix the Æquinox by the Sun's entrance into the *Ram*, becauſe he was ignorant that the Sun had already paſs'd many degrees of the *Ram* at the Æquinox. They were not ſo exact upon this point before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, as is imagined; and inſtead of labouring upon a ſcrupulous Calculation, by the help of the Cycles, they were ſatisfied when they could reduce the Feaſt pretty near to the ſame point of the Solary Year. This appears not only by the Authority of *Joſephus*, but by that of the *Caraites*, who charged Aſtronomical Calculations upon their Enemies, as dangerous Novelties; and who, without admitting the Cycles intercalate as occaſion offers, and continue to govern themſelves by the Phaſes of the Moon. In the mean time, we know that they have been always moſt Religiouſly devoted to the Letter of Scripture, and to the antient Cuſtoms. 'Tis therefore more than probable, that they began not to make the Cycles till after the diſperſion occaſioned by the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, when the Doctors were deſtitute of the Succours they had in the *Holy-Land*, for the uniform celebration of the Feaſt. And therefore they ſay, that it is not lawful to recur to the Phaſes of the Moon out of the *Holy-Land*.

XL. 'Tis imagined *, that they waited till *Caracalla*'s time to reſtore their Traditions and Rules of their Worſhip; becauſe that Prince, who wept in his Infancy upon ſeeing a *Jew* whipp'd, favour'd the Nation. But there is no need of deferring a thing ſo long, the neceſſity whereof became manifeſt every Year. Moſt of the *Jews* retired into *Egypt*, where they had already conſiderable Settlements. The skill in Aſtronomy was greater there than any where elſe, ſince it was from thence that *Cæſar* ſent for the Aſtronomer, who made the *Julian* Reformation. The Refugees in *Egypt* made uſe of the Information they had found in their Exile. They made a firſt Cycle of fourteen Years, and afterwards multiplying this Period by ſix, they made that of 84. We muſt not therefore make uſe of the *Jewiſh* Cycles, to examine how JESUS CHRIST celebrated the Feaſt of the Paſſe-over before the reſt of the Nation; for they were not invented till after its Ruin and Refuge into *Egypt*.

XLI. As to Our Saviour, we might content our ſelves with one very ſolid Reflection; which is, that no body objected it to him as a Crime, that he eat the Paſſe-over before the *Jews* or the Prieſts; and the *Phariſees*, who ſought to accuſe him, never charg'd him with that violation of a Solemn Rite. The People were not diſturb'd at it, nor were his followers and Diſciples ſcandaliz'd. The Action was publick; the Houſe in which they celebrated the Feaſt was borrow'd; the Lamb ought to be killed in the Temple. It was therefore impoſſible they ſhould be ignorant of what JESUS had done, and that knowing it, they ſhould not have accuſed him of Impiety; for the Doctors are ſtill more jealous of Rites than Doctrines, and the Ceremony of the Paſſe-over was the moſt Solemn of all. The Evangeliſts, who have related without ſcruple, that their Maſter eat of the Lamb with 'em *before the Feaſt*, would have tranſmitted to the remoteſt Poſterity their Maſter's Crime, which they might have ſuppreſs'd in ſilence. Since therefore they freely ſpeak of it, we ought to be perſuaded, that this Cuſtom was generally receiv'd, tho' we are ignorant of the Reaſon of it.

XLII. Father *Harduin* pretends, that as there was a vaſt multitude of *Jews*, who came to Celebrate the Paſſe-over at *Jeruſalem*, and that the *Levites* were not ſufficient to kill the Lambs neceſſary for ſo great a number of Families, the Nation was divided into two Bodies; the *Galileans*, or the *Iſraelites*, and the *Jews*. Theſe two parts of the Nation agreed about the Celebration of the Feaſt, and by concert made a Rule called *Baddu* †, by which, when the fifteenth of *Niſan* (for on that Day he fixes the Paſſe-over preferably to the fourteenth) fell on the ſecond or fourth, and on the ſixth Day of the Week, the *Galileans* celebrated the Feaſt, and the *Jews* eat not the Lamb till the next Day. On the contrary, if the fourteenth of *Niſan* fell on the firſt, the third, or the fifth Day of the Week, the Celebration of the *Jews* preceded

† *He believes that this was done in the* 151. *Year of the* Æra *of the* Seleucides. *In the* 4552. *of the Julian Period. In the* 592. *of the City of* Rome, *and the* 162. *before the* Chriſtian Æra. Bucher de Cyclo Jud. *c.* 5. *p.* 377. || Id. *c.* 6. *p.* 383. * Dodwel de Cyclis Diſſ. IX. † *This word is made up of three Letters, which denote the number of the Days of the Week.*

2. ב
4. ד
6. ו

Harduin de Paſchate, Sect. IX. *p.* 39. 40.

that

that of the *Iſraelites*. He aſſerts, that this Cuſtom was obſerved in Our Saviours time, and it was ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe the *Galileans* did not Sacrifice with the reſt of the *Jews*; and by this diſcovery he removes the difficulty which ariſes from JESUS CHRIST's eating the Paſchal Lamb before the Feaſt of the *Jews*; for as he was a *Galilean*, he celebrated the Feaſt with them.

XLIII. Indeed the difficulty would perfectly vaniſh, if this could be proved to be the antient practice; but we don't find that there were two different Days ſet apart for the *Galileans* and the *Jews*. The Rule *Baddu* is Novel, invented ſince the *Talmud*, and its uſe is not to denote the Days of the *Galilean* and the *Jew*, as † is ſuppoſed. It is || employed to hinder the Feaſts from treading one upon another, becauſe the Nation would be incommoded, if after the extraordinary Feaſts they dropt upon the Sabbath-day: For which reaſon this Rule is ſtill in being, tho the Diſtinction of *Galileans* and *Jews* be deſtroyed long ago. Would they have preſerv'd for ſuch a multitude of Ages a Rule abſolutely uſeleſs, not to offend the *Galileans*, who no longer exiſt, and whom they never * reſpected?

XLIV. We may obſerve four things. Firſt, that Our Saviour obſerved the Law, which ordered the eating of the Paſchal-Lamb the fourteenth of the Moon, ſince it was on this Day that he eat it with his Diſciples, and no body charg'd him with anticipating a Day, which the *Jews* would never have pardon'd him on that Occaſion. 2. The eating of the Paſchal-Lamb hinder'd not ſervile Labours, ſince they killed the Lambs that Day in the Temple, and prepar'd a Table. Nor did it hinder the arreſting J. CHRIST a Priſoner; for not to obſerve that the *Jews* conſider'd this Violence as a motion of Zeal, and they had before on the laſt Day of the great Feaſt taken up Stones to ſtone him; we know by the Goſpel, that they deliberated to take him during *the Feaſt*,, and *Herod* alſo ſeiz'd the Apoſtles in the *Feaſt*-time. 3. The Evangeliſts had reaſon to place the Preparation on *Friday*; but this Preparation reſpected not the eating of the Lamb, but the *Saturday* following, which was called the *great Sabbath*; for which they were obliged to prepare the neceſſary Food. This thought of the Apoſtles appears by the Conjectures they made concerning what Our Saviour ſaid to *Judas*: *What thou doſt, do quickly*; for as he carried the Purſe, they imagin'd he order'd him to buy ſomething *for the Feaſt*. What Feaſt was that? It was not the Manducation of the Lamb; for they had juſt been eating it, and the Ceremony was ſcarce finiſh'd. They meant therefore the following Sabbath. 4. This Sabbath was the more Solemn, becauſe it was the Feaſt of unleaven'd Bread. They gave the Title of Paſſe-over to the whole term of the Feaſt, and to the Peace-Offerings that were made in it, as we have proved elſewhere †. The *Azymes* were a Feaſt, and that a ſolemn One; for the Ceremony laſts a whole Week, and *for the* || *two firſt Days, the Feaſt is as ſolemn as the Sabbath.* The Apoſtles had reaſon to call theſe complicated Feaſts a *Feaſt*, the *Paſſe-over* according to the uſual ſtyle, and the *Day of Preparation*, ſince People actually prepared for the exact obſervation of the great Sabbath. According to theſe four Remarks, there remains no difficulty; for JESUS CHRIST did eat the Lamb with the *Jews* the fourteenth of the Moon, as the Law commanded; and the ſcruples of the latter related not to the Lamb, but to the *Preparation* of the Sabbath, which followed the Feaſt of Azymes, and the Oblation of the Peace-Offerings, which are often called by the Name of *Paſſe-over*. To return to the Cycles, we believe they were unknown to the *Jews*, all the time of the firſt and ſecond Temple. The Year was Lunary, compoſed of three hundred fifty four Days; but they were contented to reconcile it with the Courſe of the Sun, by the Intercalation of a Month when neceſſity required; which neceſſity was determined by three things: The Æquinox, the Maturity of Fruits, and the Phaſes of the Moon; but the Cycles were not in uſe till after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

XLV. 'Tis ſaid that *Akiba* intercalated two Years together, and 'tis imagined he was obliged to it by the Preſages preceding the *Adrian* War, which *Dion* has related: For the Year before this War was diſturbed with || the *opening of* Solomon's *Tomb, and the fury of the wild Beaſts*, which tore the Paſſengers; and as it was the Cuſtom to intercalate while the Bridges and ways were broken, *Akiba* did it from a more urgent reaſon; to prevent the Travellers, who came to *Jeruſalem*, from being torn in pieces. He therefore put off the Paſſe-over for a Month later, and the Year following was intercalary according to Rule; but not to examine either the Preſages related by *Dion*, which are commonly falſe, or the Cuſtom of intercalating invented by the Doctors, by reaſon of the breaking of Bridges, which is much ſuſpected; we have reaſon to ask, why there was leſs danger for Travellers in *May* than in *April*, ſince *Dion* makes the Preſages which preceded the War of *Adrian* to laſt for a Year.

XLVI. *Samuel* the Lunatick, who came afterwards, made a Cycle of nineteen Years, in which was obſerved a manifeſt fault, ſince it had an Hour and four hundered eighty five Scruples too much. *R. Adda* * corrected that fault, and divided the

† Bochart Hieroz. *l.* 2. *c.* 50. *p.* 562. *t.* 1. || Hard. ibid. 65. * *See another Conjecture* apud Dodwel de Cyclis. Diſſ. IX. *p.* 406.
† *Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament.* || Leo de Modena * Petit. Eclogæ Chron. *l.* 1.

R. Adda's *Cycle of Nineteen Years.*

Years.		*Intercalary.*		1. *Of the Month Niſan.*
1.				2 April.
2.	—	Intercalary.	—	22. March.
3.				10. April
4.				30. March.
5.	—	Intercalary.	—	19. March.
6.				7. April.
7.	—	Intercalary.	—	27. March.
8.				15. April.
9.				4 April.
10.	—	Intercalary.	—	24. March.
11.				12. April.
12.				1. April.
13.	—	Intercalary.	—	21. March.
14.				9. April.
15.	—	Intercalary.	—	29. March.
16.				16. April.
17.				6. April.
18.	—	Intercalary.	—	26. March.
19.				14. April.

Hour

Hour and the over-plus into Scruples. *Hillel* compoſed another Cycle, which he commenced, as they ſay †, in the Year 344. or 363. of JESUS CHRIST: But we have proved that *Hillel* was Dead long before, ſince he had Society with *Origen*. Beſides, if it be true that St. *Ambroſe* || has mentioned this Cycle in the Year 387. we have reaſon to conjecture it was much antienter, ſince it could not have been received thro' all the Nation in ſo little time. Theſe two *Jewiſh* Aſtronomers did not correct all the faults of their Calender, ſince the *Jews* are tax'd with having celebrated their Paſſe-over ſometimes before the Æquinox of the Spring, againſt the ſtanding Rule of their Fathers. Moreover, *R. Cid* a long time after made the *Alphonſine* Tables, which have been ſo famous. At preſent they uſe a Cycle of nineteen Years, in which there are ſeven of thirteen Months, as in the Cycles of *Adda* and *Hillel*; but the better to facilitate the People's Knowledge of the Feaſts, they print every Year a Calendar, in which they are exactly noted.

† Petit Ecl. Chron. *l.* 1. *c.* 17. *p.* 88. ex Maimon. || Ibid. Ambroſ. Ep 73. *but inſtead of the* III. *of the Cal. of* April, *'tis read the* XIII. *Cal. of* April.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Sabbath.

Reaſons of its Inſtitution. Sermons preach'd on it.

I. *The* Jews *have a high Notion of the Sabbath.* II. *The Nations can't obſerve it.* III. *Souls come out of Purgatory, and reſt on the Sabbath-day.* IV. *God has only commanded Reſt.* V. *This Opinion confuted.* VI. *'Tis not a Remedy againſt Idolatry.* VII. *The Sign hinders not the Sanctification.* VIII. *The neceſſity of lighting Lamps.* IX. *What they do on Friday Evening.* X. *The Hours of Saturday diſtinguiſh'd.* XI. *The Ceremony of reading the Law.* XII. *Leſſons taken from the Prophets. The* Hagiographiſts *deſpiſed.* XIII. *Every Body preach'd among the* Jews. XIV. *The manner of preaching ſhewn from a* Jewiſh *Sermon. A wretched Sermon.* XV. *The Evening Bleſſing.* XVI. *The Ceremony of the Perfume. The end of the Sabbath.*

I. THE *Jews* have an exalted notion of the Sabbath, and are infinitely afraid of violating the reſt of it. Their Principles carry reaſon with them; for 'tis impoſſible to reflect on the Miraculous Death of that Man, who had only gather'd a few dry Sticks to warm himſelf, without being terrify'd, and believing that God is peculiarly vigilant for the Sanctification of this Day, of which he has given the example. They ſay alſo, *that he who violates the Sabbath, violates the whole Law*, and undermines the Foundations of Religion; for he can't fail in reſpect for this Day, without denying the works of the Creation, ſince God hath inſtituted it for its Commemoration. They think alſo that the Sabbath breakers denie the Rewards and Puniſhments of the other Life; but they don't ſtop there.

II. Rabbi *Joſes* aſſures us upon the Authority of a more antient Doctor*, that this Command was given in ſecret to the People of *Iſrael*, as a particular ſign that ſhould diſtinguiſh them from all the Nations of the World. It is not one of the Precepts of the *Noachides*. They ask of one another how the *Chriſtians* and Infidels, who are ignorant of this Precept of the Law, can merit the Puniſhments threaten'd by God on the breach of it; and they anſwer, that the *Chriſtians* know that this Precept was given upon Mount *Sinai*, and that they are oblig'd to *remember it*, *Remember the Sabbath-day*; but that they are ignorant of the Reward annex'd to its Obſervation. They alledge for a reaſon, that God ſends every *Friday* a Superfluous Soul to a *Jew*, in order to drive away Melancholy, and that he may eat and drink, and make merry more eaſily. This Soul retires again on *Saturday* Evening. 'Tis written that God *reſted the ſeventh Day*; but they tranſlate it, that God *reſted without Soul after the Sabbath*, and upon this falſe Interpretation, they conclude, that God every *Saturday* calls back the Soul he had given the Day before to rejoyce with. The *Chriſtians* have not this ſuperfluous Soul, which God grants only to the Circumciſed, and conſequently they can have no Reliſh or Senſe of this Sabattick Joy. This Notion is extraordinary. But yet *R. Abraham* reaſons very ſedately upon this Soul in his Commentary uyon the *Pentateuch*, which he calls the *Noſegay of Myrrh*.

III. There is hardly any Recompence or Advantage that they can't promiſe to themſelves upon a Religious Obſervation of the reſt of this Day. 1. When on *Friday* Evening they Muſically chant a certain Prayer, all the Souls leave Purgatory, to run in queſt of Water, with which they refreſh themſelves for ſome time. And therefore the Rabbies ſeverely forbid the exhauſting all the Water from a Well or Cave of the Earth, for fear ſome Soul ſhould be deprived of this Refreſhment, after which it had panted all the Week. 2. They pray for the Souls which have not well obſerved the Sabbath; and they fancy that God hearing the Prayer, permits theſe Souls to turn from one ſide to the other, and ſo the pain is leſſen'd by its change. 3. Some even believe, that the Torments of the damned *Jews* ceaſe on that Day. The Souls come out of Hell on *Friday* Evening, and return not till *Saturday* after Prayers are ended. Hence it is that they lengthen out their Prayers as much as poſſible, to prolong the Refreſhment of the Miſerable; and for the ſame reaſon alſo on *Saturday* Evening they burn Perfumes in the Synagogue, becauſe the Fire of Hell, which had no ſtench all the Day, begins then to burn, and they are afraid the horrid Smell it ſends forth, may cauſe Deliquiums. We read in the *Talmud* a Story that proves it. *Turnus Rufus*, *Adrian*'s General, ridiculed the Sabbath before *Akibah*, who ſent him to his Fathers Tomb, to ſee if it did not ſmoke every Day of the Week, except *Saturday*. The incredulous *Turnus* laugh'd at the Rabbi, telling him, that the Smoke

* Simeon Jochaides.

and

and the Stink had ceaſed coming out on *Saturday*, becauſe his Father's Puniſhment had ended that Day. *Akiba* told him, that the Smoke ſhould begin the Week following: which proving true, *Turnus* conjured his Father from Hell, who acquainted them, that a Man burnt him continually; that on *Friday*, they heard a Voice proclaiming the Hour of Reſt to all the Damned, and the Day following, the Angel *Dumah* returned 'em to their place of Puniſhment, when the Prayers of the *Jews* were ended.

IV. It has been affirmed * of late, that God only diſtinguiſhed this Day, to procure a peaceable Reſt to People fatigued with the *Egyptian* Bondage, and to hinder them from falling into Idolatry, by bringing them back to the only God, Creator of the Univerſe, for their ſo frequent celebrating the Commemoration of that great work. 'Tis obſerved, that they are very fond of reſt. They muſt riſe late, and ſleep a long while on *Saturday*. Entertainments and Mirth are highly neceſſary to its Obſervation. The Sale of every thing is ſeverely forbidden, except of Wine, becauſe that *rejoices the heart of man*. There are places where they bleſs a Cup of it in the Evening in the Synagogue, that ſo the Poor may drink of it; becauſe without this the Feaſt would not be well obſerved. Laſtly, that Lazineſs, which they make a kind of Devotion of, has for a long time been laugh'd at:

Septima quæque fuit lux
Ignava & partem vitæ non attigit ullam.

It ſeems likewiſe, that God hath authorized it; for he enlarges much upon the corporal reſt, and only uſes a very equivocal Expreſſion to command what we call the Sanctification of that Day.

V. The Heathen † Poets do more juſtice and honour to God, than theſe *Chriſtian* Criticks; for they acknowledge that the Seventh Day was *Holy*, deſtined to acts of Devotion and to all the Ceremonies, the antient Religions were charged with. *Agatharcides* || relates, that *the* Jews *not content with reſting that Day, and alſo not daring to bear Arms, continued in their Temples, ſtretching out their hands, and worſhipping from Morning till Evening*. Here you ſee the Reſt and Sanctification of the Sabbath diſtinguiſhed among the *Jews*: This diſtinction maintained by the general Practice of the Nation; and this Practice atteſted by a Stranger, who had no intereſt to make the *Jews* better People than they were. To reduce this to ſome Devotes, who being more Zealous than others, or tired with a tedious Idleneſs, or elſe in imitation of God, who review'd his Works on that Day, ſtudied Nature, or made pious Meditations, is eluding the difficulty drawn from the conſtant and general Practice of the *Jews*: For, 1. The Devotes are always very few in Number, and if God had not commanded the Sanctification of the Sabbath, the People would have ſpent it wholly in Debauchery; the ſupererrogating Saints ſwallow'd up in the great Multitude, would not be ſo much as known by the Heathens. People diſlike conſtraining Devotions; which deprive 'em of Liberty; and are painful and expenſive. The *Jews* eſpecially abhorring this Yoke, have often ſhook it off, inſtead of taking it voluntarily. 2. 'Twas not the Works of Nature the *Iſraelites* ſtudied in imitation of God; they preſented themſelves in the Temple to ſerve him, and according to the Expreſſion of the Law-giver *, they *reverenced the Sanctuary of the Lord* on that Day, becauſe God had commanded it. 3. Laſtly, 'twas not only private Perſons who were weary of Idleneſs; but all the People that performed their religious Exerciſes, and they did it purely in Obedience to God's command. *Philo* † affirms, that God had diſtinguiſh'd *the Seventh Day, that it might be ſpent in Acts of Devotion and Piety*. *Joſephus* || likewiſe ſays, *that* Moſes *commanded the Law to be read*, and to that end they ceaſed from labour. He compares this Ordinance of God and *Moſes* to that of all Legiſlators, who have conſecrated ſome Days to the Deity. We may confront a *Chriſtian* Critick with the Apoſtles. St. *James* ſays, that *Moſes* had *in old times thoſe that read him in the Synagogues*, and 'twas on a *Saturday* that J. CHRIST, according to Cuſtom, went to the Temple to explain the Prophet *Iſaiah*. If we conſult the Prophets, we ſhall find them oftner cenſuring the neglect of Vertues and Devotion on that Day, than the Violation of Reſt, and Idleneſs. Laſtly, God himſelf informs us, that he not only *reſted the ſeventh Day, but ſanctified it*. This term is not equivocal, except to thoſe that will not underſtand it; for in the Language of the *Jews* it ſignifies to *ſeparate and conſecrate* to the Service of God. 'Tis ſtill more Significative, as uſed by the *Chriſtians*. It can't therefore be doubted, but that God commanded the Sanctification, as well as the Reſt.

VI. In vain does this Critick make a long Diſſertation to prove that the Sabbath is only a Remedy to prevent Idolatry; for God had ſufficiently condemned all Idolatry in the firſt and ſecond Commandment, without imploying the fourth. The Idea of the Creation is not a ſpecifick remedy againſt Idolatry; for all the Philoſophers, who have acknowledged a firſt Cauſe that formed the Univerſe, have nevertheleſs adored Intelligences, ſubaltern Gods, and their Images. Beſides, God would have fetch'd a long Circuit in the Compendium of ten Words, if he had deſigned to prevent Idolatry, by commanding them to continue at Reſt. The *Jews* never ſpeak of the Idolatry condemned by the Precept of the Sabbath. The Author of *Coſri* * aſſerts, that the Obſervation of the Sabbath is *a practical Confeſſion of the Divinity*; for, ſays he, the Man that celebrates this Day in memory of the Creation, confeſſes the Novelty of the World; and he that believes the World to be new, acknowledges a Creator; and the Faith is not pure, that rejects this Precept; from whence he concludes, that the Obſervation of the Sabbath draws us nearer to God, than Phariſaiſm or Nazariſm: that is to ſay, than a ſolitary and recluſe Life. He will therefore have the memory of the Creation celebrated by the Sabbath to be a Confeſſion of the Divinity; but this Confeſſion is *practical*, and the *Joy* that reſults from it, *flows from a good intention, devotion, and a perfect heart*.

VII. *Spencer* ſtill expatiates at large to prove the Sabbath a *Sign*; but no body doubts of it, and the Scripture ſays it too poſitively to conteſt it. But this Sign was not peculiar to the *Jews*; for the *Ethiopians* obſerv'd it, and they pretend to have received this cuſtom in *Solomon*'s time, at the return of the Queen of *Sheba*. Beſides, the *Signs of the Covenant* have always been attended with acts of Devotion and Piety; why then muſt this be robb'd of this Advantage? The Commandment contains three Things, the Reſt, the Sign, and the Sanctification. He enlarges upon the two firſt, to cut off the third, tho' more important, expreſs'd by the Legiſlator, and practiced by the Nation in all Ages. 'Tis true, the *Jews* have ever been fond of Eaſe, and Jollity. They love Idleneſs even to Superſtition; but 'tis the Genius of all Nations, not excepting the *Chriſtians*, to

* Spencer. de Leg. Hebræor. *l.* 1. *c.* 4. integr. † Heſiod. Homer. ἱερὸν ἑβδόμῃ ἦμαρ. *Holy day.* || Agatharcides apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. *l.* 1. *pag.* 1050. * Levit. 26. 3. † Philo de Decal. *p.* 758. || Joſeph. adv. Apion. * Coſri Buxt. P. 2. *p.* 116. & 117.

prefer

prefer the ſenſible and material Part of Religion to all the Spiritual Exerciſes, and acts of Devotion. Is not the Church of *Rome* rigorouſly obſervant of Reſt on the Feaſts of the Virgin and the Saints, which proceeds almoſt as far, as that of the *Jews* for the Sabbath? Shall we conclude from thence, that they have not a Law to go to Maſs and Veſpers? Beſides, we ought not to lay too much ſtreſs upon the Rallieries of the Profane, and Enemies to that Nation. *Rutilius* has carried them even to the Reſt of God himſelf:

Septima quæque dies turpi damnata veterno,
Tanquam laſſati mollis imago Dei.

The *Jews*, who at preſent delight in reſting and feaſting, fail not to ſtudy the Law, to read it, and learn ſome Sections out of it; and they are a living proof of the Good and Evil, that has always been practis'd in this Nation.

VIII. The Reſt of the Sabbath began on *Friday* in the Evening*, half an Hour before Sun-ſet. Then they light a Candle of four Wicks, which burns part of the Night; and this is one of the Ceremonies they obſerve with the greateſt exactneſs. The Poor are obliged to beg to get Oil, or to deprive themſelves of Suſtenance, rather than fail to have a Lamp burning in their Houſes, becauſe that is Neceſſary for the *delight of the Sabbath* mentioned by the Prophet *Iſaiah*. At the ſame time they illuminate the Synagogue in imitation of the antient Temple, when the *Maccabees* reſtored † the Lamps after the Perſecution of *Antiochus*, and becauſe they have occaſion to make their Prayers on *Friday* Evening. The Doctors have not failed to lay down the neceſſary Rules for Candles and Lamps. Rabbi *Iſhmael* maintains ‖ that in honour of the Sabbath, they ought not to light Pitch and Tar. R. *Tarphon* has decided that Oil of Olives only ought to be uſed. The Wiſe Men, who are leſs ſevere, make no diſtinction of Oil, but permit the uſe of any. The Women are commiſſion'd to light the Lamps for two Reaſons: One is Natural, becauſe they are generally at home, and know the preciſe Hour, when the Sabbath begins: the Other is Myſtical, for hereby they are put in mind of the Sin of *Eve*, who, after ſhe had eaten the forbidden Fruit, took a ſtick, and beat her Husband, to oblige him to commit the ſame Crime; for, ſaid ſhe, *if I muſt die, I am reſolv'd thou ſhalt die with me. Adam* complained of this evil treatment to God; for when he tells him, *ſhe gave me of the Tree*, he meant *a blow with a ſtick*. The Sun ſeeing it, hid his Light. 'Tis therefore neceſſary, that the Women ſhould light the Lamps they have extinguiſhed, and that they ſhould be charged with this Puniſhment to expiate their Sin: Thoſe that diſcharge this Duty, perform as meritorious a Work, as if they lighted the golden Candleſtick in the Temple.

IX. The Men go to the Synagogue to ſay their Prayers on *Friday* Evening. Coming from the Synagogue, they bleſs one another, and *wiſh each other a good Sabbath*. At their return they find the Table ſpread, there muſt neceſſarily be *ſalt upon it, two Loaves cover'd above and below, and a cup of Wine*. The Bread is covered with a Napkin, becauſe it repreſents the Manna that fell betwixt two Dews, "or "elſe becauſe it is aſhamed to appear before the "Wine, which has the honour to be firſt ſanctified "by Prayer. In ſhort, the Father of the Family firſt takes the Cup and bleſſes it, giving Thanks to God, that he has inſtituted the Sabbath in Memory of the Creation. They chant the Twenty third Pſalm, whilſt this Benediction is pronouncing, and ſteadily behold the Candles or lighted Lamps, that by this means, they may repair the daily decays of their Eyes, which are conſiderably weaken'd by the numerous Steps they have made in the Week. Having taſted the Wine, they cut the Bread and eat it, and make merry, and this is the firſt repaſt of the three they are to make on the Sabbath-day, to exempt themſelves from three great Evils; the Puniſhments of the *Meſſiah*, the War of *Gog* and *Magog*, and the Fire of Hell.

X. They return to the Synagogue on *Saturday* Morning after having ſaid their ordinary Prayers, and the times they take for it are very different. 1. Some appear there at Sun-riſing, or at Six according to our account, and remain till Nine; after which they retire, being perſuaded, that one third of the Day is ſufficient to be employ'd in Publick Devotion. Others think, they ought to prolong their reſt in their Beds as much as poſſible. They riſe very late, and continue their Prayers till Noon, and then they are permitted to eat, and to make an end of the Sabbath, which is commonly long and ſplendid. Nevertheleſs, the Devout faſt till three a Clock. For the great Oblation, or the Evening Sacrifice began at half an Hour after twelve, and laſted till half an Hour after three; and as that Oblation ſeemed more excellent than the Other, they continued their Faſt and Prayers till that was ended. Laſtly, the little Oblation began at half an Hour after three, and thoſe who came from the Synagogue, or the Temple at Noon, returned to continue the Sanctification of the Day till Sun-ſetting.

We find this diſtinction clearly expreſs'd in the Goſpel; for the Apoſtles were at Prayer till nine a Clock *, and then it was that they received the Holy Ghoſt. They had therefore begun their Devotions at ſix in the Morning. The Centurion *Cornelius* was alſo in his houſe Faſting and Praying till

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* *The* Jews *place at the end of their Rituals an exact Calculation of the Hours, when the Sabbath ought to begin. This is that of the* Jews *of* Amſterdam.

From the	22. January	To the	10. February	at	4.
	10. February		1. March		4. half.
	1. March		15. March		5.
	15. March		1. April		5. half.
	1. April		15. April		6.
	15. April		1. May		6. half.
	1. May		1. Auguſt		7.
	1. Auguſt		22. Auguſt		6. half.
	22. Auguſt		10. September		6.
	10. September		1. October		5. half.
	1. October		15. October		5.
	15. October		1. November		4. half.
	1. November		22. November		4.
	22. November		22. January		3. half.

Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas.

† 1 Macc. 4. 50. ‖ Capitulo de con que encenderan la candela de Sabbath, Orden de las Oraciones, *p.* 126.

* *According to the* Jews *the third Hour.*

three

three * a Clock. And laſtly, St. *Peter* and St. *John* returned to the Temple by the Gate call'd *Beautiful* at three a Clock, to partake of the little Oblation; and 'tis from this *Jewiſh* Practice that the *Roman* Catholicks have borrow'd their diſtinctions of Canonical Hours, Primes, Mattins, Nones and Veſpers.

XI. The *Jews* † go at preſent to the Synagogue in the Morning, to hear the Pſalms and Benedictions read in the Praiſe of the Sabbath and of God. They thank him, for not having made the *Jews* like other Nations, for not confounding them with 'em, and for giving them Reſt and Peace. They bleſs him, by crying, *Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hoſts.* There is nothing in all their Prayers but is edifying, ſince every thing is directed to the Glory *of God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth.*

The moſt ſolemn Ceremony is that of taking the Law out of the Ark, or Cheſt; which Office is performed by the *Chazzan*. *Lightfoot* thought this Man was the Biſhop of the *Chriſtians*. Since he has the Super-intendency of the Reading; but it has been ‖ very judiciouſly obſerved, that the *Chazzan* is one of the leaſt Miniſters of the Synagogue; and therefore the Compariſon the Author makes of him with the Deacons of the Primitive Church, ſeems more juſt. This Miniſter takes out the Copy of the Law, and ſhews it to the People, ſaying, * *Behold the Law, that* Moſes *has ſet before the Children of* Iſrael; *the Law of the Lord is perfect*, &c. Having ſhew'd it, he carries it to the Desk, and calls whom he pleaſes to read the Section appointed for the Day. The Rabby do's not read, except when the Aſſembly, or ſome powerful Perſon, deſires him; and then he is obliged to follow him, and ſtand by him to ſee if he reads well. The *Chazzan* does the ſame Office to thoſe whom he calls. He ſuper-inſpects the Reading; aſſiſts the Ignorant; corrects their Faults; and this is the moſt honourable Part of his Function. The Leſſon being over, he cries, *Bleſſed* † *be the Lord our God, who has given us the Law.* He carries it back to the Cheſt; and begins new Prayers. *Lord thou ſhalt open my Lips; and they ſhall declare thy Praiſe*, &c. ‖.

XII. After the Law, they read ſome * Verſes of the Prophets; chuſing ſuch Paſſages of their Writings, as have moſt relation to the Ceremony of the Sabbath, and the Hiſtory of *Moſes*. If any Feaſt happen to fall on that of *Saturday*, as the New-Moon or the Paſſe-over, they ſeek ſuch places as relate to that Feaſt. They muſt read twenty one Verſes; but ten ſuffice, when there is an Interpreter to explain them. 'Tis alſo lawful to ſtop, if the ſenſe concludes a little before. Some have imagined, that this Reading of the Prophets was ſubſtituted in place of the Law, which it is not lawful to read to the People; but thoſe that make this Conjecture, tho' converſant in the *Jewiſh* Cuſtoms, can't ſhew the time † when the reading of the Law was any more forbidden than that of the Prophets. The *Jews* take no Leſſon from thoſe Writings, they call *Hagiographa*. We find indeed in the Order of their Prayers ſeveral Pſalms of *David*, which private Perſons repeat; but the *Chazzan* makes no Publick reading of thoſe Books. 'Tis in vain to ſay, they can t ſeparate ſome Portions from theſe Works, which only treat of one Subject; no body will believe this, and it's more natural to think, that they have not the ſame eſteem for theſe Writings as for thoſe of the great Prophets. This reading of the Prophets is called the *Maſs*. *Buxtorf* has not diſcovered the beſt Signification of the word *Haptorah*. Howſoever ſome difficulty remains, becauſe the Morning Service does not immediately conclude with the reading of the Prophets. They ſometimes ſucceed it with a Sermon, and always repeat ſome Prayers, before they give the Bleſſing, and diſmiſs the Aſſembly.

XIII. Indeed, there are Sermons in the rich and powerful Synagogues. The *Jews* have ever been curious to hear 'em, ſince they ſo importunately asked St. *Paul*, if he had not *ſome word of Exhortation:* And J. CHRIST had the Liberty to enter into all the Synagogues of *Galilee*, and to Preach the Goſpel. The Head of the Synagogue had commonly the principal Right of Preaching, and the reaſon of it is very plain; for being at the ſame time Head of the Academy, it was natural for him, to bring to the People in the Synagogue ſome of the Lectures he had made to his Diſciples in the School, and which turned upon the Explication of the Law, or the deciſion of a Caſe of Conſcience. 'Tis pretended that the Right belonged to thoſe that were received Doctors by the *Sanhedrim*, and after the impoſition of hands were diſtinguiſhed by the title of Rabby. But yet this Notion does not agree with the Goſpel; for tho' it could not be proved that St. *Paul* had received the Doctorſhip, that *Menahem*, *Barnabas*, and *Simeon* were Doctors at *Antioch*, yet this would not remove all the difficulty; for J. CHRIST never received impoſition of Hands from the *Sanhedrim*, nor was ever looked upon as a graduate Doctor. It will ſtill be harder to be proved of St. *Peter*, St. *John*, and the other Apoſtles, who were Fiſhermen, and who never thought of being Doctors of their Nation. To pretend that J.CHRIST brought 'em to the *Sanhedrim* to receive the title of Rabby, and Authority to Preach in the Synagogues, is building one Conjecture upon another without Foundation. If there had been Preachers and Doctors *ex officio*, they would have eſtabliſhed ſome order to avoid Confuſion. Nevertheleſs we ſee that J. CHRIST preach'd not only at *Jeruſalem*, but in the Synagogues of *Galilee*, and where-ever he came. This diſorder ſhews, that all were allow'd to preach, who would explain the Prophets. They were ſo far from being nice in this particular, that they received even thoſe who were ſuſpected in their Doctrine. They will allow indeed J. CHRIST to read and explain *Iſaiah* at twelve Years of Age. The *Jews* ſay at preſent, that the *Prophets may be read by a Child*; but when the ſame JESUS had filled all *Galilee* with his Goſpel, how was he admitted Doctor? He might preach upon the Mountains, but how came they to ſuffer him in the Synagogues, if the Rabby alone had Right to aſcend the Chair by virtue of an Act of the *Sanhedrim*, confirm'd by the Impoſition of hands? How came the Apoſtles to be admitted not only into the Synagogues, but into the Temple at the Feaſt after the Death of J. CHRIST, when their Sentiments could not be concealed? St. *Paul*

* *According to the* Jews *the Ninth Hour.* † V. Manana de Sabath Orden de las Oraciones, *p.* 142. 150. 192. ‖ Buxtorf. Lex Vitringa de Syn. *l.* 3. *p.* 2. *c.* 4. * Orden de las Oraciones, *f.* 180, † Orders, *p.* 181. ‖ Ibid. *p.* 185. * *The Law is divided into Sections, or Paraſches* פרשה. *That of the Prophetick Books is call'd* Haptorah חפטרה Maſs, *from the Verb* פטר to ſend back, to ſet at liberty, *becauſe the People were diſmiſs'd after the reading of the Prophets. Theſe Paraſches and Sections are noted in the Calenders, that they may not be miſtaken. For inſtance, the third of* November *was on* Saturday *in the Year* 1674. *and they read theſe words of* Geneſis, *Noah, Noah,* Geneſ. vi. *v.* 9. *and the* Haptorah *of the Prophets was* Iſaiah Liv. *v.* 1. *to the 6th Verſe of the* Lv. *Chap.* † *They ſay that this was in the time of* Antiochus *the Illuſtrious.* Vander hoogt, Præf. ad Bibl Hebr.

and his Companions were intreated at *Antioch* of *Piſidia*, to make a Sermon on *Saturday* after the *reading the Law and the Prophets*; and the principal Perſons of the Synagogue ſent to ask them, whether they had not *ſome word of Exhortation*. St. *Paul* * was unknown, as a Stranger, or known, as an Apoſtle of JESUS CHRIST; for he diſſembled not his Religion, and both theſe Qualities ought to have hinder'd him from being made a Preacher to the Synagogue. To ſay † that the *Ruler acknowledg'd them for Doctors, becauſe he had heard 'em preach at* Jeruſalem, is to increaſe the difficulty inſtead of removing it; for 'twas the Goſpel and JESUS crucified that St. *Paul* had preach'd. Thoſe who heard him, ſhould have driven him out of the Synagogue, inſtead of putting him into the Pulpit. If they took him for a Stranger, 'tis plain they had no Scruple about the Perſon or Quality of thoſe they ſet up to Preach; and without obliging 'em to ſhew their Commiſſions and Patents from the *Sanhedrim*, they heard 'em without knowing them. The Lay-men at preſent read the Law to the People; and tho' they are the Rabbies that commonly Preach, (for they reckon but very few places, where they have Preachers *ex officio*) yet || theſe Rabbies have no Impoſition of hands, and they make ſo little diſtinction, that the firſt who comes into a City, and offers to Preach, is admitted to utter his Sermon, as was done in our Saviour's and the Apoſtles time.

The Sermon is commonly made in the Vulgar Tongue; but the Paſſages of Scripture, and Sentences of the Doctors are cited in Hebrew. They immediately explain them; juſt as the Preachers of the Church of *Rome* cite their Vulgate, and the Paſſages of the Fathers in Latin, and afterwards interpret to the People what they think fit to let 'em know.

XIV. Theſe Sermons ought to be deſign'd for the underſtanding of Scripture, and the Sections of the Law, that are read before; but if we except the Feaſts of the Paſſe-over, and Propitiations, where they inſiſt upon Subjects of Repentance and Explication of Rites, theſe Preachers generally raiſe uſeleſs difficulties, which they ſolve by a ſtrange medley of Paſſages from the *Gemara*, and which leave the Minds of their moſt attentive Hearers in doubt.

Wagenſeil * provoked at their reproaching the *Chriſtians* with their fondneſs for myſtical Senſe, reports two Sermons preach'd by an unknown Perſon in a Synagogue of *Germany*, which give a very mean Idea of theſe Teachers Eloquence. The Exordium was *ab abrupto* : " With the good pleaſure of God, " who has made the Sun and Moon; with the good " pleaſure of the moſt holy and perfect Law, which " had already ſubſiſted two thouſand Years before " it was the Foundation and Support of the Crea- " tures, high and low, and which was the delight " of its Author, and afterwards was publiſhed with " an Earth-quake, *&c.* With the good pleaſure of " the Venerable Doctors, who ſtudy Night and Day, " to render it as clear as the Sun; at the head of whom " are the Judges, choſen to reſolve Queſtions, and pe- " netrate into the deepeſt Myſteries; amongſt whom " likewiſe is the Venerable old Preſident of this Sy- " nagogue, who girds his Loins with force, explains " the Law like a Hero, and a *brave Soldier*, who is " followed by a multitude of Diſciples, and whoſe " Name is known in all the Corners of the Eaſt and " Weſt, of the North and South. Laſtly, I ask " Pardon of the moſt holy Inhabitants of this Place, " if I attempt to explain the Section of this Week.

After this Proem, he enters upon the Subject, and handles this Queſtion, *How the Commandment of the Sabbath equals all the Commandments of the Law.* To reſolve it he enters upon another, namely, *that Circumciſion has the ſame advantage of equalling all the Precepts.* To illuſtrate this ſecond Difficulty, he obſerves, that it is founded upon two Paſſages: In One we read theſe words: *Behold the blood of the Covenant*, and tho' they concern the *blood of Sacrifices*, yet he applies 'em to Circumciſion: In the Other, which is cited in the *Gemara*, God ſays, *I have made a Covenant with you.* He examines, why theſe two different Paſſages have been cited to prove one and the ſame thing. He exhauſts himſelf in Speculations; thereupon he introduces the Speculative and Practical Life. He examines the Preference of the One above the Other, which is much conteſted, and concludes, that the Queſtion propoſed about the Sabbath and Circumciſion equalling all the Commandments of the Law, is duely and fully explain'd. The ſecond Sermon is no better than the firſt. *Buxtorf*, who heard another at the Ceremony of Circumciſion alſo found it very bad. It may perhaps be ſaid, that thoſe two learned Men went at an unlucky time, and that doubtleſs they have more able Teachers. Nor is it to diſcredit all of them that we have inſerted this Extract; but rather to ſhew the common Subject of their Sermons, which turns generally upon ſuch ſort of Queſtions. For the reſt, they not only Preach on *Saturday*; but at Weddings, Circumciſion, Funerals, and on other Feaſts.

XV. After the Sermon, and repeating ſome Prayers, they bleſs the People, who depart from the Aſſembly, ſaying, *Lord guide me in thy Righteouſneſs, and prepare thy Paths before me, becauſe of mine Enemies. A guiame † en tu juſtedad : pormis ennemigos, Adere ſa delante mi tu carrera. Fin de la mannana de Sabbath.* Here ends *Saturday* Morning.

XVI. In the Evening they return to the Synagogue to Prayer again. The Law is taken from the Ark a ſecond time. Three Perſons ſing the Pſalm of the Sabbath; read the Section of the following Week. They repeat the Hundred and nineteenth Pſalm, and bring the *Perfume*. According to *Rabbam Simon* the Son of *Gamaliel*, this was only a Gum that diſtill'd from a Balſamick Tree; but Others maintain || it was compounded of the three hundred ſixty eight Pounds of different Aromatick Drugs, which the High-Prieſt pounded in a Mortar. They find a myſtery in this number, which they divide into two, and refer one of them to the Days of the Solary Year. They think alſo, that this Perfume is neceſſary to guard themſelves from the ill odour that is exhaled from Hell, the Fire whereof begins to burn again, when the Sabbath ends. Laſtly, the Bleſſing is given as in the Morning, and the Sabbath concludes when they ſee three Stars appear in the Firmament. The Heathens thought, that they faſted till then. *Auguſtus*, who had been a Day without Eating, wrote to *Tiberius*, that the *Jews* kept not a more rigorous Faſt on *Saturday*, than he had done that Day. The Poets have ſpoke of them in the ſame Strain.

*Et * non jejuna Sabbata lege premet.*
Quod † jejunia Sabbatariorum.

Whereas this was only done by ſome Zealots, and the reſt inſtead of Faſting this Day, give themſelves up to Mirth:

Tunc || veniunt riſus; tunc pauper cornua ſumit;
Tunc dolor & cura, rugaque frontis abit.

* Act. 13. 14 † Alting in Scilo. || Wagenſeil Tela Ignea Satan. 1. *p.* 245. * Wagenſeil ibid. † Orden de la. Oraciones, *p.* 192. || V. Conficion del ſahumero, confection du parfum, Orden de las Oraciones, *p.* 194. 195. * Petron Fragmenta. † Martial. *l.* 4. Ep. 4. || Ovid. de Arte amandi, *l.* 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Superſtitions for the Sabbath.

I. *Their Inclination to Reſt.* II. *The ſound of Trumpets. How they take the Bread from the Oven.* III. *A Sabbath-days Journey.* IV. *An Explication of the Evangeliſts. Of* Joſephus *and the Rabbies upon this Subject.* V. *The Defence of his Life condemned. Phyſicians allow'd.* VI. *An Objection againſt* J.CHRIST. VII. J.CHRIST *juſtify'd from Falſhood.* VIII. *The time when they were trimm'd.* IX. *Gins laid for Birds.* X. *Melancholy among the* Jews *is an evil Spirit.* XI. *The hot Waters of* Tiberias *forbidden.* XII. *Women forbidden Looking-glaſſes.* XIII. *Nails growing on* Saturday. XIV. *Subſcribing forbidden.* XV. *Animals kill'd abſurdly.* XVI. *The Violation of the Sabbath permitted.* XVII. *Secrets to elude the Law.* XVIII. *A like Superſtition among the* Chriſtians. XIX. *Two Sabbaths obſerv'd by the* Roman-*Church.*

I. IT were to be wiſh'd that the *Jews* would keep to the rule of *Ovid*, about the reſt of the Sabbath.

Quaque * *die redeunt rebus* minus apta *gerendis*
Culta Palæſtino ſeptima ſacra viro.

'Tis not to affront them that we lead 'em to the School of a Heathen Poet: But 'tis certain, that inſtead of conſidering this Day as *improper for Labour*, becauſe it is conſecrated to God, they are fallen into an exceſs of Superſtition for Idleneſs, which can't be repreſented without Amazement. An entire Treatiſe of the *Miſnah* upon this Subject contains moſt ſevere Rules for the Obſervation of this corporal reſt, and for the preventing its Violation, whilſt they have little Zeal for true Piety. They have been long ſince taxed with this:

Frigida † *Sabbata cordi,*
Sed cor frigidius Religione ſuâ.

We ſhall not follow the Rabbies in all their Superſtitious Deciſions. But yet we can't wave relating ſome of 'em, ſince they diſcover a part of the Religion we are writing the Hiſtory of.

II. In the Places where they had Liberty in *Maimonides*'s time, they ſounded the Trumpet ſix times to give notice that the Sabbath was beginning. At the firſt Sound the Countryman left his Plough; at the ſecond they ſhut up their Shops; at the third they cover'd the Pits. They lighted Candles, and drew the Bread out of the Oven; But this laſt Article deſerves to be inſiſted upon, becauſe of the different Caſes of Conſcience, about which the Maſters are divided. When the ſound of the ſixth Trumpet ſurpriz'd thoſe that had not as yet drawn their Bread, what was to be done? To faſt the next Day was diſturbing the Feaſt; to draw their Bread at the beginning of the Sabbath was to violate it. The Perplexity is great; ſome have not ventured to decide it; others have given leave to draw out what was neceſſary for the three Meals of the Sabbath. But this Permiſſion has cauſed Abuſes; for a multitude of People meet, who under pretence of drawing out the quantity of Bread they have need of for their three Meals, take out all that might be ſpoil'd. The difficulty is encreaſed, if any one ſuffers his Bread to bake after the Sabbath is begun. If he has ſinn'd knowingly, he muſt leave his Bread there, and faſt to expiate his Fault. Nothing but Ignorance is ground ſufficient to Permit them taking wherewithal to ſubſiſt their Family for twenty four Hours. But how is this Bread to be taken out? they muſt not make uſe of a Peel, but a Knife, and do it ſo nicely as not to touch the Stones of the Oven; for that is a Crime. Such are the Queſtions that ariſe upon the entrance of the Sabbath. Let us conſider the Journeys, Acts of Self-preſervation, and thoſe of Charity to their Neighbour.

III. There are ſome People ſo very Superſtitious as to remain twenty four Hours in the ſame poſture, and place, where the Sun ſurprized 'em at its ſetting. The Goſpel ſpeaks of a *Sabbath-days journey*, and confines it from the Mount of *Olives* to *Jeruſalem*. *Joſephus* || relating the Story of that *Egyptian*, who under the Government of *Felix* had ſeduced the Populace, by making them believe if they would follow him to the Mount of *Olives*, they ſhould from thence ſee the Walls and Gates of *Jeruſalem* fall, reckons but five *Stadia* from this Mountain to the City, which makes the third part of a League of two thouſand Paces. But the Sacred Hiſtorians relate, that our Lord when riſen, conducted his Diſciples to *Bethany*, ſituate upon the Mount of *Olives* *, aſcended from thence to Heaven, and then they return'd from thence to *Jeruſalem*, which was a *Sabbath-days journey*. In reconciling *Joſephus* and St. *Luke*, it might be concluded lawful to make ſix or ſeven hundred Paces on the Sabbath-day; but this does not agree with the Tradition of the *Modern Jews*, who, tho' more ſuperſtitious than the Antients, allow a thouſand Paces; nor with St. *John*, who reckons † a League of two thouſand Paces from *Bethany* to *Jeruſalem*. *Grotius* imagines that St. *John* ſpeaks of the *Stadia* according to the *Jewiſh* Meaſure, which was perhaps leſs than others; but he ſolves not the difficulty, becauſe he grounds not his Conjecture upon any Proof.

IV. In my opinion it may be ſaid, that in our Saviour's time, a Sabbath-days Journey was *fifteen Stadia*, that is to ſay, a little League, as St. *Luke* and St. *John* affirm; for there was that diſtance from *Bethany* (from whence J. CHRIST aſcended to Heaven) to *Jeruſalem*, whither the Apoſtles returned. An antient || *Arabian* Geographer, according to the Evangeliſts, reckons two thouſand Paces from the Mount of *Olives* and the Village, whither JESUS CHRIST ſent to fetch an Aſs. *Joſephus* does not contradict the Apoſtles, becauſe the *Egyptian* Impoſtor, did not conduct the People to the top of the Mount of *Olives*, nor ſo far as *Bethany*, from whence he could not have diſcover'd *Jeruſalem*. He only led 'em to *Beth-phage*, which was much nearer, ſince it was there they prepared the Evening Oblation to carry it to the Temple. *Origen* * confirms our Aſſertion; for he owns, that tho' the *Samaritan* continued in the ſame place and poſture that the Sabbath found him, yet the reſt of the *Jews* allow'd a Journey of *two thou-*

* De Arte Amand. *l.* 1. † Rutil. Itin. *l.* 1. || Joſeph Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 6. *p.* 995. * Acts 1. 12. † *Fifteen* Stadia *make two thouſand Paces. Others reckon one and twenty* Stadia *for an Hour; but an Hour is three thouſand Paces.* || Geogr. Nubienſis. Clim. 3. *p.* 5. Apud Bochart Jeroſ. * Origen περὶ ἀρχῶν, *l.* 4. *c.* 2. *p.* 839.

ſand Ells. The Ells have been ſince changed into Cubits, to reconcile *Origen* with the Rabbies; but according to the antient Interpreter, it muſt be acknowledged, that two thouſand Ells make two thouſand Paces. So that the *Jews* ſtill preſerved in his time the ſame Rule they obſerved in that of our Saviour's.

However, Superſtitions and Fables were then beginning to multiply; for *Origen* relates, that the Doctors ſaid it was not permitted either to wear *Shoes or Breeches with ſtudds, without violating the Sabbath.* 'Twas a Crime to carry any thing on one Arm, or one Shoulder, becauſe it ſuffered; but the Sin was avoided by taking the ſame thing upon both Shoulders, and this leads us to a ſecond Reflection: Namely, that Superſtition increaſing in Proceſs of time, they confined a Sabbath's Journey to a *thouſand Paces.* In ſhort, St. *Jerome* obſerves, that the *Jewiſh Maſters* had decided that they could not go above a thouſand Paces without violating the Day of Reſt. *Eraſmus* *, who went to correct the Text, and double the number, was miſtaken; for *Agobard* †, Biſhop of *Lions*, copying this Paſſage of St. *Jerome*, has cited it exactly as we read it in our Copies. But this change was made after the time of J. CHRIST. The Doctors have changed the Law of *Moſes* upon this Article; for whereas that antient Law giver allow'd 'em to walk twelve Miles, in order to appear at the Tabernacle, they had abridg'd this Liberty. 'Tis no wonder then, they made a new attack upon it, after our Saviour's time, ſince the Superſtition increaſed. Beſides, St. *Jerome* diſcovers the Original of this Change; for he attributes this deciſion to *Akiba*, whom *Eraſmus* has improperly metamorphoſed into *Bar-Aquiba.* St. *Jerome* adds *Simeon* and *Hillel*; but 'tis not neceſſary to go ſo high as the antient *Hillel*, the Founder of the Sect, as *Druſius* do's; ſince St *Jerome* places him after *Akiba.* We know alſo, that there were Patriarchs of this Name after J. CHRIST and the Emperor *Adrian*, who gave a new Authority to *Akiba*'s Decree, and reduced the Sabbatick Journey to a *thouſand Paces.*

The *Talmudiſts* have follow'd this Decree, and reduced the two thouſand Paces of the Antients to two thouſand Cubits, which make but a thouſand Paces; which is the common meaſure of the Sabbath Journey among the *Modern Jews*, as *Leo de Modena* aſſures us. People cavil only about the meaſure of the Place of ſetting out; for if a City be ſituate upon a great River, or there be only a Tavern, or Cottage on the Bank of the River, it is included in the City, and not reckon'd into the Journey of the Sabbath, be it never ſo large; but if there be no Building upon the Bank, they muſt reckon the ſpace of the River, or the ſteps they make upon the Bridge. There is no need of reckoning, provided they go not out of the City or Suburbs; for they may walk within its Bounds as long as they pleaſe, without violating the Law, tho' it were at *Niniveh*, a City of prodigious Circumference. However care muſt be taken not to walk upon the Graſs. Some Doctors permit it; but others forbid it, becauſe it would be a Crime to carry away the leaſt part of it with their Shoe. The more ingenious diſtinguiſh betwixt Winter and Summer, or determine that the Shoes muſt be taken off, becauſe then the Danger is infinitely leſs. This is diſputing upon a Point of Graſs, which is more frivolous than that of a Needle.

V. The *Maccabees* had eradicated the Superſtition, which hinder'd them from arming, and defending themſelves in preſervation of Life; but it was ſo deeply rooted, that it quickly grew again. *Pompey* made an advantageous uſe of it, to play his Engines againſt the Walls of *Jeruſalem*; and that miſtaken Lazineſs contributed more than any thing to its being taken. The Doctors perſever'd in this Opinion; for the Head of the Synagogue took occaſion from a miraculous Cure that JESUS CHRIST had perform'd on *Saturday* to Preach and repreſent to the People the unlawfulneſs of it. *Syneſius* ||, who lived a long time after, relates, that a Tempeſt which had threaten'd them with an almoſt inevitable Shipwrack, having laſted till *Friday* Night, *Amarantus*, who was a *Jew* and Pilot of the Veſſel, gave her up to the mercy of the Winds, and refuſed to work. And thus he not only prefer'd the reſt of the Sabbath to acts of Charity to his Neighbour; but to the preſervation of his own Life.

In a word, every body knows the Action of the Biſhop of *Saxony*, who underſtanding that the *Jews* had refuſed to draw a Man out of a Jakes, where he was fallen for fear of violating the Sabbath, order'd him to continue in there on *Sunday*, becauſe that was the *Chriſtian* Sabbath; and this ſhews they have preſerved the ſame ſcruple, as to what concerns the preſervation of Life. They content themſelves, 1. With giving Food to thoſe that happen to be found in theſe Circumſtances. 2. With furniſhing them with Straw or Wood, if they are fallen into the Water, that they may get out again. 3. Laſtly, they permit Phyſicians to viſit the Sick, and to ſupply them with neceſſary Remedies: But the Doctors ſtraiten this Liberty as much as poſſible.

VI. JESUS CHRIST is accuſed of Falſhood in a Book intituled *the Victory* *, where 'tis aſſerted, that our Saviour juſtifying the Cure of a ſick Man which he had wrought on *Saturday*, by the Cuſtom of the *Jews* of his time, who drew out a Sheep from a Ditch that had fallen into it that Day, has abſurdly advanced that fact, ſince *every body knows it was not lawful for the* Jews *to draw a Beaſt from a Pit or a Ditch on the Sabbath-day.* So that J. CHRIST could not make his Apology but by the help of a Falſhood, and charging a Doctrine upon the Synagogue, which it evidently rejects.

VII. Firſt, this Author †, like the reſt of the *Jews*, runs commonly after Viſions; for he proves the Sabbath by the River *Sambation*, which rowls Stones for ſix Days, and ſtops on the ſeventh; and concludes from thence, that the *Chriſtians* ought to Stone all thoſe that labour on the Sabbath. He alſo makes the *Chriſtians* to make a falſe and ridiculous Objection, as if they believed that God laboured on the ſeventh Day to accompliſh his Work. 2. This Enemy of the *Chriſtian* Religion is forced to include *David* in the ſame Condemnation which he pronounces againſt J. CHRIST; for he can't reſolve the difficulty which ariſes from that Prince's action, *Who did eat the Shew-bread*; but he condemns that Prince, and pretends that his Fault do's not juſtify the Diſciples, who rubb'd the ears of Corn in the Fields. 3. He is ſtill more confounded about the words of God, *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice*; "for ſays he ||, "God only gives us to underſtand, that he ſuffers "not himſelf to be ſurpriz'd by Sacrifices, and 'tis "ſo true that he did not condemn them, that JE-"SUS CHRIST ſent the Leper to the High-Prieſt, to "make an offering for him. This arguing moves ones Compaſſion; for J. CHRIST, who ſaw Sacrifices offer'd, was far from proving that God had aboliſhed them. He only ſaid, that God prefers acts of Charity to our Neighbour before the exact obſer-

* Eraſmus in Acta 1. 12. † Agob de Superſt. Judaic. t. 2. 209. † Ibid. *p.* 9. || Ibid. 208. & 209. || Syneſ. Ep. 4. * Nizzachon apud Wagenſeil Tela Ignea,

vations

vations of the moſt Auguſt and Solemn Ceremonies; from whence he concluded, he had done well to heal the Sick, ſince it was an act of Charity preferable to the ſcrupulous Obſervation of the Sabbath. *Lipman* therefore does not touch the difficulty. 4. The *Talmudiſts* forbid the taking up a fallen Sheep. I will not ſay with *Buxtorf*, they have inſerted this Clauſe in hatred to the *Chriſtian* Religion, that they might accuſe its Maſter of a lye; but who knows whether the Theology of the *Talmudiſts* has not been changed in four or five hundred Years time, which paſs'd betwixt Our Saviour and the Concluſion of the *Talmud*. We need only to draw out of it that prodigious heap of Contradictions it abounds with, and that Monſtrous diverſity of ſentiments among the Doctors, to ſee that this Theology was not always the ſame. We have an inſtance of it without departing from the ſubject we are upon: For in Our Saviour's time it was not allowed to heal a Sick Perſon, ſince that Cure, as miraculouſly as it was, excited the Cenſure of the Heads of the Synagogue. Whereas now 'tis allowed not only to Cure by Miracle, but by the virtue of Remedies that are applied, and the Phyſicians have liberty to viſit their Patients, of which they were deprived at that time. A quite contrary change has been made about Sheep, which they are not permitted to draw out of a Ditch at this Day, tho' they did it heretofore.

VIII. We ſhould never end, ſhould we relate the other ſcruples they have about the Obſervation of the Sabbath. Let us obſerve however ſome that are the more Authentick as we draw them from the *Miſnah*, which is the antient Law of the *Jews*, commented on by its moſt famous Doctors.

They muſt not be trimm'd, nor enter into a Barber's-ſhop the Eve of the Sabbath, a little before the Evening Sacrifice, for fear the Scizzors ſhould break, or ſome accident ſhould happen to the Razor, which ſhould oblige them to mend it and ſuffer Prayer-time to paſs over.

IX. The Schools † of *Hillel* and *Schammay* met upon a time, ſo that there was not one Doctor miſſing that was capable of ſpeaking his Opinion. This numerous Aſſembly was formed to decide thirty ſix Caſes of Conſcience of this nature. They agreed upon eighteen Queſtions, and divided upon eighteen others, one whereof related to the liberty || *of laying Gins to catch Birds*. The School of *Hillel* granted this liberty, which was condemned by *Schammay*'s Diſciples, and the latter were the more numerous.

X. There is * another Queſtion upon which they divide, whether it be lawful to put out Candles, when they are afraid of the *Perſians*, who ſuffer'd not Lamps to be lighted during their Feaſts, except in their Temples; and the Doctors decide it may be done, provided it be in fear of Perſecution, or of Robbers. They may alſo be extingniſhed upon fear of the *Evil Spirit*; but they mean not by this the *Devils*, the Spirits of Darkneſs which ſhun the Light; but *Melancholy*, wherewith Studious People are often attack'd, and who delight to be dreaming in obſcurity. This Deciſion might ſerve for the explication of ſeveral Paſſages of Scripture, which calls perhaps *Demoniacks, and poſſeſſed with an Evil Spirit*, ſome Perſons that were fallen into ſo deep a Melancholy, that it produced fatal Effects. The Rabbies have had this Complaiſance for the Melancholick, becauſe they have obſerved, that the great Men, the Rabbies themſelves have been ſubject to it. Some Condemn thoſe who extinguiſh their Lamps by way of thrift; but *R. Joſes* gives 'em Abſolution.

XI. There are near *Tiberias* abundance of hot Baths. The Inhabitants of this City imagined, that it was no crime to ſuffer cold Water to run into their Baths, which temper'd the heat of them, and made them afterwards uſeful to drink and bath in; but the Doctors who compoſed the *Miſnah* † upon the place decided, that it was one and the ſame Sin to ſuffer Water to run into the Baths, and to heat it. They only diſtinguiſhed the Sabbath from the other Feaſts, in which they might uſe theſe Waters without a Crime to waſh themſelves, provided they did not bath in them. If the Fire fail, or go out, 'tis a crime to touch Wood to light it again. Hence proceeded that Subtilty of an Inquiſitor related by a *Jewiſh* || Hiſtorian, who meaning to diſcover to the Government the Artifice of the *Jews*, who profeſs'd *Chriſtianity*, cauſed them to get upon a Tower, and from thence to behold all the Chimneys of *Seville*. 'Twas quickly perceiv'd that there were a great many which had no Smoke, tho' the Winter was very Cold. Thoſe were the Houſes of the *Jews*, who after they had been forced to abjure their Religion, ſtill ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved the Sabbath, as not to dare to light a Fire on that Day. They rather choſe to bear the Cold than to move their Hand to it. They are allowed to warm themſelves in the Sun; but they may not take Advantage of the Heat which it communicates to another Body; for fear they ſhould be miſtaken in the Cauſe that has produced it.

XII. It * is not lawful for a Woman to carry on the Sabbath a Sewing Needle, nor for a Man to have a Sword or a Bow, or even Shoes with Nails in them. They tell us, that being hid in a Grotto by reaſon of the Perſecution, and the noiſe being ſpread about that the Enemy was at hand, they began to puſh and trample one another with thoſe clouted Sandals, which killed many of 'em: And for fear of a like Accident, the Law forbids their having Nails in their Shoes on the Day of the *Congregation*. Nor is it permitted to look in a Glaſs, leſt the Women being curious about their Dreſs, ſhould obſerve a Hair ill placed, and ſo lift put up their Hand to put it in order.

XIII. 'Tis a great crime to cut their Nails, or to bite them, to pluck off their Hairs, or paint themſelves. The Doctors † however diſtinguiſh; for they allow the plucking off a Hair that is going to fall, or is almoſt pull'd off, and to cut a Nail that is cleft or divided. They diſtinguiſh alſo the Puniſhment; for they Stone him that plucks off his Nails with his Hand; but he deſerves capital Puniſhment, when he makes uſe of Scizzors. They cut them on *Friday*, and obſerve on the Sabbath a prodigious fecundity to make them grow again.

XIV. It is not || lawful to ſign their Name, nor even to write two Letters. A Sick Perſon can't make uſe of Oyl nor Wine to aſſwage the affected part. He may waſh a corrupted Tooth with Vinegar, but he muſt ſwallow it; and 'tis violating the Sabbath to ſpit it out of his Mouth.

XV. A great queſtion * was debated among the antient Doctors, whether it was lawful to kill a Scorpion that lies quiet in his hole, or in the way, and this queſtion could not be decided: I know not, ſay they, *whether there be Sin or not in it*. *Maimonides* more boldly declares, that we may kill on the

† Miſnah Ordo Feſtorum Tr. de Sabbato, *p.* 3. || Ibid. *p.* 57. * Miſnah, *p.* 13. † Ibid. *p.* 16. || Salomon, Ben Virga. Schevet Juda, *p.* 34[9]. * Miſnah, *p.* 24. † Miſnah, *p.* 41. || Ibid. *p.* 51. * Ibid. *p.* 56.

Sab-

Sabbath the Creatures that kill Men, as a Mad Dog; and as for thoſe Creatures and Reptiles, which only cauſe pain and ſmart, it is not lawful to kill 'em but when they attack us. If they remain in their holes, the ſureſt way is to let them alone, for fear it ſhould be ſaid you went a hunting.

XVI. There are ſome Caſes in point of Religion, in which the Sabbath is violated; for they do all that is neceſſary for Circumciſion before, if the eighth Day from the Birth fall upon a Sabbath: And even when they have forgot to carry a Razor into the Synagogue on the Evening, they do it on that Day, but it ought to be covered and concealed. Moreover, if a Houſe take Fire, wherein are the Books of the Scripture, 'tis † permitted to carry 'em *all away whether they be read, or whether they be not read.* They ſpeak thus, becauſe they diſtinguiſh the *Hagiographa* from the Books of the Law and the Prophets. The former are never read on the Sabbath, for fear the People ſhould mind 'em too much, and finding too much pleaſure in them, ſhould neglect the Sermon; but however they ought to be ſaved from the Fire and carried away, leſt they ſhould be burnt.

XVII. We muſt alſo add, that notwithſtanding their ſeverity for the Obſervation of this Day, they find ſecret methods to elude it. They have for a long time been guilty of this Abuſe; for they ſuffer'd the Merchants of the Sea-Port Towns to bring their Fiſh to *Jeruſalem*, and expoſe it to publick ſale; and they did not imagine 'twas a Crime, becauſe they were the Heathens, who made this Commerce with ſo much the more profit, becauſe the Worſhippers of *Venus*, or the Goddeſs of the Sea, never eat Fiſh. There are places at this Day, where, to elude the Law, they employ *Chriſtian* Women to prepare their Dinners on *Saturday*. However, they have propoſed this caſe of Conſcience, whether a *Jew*, who cauſes his Cow to be Milked by a *Chriſtian*, to drink the Milk of it, Sins; and they have determined, that he is obliged to buy it *at a cheap rate*, that it may be ſaid, that the *Chriſtian* has not work'd by Order, or for the ſake of a *Jew*, but for his own particular Intereſt and Profit.

XVIII. Some *Chriſtians* that laugh at theſe Superſtitious exceſſes, reflect not perhaps that they fall into the like themſelves. How rigorouſly are the Feaſts of the Saints obſerved? The Violater whereof is found Miraculouſly Puniſhed. The *Old Jews* only ſtoned one Man who had broke the Sabbath; but the Saints have puniſhed a thouſand and a thouſand Perſons for violating their Feaſt. A Woman has found drops of Blood upon a ſhift which ſhe went to ſew on a Feſtival; the Sickle has been faſten'd to the Labourers Hand, who went to cut a handful of Corn on ſuch another Day; St. *Ouen* caſt an Archbiſhop of *Roan* into ſuch a terrible Flux of Urine upon his coming to diſturb his Feaſt, that he was forced to be carried off in that naſty pickle. The People believe theſe fabulous Miracles propoſed to 'em, as undoubted Truths; and whilſt they ſecurely violate the Day Conſecrated to God, they continue in a Superſtitious Lazineſs on the Feaſts of Saints, which they particularly honour.

XIX. It muſt not be denied but that the firſt *Chriſtians* had ſtill a Veneration for the Sabbath. The Apoſtles || are accuſed of having changed that Day of Reſt into *Sunday* thro' hatred to the *Jews*, as if they had no other reaſon for that change than ſo vicious an inducement; but on the contrary, the *Chriſtian* Church eſpouſed moſt of the Rites of the Synagogue inſtead of rejecting and oppoſing them. There were a great many Churches, which tho' they were perſuaded that *Sunday* ought to be celebrated in commemoration of Our Saviour's Reſurrection, ſtill preſerved their Reſpect for *Saturday*, which they conſecrated to God in remembrance of the Creation. This Cuſtom continued even in the IV. Century. Laſtly, the *Roman* Church ſtill celebrates the Memory of two Solemn Sabbaths, the One is that of the Paſſe-over, called the *Great Sabbath*, and which is at preſent *Holy Saturday*. They read on it * the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, *In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth*, and to manifeſt that it is celebrated in Memory of the antient Paſſe-over, as well as of the Creation, they add that place in *Exodus* which mentions the Victory the *Iſraelites* obtained in going out of *Egypt*. The ſecond Sabbath, whereof they ſtill retain ſome foot-ſteps, is that of *Pentecoſt*; for they read that part of Scripture on that Day which relates to the publication of the Law.

† Miſnah, *p.* 53. || Curcellæus. * Simon's *Supplement to* Leo *of* Modena, *c.* 10. *p.* 82.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the beginning of the Year on the firſt of September, *and of the Feaſt of* Propitiations.

I. *All the Feaſts Conſecrated to God.* II. *The Preparation for the firſt Day of the Year.* III. *God judges all the* Jews *upon it.* IV. *The manner how this Judgment is made.* V. *The Feaſt of Propitiations. The Separation of the High-Prieſt.* VI. *The Oath he is obliged to take, examined.* VII. *Waſhings.* VIII. *Sacrifice.* IX. *The Lot fallen upon the Goat.* X. *Laymen authorized to conduct him.* XI. *The Faſts of the People.* XII. *The Sacrifice of a Cock: Its Ceremonies.* XIII. *Reconciliation and Whippings.* XIV. *Candles preſage remiſſion of Sins.* XV. *Why they dare not behold the Rabbies Hands, when he gives the Bleſſing.* XVI. *Efficacy aſcribed to this Feaſt.* XVII. *The nature of Pennance, and its effects.*

I. THE *Jews* have abundance of other Feaſts. *Plantavitius*, Author of a Rabbinical Library points out a Book, intituled, *The Reaſons of the Feaſts* *, in which we find the Original of all thoſe that are Celebrated in the Synagogue. An entire Volume of the *Miſnah* is taken up with the deſcription of the Feaſts. *Maimonides* and *Bartenora*, its Commentators, have added to it a great many Obſervations, particularly about the *Day of Propitiations*. Laſtly, the *Chriſtians* have alſo laboured to explain this ſubject.

All theſe Feaſts are Conſecrated to God Almighty; and the Heathens † who liv'd ſince Our Saviour J. CHRIST have abſurdly charg'd them with the Worſhipping of *Bacchus*; either becauſe the Feaſt of Tabernacles was ce-

* *Title of* Tame Chagim, *or the Order of the Feaſts. See alſo* Seder Mogued, ſive Legum Miſnicarum Liber, qui inſcribitur, Ordo Feſtorum. † Le Moyne Diſſert. ad Jerem. 23. 1.

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brated at the same time as the Orgies of *Bacchus*, and *Pompey* had found a Golden Vine in the Temple of *Jerusalem*; or rather because of the Merriments and Cups of Wine, which the Father of the Family Consecrated to the Meals of the Sabbath, and of the Solemn Feasts. *Plutarch* and *Petronius* have accus'd them of worshipping a Hog, because they would neither eat nor offer this Animal in their Sacrifices. A Monk disputing against the *Jews* before the Pope, upbraided them also with eluding the Prohibition of a Prince || *to worship the Sun, and to have his Image in their Houses*, by making two-leav'd Doors, and carving part of the Image of the Sun upon each leaf, because when the Door was half open, but half of the Sun's Image appear'd, and they never shut it but when they saw themselves secure. We can't conjecture from whence the Monk has taken this his Accusation, but 'tis undeniable that the *Jews* have never worshipped the Sun.

II. The Civil Year begins on the first of *September*. They believe that God judges all Men that Day, and that *they pass before him as a Flock before the Shepherd*. To avoid the Judgment of Condemnation, the Zealots spend all the Month of *August* in Fasting and Acts of Repentance. Others at least dedicate the four last Days thereunto, and especially the Eve of New-Years-Day. They dig a Ditch to Bath in, if they can't have Cold Water conveniently elsewhere. They confess their Sins, and beat their Breasts in proportion to their gradual sinking in the Water. At last they plunge in overHead & Ears, that they may appear clean all over in the sight of God. Not satisfied with these Blows of the Fist, with which they beat their Breasts, they commonly give themselves thirty nine lashes by way of Pennance. Some go the next Day to the Synagogue in the habit they have chosen for their Burial, or else in white, which is the Emblem of Purity. If the *Christians* should be told, that they have derived their Vigils, and their Whip-cord Discipline, and the Merit annex'd to 'em, from the *Jews*, they would not be well-pleased; but yet this is most probable. The Trumpet is sounded many Days before the end of the Year, to deafen the Devil, that he may not know the Day of Judgment, for fear he should appear there to accuse the *Jews*. 'Tis sounded also the first Day of the Year, to advertise the People that God is coming to judge; they repair to the Synagogue, and make a multitude of Prayers, and the rest of the Day is employed in hearing of Sermons, or in some Acts of Devotion; and then departing they salute one another, *Be thou written in a good Year*, and thus they go and seat themselves at Table, and make Merry.

III. In the mean time God forms his Judgment in Heaven. He opens * three Books; one for the Wicked, which is the *Book of Death*; another for the Righteous, which is the *Book of Life*; and the third is that of Men in a *middle state*, who are neither totally good, nor totally bad. They collect this distinction from Holy Writ; for *Moses* desired of God to *be blotted out of his Book*, and *David* making an Imprecation against the Wicked, says, † *Let him be blotted out of the book of the Living, and not be written with the Righteous*. There is therefore a *book of Life* for the Saints. God blots the Wicked out of this Book, and puts them into *that of Death*; and since the Prophet afterwards speaks of the *Righteous* whose Names are written, there must needs be a Book for those *Righteous* who are but indifferently good.

IV. As 'tis natural for a Man easily to entertain a great Opinion of himself, and of his own Repentance, so the *Jews* fancy that God pardons their Sin when they confess 'em, and wash themselves an strike their Breasts as they go deeper into the Water. However, God observes so strange a method in his Judgment, that a Man can't be assur'd whether he be written in the Book of Life or Death, nor of the Consequences this may have; for a little Sin may absorp great Vertues: On the contrary, one Act of Vertue swallows up a great many Sins. Besides, || God will sometimes punish a Saint in this Life, that he may have nothing to suffer after Death: This depends upon his will, and then God writes that Saint in the *book of Death*. He must dye the next Year, or have a violent Fit of Sickness, or fall into Poverty. From thence we so often see the Saints Poor, Diseased, or Dying in their Infancy. The contrary may happen; for God, who designs to destroy a wicked Man in the other Life, recompences the good he has done in this, and in order to it, writes his Name in the *book of Life* the first Day of the Year. He prospers and grows happy, but this avails nothing as to Eternity. There should therefore be one Page in the Books of Life and Death for the present World, and another for the future; for otherwise there would be great Confusion in the Books of God. However it be, this is the way they explain the Prosperity of the Wicked for a certain course of Years. The half-good are written no where; God waits for their Repentance till the Day of Propitiations, and ten Days after, and then he determines of their Fate. This Judgment is transacted in the most Solemn manner; for the Angels are all present because God immitates the method of the antient *Sanhedrim*; and even whilst *Jerusalem* stood he sent his Angels thither to know whether that Venerable Council had fix'd the time, or began the Year, that there might be no mistake; and that he might pronounce his Judgment on the Day appointed by the *Sanhedrim*.

V. The Feast of Propitiations is celebrated nine Days * after the beginning of the Year, that is to say, on the ninth of *September*; and 'tis looked upon, as one of the most beneficial Solemnities of the Nation, which receives on that Day remission of Sins, as the Fruit of its Repentance.

The Custom † was formerly to separate the High Priest from his Wife seven Days before the Feast. Abstinence was not the Cause of this Separation, as is imagined; but 'twas fear'd he might ignorantly contract some Pollution with her, if she had what Women customarily have. *R. Jehuda* has determined, that if the High-Priest's Wife died in the space of these seven Days, he should immediately Marry another, to satisfie the Law, which commanded to make the Expiation for himself and for *his Wife*; but this decision has been rejected, which might have necessitated the High-Priests to have married two or three times in seven Days.

VI. They assign'd to this High Priest some *Elders* that read before him, and exhorted him to read himself in the Law, *in order to see whether he had learn'd to read, or whether he had not forgotten*. But this Exhortation was only in use in the second Temple, when the Priest-hood was purchased; for in the first House all the Priests were learned. These Elders also prevented his eating too much on the Feast-Eve, for fear he should fall asleep. He was conducted to the upper Chamber of *Abtinez*. This *Abtinez* was heretofore President over those that prepared the Perfume, and gave his Name to that

|| Saiomon Fil. Virgæ Histor. Jud. *p.* 287. * V. Maimonides Tract. תשובה de Pœnitentia, *c.* 3. *p.* 54. 55. † Ps. 69. 29. || Maimonides ibid. * *These nine Days are called Penitential Days*, ועי התשובם Maimonides in Tractatu de Pœnitentia, *c.* 3. *p.* 57. † Misnah Maimon. Bartenora Seringham, *p.* 206.

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Apartment built upon the Water-gate. 'Tis ſaid that his Family afterwards grew very odious, becauſe it would not communicate the Secret of preparing the Perfume. There the High-Prieſt † was obliged to take an Oath, that he would not offer to change any of the antient Rites. They took this Precaution, becauſe of the Sadduces, who beſides their Doctrines before-mentioned, would have the High-Prieſt ſcatter the Perfume before he enter'd into the moſt holy place, which was contrary to Tradition. Nevertheleſs, as this Oath ſeem'd injurious to the High-Prieſt, he wept in taking it; and the Prieſts wept alſo to be reduced to the Neceſſity of making him Swear. The Night was ſpent in explaining the Law, or in reading ſome Paſſages of *Job*, *Ezra* or *Daniel*. If || the Prieſt was not ingenious enough always to ſpeak, he had young People by him, who plaid on the Flute, or jogg'd him with their Finger to wake him when he ſlept, and who continued in this Exerciſe till the Hour of Sacrifice.

I know not whether theſe Cuſtoms were ever practis'd; for the *Talmudiſts* make no ſcruple to imagine Rites unknown to their Fathers. Theſe Oaths they made the High Prieſt take, are contrary to the Veneration they had for him, and the Night watches are equally ſuſpected; for the *Jews* never loved 'em, and even the Criticks from hence draw one of their Conjectures againſt the Book of *Judith*, the Author whereof makes the Night to be ſpent in the Synagogue, contrary to the Cuſtom of the Nation. Beſides *Ananus* and *Hircanus* were Sadducees. The firſt lived a little before the ruin of the ſecond Temple, which do's not agree with the Oaths againſt Sadduciſm, which the High-Prieſt was obliged to take every Year. On the Morning they made it a point of Honour to go and cleanſe the Altar, and remove the Aſhes; and the eagerneſs they ran with, frequently occaſion'd Miſchances; for they puſh'd one another upon the Steps of the Altar, and he that happen'd to fall, ſometimes broke a Leg, and therefore they made new Regulations to hinder this diſorder by dividing the Employs. There were nine Prieſts appointed for the Morning Sacrifice, and eleven for that of the Evening; but in the ſolemn Feaſts, ſuch as the Sabbath and Expiation, they order'd ten in the Morning, and twelve in the Evening, and it would have been criminal to change the Number. They alſo choſe Perſons to make ready the Victims. There were twenty four to a Calf, to each of which was aſſigned one part of the Animal, which he was to Flea, or Prepare.

VII. No body durſt enter upon the Functions of his Miniſtry without waſhing himſelf. The Rabbies ſay * that the High-Prieſt waſhed five times, becauſe he was obliged to change his Habit ſo often, and at every change he was to waſh. His Habits were of fine Linnen, and the *Miſnah* obſerves, that thoſe he wore in the Morning were of *Linnen of Peluſium* a City of *Egypt*, which was extreamly fine:

Et Peluſiaco ſilum componere lino:

but the Evening habits came from the *Indies*, and were very dear †.

VIII. The High-Prieſt being waſh'd and dreſs'd, he took the Bullock, that was placed in the Porch ||, betwixt the Altar and the holy Place; which Porch was appointed for the Confeſſion and tears of the Prieſt. He laid his hand upon the head of the Sacrifice, confeſſing that he was a Rebel and a Sinner, and begging God to Pardon the Sins of him and of his whole Houſe, and they anſwer'd, *Bleſſed be his glorious Reign from Generation to Generation.*

IX. He went afterwards into the place where were the two Goats and the Urn, from whence the lot was to be drawn. Theſe Lots were commonly of Wood; but the Son of *Gamaa* made 'em of Gold. The Kings often made rich Preſents for the day of Propitiations and for the Temple, as King *Monobazes*, "who would "have all the handles of the Veſſels made uſe of "that Day, to be of Gold. *Nicanor* alſo brought "from *Alexandria* two ſtately Gates; but the vio-"lence of a Tempeſt obliged them to throw one "of them into the Sea. They were alſo going to "disburthen the Veſſel of the ſecond; but *Nicanor* "tied himſelf to it, and ſwore, if they threw it "over Board, they ſhould throw him with it. He "arrived happily at *Acco*, whither the Sea carried "the Gate that had been loſt.

The High-Prieſt ſhook the Urn, and drew out the Lot: he faſten'd a Scarlet thread to the head of the Goat, that was to be ſent away, and another thread to the head of the Goat that was to be Sacrificed, and afterwards he laid his hands upon its head, and made the ſame Confeſſion he had done before upon the head of the Bullock he had kill'd. He took the Cenſer, which was of the pureſt Gold, and entered with it into the Holy of Holies, which he fill'd with the Smoke of the Perfumes. He deſired of God * *a due temper of the Air; that the Scepter might not that Year be extorted from the hands of* Judah; *that there might be no Famine in* Iſrael; *and that the Prayers of Strangers might not be heard.* The Prayer was very ſhort, for fear of frightening the People; for if the High-Prieſt had continued there too long, they would have thought God had taken away his Life, becauſe of ſome Prophanation. Laſtly, he went out backwards, ſtill looking towards the Ark, or towards the *Foundation-Stone*, which the Rabbies ſubſtitute in place of the loſt Ark; for they believe, that that Stone had been laid in the middle of the World, to ſerve for its *Foundation*. At his return, he ſacrificed the Goat, that was to be kill'd, and mingled his Blood with that of the Bullock in a Veſſel. With it he made many ſprinklings near the Vail, and particularly upon the Altar. Afterwards he went and laid his hands upon the other Goat, confeſſing the Sins of the People, who again anſwered, *Bleſſed be his glorious Reign from Generation to Generation.*

X. The Lay-men as well as the Prieſts had the charge of Conducting the Goat *Azael*. They ſent him out of *Jeruſalem* by an elevated Way, or kind of Cauſey made for that purpoſe, and there were ten Stages or Tabernacles from *Jeruſalem* to the Deſart of *Zuc*, where he was precipitated. They tell us † that he was not half fallen, before his Limbs were broken. They added this Precipitation to the Law, which only ordered, that they ſhould lead the Goat to the Wilderneſs. But as he ſometimes return'd from thence, and this was taken for an Omen of ſome great Misfortune, they determined to throw him headlong. They had Signals at ſeveral Intervals, the more ſpeedily to inform *Jeruſalem* that the Execution was over, or elſe they knew it by the whitening of a Scarlet thread, which was hung at the Gate of the Temple, and which changed colour, to ſhew that the Propitiation was compleated according to the Promiſe of God. *Tho' your Sins ſhould be red as Scarlet, they ſhall be white as Snow.* 'Tis ſaid that this imaginary or true Miracle ceaſed

† Ibid. *p.* 209. || Seringhamius *p.* 211. * Seringhamius *p.* 218. † *Eight hundred Druchms.* || *It was two and twenty Cubits.* * Seringhamius *p.* 231. † Seringhamius *p.* 241.

forty

forty Years before the Deſtruction of the ſecond Temple.

They burnt part of the other Goat; and the Sacrifice being ended, the High-Prieſt read the Law, gave the Bleſſing to the People; changed his Habits, and made a great Entertainment to rejoyce upon his eſcaping ſafe and ſound from the Sanctuary, whether, becauſe being lightly dreſs'd, the cold might incommode him, or becauſe it was imagined, there was great danger in entring into the Holy of Holies, in the Preſence of God.

XI. The People ſtrictly faſted during the Feaſt, to which they attributed great Effects; for Repentance, tho' accompany'd with a firm reſolution of Amendment, only *ſuſpends the Sin, but the Feaſt of Propitiations aboliſhes it.* And thoſe who died before that Day, made an Expiation by their Death.

However * they diſtinguiſhed two ſorts of Sins; thoſe committed againſt God were perfectly aboliſhed by the Day of Propitiation; but Reparation muſt be made for the Injury done to Men, and a Man's enemy appeaſed in order to be reconciled to God, and the Feaſt had no efficacy for theſe ſorts of Sins. Thus it is the Rabbies pretend their Anceſtors celebrated the Propitiation Day; let us now ſee the Ceremonies of the *Modern Jews.*

XII. They prepare themſelves for this great Feaſt the Day before by Prayers and the Sacrifice of a Cock. They take one of theſe Domeſtick Animals, and give him three blows on the head, ſaying, *this Cock † ſhall be my ranſom, ſhall ſuffer the Death that I have deſerved, and make my expiation.* To this effect they wring his Neck, ths is a Confeſſion the Sinner makes that he has deſerv'd to loſe his blood and life. They daſh him violently againſt the Ground, becauſe they have deſerv'd to be Stoned, they boil him, becauſe the Sinner deſerves the Fire, and there is no kind of Death, but God has right to inflict, if he would exerciſe his Juſtice rather than his Mercy. Laſtly, they throw the Cock's entrails upon the roof of the Houſe. Some ſay, this is to finiſh the Sacrifice; and others affirm, that as Sin proceeds from the Heart, they ought to deteſt the entrails of the Cock; to expoſe 'em a Prey to the Ravens, who ſeize on 'em, and carry 'em into the Deſart, as they formerly ſent thither the Goat *Azael* loaden with the Sins of the People. They make a diſtinction between the Cocks. The Red are not fit for this Ceremony, becauſe they are cover'd with Sins. Other Colours may be good; but a White Cock is preferable to all others becauſe of his Purity.. The Women take a Hen; and thoſe that are big with Child, ſacrifice the Cock and Hen. They formerly gave theſe ſorts of Victims to the Poor to regale with; but the Poor complaining that they made 'em eat the Sins of the rich, they changed the Sacrifice into Alms, and preſerv'd the ſacrificed Cock for the Evening Entertainment. *Leo* of *Modena* affirms, that ſome Doctors cauſed this Cuſtom to be aboliſh'd in *Italy* and the *Eaſt*, becauſe they found Superſtition in it.

XIII. The Expiation being made by the Death of the Cock, they go to the Burying-place to pray to God to pardon 'em in memory of the Saints, that have been bury'd there. They throw themſelves into water, to make an entire ablution of their Sins; they prepare Lights for the next Day; each carries his to the Synagogue, and the Votaries have two, one for the Body and the other for the Soul, which they give it the name of. At Night thoſe that are at Variance with their Neighbour, find him out to ask his Pardon, and oblige him to be reconciled. Upon the firſt refuſal, he takes three Witneſſes; afterwards he brings ten ||, before whom he proteſts, he has done his Duty, and that God can no longer lay this Sin to his charge. They go to the Tombs of the Dead, to ask their Pardon, when they have had the Misfortune to offend them, and not to be reconciled to em, whilſt they lived, and this Satisfaction to the Dead is made in preſence of ten Witneſſes. Afterwards they enter into the Synagogue to make their Confeſſion there; chooſing one of their Friends, with whom they go into a corner, and mutually laſh each other, repeating a Verſe * of the Seventy eighth Pſalm. This Verſe contains thirteen words. At each word they give a laſh, and thrice repeat it. And thus they reckon thirty nine Stripes, according to the antient Cuſtom St. *Paul* ſubmitted to; for it was then a Civil Puniſhment; of which they have made an Eccleſiaſtical and voluntary Penance. During the Night, they cry to God, "We † have Sinn'd; we have Robb'd; "we have Slandered; we have been Proud; we "have given bad Advice; we have Lied; we have "deſerved forty Stripes, ſudden Death, the four "Puniſhments: We owe thee Sacrifices for Sin; but "have mercy upon us; for the ſake of thy Sanctu-"ary, reveal the Glory of thy Reign." *Maimonides* || relates a ſhorter Confeſſion which the Penitent makes in theſe words: *Lord, I have ſin'd; I have rebell'd, I have done ſuch and ſuch a thing; I repent of it; I bluſh for ſhame, and will never do the like again.* This Confeſſion is ſo neceſſary, that the Sin can't be expiated without it: 'tis much more perfect, when 'tis made to many Perſons, or is Publick.

XIV. When the Feaſt commences, they go to the Synagogue; each lights his Candle; and they Sing Hymns with a loud Voice. The Women light at the ſame time their Candles in the Houſe, and from thence draw great Preſages. If the Light be clear, the Sins are certainly forgiven; but if the Tallow or the Wax run, they fear all the Wrath of God, and this fear produces Sighs and torrents of Tears. They enter very early into the Synagogue, and the whole Day is ſpent in the ſevereſt Faſt, without exception of Sex or Age, after they are arrived to the Age of twelve Years. They * read a long Prayer, in which they declare, that all the Oaths and Promiſes, which have not been performed in the courſe of the paſt Year are cancelled, becauſe the Propitiation of Sin is made. They bring the Law; and read what relates to the Feaſt of Propitiations, and the Ceremony of the Goat *Azael.* Some paſs the Night Standing, in Singing and making new Prayers; but thoſe that return home to aſſwage their hunger, provoked by a Faſt of twenty eight Hours, appear again the Morrow before Day in the Synagogue, for fear the Devil ſhould accuſe them of riſing ſo early the Day before out of Intereſt, becauſe it was the Day of Propitiations, and of ſleeping the next Day, becauſe they expected nothing more from God.

XV. At the end of the Day of Propitiations, the Rabbi gives the Bleſſing to the People with the elevation of his Hands, who are all obliged that moment to put their Hands before their Eyes, and to

* Seringhamius *p.* 258. † Cappara. || Maimonides *requires but three the ſecond Day as well as the firſt; after which he that refuſes becomes a Sinner* Tract. de Pœnitentia, *c.* 2. *p.* 520. * Pſ. 78 38. † Orden de las Oraciones, &c. || Maimon. Tract. תשובה de Pœnitentia *c.* 1. *p.* 43. 44. & *c.* 2. 49. *See a form of it in Mr.* Clavering's *Notes.* Ibid. *p.* 139. * Buxtorf. Syn. *c.* 21.

hide their Face, becauſe it is not lawful to behold the Hands of the Prieſt: Or rather they imagine that God is behind the Prieſt, who looks through his extended Hands, and their reverence for the Almighty, ſuffers 'em not to lift up their Eyes towards him; *for no body ſhall ſee God and live.* They ſound the Horn, in memory of the Jubilee, which began with the Propitiation-Day. Laſtly they imagine, that a Voice is heard from Heaven informing them, that God has pardoned his People their Sins, and that they may return home with Joy.

XVI. They attribute a great Efficacy to this Ceremony. For the *Jews* ſay, that *Adam* repented this Day, and that God preferr'd it before all others, that his People might imitate the firſt Man in his Repentance. The ſame Day *Adam* was circumciſed; *Iſaac* bound to be offered in Sacrifice to God, and therefore they pray God to pardon them for the ſake of the *binding of* Iſaac. Laſtly, 'twas this Day that *Moſes* deſcended from *Sinai* with the new Tables of the Law; but this makes a Subject of Diſpute with the *Caraites* who deny it. They are perſuaded that God was willing to reckon every Year with his People, and to pardon them, for fear that if he ſuffered many Years to ſlip, he ſhould find the account too groſs, and that the meaſure of their Iniquities being full, the World ſhould be deſtroyed. The Heathens had alſo a Feaſt every Year, in which it was neceſſary to purify themſelves.

Februa Romani dixere Piacula Patres.

And doubtleſs 'twas for the ſame reaſon that the Council of *Trent* ordered Confeſſion at leaſt once a Year; being fearful that the number of Sins would be accumulated and forgotten, and that the Pardon would become more difficult.

XVII. *Maimonides* * affirms that the Goat *Azael* expiated both great and little Sins, that were repented of; and that Repentance ſupplying the place of Sacrifice, had at preſent the ſame effect. But he will have this Repentance to be accompanied with Renunciation of Sin: It is perfect, when the opportunity of committing the ſame Crime preſents it ſelf, and is not made uſe of. A young Man, who ſees the Woman he has ſeduced, or living with her commits no more Adultery, is a perfect Penitent. The Perfection grows leſs, when he quits not Vice, till he is Old, or upon the approach of Death. Repentance muſt be accompanied with Alms; and produced by a Motive of love to God and Vertue. The fear of Puniſhment, and the hope of Bleſſings ought to be no Ingredients. They † muſt change their Names, that they may be able to deceive God, and tell him, *I am another, and it is not I that committed this Sin.* This Repentance they think eaſie, becauſe it depends upon the Man either to become righteous or wicked; and || *the Opinion of the vulgar* Jew, *who maintains that God in the Creation of Man decreed that he ſhould be good or bad, ought to be rejected.* Laſtly, it is * of *ſaving Efficacy, ſince it draws near to God thoſe that he hated*, and reconciles them to him.

* Maimon. de Pœnit. *c.* 1. & *c.* 2. *p.* 45. † Ibid. *c.* 10. *p.* 99. || *He proves the liberty of Man in* Chap. v. *and confutes the Objections in the* VI. p. 71, &c. *but he owns he can't comprehend how God* knows futurities, *p.* 82. * Maimon. *c.* 7. *p.* 84.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the other Feaſts of the Jews. Pentecoſt; Tabernacles; *the* New Moon; *and* Spring.

I. *The Cake* Sinai *made at Pentecoſt.* II. *The Feaſt of Tabernacles: Its Inſtitution.* III. *Scruples about the Conſtruction of the Tabernacles.* IV. *Myrtle branches and their Myſteries.* V. *The Devotions of the Feaſt.* VI. *The Moon conſulted the Seventh Day.* VII. *The Rites of the eighth and ninth Day.* VIII. *The Moon's Complaints to God.* IX. *The Prayers and Leaps made to the Moon.* X. *Its Influence.* XI. *Its Eclipſes. The Preſage of Miſeries.* XII. *The Feaſt of* Purim. *Its Inſtitution.* XIII. *Who* Eſther *and* Aſſuerus *were.* XIV. *This Feaſt celebrated twice a Year.* XV. *The Devotions of this Day.* XVI. *The Croſs of* Haman, *the Figure of our Saviour's forbidden by* Theodoſius. XVII. *Other Feaſts of the* Jews.

I. WE muſt not forget the other Feaſts of the *Jews*. That of *Pentecoſt* is one of the moſt Solemn, for that Day the Law was given upon *Sinai*; and to re-call the Memory of it in a moſt ſenſible manner, they make a very thick Cake compoſed of ſeven layes of Paſte, which they call *Sinai*; and this Cake puts 'em in Mind not only of Mount *Sinai*, but of the Seven Heavens, through which they believe God was oblig'd to paſs, to re-aſcend from the eminence of this Mountain to the *Empyræum*. They exactly reckon all the Days that are paſs'd from the Paſſe-over, that they may not be miſtaken in the Moment, when the *Pentecoſt* ought to begin, "The King, ſay they, has promis'd a Priſoner his "Liberty, and his Daughter to Wife at ſeven Weeks "end. Is it not juſt, that this Priſoner ſhould reckon "every Day and Hour and Moment till that his Fe-"licity begins?" This King is God, who has promiſed the *Jewiſh* people their Liberty and Law. They are therefore obliged to compute the term exactly, which he has preſcribed for putting them in Poſſeſſion of it. Notwithſtanding all theſe Calculations, they are ſtill afraid of being deceived, and therefore they celebrate two Feaſt-days. *Buxtorf* alledges, that they did the ſame thing at the Paſſe-over, and by this means ſolves the difficulty, ariſing from our Lord's eating the Paſchal Lamb a Day before the *Jews*. There is nothing particular in the Rites of this Feaſt, except that the Law is twice brought out, that five Perſons read it, and that the Synagogue, and Windows of their Houſes are adorn'd with Flowers, and Greens, to inſinuate that every thing was Green about *Sinai*, tho' this Mountain was in a Deſart of *Arabia*. They alſo call'd *Pentecoſt*, the *Feaſt of Harveſt*, which was then made, and whereof they offered the Firſt-fruits to God.

II. On the fifteenth of *September* they celebrate the Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, which laſts nine * Days;

* Buxtorf *reckons but eight.* Syn. Jud. *c.* 16.

ſeven

ſeven by order of *Moſes*, and two by Supererogation. Each Perſon erects an Arbour in his Court, which he covers with Greens, and cloaths with variety of Ornaments, in which he ſpends the Day. They formerly paſs'd whole Nights in 'em; but this Cuſtom has changed, at leaſt in the Weſt, where the Nights are colder. They are obliged to bear the Rain in the Tabernacles; but yet when it is violent they may retire to their Houſes. This Feaſt was inſtituted in remembrance of their Travels into the Deſart, and the watchful care of Providence, which preſerved the Nation for forty Years in barren Plains, without Houſes, and expoſed to the Inclemencies of the Air.

III. I will not ſtand here to deſcribe the Tabernacles, the Figures whereof may be ſeen in great Numbers in the *Miſnah* *, which *Shurenhuſius* has ſo well explain'd. He not only has obſerved, the prodigious variety of the Doctors upon this Subject; but he ſhews at one view what we can't expreſs without a great many words. It ſuffices to ſay that the Tabernacle was not to be above twenty Cubits high, nor leſs than ten Hands. The ſafeſt way is to have no Bed in the Tabernacle, when a Man lies there; but yet *Judah* the Saint permitted it. *Eliezer* † will have fourteen Meals to be made in it, one by Night and another by Day ſucceſſively: but the Sages maintain that the Number of 'em is not determin'd. The Boughs wherewith they cover the Tabernacle muſt not be dry, and 'tis a Crime to take 'em in an Idolatrous City, or to ſteal 'em. *Jehuda* will have the Branches which are held in the hand to be bound with ſome Twigs of the ſame Tree; but R. *Meir* is of another Opinion, for he || allows the uſe of Oſier and Thread. The Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* have ſometimes bound them with Gold Twiſt. If the Feaſt happen on a *Saturday*, they carry the Branches to the Synagogue; where they leave 'em, and fetch 'em the next Morning; but they muſt be gathered together the Eve of the Sabbath, and put in Water-veſſels for fear of withering.

IV. The firſt Day of the Feaſt of Tabernacles they take one Branch of Palm, three of Myrtle, one of Willow bound together, theſe they carry in the Right Hand; in the Left they have a Branch of Citron with its Fruit; they bring them near one another; and turn them about to the four Parts of the World, as thinking God has commanded it, in the twenty third Chapter of *Leviticus*. Beſides, they find here four great Myſteries. The Palm, that is handſom, and bears an inſipid Fruit, repreſents the Hypocritical *Jews*, who ſtudy the divine Law, and do no good Works; the Myrtle, which has a grateful Smell, tho' it be barren, repreſents thoſe that do good Works without the Law; The Willow is the Image of the Wicked, who have neither Law nor Virtue; and the Citron with its Fruits denotes the *Righteous*, who have both the Law and good Works. Whereas they formerly made four Turns about the Altar in the Temple, at preſent they make them about the Reading-Desk, holding theſe Branches, which they go in Queſt of as far as *Spain*, and ſell very dear in the Places, where theſe Trees grow not without difficulty.

V. They leave 'em the Seventh Day, which is more Holy than the reſt. Then they riſe with the Sun; waſh themſelves and go to the Synagogue; and Sing abundance of Prayers, which they repeat all the Feaſt with a prodigious Rapidity, as ſuppoſing that during their Journey, they were obliged to make haſte even in the Service of God, and the Prayers they made to him. They draw out of the Cheſt ſeven Copies of the Law; if there were twenty, they would produce 'em all: At leaſt this is the Rite of their *Poland* Synagogues. The Desk is adorned with Flowers; and having read ſomething in every Copy, they carry 'em back one after another, with a great deal of Ceremony.

VI. As Superſtition intrudes every where, they go to conſult the Moon, and fancy, they find the Prediction of all the Events of the Year. To this purpoſe, he that conſults her, examines the ſhadow his Body caſts from the Rays of this Planet. If he diſcovers that the ſhadow wants a Head, it is a ſign of Death; if it wants a Finger, 'tis ominous that he ſhould loſe one of his Friends. The death of a Son is ſignified by the want of the right Hand, and that of a Daughter by the want of the left. All this is founded upon theſe words of *Moſes*, *The Protection of God is withdrawn from them*; for 'tis properly in the Original, *his ſhadow is withdrawn from 'em.* The Authority of the Rabbies, who make great Comments upon theſe words, confirms the Superſtition of the People.

VII. The eighth Day of the Feaſt, they get their Friends together, and give 'em an Entertainment. They finiſh the ninth with reading the Law, according to the order of the Sections. They chooſe this Day two Bridegrooms of the Law, One whereof reads the End, and the Other the Beginning, amidſt the People's Acclamations, who ſhout for Joy; and thus the Ceremony concludes. However as they depart, for good and all, from the Arbours, they beg of God the favour of *continuing in the Tabernacle of the Leviathan.* They deſire doubtleſs to ſee the Entertainment of the *Meſſiah*, in which the Leviathan ſhall be ſerved up as a delicious Diſh.

VIII. The New-Moon is alſo one of the Feaſts they celebrate, tho' it be not a Crime to work upon it, and the Idleneſs of this Day is principally reſerved for the Women. The *Talmudiſts* tell, that the Moon being diſturbed with having a Competitor in the Heaven, repreſented to God, the Impoſſibility of two Heads wearing the ſame Crown. There ought to be but one King in Heaven as on Earth. God being provoked with this Remonſtrance, leſſen'd and ſhrunk the Moon, who pretended to be ſo Proud. *Moſes* inſinuates the Change that happen'd to this Planet; for he ſays at firſt, that *God made two great Lights.* They had therefore the ſame luſtre and the ſame Empire; but he added, that one *ſhall rule over the Day*, and the other *leſſer* ſhould rule over the Night, which ſhews that he had leſſen'd its Light and Beauty. Diverſe Propoſitions were made to the Moon to comfort her; but ſhe did not accept them, and God being convinced by all her Remonſtrances that he was in the wrong, required a Propitiatory Sacrifice to be made for him every New-Moon, and order'd it alſo to be celebrated. They are much confounded to explain the laſt Part of this Story, in which a Propitiatory Sacrifice is offer'd for God every New-Moon. The Rabbies caſt about every way to acquit their Maſters of the Affront they offer to God; but they can't ſucceed in it. Let us leave them to fatigue themſelves, and return to the Feaſt.

IX. Their Devotion conſiſts in a Faſt, which the Votaries keep in the Evening, and in a certain number of Prayers, which they repeat in the Synagogue the Feaſt-Day, and in a Treat they make afterwards, in which they much divert themſelves. Three days after they meet upon a flat Roof, where they ſtedfaſtly behold the Moon, and bleſs God with a long Prayer for having created her, and for renewing

* Miſnah Ordo Feſtor. *p.* 259. † Ibid. *p.* 266. || Ibid. *p.* 270.

her to teach the *Iſraelites*, that they ought to become new Creatures. *O Moon! bleſſed be thy Creator; bleſſed be he that made thee*, and then they leap thrice in the Air as high as they can, and ſay to the Moon, *as we leap towards thee, without being able to touch thee, ſo may our Enemies riſe againſt us without reaching us. The terror of the Lord ſhall fall upon them.*

X. No reaſon can be given for this Prayer, unleſs they believe the Moon to have influence upon Men. This is an old Opinion, we even find ſome tracks of it in the Goſpel, which often ſpeaks of Lunaticks. The Epileptick Perſon in St. *Matthew* is call'd *Lunatick*; *Demoniack* by St. *Luke*; *Deaf and Dumb* by St. *Mark*. Was it becauſe the Moon began the Diſtemper by her Influences; and the Devil made uſe of 'em to render it more terrible, and deprive him of his Ears and Tongue? *Juvencus* was of this Opinion:

*Nam * curſus Lunæ natum mihi Dæmonis arte*
Torquet.

XI. Eclipſes moreover diſturb them very much; for the *Jews* doubt not, but they preſage ſome great Calamity. They mortify themſelves, and faſt that Day, and pray God, that the Miſchief that threatens 'em, may fall upon the Head of their Enemies. They have a Pretence of juſtifying this Errour by the Example of the Heathens, and abundance of *Chriſtians*, who have been terrified thouſands of times by theſe Preſages. *Turnebus* † has diſcover'd a Poet of Heatheniſh or *Chriſtian* Antiquity (for theſe Verſes are aſcribed to St. *Fulgentius*, or *Varro*) who did not believe the Magicians had power to bring down the Moon from Heaven, and make her froth upon the Herbs, to give 'em greater efficacy, for Witchcraft: He rejected theſe Stories, as haughtily as we do at preſent; but it muſt be confeſs'd, that the true cauſe of this Obſcurity was not known for the Generality, and that this Poet is the only perſon, that has raiſed his Senſe above the Vulgar:

Sed vaſto corpore tellus
Quæ medium tenet ima polum, dum lumina fratris
Detinet umbriferis metis.

XII. The Deliverance obtained by *Eſther*, when the Deſtruction of the *Jews* was reſolved upon, and the Maſſacre was going to begin, gives occaſion to another Feaſt. This is a very ſolemn one, and is ſtill celebrated with a great deal of Ceremony. Its Inſtitution is attributed to the Scribes, who added five Precepts to the Law; but it is much more antient. 'Tis even moſt probable, that it was *Haggai* or *Malachi*, that ordered it to be celebrated in memory of ſo general a Deliverance. Indeed ſome Rabbies || maintain that of forty eight Prophets and ſeven Propheteſſes, there was not one, that retrench'd or added to the Precepts of the Law, except the order of reading the Hiſtory of *Eſther* every Year; and *Maimonides* * averrs, that when the *Meſſiah* comes, he will aboliſh the Writings of the Prophets, and the *Hagiographa*; but that he will carefully preſerve the Hiſtory of *Eſther*, that it may be read to the end of the World. His Brethren have objected this Notion to him as a Crime, as if it favoured the *Chriſtians*, who affirm that the Old Teſtament † was cancelled by JESUS CHRIST, and as if he had fetched it out of ſome unauthentick Books. We read in the *Talmud*, that *the Feaſt of Purim ſhall not be aboliſhed, and that the memory of it ſhall ſurvive to all Poſterity* ||.

XIII. Criticks don't agree about the time, when *Eſther* lived, nor about the Name of the Prince, whoſe Favourite *Haman* was. Some * will have it to be *Xerxes*, whoſe Wife's Name was *Ameſtris*, or *Mother of* Eſther; the Heathens having changed her *Jewiſh* Name, and given her that of *Aſtarte*, or *Venus*, who was of ſuch exquiſite Beauty. But the Scripture *Aſſuerus* † was the *Darius* of the *Greeks*, who had married *Cyrus*'s Daughter, and 'twas five hundred and nine Years before J. CHRIST that he order'd the general Maſſacre of the *Jews*, the Execution whereof was prevented by *Eſther*. *Haman* had caſt Lots upon all the Months of the Year, to know which was moſt Unfortunate to the *Jews*, and the Lot fell upon *February*, in which they kept no Feaſt. 'Tis in this Month alſo, that they celebrate the Memory of their Deliverance, and call it the Feaſt of *Purim* or Lots, becauſe *Haman* had uſed Lottery or Magick to give it the Preference to the reſt.

XIV. They ſometimes celebrate this Faſt twice in the Biſſextile Years, by reaſon of the Intercalation made on the twenty fourth of *February*, and they had rather have two Rejoicings, than want one. When this happens, they call One *the Little*, and the Other the *Great Purim*. 'Twas a great Mortification to the Superſtitious *Jews*, when in the Year 1634. the great *Purim* happen'd upon a Day of an Eclipſe of the Moon; they look'd upon this Co-incidence, as an Omen of many Misfortunes, which did not befall them.

XV. They begin the Feaſt with a Faſt, which they religiouſly obſerve. They have ſhorten'd that of *Eſther*, which laſted three Days; or at leaſt none but a few Zealots enjoyn'd themſelves ſuch a long Mortification; and for the generality, they abſtain from eating one Day. In the Morning they give the Poor Alms neceſſary to buy wherewithal to be merry in the Evening; and they commonly ſend 'em Diſhes from their Table, that they may make the better Chear; they collect the half Shekle, which was formerly paid for the Temple, and divide the Contribution amongſt the Pilgrims to *Jeruſalem*, where they love to go and be buried, to avoid the trouble of a long Journey at the Day of the Reſurrection, and that they may be nearer at hand to the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*.

In the Evening they go to the Synagogue to hear the Book of *Eſther* read, and afterwards explained by the Miniſter, or Chazan. This Book muſt not be printed, but written upon Vellum with a Sacred Ink. The Reader may ſit down, whereas he muſt always ſtand when he reads the Law. Having open'd the Volume, he makes three Prayers to give thanks to God, for having called them to this Ceremony; for having delivered them, and continued them alive till this Feaſt-day. Afterwards he reads all the Hiſtory of *Haman* and *Eſther*. There are five places, upon which he raiſes his Voice in ſuch a manner as to ſcare the Women and Children. He endeavours hereby to awaken thoſe that ſleep, or to denote his Joy. He is obliged to read the Names of *Haman*'s ten Children in a Breath. When this Perſecutor's Name is pronounced, they make a terrible noiſe in the Synagogue. Some drum with their Feet and Hands, and the Children have Mallets and other Inſtruments proper to make a Noiſe with. In ſome places they cut *Haman*'s Name in a Stone, and the

* Juvenc. *l.* 3. † Varroni Atacino Petrus Daniel tribuit, &c. Turneb. Adverſ. *l.* 19. *c.* 3. *p.* 634. || R. Alfes *c* 1. Megillah *fol.* 302. * Maimon. H. Megillah *c.* 2. §. 18. † Deut. 5. 22. || Eſther 9. 28. * Schickard Oratiuncula de Feſto Purim, *p.* 484. † Baſnage *Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament.*

Moment

Moment it is read, they ſtrike it againſt a harder Stone, crying, *Let the Name of this wretch rot, and be blotted out.* The Reading is concluded with Curſes againſt *Haman* aud *Seres* his Wife, with Bleſſings on *Mordecai* and *Eſther*, and with the Praiſes of God, who has preſerv'd his People. They depart from the Synagogue to go to their Entertainment. In the Morning they return to hear once more the Hiſtory of *Eſther*, and ſome other parts of Scripture, after which begins ſuch a great and general Debauch, that this Feaſt has been confounded with the Heathen *Bacchanalia.* 'Tis ſo enormous a crime to work on this Feaſt, that a Man who had ſow'd Flax in his Field this Day never ſaw the leaſt Blade appear. They drink till they can no longer diſtinguiſh betwixt the Bleſſing of *Eſther*, and the Curſing of *Haman.* The Men dreſs themſelves in Women's Cloaths in ſpight of the Law that forbids it. They dance and continue the Debauch for two Days together.

XVI. They have a Cuſtom in ſome Places to erect a Gibbet, and to hang up a Man *in effigie*, to repreſent *Haman* condemned to this Puniſhment. The *Chriſtians* have tax'd them with imagining this repreſentation only to renew the Memory of CHRIST Crucify'd, and to divert themſelves about his Croſs. They have alſo accuſed 'em of taking a *Chriſtian* and fixing him to the Gallows, in imitation of the unfortunate *Haman.* *Theodoſius Junior* forbad the Celebration of this Feaſt, becauſe of the Inſults they gave the *Chriſtians*; but I don't find any mention of the Murder. This we ſhall examine in the Collection of the Imperial Laws againſt the *Jews.* Whether *Theodoſius*'s Law was ill executed, or forgotten, the Feaſt of *Purim* is ſtill kept with the aforeſaid Solemnities.

XVII. Laſtly the *Jews* have ſtill at this Day a great many other Feaſts, not appointed by *Moſes.* They celebrate a Faſt in *June*, becauſe the Tables of the Law, which *Moſes* brought from Mount *Sinai*, were broken. They have another in *July*, becauſe of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Nebuchadnezar*, and a great while after by *Titus.* The firſt of *September* they ſound a Trumpet, as a ſignal of Joy that *Iſaac* was not Sacrificed, and ſo there is a complication of Feaſts on that Day. The third they Faſt becauſe *Gedaliah* was killed. The twenty firſt they have their Feaſt of Branches, in memory of the taking of *Jericho.* They have alſo this Month the Feaſt of the Collection, which is made to ſupply the Expences of the Sacrifices. The twenty fifth of *November* they ſolemnize the Dedication of the Altar, made by the *Maccabees.* The tenth of *December*, they Faſt on account of the firſt Siege of *Jeruſalem* by *Nebuchadnezar.*

CHAP. XV.

Of Private and Publick Prayers. *Of the* Tephilim, *and the* Thaled.

I. *Prayers at Sun-riſing.* II. *The way of going to the Synagogue. Sadneſs neceſſary.* III. *Prayers ſubſtituted for the perpetual Sacrifice.* IV. *The Prayers of private Perſons.* V. *Reflections upon theſe Prayers.* VI. *Their Efficacy in the Synagogue.* VII. *The Antiquity of the Kadiſh. Its conformity with the Lord's Prayer.* VIII. *The Myſtery of the Schema.* IX. *The Secret, and the Bleſſings allowed.* X. *The Conformity of the Synagogue with* Rome *over-ſtrain'd.* XI. *Of the Thaled.* XII. *A deſcription of the* Phylacteries, *or* Tephilims. XIII. *Whether God wears them.* XIV. *Their inſtitution by* Moſes *proved.* XV. *Whether God had Reſpect to the filthy Amulets of the Heathens.* XVI. *St.* Jerome *confuted about the Origine of the* Phylacteries. XVII. JESUS CHRIST's *Cenſure of thoſe of the* Phariſees *explain'd. St.* Epiphanius's *fault.* XVIII. *The Excellency of the* Tephilims. XIX. *Several Superſtitions of the* Jews *upon the Subject.*

I. THE *Jews* are obliged to riſe by Break of Day. The Wife muſt awake her Husband. The Father of the Family is to take care to call up his Children, becauſe they muſt ſay their Prayers the very Moment the Sun appears upon the Horizon. They ground themſelves upon the example of *Ruth*, who went very early to glean, and upon the command of *David* *, who ſays, *they ſhall bleſs thee with the Sun.* They think this is the time, when God moſt favourably hears the Prayers of thoſe that invoke him, becauſe then the Evil Angels are ſilent, and don't diſturb him; and ſince every body is earneſt and haſty to riſe, when there is any conſiderable profit to be made, they ought for a ſtronger reaſon to ſhake off Sleep, and rouze themſelves to obtain God's Protection and Riches. However, this Law is not always rigorouſly obſerved; and the Caſuiſts allow the Sun three Hours for his *Levee*, in which time they are permitted to make their firſt Prayers.

II. They ought to be ſorrowful as they riſe, becauſe of the Deſtruction of the Temple. 'Tis alſo a piece of Devotion to ſhed Tears every Morning, becauſe God gathers them into his Bottles, when they are abundant, and uſes them to expunge out of his Book the Evils he had reſolved againſt the Saints. The *Jews* are Superſtitious in the manner of dreſſing themſelves; but eſpecially they muſt never be naked in their Chamber, nor flatter themſelves, that the obſcurity of the Night conceals their Nakedneſs, or that they have nothing to fear, becauſe they are alone; for the Glory, the *Schekinah* of God fills the Univerſe. One of the firſt Cares is to diſcharge their Bowels, becauſe *David* has ſaid, *All that is within me praiſe the Lord.* It would be a crime to pray to God, or to ſpeak to him before the *inward* parts were cleanſed; and one of the reaſons that induced God to lengthen *R. Sira*'s Life was, that he never pronounced the Name of God in a filthy place. "What Man, ſays he, having received a preſent of a "fine Veſſel, and knowing the Donor would come, "but would cleanſe it, for fear he ſhould think himſelf "diſhonoured by the dirtineſs that was ſuffer'd upon "his Preſent? Our Bodies are precious Veſſels intruſted to us by God, and ought to be carefully cleanſed. "It would be a crime and render the *Perſon abominable*, as *Moſes* ſays, to ſtop a Natural Neceſſity." They had formerly a Prayer to the Guardian Angel to protect them in this Moment; but they no longer uſe it, becauſe they have found the Secret not to expoſe their Nakedneſs †. 'Tis for the ſame reaſon, that they waſh their Faces and Hands. Before

* Pſ. 103 † Deut. 11. 44. Leo de Modena, *c.* 6. *p.* 74.

they

they say their Prayers, they take the *Thaled*, and they must go to the Synagogue with the same Ardour as if they were mounting the Breach of a Besieged Garrison; for *David* remembred || that *he walked into the House of God in company, as to a strong City*. God enters the Synagogue as soon as it is opened, and if he finds no body, he is astonished, and provoked, and says with *Isaiah*, * *Wherefore when I came was there no Man? When I called, was there none to answer?* They bow themselves as they enter towards the Chest, which contains the Law, saying, † *How beautiful are thy Tabernacles O* Jacob! Some put a Vail over their Head. They read the Prayers, and such as can't read, answer to the Prayers of others, *Amen*.

III. They enjoy'd a great liberty in their Prayers, from *Moses* till *Ezra*, because the Law expressed the necessity of this Duty in general Terms, and in commanding them *to worship God with all their Heart*. They contented themselves with praising the Perfections of God; with begging of him things necessary, and concluded with the acknowledgment of the Bounties they had received. Some pray'd once a Day, and others oft'ner. He that had more eloquence, made more frequent and longer Prayers. The Stammerer and the Ignorant were oblig'd to be short; but in the time of the Captivity, when the People was confounded with the *Chaldæans*, and had learn'd their Language, the confusion encreased, because the generality could not easily make their Prayers in *Hebrew*, and were necessitated to insert barbarous Terms, that were grown more familiar to them. *Ezra*, whom God had chosen for the restoration of his service, remedied this Abuse, by composing *eighteen Blessings*, which every *Israelite* was obliged to learn and repeat. Besides || he fixed the time when they were to pray. As they offered the Morning and Evening Sacrifice, he ordered that they should have solemn Prayers for both these Seasons. As on Days of Rest and Festivals they added a Sacrifice, he ordered a third Prayer to be then repeated. Because the Evening Sacrifice was consumed in the Night, he instituted a Night Prayer. * Others maintain, that *Abraham* had long before established the *Morning Prayer*, Isaac *the Afternoon, and* Jacob *that of the Evening*. When *Eliezer* † *Abraham*'s Servant conducted *Rebecca*, the Earth danced every Night before him, for fear that being alone with this Bride, he should have to do with her. They both arrived, when *Isaac* was going to the Field to make the *Prayer of Offering*. *Hoornbeck* || thought this was the Prayer that was made before Day, *antelucana*; but it was that which was made at three a Clock in the Afternnon, when the Sacrifice was offered. They suppose that this was very antient; but when you ask the Rabbies any proof of this Antiquity from *Isaac*'s time, or its institution by *Ezra*, they offer none. The eighteen Benedictions of *Ezra* would have been inserted with the rest of his Writings into the Sacred Canon, if he had dictated them as a perpetual Rule for the Service of God. *R. Joshua*, *Chanina*'s Son, would not have dar'd to maintain against *Gamaliel* II. the Patriarch and Prince of the Nation, *that the Evening Prayers were not necessary*; and this Opinion would not have raised him to the Patriarchal Dignity, if he had directly run counter to the Law of *Ezra*. These Prayers therefore are of a much more novel date.

IV. We * must distinguish betwixt the Prayers of private Persons, and those that make a part of the publick Service. Every private Person is obliged to repeat a hundred Benedictions a Day. Some of'em are pleasant enough; for they praise God for giving the Cock the quality of distinguishing Night and Day, and awaking the *Jews* every Morning. *Bendito* † *tu A. N. D. R. del Mondo que da al gallo instinto, para distinguir, entre Dia y entre Noché*, say the *Jews* of the *Amsterdam* Synagogue.

1. The Prayers || of the Synagogues are different. Some repeat these hundred Benedictions all at a time to discharge themselves of them as a task and a toil imposed; but the Doctors censure this fault, because they ought to time every Benediction to the subject it treats of. 2. To these Benedictions they add certain passages of the Psalms proper to endue the Soul with Piety. "They particularly insist on the last "Verses of the CXLV. Psalm. The *Germans* sing "these Psalms more strongly than others. The "*Spaniards* and *Eastern Jews* resemble the singing "of the *Turks*, and the *Italians* sing leisurely "and softly." 3. Having sung the Psalms, they read the *Schema*, by which they mean three different Chapters taken from *Deuteronomy* and *Numbers* *. The first begins with these words, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God*. Which is a kind of Confession repeated Evening and Morning acknowledging there is but *One God*, who has brought his People out of *Egypt*, and given them his Laws to be observed for ever. These Sections of Scripture are interwoven with Prayers, and Blessings, in which they frequently mention the *Unity of One God*, in order to confirm the People's Faith against the Heathen Idolatry, and the *Christian* Religion, which seems to violate this Unity by distinguishing three Persons in one Essence. They conclude the Schema with Blessing God, *who redeems* Israel. And as they pronounce these last words, they rise and repeat the Prayers and Benedictions left by *Ezra* to the great Synagogue, to be the Rule of all their Devotions. 4. Having repeated these eighteen Prayers, they sit, bow their Face to the Ground, raise a little their Head, and make their private Prayers. They recite the CXLV. Psalm, and afterwards betake themselves to their Business. They begin again in the Evening much after the same form, at least *Maimonides* give this account of it, who is the exactest Author of the *Jews*, and he who is most followed by the *Christian* Criticks in their Explication.

V. We will only observe three things, 1. That these private Prayers are very long, and full of Repetitions, so that they have not corrected the fault of the long Prayers and Battologies that our Lord objected to the *Pharisees*. They pretend indeed, that his Censures only affected the Prayers of certain Doctors who gave their Disciples particular and prolix forms; but how do they know this? Our Saviour's Censure is general, and the Remedy he thought so necessary, that he opposed one form of Prayer against all that were in vogue in his time. We have reason therefore to conclude, that this fault was universal. The *Pharisees*, who were the Teachers of the People, and of the Religion, introduced this long Service into the Synagogue, and afterwards into the Temple; and as most of the *Jews* are still *Pharisees*, they have followed the example of their Ancestors. 2. They pray common-

|| Ps 55. 15. * Isaiah 50. 2. † Numb. 24. 5. || Maimonid. apud Vitr. de Syn. *l.* 1. *p.* 2. *c.* 12. *p.* 414. * *They call it* תפלה מנחה Tephila Minchah. † Eliezer Pirke, *c.* 16. *p.* 34. || Hoornbeck adv. Jud. *l.* 7. *c.* 1. * Vitringa ibid. *l.* 3. P. 2. *c.* 16. *p.* 1066. Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. † Orden de las Oraciones. Orden de Cotidiano, *p.* 11. || Leo de Modena, *c.* 11. *p.* 29. * Schema שמע audi, Deut 6.4 9. Numbers 15. 37. 41.

ly ſitting with their Heads ſtooping to the Ground: but in extraordinary Humiliations, they proſtrate themſelves extending their Hands and Feet, and ſending out vehement Cries; and therefore Our Lord in his Agony in the Garden of *Gethſemane*, *fell upon his Face*, and cryed, *Father if it be poſſible let this Cup paſs from me.* The Rabbies ſay, that a Man ought to be as holy as *Joſhua*, to have the privilege of praying thus; but 'tis one of their particular Laws. 3. They think theſe Prayers ſupply the place of Sacrifices aboliſhed by the over-throw of the Temple and Altar. They give 'em the ſame Name, and ſay they have the ſame efficacy. Theſe Prayers have very good things in them, and nothing can be condemned but their length, and certain particulars they deſcend into of little importance. In the hundred Benedictions they give to God, beſides the Pſalms, whereof they chuſe the moſt affecting parts, and the Thankſgiving for God's Bounties, which they expreſs very emphatically, they pathetically beg the ſupply of their wants. They not only pray God to ſtop his Anger againſt *Jeruſalem*, *and the Mountain of his Holineſs*; but they renounce their own Righteouſneſs. *Lord*, ſay they, * *ſave us*; *hear me our Soveraign King*, *when I implore thy Succour*; *our Father and our King grant us thy Grace*, *hear us and do it for thy Name's ſake*, *ſince we have no Righteouſneſs to preſent to thee.*

VI. They think the publick Prayers much more effectual than the others: And there are only ſome rigid † Doctors, who maintain, that God only hears thoſe that are made in the Synagogue; and never rejects a Prayer put up by *ten Perſons*, tho' ſome of 'em be Impenitents. This doubtleſs is the Artifice of the Clergy, to oblige the People to a more frequent attendance on the Temples and their Aſſemblies. And indeed particular Perſons go to the Synagogue to ſay their Prayers before mentioned, tho' they make no part of the publick Service, every one paying their Devotions ſeparately till the Miniſter of the Synagogue appears. They alledge for the reaſon of it, that private Perſons may make Prayers that are uſeful to themſelves, and pernicious to others; whereas the Church only deſires things that are Advantagious to all. They therefore reſtrain the Abuſe by ordering them to pray publickly with the Church, or only to repeat the Prayers that make part of the publick Service. Beſides Particulars ſuffer Wandrings and Diſtraction of thought, and ſeldom keep up their attention from the beginning of the Prayer to the end; but when ten Men || pray in a Temple, one ſupplies the others defect, and the Bleſſing of God falls like a ſhower of Rain upon the Earth. So that the Benediction of God deſtined for the Church ſheds it ſelf upon all that pray with 'em, tho' they don't deſerve it, and ſome of 'em render themſelves unworthy by their Diſtraction and Negligence in their Prayers. This method of ſupplying one another's defects, renders the Devotion more eaſie and convenient. Laſtly, they compare thoſe that pray in the Church to People that make their expences in common, and are leſs incommoded in entering into Society, than when they make a Treaty in particular.

VII. The Miniſter ſuppoſing the People have repeated their Prayers, begins the ſervice of the Day with a Prayer called *Kadiſh*, becauſe they deſire *God to ſanctifie his Name.* " * O God, let thy Name be " magnified and ſanctified in the World, which thou " haſt created according to thy good Pleaſure, *let* " *thy Kingdom reign*: The Redemption flouriſh, and " the *Meſſiah* come quickly; let his Name be celebrated, *&c.*" This Prayer is the moſt antient of all the *Jews* have preſerved; and as they read it in the *Chaldee* Tongue, we have reaſon to ſuppoſe it was one of the Prayers that were made at the Return from *Babylon* for the Uſe of the People, who difficultly underſtood *Hebrew*. They repeat it often in the Service as the moſt important, and the People is oblig'd to anſwer many times, *Amen*. So that this is properly an Anthem. If the *Germans* have ſtruck out what relates to the Redemption, the *Meſſiah*'s coming, and the People's Deliverance, 'tis not that they believe the Redeemer to be come; but they are perſuaded that all theſe advantages are included in the coming of God's Kingdom. JESUS CHRIST ſeems to have borrow'd the firſt words of this Prayer ſince he teaches us to ſay, *Hallowed be thy Name*, *thy Kingdom come.* This confirms what we have ſaid of its Antiquity.

VIII. After the Anthem, they commonly repeat the Decalogue, which is the Foundation of the *Jewiſh* Religion; but the Doctors ſay, that they have been obliged to lay aſide this Cuſtom, becauſe of *Hereticks* or *Chriſtians*, who maintain, that God gave only thoſe ten Commandments on Mount *Sinai*. They only at preſent read ſome paſſages of *Deuteronomy*, which they call *Schemah* †, becauſe it begins with theſe words, *Hear O Iſrael.* They not only find an abſtract of their Faith in 'em; (and therefore he that repeats 'em, becomes *truly a* Jew, *and takes upon him the Kingdom of God*:) But they moreover diſcover a great Myſtery in theſe words, *the Lord is our God*, *the Lord is one God*; compared with thoſe of the Prophet *Zachary*: *And the Lord ſhall be King over all the Earth: in that day ſhall there be one Lord*, *and his Name one*, beauſe theſe two Texts put together, prove that all Nations of the World ſhall be one Day ſubject to God and his People. Some *Chriſtians*, in imitation of the Rabbies, are perſuaded, that St. *Paul* had the ſame views, when he taught the *Romans* that Grace reſpected the *Gentile* as well as the *Jew*, ſince there was but *one God* in the Univerſe, and *one Mediator*.

IX. The reading the *Schemah* and the third Benediction being ended, all the Aſſembly riſes, and prays in a low Voice ſtanding. The Miniſter gives the Example, and they continue in that Poſture till the *Secret* be finiſhed: Then every one makes three Steps backward out of reverence, and the Miniſter repeats the eighteen Prayers, whereof the three firſt contain the Praiſes of God. The Neceſſities of the Church and of Particulars are included in the twelve next, and in the three laſt they make a Confeſſion to God of their Vileneſs and Unworthineſs. Thoſe that have repeated them before the Miniſter came, hear 'em reverently, and anſwer *Amen*. The others then diſcharge this part of their Duty. At the third Bleſſing they are allowed to reſume their Place; that is to advance three Steps; and when they come to the Prayer called *Modim*, they muſt bow themſelves a little. They Sit, whilſt the other Prayers are read; they bow their Heads; ſometimes riſe, and raiſe their Voices now and then, repeat the Anthem; together with ſome Prayers and many Pſalms, but eſpecially the forty fifth. The Service concludes with the Anthem as it began, and the Miniſter gives the Bleſſing to the People, who retire ſaying ||, *Lord guide me in thy Righteouſneſs*, *and prepare the way before me*, *becauſe of mine Enemies.* This Service is to be performed every Day. They begin a new One after Noon, and another at Night, and thus the

* Maimon. Seder Tephiloth, Ordo Precum apud Vitringa, *p.* 1073. † Maimon. ibid. || Coſri pars 3. Sect 19. *p.* 187.
* V. Vitringa de Syn. *p.* 962. & 1098. † Deut. 5. 1. || Orden de las Oraciones, *p.* 95.

Exerciſes

Exercises of Piety are determined in the Synagogues to Mattins, Nones, and Vespers, and the Prayers are all full of the Praises of God, and Motives of Devotion.

X. They ‖ pride themselves at *Rome* in the Conformity of this Church with the Synagogue about the Canonical Hours, "about the *Jews* Praying in "a strange Tongue, for as they perform their Ser- "vice in Latin, by Order of the Pope, the *Jews* "make their Prayers in Hebrew, which is the Lan- "guage appointed by the great *Sanhedrim*." Not to enter into this Discussion, 'tis certain they overstrain the Parallel in alledging that the *Jews* perform their Service in an *unknown* Tongue, and that the *Sanhedrim* commanded it. *Voisin*, who is the Author of this Conjecture do's not prove it. *Maimonides* cited by him, says nothing relating to this Subject; for he only observes the Hours of Prayer. The *Sanhedrim*'s Decree, conformable to the Pope's decision concerning the Language to be used in Divine Service is chimerical, and there was never any such thing. The *Jews* don't all understand *Hebrew*; but they have the Forms of Prayer in the Language they understand. There needs but a little use and custom to prevent being mistaken, and to Answer *Amen with understanding*, as St. *Paul* requires. The *Spaniards* have their *Orden de las Oraciones cotidianas por estilo, seguido y corriento con las de Hanucah, Purim y Ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas* &c. which they read in the Synagogues. Besides *, the understanding of the Hebrew Tongue is not lost, since the *Jews* at this Day write their Books, and Contracts and Journals in the Language of the Rabbies, and those of the *Morea* use it generally for every thing.

XI. We have but one Observation more, about the Prayers, which is that of the *Tephilim* and the *Taled*. The *Jews* formerly wore Cloaths of four Lappets, at each of which hung a tuft, which they call *Zizit*. This Habit seem'd necessary to this People, which was distinguished from all others, and whose Religion extends even to the Stuff and make of their Cloaths; but as this render'd them ridiculous, and drew the Rabble upon 'em, they † have been wiser than the Monks, who have retained their foolish Garb; for they have comply'd with the Custom of the Countries where they live. However they preserve under their Cloaths, a square piece of Stuff, with four Strings, and the hanging tufts, which they call *Arban Cafod*; and they do it in Memory of God's Commandments. Lastly, when they are at their Synagogue to perform their Devotions, they take a square Veil, with strings and tufts; which they call the *Taled*, or Cloak; some twist it round their Neck, and others cover their Head with it. The last Custom is the more general.

XII. Afterwards they put on the Frontlets, or the *Tephilim*, as much as to say the *Instruments of Prayer*, because they use them in their Devotions. They are thus described: "They ‖ write upon two pieces "of Parchment with Ink made on purpose, and in "square Letters with a great deal of exactness, "these four Passages upon each Piece: The first, *Hear, "O Israel*, &c. The second, *And it shall come to pass, "that if thou obeyest*, &c. The third, *Sanctify for me "all the first-born*: The fourth, *And it shall come to pass "when the Lord shall bring thee*, &c. These two Parch- "ments are wound up together in fashion of a point- "ed Roll, and included in a black Calve-skin; then "they put it upon a square and hard piece of the "same Skin, from which hangs a Strop of the same "Leather an Inch broad, and a Cubit and a half long, "or thereabouts. They place these *Tephilim* at the "bending of the Left Arm, and the Strop being "first form'd into a little knot like a *Jod*, is turned "about the Arm in a spiral Line; and terminates at "the end of the little Finger. This they call *Tefil- "la scel jad*, that is, the *Teffila of the hand*. As for "the Other, they write the four Passages before "mentioned upon four several pieces of Vellum, "which by fastning together they make a square of, "upon which they write the letter *Schin*; then they "put upon it a little square piece of Calve's leather, "as hard as the other, from whence come two Strops "in figure and length like the first. This square is "placed in the middle of the Forehead, and the "Strops going round the Head, make a kind of knot "behind in form of the letter *Daleth*; from whence "they meet upon the Stomach. They call this *Teffila "Scel Rocs*, that is the *Teffila* of the Head." This is the figure of the *Tephilim*, which they commonly joyn with the *Taled* in the Morning Devotions. Some also take 'em in the Afternoon; but this is only done by eminent Votaries, and is commonly peculiar to the Chanter.

XIII. The *Tephilim* are so Sacred, that they fancy God wears them, as well as the *Jews*; and this is not one of those Allegories, under which the Doctors include Mysteries; for they say, that God promising *Moses* to shew him his hinder Parts, design'd only to shew him the knot of the String, which fasten'd the *Tephilim* of his Head, and *that the face, which he refused to discover to this Law-giver, was properly, truly, and substantially the Face of God*. According to this Idea, which *Bartolocci* * ascribes to 'em, and has drawn from the Expressions of their Doctors, they must make a corporeal God; but the *Jews* don't think God to be material. They therefore only meant to ennoble the Origine and excellence of the *Tephilim*, which could not be more excellent, tho' God should have given 'em the Example.

XIV. 'Tis a question, whether *Moses* instituted them, or whether they were invented at the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity: Or lastly, whether *Hillel* and *Schammai* appointed them a little before our Saviour. The first Opinion is founded upon these words of *Moses*, *Thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes, and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house and on thy gates*. If *Moses* had only said, that the Commandments of God, should be † *as frontlets between thine eyes*, these words might receive a figurative sense, since *Solomon* says ‖ *that the precepts of the mother shall be a chain about the sons neck*. But the Legislator commands them also *to be written upon the gates, and bound upon their hands*. As they carved certain Precepts upon the Doors of their Houses, in obedience to this Command, 'tis most probable, they also bound 'em *upon their hands*, and made frontlets with 'em, like to the High-Priest, who wore written upon his Forehead, *Holiness to the Lord*. The *Jewish* Religion was so burden'd with these kinds of Ceremonies, that it is no wonder, the Legislator should be particular, even in regulating the Fringes of their Habits. Lastly, the Figure would sound very harsh in the Mouth of God, if he had said, that *certain words ought to be engraven upon the doors of the houses, and bound upon the forehead and hands*, only to signify their Duty to remember 'em. But he has made use of it, they say since speaking of the necessity of redeeming the First-born in remembrance

‖ Voisin in Proem. Pug. Fidei, *p.* 187. * Leo de Modena *Customs and Ceremonies of the* Jews, *P.* 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 47.
† Leo de Modena. ‖ Leo de Modena, *Ceremonies and Customs of the* Jews, *p.* 27. * Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 557.
† Deut. 6. 8. ‖ Prov. 1. 9.

of

of the departure from *Egypt*, he declares, that this Redemption ſhall be a Frontlet betwixt their eyes to make them remember it. But beſides that, the Expreſſions are not perfectly alike, it would be abſurd to ſay, that the Ranſom of a Child ſhould be *a frontlet betwixt the eyes, and a ſign upon the hand*, if God had not order'd the putting a Memorial on the Forehead or on the Hand; but the uſe of Phylacteries being eſtabliſh'd by Divine Authority, 'tis reaſonable to ſay, that the Ranſome of the Firſt-born ſhall be as a ſign upon the Hand, and as the Frontlets the *Iſraelites* already wore between their Eyes. This Alluſion to the *Tephilim* ceaſes to be violent, and becomes as natural as that of *Solomon*, who draws his Compariſon from Collars or Neck-laces of Silver. Figurative Expreſſions and Compariſons are generally taken from Cuſtoms already received and known by thoſe they are addreſs'd to. And therefore God muſt have eſtabliſh'd the uſe of Memorials or Phylacteries, before he could call the Ranſom of the Eldeſt of the Family, a Sign aud a Frontlet betwixt the Eyes. In fine, the High-Prieſt *Eleazar* *, whom *Ptolemy Philadelphus* ſent to for a number of learned Men to tranſlate the Law, explaining the Myſteries of his Religion ſpeaks of the Sentences, that were faſten'd to the Hands by way of Memorial, and at that time referr'd their Inſtitution to *Moſes*.

XV. Some Criticks, who are convinced of it as well as we, ſay that God ſeeing the Heathens covered with Amulets, as they are loaden with Scapularies in the Church of *Rome*, to which they aſcribe a miraculous Virtue; and knowing that theſe Amulets were fill'd with the Figures of *Priapus* and Obſcenities, order'd his People to take Texts of the Law, to bind them on their Forehead and Arms to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Heathens, and the more eaſily to deſtroy the ill Cuſtom that had been ſo long practiſed in *Egypt*. And therefore they obſerve that the Hebrew word *Totaphot* †, which God at firſt uſed to denote the Phylacteries, may ſignify the *Pudenda*. Beſides the Rabbies ſtill look upon the Phylacteries, as proper Amulets to expel the Devils; and 'tis one of their Orders, that *the Phylacteries muſt every Evening be repeated in the Houſe, to drive away the Demons*. It ſeems alſo that the Goſpel Term which ſignifies to *keep*, gives the ſame Idea.

But all theſe Conjectures have too much ſubtilty. Not to ſtand diſputing like Grammarians about the Signification of words, which they violently wreſt, can it be imagin'd that God deſigning to give his People a Memorial of the Law, could call it the *Pudenda*, to teach 'em, that this was inſtead of the Heathen Amulets? The Idolaters had abundance of different Amulets; and St. *Jerome* affirms, that the *Chaldeans*, *Perſians*, and even *Indians* wore by way of Devotion ſuch as were like the *Jews*. Why then will they have God to make preciſe choice of the moſt filthy to call his Law by? Was not this the way to confirm the People in Superſtition, inſtead of curing it, and perſuading this credulous Nation, there was actually ſome Virtue in theſe Billets, to give 'em the name of the Amulets, which the Heathens wore, to defend 'em from impending Dangers? The LXX, who ſhould beſt underſtand the force of *Moſes*'s Expreſſion, have tranſlated it *Immoveable*, becauſe they had regard to the uſe of the *Tephilims*, which were bound upon the Forehead; and is it not a new Outrage to correct this Verſion, that by racking their Wit, they may find in it what they think fit? If it be true that God inſtituted the *Tephilim*, as it is probable, we muſt aſcribe to him a view that is plain and holy, and becoming him. He had no reſpect to the Idolaters, but deſign'd to oblige his People to retain his Law, and have it always preſent to their Eyes and Mind. And therefore ſome have thought, they were commonly fixed to that part of the Head, where we perceive the Motion of the Brain.

XVI. St. *Jerome* maintains on the contrary, that the *Phariſees* introduced this Cuſtom into the Synagogue, becauſe they miſtook the words of *Moſes*, and gave 'em a literal Senſe inſtead of recurring to the figurative which is manifeſt. Many Criticks converſant in theſe Matters follow him, and obſerve that JESUS CHRIST confuted the Phylacteries of the *Phariſees*; but St. *Jerome* was ſo little acquainted with the Phylacteries of theſe antient Votaries, that he thought the Ten Commandments of the Law were written on them, whereas we diſcover other Paſſages of *Exodus*. Beſides, this Father ſays the *Phariſees* put their Phylacteries upon their Eyes in faſhion of a *wavering* Crown, which has made ſome believe, that he had a faulty Copy of the *Septuagint*, in which it was read *trembling* inſtead of *immoveable* ||. But it was all his own fault, for he contradicts himſelf preſently after, and has left the ſame Contradiction in the vulgar Verſion which he has corrected, where the Phylacteries are ſometimes call d *moveable*, and ſometimes *immoveable*. So that St. *Jerome*'s authority is of no great weight upon the matter.

XVII. Our Lord's cenſure of the *Phariſees* proves nothing againſt us, ſince theſe Hypocrites Crime conſiſted not in their *wearing Phylacteries*, but in their *enlarging and multiplying them*, that the People might the more eaſily diſtinguiſh 'em, and thereby judge of the extent of their Devotion. JESUS CHRIST does not condemn the uſe of *Tephilims*; but the Pride that was crept into it. We are told that CHRIST himſelf wore 'em, becauſe it was the Cuſtom of the *Jews* to make their Children repeat their Phylacteries as their Catechiſm; but they can only know from very bold Conjectures what CHRIST did in his Infancy, or whether he obſerved or rejected certain Rites of the Law. St. *Epiphanius* is more manifeſtly out in explaining our Saviour's words; for he has aſſerted that the Phylacteries were *Purple bands*, which the *Phariſees* wore upon their Cloaths, and that the Fringes were Pomgranates, which they faſten'd to the bottom of their Robes, to ſignify, that they preſerved their Virginity. 'Tis in vain to excuſe this Father by ſaying, he had learnt it from ſome *Jew* of his time. The fault would be ſtill the ſame, but it is not probable that a *Jew* could be ignorant what the Phylacteries were, the uſe whereof had ſo long continued in his Nation. Beſides, how do they know that St. *Epiphanius* was abuſed by a *Jew*? They charge the Enemy of the *Chriſtian* Name to excuſe a Father of the Church; but Equity forbids ſuch Injuſtices. 'Tis ſtill true that the Phylacteries were in uſe in our Saviour's time, ſince they made 'em Marks of Diſtinction which drew upon 'em his Cenſure. They were even more antient than the *Phariſees*, ſince the LXX Interpreters mention'd 'em long before as certain Billets immoveably fixed to the Forehead and Hand, which perfectly overthrows St. *Jerome*'s Notion.

XVIII. The old Superſtition for theſe Phylacteries conſiderably increaſes. 1. They Swear by touching theſe Phylacteries, and the better to authorize ſuch Oaths they introduce God ſwearing in this manner.

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* Eleazar apud Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. *l.* 8. *c.* 9. *p.* 374. † Tot *ſignifies* Clay, *and* Pot *the* Pudenda. *The LXX. have tranſlated it* ἀσαλευτὰ; *but they have been corrected, and 'tis read* ἀζαλωτὰ: Ἀζὰ *ſignifies* Duſt *and* the Pudenda. Petit. Var. Lect. *c.* 20. φυλακτήρια *from* φυλάττω, *which ſignifies to* keep. Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. in Matth. 23. *p.* 426. Sic & Scaliger. || Σαλὰ *inſtead of* ἀσαλὰ; mota *inſtead of* immota.

Whereas the Heathens ſaid of their *Jupiter*, that he touch'd his Thigh, *& totum commovit Olympum*, God touches his *Tephilim*. 2. The repetition of theſe *Tephilim* is made a great piece of Devotion. It was one of the fine Actions of *Gamaliel*'s Life, to have repeated them his Wedding-night. The Diſciples wondering at this Devotion, repreſented to him, that in his Lectures he had diſcharged the new married People from this trouble at leaſt for a Night; but he was offended with the Remonſtrance, and declared, that he would not *interrupt the Kingdom of God ſo much as for one little hour*. The Kingdom of God and the repetition of the *Tephilim* was one and the ſame thing to this Rabby. 3. Laſtly, they attribute miraculous Effects to 'em.

XIX. The Superſtition * chiefly appears in the manner of making the *Tephilim*. The Parchment muſt be taken from the Skin of a clean Beaſt; and it becomes impure and Profane, if a *Chriſtian* dreſſes it; but it receives a degree of Excellence, when it has been deſtin'd to this uſe, and it was ſaid in preparing it, *I deſign this for the making of* Tephilims. This Skin muſt be prepared with great Art, for the leaſt hole and defect makes it uſeleſs.

They write theſe *Tephilim* ſlowly, and with great circumſpection, that there may not be the leaſt thing wanting to each Letter, and particularly to thoſe that compoſe the Name of God.

They firſt faſten the *Tephilim* of the Hand, and afterwards that of the Head, for fear they ſhould miſtake. The Strops ſerving to this uſe muſt be good. They muſt not mend or repair 'em, when they are worn and broken.

They can't faſten 'em, till they have pronounced the Bleſſing: Bleſſed be thou our Lord and our God, King of the Earth. After which it is not lawful to ſpeak to any body. They may even paſs by their Maſter and their Rabbi, without ſaluting him, till the *Tephilim* are taken off. When they take 'em off they put 'em into a Bag, which thereby becomes Sacred, and can't he imploy'd to profane Uſes.

Women and Slaves are not obliged to wear the *Tephilim*, becauſe 'tis requiſite to have the command of their time, and that theſe two Orders of People live in dependance. However, as the Wife of the Prophet *Jonas* had as they ſay her *Tephilim*, there are other Women that imitate her. They ought not to be put on in the Night, but on the Day, excepting the Sabbath, becauſe the Sabbath is called *a Sign*, and ſerves for a Phylactery.

'Tis not lawful to take 'em till a Man has covered his Nakedneſs, nor to wear 'em in Church-yards, nor to carry a Burthen on their Heads; and eſpecially 'tis a great Crime to commit then the leaſt Indecency. It would be one to take 'em off before a Rabby, and therefore they muſt go a little aſide, to do it with greater Liberty. This ſuffices to judge of the Scruples the *Jews* make to themſelves upon this Subject.

* V. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 558.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the other Devotions of the Jews. *Their Faſts, their Alms, and their Hermits.*

I. *The Antient Cuſtom at Meals aboliſhed.* II. *Publick Faſts.* III. *Private Faſts.* IV. *Trifling and childiſh Cauſes of Faſts.* V. *The Auſterities of Faſting. Their Conformity with the Church of* Rome. VI. *The Vertue annexed to 'em.* VII. *Charity great among the* Jews. VIII. *The manner of practiſing it.* IX. *The Charity of Fathers for their Children, how it is regulated.* X. *Alms ſent to the Holy Land.* XI. *Hard-heartedneſs to Strangers.* XII. *The effect of Alms.* XIII. *Whether St.* Paul *received Money on* Saturday. XIV. *Solitude very dangerous.* XV. *The Character of the Modern* Chaſideans.

I. THE *Jews* had commonly every one their Table, which Cuſtom was not peculiar to 'em, for *Tacitus* ſays the ſame thing of the *Germans*. *Ulyſſes* in *Homer* * treating the Deputies of the Iſle of *Corfu*, ordered ſo many Tables to be ſet as there were Perſons, and cauſed every one to be ſerv'd with his Portion of Wine and Meat. *Elkanah* gave *Hannah* whom he loved rather than *Peninnah*, *a worthy* † *Portion in the meal that follow'd the Sacrifice*. The Author of the Vulgar has tranſlated it, a *ſorrowful part*. Whereas *Elkanah* on the contrary deſigned to rejoyce *Hannah*, and to ſhew the diſtinction he made of her. 'Tis in the Original, the *part of faces*, and we muſt underſtand by it, a notable Portion, which diffuſed Joy upon *Hannah*'s Face. *David* ſacrificing after he had danced before the Ark, gave the People a Feaſt, in which every one had ‖ *his bread and his flagon of wine*. 'Tis pretended that the ſame Prophet alluded to this Cuſtom, in ſaying, * *the Lord is my portion*, as well as our Saviour, in ſaying ‡ that Mary *has choſen that good part*. This Cuſtom that was uſual at the Meals of the *Jews* has ceaſed, and they eat at preſent at the ſame Table like the *Chriſtians*.

II. They faſt often. The Law only ordain'd one ſolemn and publick Faſt, which was to be celebrated on the Day of Propitiations; but they had multiplied 'em to four in *Zechary*'s time ‖, ſince this Prophet promis'd on God's part to his Church, that *theſe four ſorrowful Faſts* ſhould be changed into ſo many Feaſts, in which they ſhould rejoyce for their deliverance. The firſt of theſe Faſts was inſtituted in memory of *Nebuchadnezar*'s Beſieging *Jeruſalem*, and the great Conſternation the People were in; it was celebrated and is ſo ſtill in *December*. They inſtituted another, becauſe on that Day the perpetual Sacrifice had ceaſed. The Tables of the Law were broken by *Moſes*, becauſe of the Golden Calf, and the Original of this ſame Law was thrown into the Fire. Laſtly, there was an Idol ſet up in the Temple of the living God. This Faſt began the ſeventeenth of *June*, and the Devout continue it many Days, or at leaſt, are perſuaded, that all the Days to the ninth of *July* are very Unfortunate. The *Jew* will not plead in that time, but ſeeks delays to avoid the Proſecutions of Juſtice. Schoolmaſters dare not laſh, or ſeverely uſe their Scholars. The ninth of *July* is ſtill more ſorrowful than all the reſt. They walk bare-foot, and go to weep in the Cœmiteries; they read *Jeremiah*'s Lamentations, and whatever can open the Flood-gates of Grief, becauſe

* Homer Odyſſ. θ. *p.* 151. *v.* 69. V. & Athenæum in Deipnoſoph. † 1 Sam. 1. 5. ‖ 2 Sam. 6. 19. * Pſ. 16. 5. ‡ Luke 10. 42. ‖ Zech. 8. 19.

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the two Temples were burnt on this Day by *Nebuchadnezar* and *Titus*. Laſtly *Gedalia*, who commanded the remaining *Jews* in *Judæa* after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, having been kill'd in *September*, they faſt at that time; and theſe are the four Faſts noted by the Prophet, as deſtined to Grief and Affliction. They have ſince added many others, in Memory of the great Calamities that have befaln the Nation. They faſt the Day that *Eli* died, and the Ark was taken by the *Philiſtines*: They faſt alſo in Memory of the Death of *Samuel*; but this laſt Faſt is not ſo general as the reſt. They celebrate alſo that of *Eſther*, which was follow'd with ſo glorious a deliverance.

III. Beſides theſe publick Faſts, they have their private Ones. The Rabbies have determined, that they ought never to faſt in *March*, becauſe this time in which the People came from *Egypt*, ought to be entirely conſecrated to Gratitude and Joy. However ſome violate this Rule, and faſt the Day that *Miriam*, *Moſes*'s Siſter died, becauſe then a Fountain being dried up in the Deſart, the People being abſolutely deſtitute of Water, murmured againſt God. JESUS CHRIST introduces a *Phariſee* faſting twice in the Week, *Monday* and *Thurſday*. This Cuſtom muſt have been pretty general at that time, ſince the *Talmudiſts* * attribute it to all the Nation, and aſſign for a reaſon of this Cuſtom, that *Moſes*, when he had broken the Tables of the Law, re-aſcended the Mountain the fifth Day of the Week to deſire new ones, and came down again the ſecond after he had appeaſed God; and therefore *Ezra* ordered the Law to be read theſe two Days. The *Germans* ſtill faſt *Monday* and *Thurſday*; but they do it only on the Weeks after the Feaſts of the Paſſe-over and Tabernacles, becauſe theſe Feaſts having been long, they are afraid, they have offended God by their Jollities.

IV. Private perſons multiply Faſts *ad infinitum*. If they deſire to have a happy Dream, or the Interpretation of a Dream that diſturbs 'em; they think to obtain it by Abſtinence; and 'tis a Proverb, that *the Faſt is for the Dream, as the Fire is for the Tow it kindles*. R. *Juda* order'd a Faſt in favour of Swine, which were ſeized with a Diſtemper. This faſting for Swine is ſurprizing, becauſe the *Jews* did not eat 'em. It has been thought, that this might ſerve for a Commentary to the Goſpel-Hiſtory in which the Hogs of the *Gadarenes* were thrown head-long into the Sea by the Devils, becauſe the *Jews*, who were infinitely covetous, fed 'em for their Advantage; but this Fact related in the *Babylonian Talmud* proves nothing, becauſe the *Jews* diſperſed in *Chaldea* might have theſe Creatures near 'em; and R. *Juda* was afraid leſt the Diſeaſe might ſpread from one Species to another, and infect the other Animals, which the *Jews* eat of. If any Man have a particular Diſtemper; if he undertakes a dangerous Voyage; if he be arreſted Priſoner, he faſts to obtain his Deliverance. The Child, who loved his Father tenderly, faſts every Year the Day of his Death. The Magicians alſo faſt to invoke the Demons from Hell, and the Dead from their Graves; from whence the Doctors have drawn this Inference, that if a Necromancer obtains this Viſion by his abſtinence, by a ſtronger reaſon, they may procure the deſcent of the Holy Spirit.

V. They † vary about the Severity of this Abſtinence; for ſome think themſelves obliged to ſay before Sun-riſing, *I will faſt to Morrow*. They lie upon a Bed harder than ordinary, they leſſen the number of Pillows, change their fine Blankets, and take courſe ones, and eat not till next Day at Evening, and then they pray to God ||, that their Abſtinence may be inſtead of a Sacrifice. Others take the liberty of Eating, till break of Day, and afterwards they obſerve a total Abſtinence till the Stars begin to appear; for that is not a Faſt which the Sun do's not ſet upon. If the Faſts laſt many Days, as that celebrated from the Seventeenth of *June* to the Tenth of *July*, they go by Rules much like thoſe of the *Roman Catholicks*. Meat is forbidden, and they take up with ſome ſort of Garden-ſtuff; for all are not allow'd 'em. They make up this want with Eggs, becauſe an Egg being round and globular is the Image of an afflicted Man. Wine is no leſs forbidden than Fleſh. They celebrate no Marriages, whilſt they faſt. 'Twould be a Crime to Shave, Powder, or bathe themſelves. They avoid whatever may contribute to Pleaſure, or divert their Soul. They throw Aſhes on their Heads:

It ſciſſâ veſte Latinus,
Conjugis attonitus fatis urbiſque ruinâ,
Cãnitiem immundo perfuſam pulvere turpans.

If the *Roman Catholicks* have their Abſtinences, on the Vigils of great Feaſts, the *Jew* has ſtill more rigorous ones on the Vigils of the New Moons.

VI. The *Jews*, who look upon Faſtings as things ſubſtituted for the antient Sacrifices, think 'em very meritorious; for they affirm, that the antient Victims atoned for the Sins of the Offerer, and therefore *Tſadoc* grew very angry with God, that notwithſtanding the Faſts, wherewith he had macerated his Body for forty Years, he ſhould ſuffer his Temple to be burnt; and ſeeing theſe ſo frequent Abſtinences had not produced the effect he expected from them, not only ceaſed their Continuance; but prayed *Titus* to lend him his Phyſicians, to repair his diſſipated Strength, and to reſtore the vigour of his Body, which he had ſuffered to be too much impoveriſhed. In the mean time, there are Doctors who teach, that Faſting is *indifferent to God*, who cares little, whether a Body be fat or lean, and that he is no more pleaſed with the dejection and ſadneſs of Mortifications, than with a Joy that ſparkles on the Sabbaths. Faſting is *good or bad, in proportion to its rendring the Body better qualified for Devotion*, and all depends upon the obſervation of the Law. Thoſe that argue thus, have a true Notion of corporal Mortifications.

VII. This Nation's Charity is very remarkable, ſince *Julian* the Apoſtate propoſed them, as well as the *Chriſtians*, as an Example to the Idolaters, to oblige 'em to ſuffer no Beggar amongſt 'em. 1. There * are in conſiderable Cities many Fraternities, one of which is charged with the Collection of Alms for the Shame-faced Poor; Another collects for the Redemption of Captives; A third provides a Portion for poor Maids, whoſe Poverty never deprives 'em of the deſire of Marriage. 2. There are two Perſons authorized, to make the ordinary Gathering every *Saturday*. They go from Houſe to Houſe without the power of ſeparating, for fear of being ſuſpected of Diſhoneſty. They call in a third to make the Diſtribution every *Saturday* Evening. The *Parnaſſim* or Judges allot to every poor Perſon all that's neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of his Family for the Week. 3. When any Body falls under a preſſing Neceſſity, that exceeds the common Charities, the Chanter goes through the Synagogue, ſaying to every one, *God bleſs him who gives for ſuch an Occaſion*. They Promiſe the Chanter a Sum, becauſe the *Jews* touch not Money on *Saturday*, and afterwards they go to collect it; for the Promiſe is punctually executed. 4. Laſtly, when the Synagogue can't ſupply a Man's Neceſſities, it ſends him to others with a Certificate, by means whereof he is admitted into

* Thalmud. Hieroſ. in *fol.* 75. 1. † Leo de Mod. *p.* 105. || Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. * Leo de Mod. *p.* 39.

their Houſes, entertain'd for ſome Days, aſſiſted at his departure, according to the Charity of the Synagogue, and of the private Perſons he addreſſes to, and thus there is no Beggar in *Iſrael*. And the *Satyr of Juvenal*, who ſays that the *Jewiſh* Mothers taught their Children to beg, only related to the ſad and unhappy Times, whilſt *Judæa* was plunder'd, and its Inhabitants, who were Refugees at *Rome* and elſewhere, were over-burthen'd with Poor, and themſelves reduced to great Extremities.

VIII. 'Tis a Maxim † of the *Talmudiſts*, that the Poor ought never to be ſent away empty, tho' you only gave them a Grain of Wheat. They oblige the leſs charitable to pay the tenth part of their Goods, and others to give the fifth Penny, becauſe this is commanded by the Law. 'Tis not enough to relieve the preſent neceſſity of the Poor, but *you muſt cloath him ſuitably to his Birth; you muſt buy him a Horſe and a Slave, if he had one before he fell into that lamentable condition.* In fine, thoſe that refuſe the Alms demanded of 'em, are chaſtiſed by the Judges, as formerly by the *Sanhedrim*, who cauſed 'em to be whipp'd till they had paid. And ſometimes || they broke into their Houſes; open'd their Coffers, plunder'd their Goods before their Face, or diſtrain'd ſome Moveable, that might ſerve as a Pawn for the Alms.

IX. As there are ſome unnatural Children, who refuſe Suſtenance to their Father over-whelm'd with Years and Poverty, there are alſo Fathers, who after they have put their Children into the World, think themſelves diſpenc'd from maintaining 'em. The Doctors have tolerated the firſt of theſe faults, as we ſhall ſee * when we treat of Vows and the Corban; but they have judicial Laws againſt the Fathers who refuſe to perform the Duties of Nature; in which they diſtinguiſh the Age of the Children. When they are under ſix Years of Age, the Judge compels † the Father to maintain 'em, whether he be Rich or Poor, willing or unwilling. After this Age the Father is cited, and 'tis repreſented to him that he is crueller than the Savage Beaſts, that provide for their Young. If he yield not to theſe Remonſtrances, an eſtimate is taken of his Goods, and he is obliged to give to his Children an Alms in proportion to the value of his Eſtate, which Charity is employed to breed up the Children. Nor is the diſtinction of Age the only thing remarkable in this Cuſtom, but there are two things more obſervable. Firſt, that the Father is by the Law diſpenced with maintaining his Children after ſix Years old; and he does it afterwards only by way of Alms. Secondly, that the Law of Charity is more extenſive than the Law of Nature, ſince this Father, who is diſpenc'd with maintaining his Son at ſix Years old, is *forced by ſtripes* to give him an Alms, becauſe 'tis *one of the affirmative Precepts*, which admits of no Diſtinction of Sex or Age, and for the Performance whereof recourſe may be had to Violence and Scourging.

X. Beſides the aſſiſtance given to private Perſons, they ſend conſiderable Sums into *Judæa*, for ſuch as have ſettled there, and can't ſubſiſt without their Brethren's Charity. *Schickard* thought they did this in memory of the half Shekel, which was uſually paid for the reparations of the Temple. The Wiſe Men ſay, that the diſperſed *Jews* having had a Cuſtom of ſending Alms to *Judæa* every Year for the ſupport of the Poor in the time of Jubilee, they have continued to do it to this Day. But as God undertook to provide himſelf the neceſſaries of the Jubilee, by multiplying the Fruits of the Earth the preceding Year, I queſtion whether it was the Cuſtom to go a begging every ſeven Years in Foreign Countries, for the ſubſiſtence of the Poor of *Judæa*. At leaſt we don't here obſerve any track of this Cuſtom, ſince theſe Alms are collected Annually, and without ſeeking for any other Origine, 'tis certain this is done in Devotion to the *Holy-Land*. The *Jews* are infected with this Superſtition as well as the *Chriſtians*; That the Place where the Temple ſtood, and where the habitation of their Anceſtors was, is more holy than all others; and that the Devotions that are paid there, and the Charities that are ſent are more acceptable to God. St. *Jerome* || ſays, that ſo early as his time the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* ſent their Alms, which he received advantage by, ſince he was maintained by them. *Vigilantius* thought there was Superſtition it; but St. *Jerome* defended this Cuſtom by St. *Paul*'s Authority, who had long before made Collections for the Churches of *Judæa*. St. *Jerome* did not at all touch the queſtion; for *Vigilantius* did not deny that the Poor ought to be aſſiſted where-ever they were, as was done by St. *Paul*, becauſe the neceſſity of the Churches was preſſing during the Famine: But he condemn'd a growing Superſtition of ſending Alms to this Place rather than to others, and maintaining particular Perſons, who had retir'd there under a pretence of Devotion. We need only ſee the praiſes he gives the *Jews*, who were intoxicated with this Superſtition, to be ſatisfied this was his Opinion: *'Tis not*, ſaid he, *only the Cuſtom of the* Chriſtians, *but of the* Hebrews, *that thoſe who ſpend the Night and Day in meditating on the Law, and who have no other portion on the Earth than God, ſhould be fed with the Alms of the Synagogues of all the Earth.* The example of the *Jews* did not authorize the *Chriſtians*, and there was a great difference betwixt St. *Paul*'s Collections for the afflicted Churches, and thoſe made for St. *Jerome* and ſome others, who made it a piece of Devotion to go and ſtudy upon *Holy-Ground*.

XI. They are as hard-hearted to Strangers, as Charitable to the Poor of their Nation; for the *Talmudiſts* are perſuaded, that none are allow'd by the Law to participate in the Alms, except the Proſelytes of Juſtice; and 'tis properly theſe the Scripture calls *Strangers*. Nevertheleſs * they permit ſome gratification to the *Gentiles*, under *certain conditions for Peace and Humanity's ſake*. As they very ſeldom give to Strangers, 'tis alſo their Opinion that they ought not to receive from them. *'Twas only in reſpect to the Royal Authority, that they received Preſents and Alms from Kings*, and private Perſons neither can nor ought to ask of Strangers, except where the Charities diſtributed to them by the Synagogue are not ſufficient for their maintenance. They muſt be publickly receiv'd; but I queſtion whether theſe *Talmudick* Laws have been obſerv'd. They have ſpoken their own thoughts, inſtead of relating what was their practice; for if they received in the Temple of *Jeruſalem* the Preſents made by private Idolaters, as well as Kings, for a much ſtronger reaſon, they would have received into the Treaſury and the Poor's *Box*, Contributions for the Relief of their Neceſſities. How is it that private Perſons could not receive from the Hand of Idolaters, when at *Rome* their Children were taught to beg in the Streets.

XII. Alms have a great efficacy aſcrib'd to them: And they commonly go by the Name of *Juſtice*, *Zedaca*, becauſe 'tis imagin'd they juſtify before God. This is the Notion of the *Phariſees*, preſerv'd by their Diſciples, who have always made, and ſtill make the greateſt part of the Nation; and the *Talmudiſts* † ſay, 1. That God preſerves the Alms-giver from Evil.

† Talmud apud Seld. de Jure Nat. *l.* 6. *c.* 6. *p.* 728. || Maimonides. * Below *c.* XVII. † Miſnah Liber de Re Uxoria, Tr. 2. de Dote, &c. *c.* 4. 5. 6. *t.* 111. *p.* 70. Maimonid. ibid. || Hier. adv. Vigil. Ep. 2. *t.* 1. *p.* 594. * V. Selden de Jure Nat. *p.* 735. † Th. Heroſ. Peah fol. 15. Talmud Babyl. Bava Bathra Roſh Haſhanah fol. 4. 1. Apud Lightf. Hor. Hebr. in Matth. *p.* 288.

2. That

2. That his Table is an Altar, upon which his Sins are expiated, as they were by the antient Sacrifices. 3. That he obtains hereby the Life of his Children, and the World to come. 4. Lastly, he that gives a Farthing to the Poor, *obtains the blessed Vision of God.*

XIII. || St. *Paul* has been thought to observe the Custom of the *Jews*, who touch not Money on *Saturday*, when he order'd the *Corinthians to refer their Collections to the first Day of the Week*; because the *Corinthians* observing the Sabbath after the manner of the *Jews*, and not being able to receive or destribute the Alms this Day, 'twas necessary it should be done the next, on which labour was lawful. This is confirm'd by a passage of *Philo*, who relates that *Augustus* having order'd a distribution of Corn every *Saturday*, had the indulgence to defer it one Day for the *Jews*, who could neither *give nor receive* that Day; *nor in a word do any thing relating to life or gain.* But I question whether there be any reason for this assertion. *Leo de Modena* observes that the *Jews* touch not Money on *Saturday*; and the *Talmudists* have said, that no Body ought to go upon the Mountain of the Temple with dusty Feet; with his Staff, his Purse, or with Money, which makes it be believ'd to be an antient Custom. In the mean time I question what was *Philo*'s Thought: For he speaks of a distribution of Corn, that could not be receiv'd nor made without labour. He explains his thought by adding that all the services which respected gain or life, were forbidden, *Philo* therefore seems only to speak of these active or passive distributions, because they caused labour and pains; but can this extend to Alms? and tho' it were an antient Custom of the Synagogue, can it be imagined that St. *Paul* would have introduced this Superstition into the *Christian* Church after all the efforts which his Master had made to correct and abolish them? By attempting to make the Apostles the Apish Imitators of the *Jews*, they make 'em introduce Childish Superstitions into the *Christian* Church. St. *Paul* was so far from this design, that on the contrary he endeavour'd to oppose this Custom, referring the Collections to the first Day of the Week, because that was the Day of the *Christian* Assemblies, which they call'd the Lord's Day; and if the *Jews* gave nothing on *Saturday* as it is supposed, he would on the contrary have the *Christians* give their Alms this Day, to teach 'em that acts of Charity don't interrupt the Sanctification of the Day of Rest, as our Lord had done in healing the Sick.

XIV. Lastly the *Jews* have their Votaries and Saints They make three different Orders of Saints. The first are those that entirely renouncing Society, go and live in Deserts like *John Baptist*, They Cloath themselves with Camels or Goats Hair, eat Leaves of Trees, and Roots furnished by the Earth without Tillage. Their Mind is purify'd by their Removal from the World, and continual Meditation. Their Thoughts are defecated, and they become worthy of the Commerce and Society of Angels: They fear not Death, because being arrived to the utmost point of Perfection, nothing remains but to pass into Eternal Life; but they * confess, that tho' this was the state of the Prophets, it is grown very rare, since God has withdrawn his Grace from the *Holy-Land*, and that at present those that thus fly the Cities and the World, to throw themselves into Solitude, expose the Mind and Body to violent Distempers, which make 'em desire Death. They ask it not then with a desire of felicity; but for uneasiness and impatience caused by the impression of their Miseries. The *Jews* argue more justly than abundance of *Christians*, who pretend to imitate the Life of *Enoch* and *Elias*, *without receiving their Spirit.*

XV. In the second Rank, they † place the *Chasideans.* The *Chasidean* has always God present to him; whether he lies down or walks, he thinks he sees him; and with infinite respect to the Supreme Being, does nothing that can offend him. The Artist who has made a Mill, and put it in motion, may abandon it; but God has so made Man, that each Limb would cease to act, if he suspended his Providence but a Moment. The *Saint*, who knows that all his motions don't *appertain to him*, and that they proceed from God, ascribes to him all the Glory of them. If this Man *happen to be in the Holy-Land*, he sometimes carries his Sanctity to such a lofty pitch of Perfection, as to come near to that of the Prophets: He sees Angels with his Eyes like the Saints, who lived under the second Temple; he hears also the *Daughter of Voice*; *but he receives all this from the Goodness of God, who has created him, and who watches over all his Actions*, to punish or reward them. This Man is very sedulous to pray to God, and to put on his *Tephilim* when he has *exonerated his Body*, and to practise the Law. The last Order of Saints is inferiour to that we have been representing. Their Character may be seen in that which was formerly made to the King of *Cozar*, but it contains nothing in particular.

|| Cocceius Opt. VII. Vitringa de Syn. *p.* 812. * Cosri Pars 3. *p.* 154. † Ibid. *p.* 169.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Vows and Oaths.

I. *The Vow Corban condemned.* II. *Four uses of this word explain'd.* III. *With what ease they enter'd upon this Vow.* IV. *Mr.* Petit's *Explication confuted. Ways of eluding the Vow.* V. *Different Vows of Abstinence. Easie Dispensations.* VI. *The difference between Vows and Oaths.* VII. *Swearing by the Creatures invented since the Captivity.* VIII. *These Oaths condemn'd by* J.CHRIST. IX. *Whether* J.CHRIST *swore often.* Amen *is an Oath.* X. *What use the* Rabbies *make of his Censure.* XI. *The practice of the* Modern Jews.

I. THE Law commands a Man to honour * his Parents, and under this Command includes the Duty of maintaining and comforting them in their necessities, but the *Jews* authoriz'd by their Masters thought to elude this Precept by Consecrating their Goods to God. They called Corban *every gift by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me*, Our Lord has retained the form of Vows which was already in use in his time, and which we find in expres terms in the *Talmud.* This formulary of a Vow is obscure; and its natural sense is this, *I consecrate to*

* Matth. 15. Mark 7.

God,

God, whatever might be useful to you, and therefore you can no longer make use of it. There was a two-fold crime in these sorts of Vows, since they eluded the Law about the maintenance of Fathers and Mothers, and also they only made 'em in a transport of Anger, when they hearken'd not to the Dictates of Nature or Reason, and yet the *Pharisees* and *Talmudists* their Successors approve them.

II. The *Corban* signified four things with the *Antient Jews*. First, The Treasure of the Temple, in which they included all the Oblations made to God. *Corban*, or *Corbonas* †, is *the sacred Treasure of the* Jews. *Pilate* employ'd it in making Aqueducts, which occasioned a violent Sedition. 2. It was a common Oath with the *Jews*; the *Tyrians* expresly forbad swearing by the *Corban*, because it was an Oath. They supposed the Name of God to be included in this strange Term. Some Criticks from hence conclude, that the Vows mentioned in the Gospel, were usually made with an Oath, and that a Man in a Rage *swore by God*, that his Father should taste nothing of all that belong'd to him; but this is a mistake; The *Corban* included not the Name of God, but as the *Jews* swore by the Gift upon the Altar, they also swore by the things Consecrated to God, which they call'd *Corban*; and 'twas this Oath that the *Tyrians* could not allow, since they made it to the Honour of a strange Divinity. 3. The *Corban* also signified the Persons who were devoted to the service of God and his Temple; as we are told ‖ by *Josephus*. *Baronius* *, who had not rightly taken his Notion, imagined that the *Nazarenes*, who were so famous under the Law, were called *Corban*. In the mean time the *Jewish* History † expresly distinguishes them; for it observes that both Men and Women, who, after they had voluntarily consecrated themselves to the *Ministry*, desired to break their Vow, paid a certain Sum to the High-Priest; and that those who were insolvent, referr'd themselves to the Priest's discretion. Nevertheless the *Nazarenes* never ransom'd themselves, but by the performance of their Vow. 4. Lastly, the *Corban* signified the Gifts, or Oblations that are offer'd to God. St. *Chrysostome* is made to say, that this was not properly a Gift, but what the *Latines call an Oblation*. They have very little thought who make St. *Chrysostome* speak in *Latin*. Besides the distinction pretended to be discovered by St. *Matthew*'s Commentator, who goes by St. *Chrysostome*'s Name, is very subtle; for the Gifts consecrated to God are Oblations made to him, and Offerings are Gifts consecrated to God. 'Twas in this second sense that Our Lord spoke of the *Corban*, and the *Talmudists* understand him. A Man that refused to maintain his Father was exempted, provided he said, *All my Goods shall be Corban*, that is consecrated to God; and as it was not lawful to eat what was given to God, the Father was deprived of the subsistence which his Son might afford him. *Philo*, who ought to understand the Customs of his Nation, says, that by the Law of *Moses*, *every one was Master of his Estate, unless he consecrated it to God.* But if any Vow escaped from him, it was no longer lawful to eat any of the consecrated things. *If a Husband consecrates the Food that is due to his Wife, she can no more eat of it*, because she thereby loses the possession and right she had to this Food. St. *Jerome*, who had also learn'd of the *Jews* the reigning Customs of his time, asserts the same thing. It will be ask'd no doubt, what an unnatural Son, who robb'd his Father of his subsistence, to give it to God, gain'd thereby? 1. Under the pretence of Religion, of a false Piety, he gratified the Instincts of Anger and Revenge. 2. He also satisfied his Avarice, because it sufficed to tell his Father, this was *Corban*, to him to interdict him the use of it, which he reserv'd for himself without giving it to God. 3. The Priests also hereby satiated their Ravenous Passion, by absorbing of the People's Wealth; since the publick Treasury was often increased by these kinds of Consecrations; for they sometimes gave what they consecrated to God.

III. In order to facilitate the current of this Corruption, the provoked Persons were not desired to pronounce the Vow in all its forms. It signified little to utter the word *Corban*, tho' it was most used, provided they said something that came near it. And these Vows, which are imperfect in the Expressions, the *Talmudists* call *handles* ‖, because as it suffices to take a Vessel by the *handle* to carry it away entire, 'tis enough to pronounce some words of a Vow, to make it compleat. If any one only said, *Let this be to me as the Temple; or as the Altar; or as the Fire, or lastly, as a Victim*, this was an indispensable Vow. There were still more easie Vows *. Not satisfied with vacating Children's Charity for their Fathers, they made a violent attack upon evil Justice; for they permitted the Debtors to defraud their Creditors, by consecrating their Debt to God †. *Origen* relates this Custom of the *Jews*, which was practised by those of his time, who took Sanctuary in *Egypt*.

IV. J. CHRIST charges this Abuse upon the Doctors of his Days; but they explain the word otherwise ‖. They say, that the Lord God imposes on Children the necessity of maintaining their Fathers, and that the constant Tradition of the *Jews*, is perfectly agreeable to the Law, since the Doctors order poor Children to go and beg for their Parents. The Antients could not authorize the violation of a Law so well known by solemn Vows. They think therefore we must understand *the Persons who were devoted to the Temple, as* Josephus *calls* Corban; and that these words, *whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me*, signifie, *I can do you no more service by reason of the Ministry I am devoted to; I am* Corban; but all that *I can do after I have discharged my Function shall be to your profit:* But that the Law of providing for Parents is to no purpose alledged, since they did not think it violated by Sacrificing their Goods to God. The *Christians* for example are agreed, that the Children belong to those that gave them life. But yet it is made a piece of Devotion to rob them of 'em, either to instruct 'em in a Religion which they think better, or to make them Monks. They think they serve God by this, and the same error about Goods reign'd among the *Jews* in Our Saviour's time. St. *Mark* * clearly explains these Doctors Notion in adding, *And they suffer him no more to do ought for his Father.* So that they were not suffer'd to labour for him, after they had discharg'd the Duty of Devotion, or rather a Vow they had made; but they cut off all his subsistence; and if Charity sometimes began to repullulate in Childrens Hearts, they were to recur to some subtilty to elude the Vow. And thus a Son, who repented that he had treated his Father so inhumanely, advised him to sell to him the little he had remaining, upon condition of maintaining him the rest of his Days. Another who † desired to invite his Father to his Wedding, and was hinder'd by the Vow he had made from giving him any thing to eat, made a Feast in his Friend s Name, and paid him. Another

† Suidas voce Κορβόνας. ‖ Joseph. contra Apion. *l.* 1. *p.* 1047. * Baron. An. 53. † Joseph. Ant. *l.* 4. *c.* 4. *p.* 109. ‖ נדרים Jadoth, ansas. * *See many different formularies in the* Misnah, Tit. Nedarim *of Vows, c.* 1. Sect. 4. *l.* 3. *p.* 106. Maimon. & Barten. ibid, & *c.* 11. S. 2. *p.* 108. † V. Capell. in Evang. Matth. *c.* 15. ‖ Petit Var. Lect. * Mark 7. 12. † Misnah Tit. Nedarim. *c.* v. S. 6 *p.* 121.

Son

Son desiring also to invite his Father to his Wedding, assign'd the Hall and the Entertainment to one of his Friends, on condition that he and his Father might be invited. The Friend was no sooner put in Possession of the Room and Table, but he consecrated *all to God*, and made a Vow, that neither the Father nor Son should eat of it. This formed a kind of Law-Suit, and the Wisemen decided against the Son, because no donation can be made to prevent or cancel the Consecration to God.

V. These Vows turn sometimes upon Abstinence from Marriage. A Maid makes a Vow of Virginity among the *Jews*, as among the *Christians*, tho that be infinitely more rare. If a Husband says to his Wife, *Thou art as my Mother*, he is not allow'd any more to touch her. For a stronger reason he is obliged to keep his Vow, when he has declar'd in express terms, that he will know her no more. Inraged Wives do sometimes the same thing; but these sorts of Vows are * at present but *little approved*, because they are Extravagancies and Curses absurdly mingled with Religion; and tho' it be made a piece of Devotion to accomplish them when they are spoken; yet great Distinctions are allow'd. 1. The Vows of a Maid are voided by the Father's Authority, which he has received from God himself in his Law; because she is under her Father's Power, which being given him by Nature can't be violated. 2. 'Tis for the same reason, that all the Vows that a Woman makes, unknown to her Husband, and against his Interests or Will, become null. A Woman may vow not to obey her Father or Brother, *&c.* but the Vow she makes not to execute her Husband's orders is null. Some however maintain, that it is necessary for the Husband to vacate it within twenty four Hours, after he knows of it. 3. The Men likewise easily obtain a Dispensation from their Vows. They † only examine, whether the Dispensation be prejudicial to a third Person, who may be concern'd. They also weigh the Reasons upon which it ought to be grounded; but they refer the Judgment to a single Rabbi, or to three Persons, that have neither title nor quality, which makes 'em much easier. Some Doctors are of Opinion, that those, who sport with Vows, by help of some Equivocation, ought to be chastised, and excommunicated. R. *Meir* determines, that they are obliged to declare the Vow lawful, even when it is equivocal and to *open another Gate* to those, who have made it, by breaking of it. The || *Misnah* is full of these Gates to escape through. A Man has made a Vow, that his Neighbour shall receive no Advantage by him. "This Neighbour falls Sick, and the Au-" thor of the Vow might cure him; what must he " do to save his Vow and the Patient? If he be a " Physician, he will visit him *without sitting*, because " nothing is due to him when he makes his Visit " standing. He may save the Sick Man's life, but he " has no right to increase his Estate, or hinder it from " diminishing. He may lie with him in the same " Bed, provided it be in the Summer; for in Winter " he would do him good by warming him. He may " wash in the same Bath, if it be large, for if it " were little, he would make the Bath-water rise, " which would give some pleasure to his Neighbour, " against his Vow. He may eat at the same Table, " provided it be not on the same Plate; because Ci-" vility might oblige him to leave him, or offer him " a piece of Meat. He may reap in the same Field, " provided it be not in the same Place; for fear he " might relieve him by working more than he." We may judge of the other Distinctions by these we have produced.

VI. They make a great difference betwixt Vows and Oaths; for they are not obliged to perform the latter, when they are contrary to the Law Tradition, and the Service of God; but they must religiously observe their Vows unless they have a Dispensation, and he that breaks 'em, deserves to be scourg'd. Of two Men, One whereof Swears never to wear *Phylacteries*, and the Other Vows; the first is dispensed from making his Oath good, and the other is obliged. What is the meaning of this? Because he that Swears, makes a resolution not to observe the Precepts of the Law, and every Oath contrary to the Law, does not oblige the Maker of it; but by the Vow, the nature of Objects is chang'd, and that is made unlawful, which was before lawful and permitted. This is a subtile Distinction, and few Casuists will approve it.

VII. After the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, the Veneration they had conceived for the Name of God considerably encreas'd; but that Superstitious Devotion brought forth a great Abuse. *Philo*, who condemn'd Oaths made in the Name of God, as Prophane and contrary to Religion, allowed swearing *by the Universe*; *by the Stars*; *by the Sun*; *by the Earth*; *and by their Parents*. They swore, either by their Head, like the *Egyptians*; or by Heaven. Some Rabbies have thought, that God himself gave an Example of this. For when *Amos* * introduces God swearing by *his Holiness*, that is by himself, *Aben Ezra* maintains that we must understand Heaven. They think that the same Prophet made God swear by the City *Jerusalem*, when he swore by the *Excellence of Jacob*; as if God was not more the *Excellence of* Jacob than the City *Jerusalem*. Lastly, they swore by the Temple. There were two other Abuses in these Oaths. 1. The Doctors eluded 'em by subtile Distinctions, maintaining that they were obliged to perform some, and allow'd to break others. They commonly made the validity of Promises depend upon the quality of Objects, which they introduced, and hereby open'd a Gate to Infidelity and Treachery. Lastly, the fear of God no longer restraining Men, and the reverence weakening proportionably to the cheapness or commonness of the Creatures they swore by, Oaths became very frequent amongst Men.

VIII. This Abuse was not general in the Nation. *Philo*, who allow'd Swearing *by the Creatures*, nevertheless blamed the frequent use of Oaths, and maintain'd, that the *Essenes* never swore. In the mean time, the *Pharisees*, the Corrupters of Morality, and the People that follow'd 'em, were frequently too guilty in this Matter; since they drew our Lord's censure upon them, who taught them three things. 1. That the Name of God enters into every Oath, since *Heaven was his Throne*, *Earth his foot-stool*, *and* Jerusalem *was the City of the great King*. The *Assyrians* call'd their Prince the *great King*. *Tobias*, who had been in that Country, gave God this title. As *Babylon* was the City of the *great King*, Jerusalem took the same Style when it was rebuilt. And therefore, we must refer the Composition of the forty eighth Psalm, in which this title is found, to that time. 2. CHRIST also condemned the Violation of Oaths: And lastly, he endeavour'd to render 'em less frequent by obliging his Disciples to be content with a simple Asseveration, Let your Promise be yea, yea; nay, nay.

Cùm † *multa loquaces*
Ambiguis ſererent verbis, contra omnia ſolùm
Eſt *reſpondebat, vel* non.

IX. Tis said ||, that CHRIST nevertheless swore often, tho' he censured those that did it because the

* Leo de Modena, *c.* 4. † *See several Cases in which they dispens'd with themselves by help of Equivocations and different meanings of a word*, Misnah Tit. Nedarim, *of Vows*, c. 11. integr. *t.* 3. *p.* 108. 110. || Misnah Tit. Nedarim, *c.* IV. *p.* 117. Maimonides & Bartenora ibid. * Amos 4. 2. & 8. 7. † Auson. ad Paulin. || Nicolai Diatribe de Juramentis Hebræor.

Word

Word *Amen*, which we meet with often in the Goſpel, is an Oath with Holy Writers and the *Jews*. Indeed the Woman ſuſpected of Adultery, after ſhe had heard the Adjuration and Imprecation of the Prieſt, was obliged to Anſwer *, *Amen, Amen.* This was an Oath ſhe was obliged to take in Ratification of what the Prieſt had pronounced. The People of *Iſrael* anſwer'd † *Amen* to the Curſes pronounced upon Mount *Ebal* againſt the Breakers of the Law; and it was an Oath made to God to obſerve it under pain of Malediction. The *Talmudiſts* have follow'd ‖ this Notion; for R. *Joſes*, Son of *Chanina*, looks upon the Woman's anſwer, who was accuſed of Adultery, as an Oath: *Whoever*, ſays alſo R. *Samuel*, *anſwers* Amen *to the Adjuration made to him, ſwears himſelf.* We might add the Obſervation of the Cabbaliſts, who find the two Names of God *Adonai* and *Jehovah* in the *number* of the Letters, which conſtitute the word *Amen*; and ſome even ſuſpect, that J. CHRIST frequently uſed this word ſecretly to expreſs the Name of God. This is a Viſion: let it rather be obſerved, that when a Perſon is adjured, and he anſwers *Amen*, it is a true Oath. This was the caſe of the Woman accuſed of Adultery. The Scripture alſo ſays expreſly, that the Prieſt *made her ſwear.* 'Tis a miſtake therefore to affirm that *Amen* is never an Oath in Scripture; and *Fuller* *, who affirms that even the Rabbies did not believe it, had ill read them upon this Point; but when there was no Adjuration, or Malediction, preceding, this term was only a ſtrong Aſſeveration, and in this ſenſe our Lord has oftentimes ſaid *Amen.* So that they are to blame to make our Lord Swear often, notwithſtanding the ſtrong Cenſures he has left us againſt Oaths. By diſtinguiſhing theſe two things, we reconcile the *Jews* and the *Chriſtians* and the Criticks, who have been warm in this Diſpute, which we thought our ſelves obliged to touch upon by the way.

X. It ſeems, they have corrected themſelves ſince that time; for tho' there are ſtill Abuſes among the *Jews*, about the Nature and Violation of Oaths, yet Rabbi *Jona* † obſerves, "that they may not ſwear "by the Names of God, ſuch as *Æl* and *Schaddai*, "or his *Self-ſufficiency*, nor by his Attributes, as his "Mercy; nor by his Works, as Heaven and An-"gels. Nor muſt they ſwear by the Law, nor by "Truth; for God is ſometimes called the *Truth.*" This Rabbi carries his Severity higher than J. CHRIST, who often made uſe of this Expreſſion, *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you.* The Oaths, that were made by the Head, are referr'd to the *Egyptians*, and they expreſly determine, that this is the Cuſtom of Worldlings; and indeed it was a Cuſtom of the Heathens, to lop off the Head of him that ſwore by his own or another's, and afterwards broke his Oath.

Laſtly, *Maimonides* gives this Law to his Diſciples, which is the ſame with that of our Lord, that One's Word ought to be kept religiouſly in Promiſes, and that *when a Man denies any thing, it ſuffices to ſay,* No; *and* Yes, *when he affirms.* *Plato*'s Maxim was, That a Man ought never to Swear.

Ὅρκῳ περὶ παντὸς ἀπίσει.

And without going from the *Jews* School, an antient Author learnt ‖ *not to accuſtom his mouth to ſwearing, nor to name the Holy One, becauſe he that ſweareth and nameth God continually ſhall not be faultleſs.*

XI. At preſent, they not only forbid *ſwearing in Vain*, but unneceſſarily pronouncing any of the divine Names; and when a Bargain is concluded, 'tis a full Ratification to touch the Handkerchief, or the Cloaths of the Witneſſes. This is a kind of Oath, which they call *Chinian Sudar* *, or the *Acquiſition of the Stuff*, after which there is no retracting.

* Numb. 5. 22. † Deut. 27. 26. ‖ Wagenſ. in Sota *p.* 211 * Fuller Miſcell. *l.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 2216. † R. Jonah Liber. Timor. Capell. Not. in Matth. 5. ‖ Eccleſiaſtic. 23. 9. * Leo de Mod. *c.* VI. *p.* 59.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Excommunication.

I. *Excommunication a long time unknown.* II. *Eſtabliſhed with the* Sanhedrim *under the* Maccabees. III. *The Cenſures ſecret, and afterwards Publick.* IV. *An Explication of theſe words*, Tell it to the Church. V. *Two degrees of Excommunication.* Bartolocci *confuted.* VI. *Why* JESUS CHRIST *was not excommunicated.* VII. *None excommunicated for Civil Intereſts.* VIII. *The falſhood of this Reflection.* IX. *The form of Excommunication.* X. *The manner of Pronouncing it.* XI. *Scourging.* XII. *St.* Paul's *example.* XIII. *The way of Scourging.* XIV. *The blows with Rods, What they ſignify.* XV. *Whether Excommunication deprived the People of the Sacraments.* XVI. *Death a conſequence of Excommunication.* XVII. Acoſta *excommunicated. The way of treating him.* XVIII. *A diſtinction of Courts that excommunicate.* XIX. *A Court of Juſtice gives Abſolution.* XX. *Beaſts excommunicated by* Jews *and* Chriſtians. XXI. *The Puniſhments of Deſerters.*

I. THERE is no Society but has the Privilege of expelling from its Body, thoſe who diſhonour it, or violate the Laws of its Conſtitution. Yet there was no Excommunication in the *Jewiſh* Church, and Sins againſt the Law, were chaſtiſed by Civil Puniſhments. *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* ſtill inflicted theſe Kinds of Puniſhments at the Return from the Captivity. *Ezra* cut off from the Congregation thoſe that would not ſend away the Strange Wives they had Married; but the Confiſcation of Goods, joyn'd to this Excluſion, proves that it was rather a Civil than Eccleſiaſtical Puniſhment. * *Selden* had diſcover'd the Book of a *Caraite*, who confirms this Notion, ſince he affirms, that Excommunication was not invented, till the Nation had loſt the Power of puniſhing the Guilty *in the Reign of Infidels.* But ſhall we aſcend up as high as *Alexander* the *Great*? Shall we place it under the Reign of the Kings of *Syria*, who were Maſters of *Judæa*, or under the *Romans*, who took away the Power of Life and Death. This laſt Conjecture would be abſolutely falſe, and the two others ſeem very uncertain.

II. 'Tis moſt probable that the *Sanhedrim* being eſtabliſhed by the *Macchabees*, aſſum'd the cognizance of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and the Puniſhment of the Guilty. *Jonathan* would make no ſcruple to yield this degree of Power, to the Council of the Nation,

* Selden de Synedr. *l. c.* 6. 7.

which

which he often conſulted; and his Succeſſors, were the more obliged to ſcreen themſelves under its Authority, becauſe the People murmur'd at their making themſelves Kings and Prieſts. The mixture of *Jews* with the Idolatrous Nations, render'd the Exerciſe of this Power more frequent, in order to prevent their Commerce with the Heathens, and the abjuring *Judaiſm*. The Doctors took Advantage of the Peoples Miſery to reſtrain them by terror, and the mortified People made it a piece of Duty to obey their Leaders with greater ſubmiſſion, and implicitenes; theſe Doctors of the Nation having once taſted the ſweets of Government, have extended them, inſtead of ſuffering any Diminution. The *Talmudiſts* * have made a great many Regulations, tending to maintain the reverence due to the Church, and Delinquents are ſeverely puniſhed. Thus Excommunication was eſtabliſhed by degrees, after its Inſtitution by the *Sanhedrim* in the Reign of the *Macchabees*.

III. Eccleſiaſtical Puniſhments begin with Cenſure. This is made in Secret; but it is rendered Publick, if the culpable do's not repent. The *Houſe of Judgment* underſtanding that a Woman lives at Variance with her Husband, denounces the Loſs of her Dowry; unleſs ſhe be reconciled with him. This Cenſure is afterwards publiſh'd upon four Sabbaths; but at the ſecond Proclamation, it is ſignified to her, that ſhe has forfeited all her Matrimonial Rights. If a Father refuſe to maintain his Child, 'tis proclaim'd in the Aſſembly, that *he is more cruel than the Ravens, who take care of their Young, till they can fly.*

IV. This Cuſtom may ſerve for an Explication of what our Lord ſays, that a Man muſt find out his Brother to be reconciled to him, and *tell it to the Church*, in caſe of refuſal; and if he hear not the *Church*, *let him be to thee as a Heathen.* For J. CHRIST would have reconciliation attempted by *ſecret Admonitions*, as was done in his time; but afterwards, he allows the Publication of the Fault; *tell it to the Church.* This Church is not therefore a judicial Tribunal, erected to take Cognizance of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; but the Aſſembly of the People, to whom the Name and Fault of the Offenders was proclaim'd for four Sabbaths to put 'em to Shame. If they continued irreconcileable, they were look'd upon with the ſame contempt as a Heathen, who had no right to the Covenant of God; and indeed the Excommunicates often turn'd *Heathens or Samaritans*, imbarking in their Party, rather than bearing the Scandal of theſe Cenſures.

V. After the Cenſure came the Excommunication for impenitent Sinners, and ſuch as had deſerv'd it by an open Rebellion. *Bartolocci* † diſtinguiſhes three degrees of it, and grounds himſelf upon the Authority of the *Talmud*, which aſſerts, that the firſt Excommunication *Nidui* laſts thirty Days; that a Man is obliged to ſeparate from his Wife, and that no body can come near the Excommunicate. The ſecond is the *Kerem*, or Anathema, by which a Man is expell'd out of the Synagogue with great Imprecations, and deprived of all Civil Commerce. The third is the *Schammata*, which is publiſh'd with the Sound of four hundred Trumpets, and excludes all hope of returning to the Synagogue. Some Doctors ‖ maintain this Opinion, but don't prove it; and *Leo* of *Modena* reckons but two degrees of Excommunication. The *Nidui* and *Schammata* are the ſame thing, or the Anathema. The *Kerem* is the laſt degree of Puniſhment, which is inflicted on Impenitent Sinners.

VI. 'Tis a ſurprize to ſee that J. CHRIST, who undermin'd the Foundations of the *Jewiſh* Religion, and eſtabliſh'd his Church upon the Ruins of the Synagogue, was never excommunicated. 'Twas not, that this Puniſhment was never in uſe, ſince J. CHRIST foretold his Diſciples, that they ſhould be *expell'd from the Synagogues*; and that many were afraid to follow him, for fear of being expoſed to this Teſt. We are told that the perſon born Blind, whom our Saviour cured, was excommunicated, ſince * *they caſt him out of the Synagogue*; but this was an act of violence and fury, rather than a Sentence of Excommunication, pronounced by the common Method of Judicial Proceedings. They tell us alſo, that J. CHRIST eſcaped the violence of the Council, becauſe he followed the antient † Cuſtom of *reſpecting not only the Doctors of the Law, but thoſe that profeſſed the Study of it.* But this Rule is not ſo infallible, as not to have admitted frequent Exceptions. *The Principals of the Synagogue*, who feared Excommunication, make it manifeſt enough, that it was thunder'd out againſt them, and that they ſpared not thoſe who *ſtudied or taught the Law.* J. CHRIST was neither Doctor of the Law nor Student. He had not been brought up at the feet of any other Maſter; he was not of the Sacerdotal Line, nor held ſo conſiderable a Rank, as to hinder his Enemies from making uſe of a Weapon which they had in their hands; and wherewith they could wound him. This Conduct proceeded from hence, that J. CHRIST teaching againſt the Law and its Doctors, made a particular Sect; and it was not then the cuſtom to excommunicate entire Bodies. There were three or four Sects at that time among the *Jews*, which were tolerated in the Temple without excommunicating. Our Lord, and his little Retinue of Diſciples had the ſame Fate as the *Sadduces*, and the *Eſſenes*, the *Herodians* and *Phariſees*, who all manifeſtly corrupted ſome part of the Law, and yet communicated with the reſt of the *Jews*. Hence none of the Apoſtles, who put themſelves at the Head of this growing Body, were excommunicated.

We are told ‖ that the *Cuthæans* were ſolemnly excommunicated, becauſe they obſtructed the rebuilding of the antient Temple; but beſides that this Example doth not prevail againſt the inſtances of the *Eſſenes* and *Sadduces* living in our Saviour's time, thoſe that publiſhed this Form of Excommunication iſſued againſt the *Cuthæans*, lived too long after the Reſtauration of the Temple, to know whether this was ever done: or rather they have ſpoken of the antient *Cuthæans* according to the Rites of their own time; for Excommunication was not yet heard of under *Nehemiah*. And in like manner the ſame *Jews* maintain, that J. CHRIST was excommunicated, and that his Excommunication was declared with the Sound of four hundred Trumpets. In the mean time *Joſhua* the Son of *Perachia*, the Preſident of the great Council, by whom they make this Decree pronounc'd, was dead a hundred Years before our Lord.

VII. One of the principal Cauſes of Excommunication is the pronouncing *the Name of God in a Prophane manner*, for *Hunna* one Day hearing a Man take *the Name of God in Vain*, excommunicated him; but at the ſame time he took off the Excommunication; from whence the Doctors * conclude, that 'tis not lawful to hear the Name of God prophaned without excommunicating the Offender; but it is lawful ſpeedily to Abſolve him. Contempt † expreſs'd for a Doctor dead or alive is another great Cauſe of Excommunication. They alſo added *a Fine of a Pound of Gold* to the uſe of the living and deſpiſed Doctor.

* Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. *l.* VI. *c.* 2. Id. de Syned. Vitringa de Syn. *l* 3. *c.* 9. *p.* 730. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 111.
† Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 111 *p.* 414 Od. 11. Mœd. Cod. 6. *p.* 17. ‖ Elias & David de Pomis. * John 9. 34.
‡ Selden de Jure Nat. *l.* IV. *c.* 9. ‖ V. Selden. *p.* 521. * Duo Tractatus Thalmud cum Notis Cocceji Sanhedrim, *c.* 1. *c.* 5. *p.* 110. † Maimonides de Studio Legis, *c.* 6. §. 10. *p.* 34.

Some maintain, that there can be no Excommunication upon civil Intereſts. They even cite the example of a Rogue, who coming to rob a Garden of Figs, was excommunicated by the Doctor, who watch'd them. The Robber maintained to the Rabbi, that the Excommunication was not juſt, ſince he ought at moſt to pay *the price of the Figs* he had eaten, and excommunicated him as he went out. The Cauſe was brought before the Profeſſors, who determined, that the Excommunication pronounced by the Rabbi was null, ſince it was only upon a Point of Intereſt, and he was obliged to addreſs himſelf to the Prince to be freed from the Excommunication pronounced by the Robber.

VIII. Nevertheleſs 'tis very certain, that this Puniſhment is uſed upon civil Caſes, as well as for the Violations of the Law; for moſt of the twenty four * Cauſes deſerving Excommunication turn upon civil Faults. For a Man deſerves Excommunication, when he has *a curs'd Dog, that bites and tears Travellers, and when he lends a Ladder half broken*, unleſs † he repairs the Damage that ſhall happen; when a Man do's not make trial of his Knife, before he Kills with it; when he ſpeaks ill of a Doctor, that is dead. *Henry* III. King of *England* permitted all the *Jews* of his Kingdom, to excommunicate thoſe, who had promiſed ſome Money to build their Cœmitery at *London*, and refuſed to pay it. He forbad his Officers to obſtruct the Execution of this Decree, which was given at the requeſt of the Doctors || of the Synagogue. Sometime ſince *, there was a Suit commenced, the Conſequences whereof were extreamly ſcandalous. A *Jew* of *Bologna* had depoſited twelve thouſand Livres in a Friend's hand, who afterwards denied he had receiv'd them. The *Jew* enraged, went to *Padua*, to conſult a Rabbi of *Ments*, who taught there with Reputation. *Abraham* (this was the Doctor's Name) aſſerted the Intereſt of him that conſulted him, and defended his Cauſe by Publick Writings. The War broke out amongſt the circumciſed Doctors, there being others that eſpouſed the cauſe of the accuſed. The Proceſs flew into *Poland*, where *Jacob* the *Polander* wrote violently againſt the Accuſer and his Advocate, and the matter proceeded ſo far, that above a hundred Rabbies excommunicated one another upon the ſcore of this *Depoſitum*.

IX. The Sentence of the laſt † Excommunication, which they pronounce, abounds with Superſtition and Cruelty. 1. By the Decree of the Cities, and Commandment of the Saints, "*they Excommunicate*; *they* "*Anathematize*; *they Curſe with Execrations*; *they ex-* "*terminate* ſuch a one *N.* by the Book of the Law, "which he touches; by the ninety three Precepts "which this Book contains; by the Curſe that *Jo-* "*ſhua* pronounced againſt *Jericho*; that *Eliſha* ut-"ter'd againſt the Children, that mock'd him, whom "the Bears devoured; and by that he gave *Gehazi*, "who became a Leper, *&c.*" 2. They introduce into this Form I know not how many barbarous Names, which they mingle with thoſe of the Angels and of God, diverſify'd ſeveral ways, ſuch as are thoſe of *Metraton*, and *Sandalipon*. 3. They curſe this Man *by Heaven*; *by the Earth*; *by the Seraphins*; *by the Orbs*; *by the holy Animals*. If he be born in the Month *Niſan*, they beg *Uriel* that preſides over it to curſe him; if he be born in the Month *Jiar*, which anſwers in part to *May*, they deſire *Tephaniel*, and all his Claſſe, that preſides over this Month to curſe him. Laſtly, they deſire every Angel, that preſides over one Day of the Week, to torment him, that there may not be a ſingle Day, wherein he may be happy. 4. The Vows or rather Imprecations they make againſt him are horrible; for they deſire that *nothing good may proceed from him*; "that his Ruin may be ſpeedy; that the "Creatures may become his Enemies; that a Whirl-"wind may cruſh him; that a Fever and Conſum-"ption, and I know not how many other Diſeaſes, "without excepting Wounds and Stabbing, may ſeize "him before his Death, which ought to be unfore-"ſeen, calamitous, and drive him into Darkneſs." When we read all theſe things, we can't conceive, of what frame Men are made who take upon 'em ſuch bitter Imprecations, inſtead of charitably bewailing and lamenting the loſs of their Brother, and who ſo ardently call down the whole rigour of Divine Juſtice, whilſt themſelves can't be ſaved, but by the infinite efficacy of the Divine Mercy.

X. This Sentence || is publiſhed by Sound of Trumpet. And thus *Juda* excommunicated a Man, who would buy Meat in the Market of *Pundebita* before him. They indeed ſpeak of three and four hundred Trumpets, that were ſounded at that inſtant; but this is one of the common Hyperboles of the *Talmudiſts*. They inflict it at firſt for thirty Days. If the Offender continue his Rebellion, they publiſh it a ſecond time; if he does not repent before the ſixtieth Day, they pronounce the *Kerem*, or *Anathema*, which is attended with freſh Maledictions.

XI. In order to prevent * this Impenitence, they ſcourge the Criminal. Our Lord foretold his Diſciples: *They ſhall expel you out of the Synagogues, and ſhall ſcourge you. Beza* with all his Learning has queſtion'd whether this Expreſſion could have eſcaped our Saviour; becauſe he could not conceive, that they *ſcourg'd* in the Synagogues, before they expell'd the Criminal; or that the Synagogue is ever taken for the *houſe of Judgment*, or the place, where the *Jews* exerciſed Juſtice. Whereas both theſe things are equally true; eſpecially 'tis demonſtratively proved, 'that 'twas the Cuſtom to ſcourge the Contumacious. St. *Paul* went by Order of the Prieſts to ſearch for the *Chriſtians* in all the Synagogues, and caus'd them to be ſcourg'd there. *Maimonides* † affirms, that in the Weſt, they don't *excommunicate the Doctors, nor the Prince of the Senate, or of the Captivity, unleſs they have committed the Crime of* Jeroboam; *but that they ſcourge 'em ſecretly in the Night. Jacob*, the Son of *Aſhur*, ſpeaks of the Penance, that all the Synagogues of *Germany*, where he was born, practiſed; in which they gave themſelves forty Scourges, and his Commentator has extended the thing to all the Synagogues in the World. I confeſs that the Queſtion there is of a Penance; but if it be true, that the Flagellations are Publick, and given in the Synagogues, there is no farther reaſon to doubt of the truth of what our Saviour ſaid; *they will ſcourge you.*

XII. St. *Paul* ſays || that he had been *ſcourg'd five times by the* Jews, and that he had receiv'd forty *ſtripes ſave one*. This Apoſtle, as a *Roman* Citizen, could not be ſcourg'd by the Civil Magiſtrates; for the *Porcian* Law gave 'em this Privilege; but as he was a *Jew*, a Deſerter of his Religion; the Rabbies, who caught him teaching in the Synagogues, unmercifully ſcourg'd him *. Thirty nine Stripes were the utmoſt degree of Puniſhment, tho' the Criminal was as ſtrong as *Sampſon*; but they leſſen'd the number for ſuch as appear'd weak. *Moſes* at firſt had order'd forty Stripes; but we are told that the *Jews* making uſe of Scourges inſtead of Rods, they were reduced to thirty nine, becauſe the Executioner held a Scourge compoſed of three braſs wires, and by

* Maimon. de Studio Legis, *c.* 6. Sect. 13. *p.* 36. 37. † Ibid. *p.* 532. || Bartol. ibid. *p.* 864. * An. 1530. † Apud Selden de Jur. Nat. *l.* IV. *c.* 8. || Vitringa *l.* 1. *c.* 20. *p.* 204. * Ibid. *p.* 775. † Maimonides de Studio Legis, *c.* 7. Sect. 1. *p.* 38. || 2 Cor. 11. 24, 25. * V. Miſnah Tr. de Pœnis, *t.* IV.

ſtriking

ſtriking thirteen times, he fill'd up the number of thirty nine; but he would have given forty two laſhes, had he ſtruck a fourteenth time, and would have broken the Law. This Conjecture, which is Doctor *Hammond*'s Invention * is ſubtile. But yet if we conſult the Rabbies, we ſhall eaſily obſerve, that they alledge other Reaſons for this Cuſtom. For the Authors of the *Miſnah* †, who ſhould know the Origine of it, ſay that *Moſes* uſed an Expreſſion ſignifying *about forty*; and therefore they only give thirty nine. Beſides, by filling up the number forty, they expoſed the Executioner to the violating of the Law, ſince he might ſtrike a blow over, through inadvertency, or before they had reckoned thoſe he had given. Laſtly, *Hammond*'s Sentiment is built upon a bad Foundation ||, ſince the *Miſnah* * orders the Laſh to be compoſed of *two or four Scourges*, and ſo the number of thirteen Stripes, which multiply'd *by three made preciſely thirty nine, is loſt*. 'Tis more probable, that they alluded to the thirty nine Curſes written in the Law. *Aben-Ezra* likewiſe maintains, that this is a Cabbala, or *a conſtant Tradition*.

XIII. He that was condemned to the Laſh, was faſtened to a high Pillar; they choſe to ſcourge him a Man skilful in this Art, who was neither *Cowardly, nor Weak, nor Vindicative*. The Chazan, or the Miniſter of the Synagogue commonly diſcharg'd this Function. He ſtruck *firſt three blows upon the Heart*, and three upon each Shoulder. This Cuſtom is taken from *Deuteronomy*, which *Maimonides* tranſlates otherwiſe than we; for whereas † *Moſes* orders the Judge to cauſe the Criminal to be ſcourged *before* || *his face*; *Maimonides* and *Bartenora* conclude, that the blows are to be given him *before*; that is, upon the Heart, which is the firſt ſource of the Sin.

Whilſt they were Puniſhing the Criminal, the Preſident * read ſome Texts of Scripture; the ſecond Judge reckon'd the blows, and the third exhorted the Executioner to do his Duty. The reading was to end with the blows, and the blows with the reading, and they took meaſures to proportion the one to the other.

XIV. St. *Paul* † adds, that he was *thrice beaten with rods*. He diſtinguiſhes this Puniſhment from the *Stripes*, and it ſeems at firſt ſight, that it muſt have been inflicted by the *Romans*, ſince they cauſed the Faſces to be carried before the Conſuls, and common Judges to torment Delinquents; for *Virga eſt magis in tormento quam ſupplicio*. However it is not probable, that the *Romans* put St. *Paul* thrice to the Queſtion, or that they ſcourged him ſo often againſt the Laws, ſince he was a Citizen of *Rome*. In order to explain this Complaint of the Apoſtle, we muſt diſtinguiſh the different Cuſtoms of the Synagogues. Thoſe that were in *Judæa* ordered Scourging, but the others diſperſed in the *Roman* Empire had adopted the Puniſhment of their Maſters, and cauſed the Criminals to be *baſtinado'd* or beaten with *rods*. The number of blows was not fixed; but it was proportioned to the greatneſs of the Crime. St. *Paul* did not content himſelf to teach in *Judæa*; but he ran through all the Provinces of the Empire, to carry the Goſpel into them: he had gone through ſeveral Perſecutions in theſe foreign Synagogues, and amongſt others, he had been beaten with Rods; and there is reaſon to diſtinguiſh this Puniſhment from Scourging, as the *Gemariſts* do ||, who ſpeak of the different Inſtruments of Puniſhment. The Evangeliſts * do the ſame thing; when they relate that the Officers ſtruck our Saviour with *their rods*, and he was afterwards ſcourg'd by *Pilate*'s Order. 'Tis imagined that this Puniſhment was not Scandalous among the *Jews*, becauſe the *Talmudiſts* ſay it; but is it not known that Scourging was a Preliminary to capital Puniſhment in moſt Nations? *Antigonus*, King of the *Jews* was ſcourged, and afterwards hang'd. *Alexander* the *Great*, ſays *Quintus Curtius*, cauſed the Guilty to be ſcourg'd, who were afterwards crucified; and can it be believ'd that the *Jews*, who ſcourg'd St. *Paul*, had not a deſign to diſgrace him, and make his Puniſhment a brand of Infamy in the Synagogue? for which reaſon he makes it a ground of boaſting.

XV. 'Tis inquired, whether Excommunication was a deprivation of the Sacraments, of entrance into the Temple and Synagogues, to thoſe that were under its Sentence. *Selden* † maintains, that it only excluded from civil Society. Indeed this great Man obſerves, 1. That the Excommunicates enter'd the Temple, and took the Left hand, whilſt others went to the Right, and thoſe that met 'em, ſaid to the Excommunicate, *the Maſter of this Houſe comfort thee, and give thy Soul what is neceſſary for it*; for thus R. *Meir* has decided it. 2. He imagines, that when the Scripture ſpeaks of driving from the Synagogues, we muſt not underſtand by it the Places of Prayer and Devotion, but the Publick Aſſembly of the People and civil Society קהל from which the Excommunicate were cut off. 3. In the mean time, the Severity againſt theſe Perſons was great, ſince according to the Rabbies, they erected a Cottage for the Excommunicate, in which they ſhut him up, and brought him Neceſſaries; but he that eat with him, or came within four Cubits, or ſix Foot of him, was excommunicated.

But I know not whether *Selden* has not carried the thing too far. I confeſs, 1. That the Excommunicates ate the Paſchal Lamb with the other *Jews*; but at the ſame time that this Obſervation is admitted, *Selden*'s muſt fall; for they ate not the Paſchal Lamb, except in a Family, and a ſufficient number to ſpend it intirely. 2. They entered alſo into the Temple; But as the Synagogues were particular Chappels, it can't be believed, that an Excommunicate Perſon was received in them. For if they had ſuch an Abhorrence for this ſort of People, how could they ſuffer 'em to enter a place, where it would be almoſt impoſſible not to be defiled by the touch of 'em, ſince the prodigious number of theſe Chappels at *Jeruſalem*, and other Cities, neceſſarily rendered them very ſmall? 3. Beſides our Lord foretold his Diſciples, they ſhould be *driven from the Synagogue*, which word never ſignifies in the Goſpel the general Aſſembly of the *Jewiſh* People, but certain places deſtin'd to Devotion; and indeed it was not the *Sanhedrim*, but particular Judges that expelled from the Synagogue. But yet none but the great Council was inveſted with a ſufficient Authority to exclude a Man all Civil Society. In the ſecond Council of *Nice*, was produc'd the Action of a *Jew*, who had been expell'd *the Synagogue*, becauſe the Image of CHRIST had been found in his Houſe. The word and the Circumſtances prove that the Chappel Door had been ſhut againſt

* Hammond in 2 Cor. 11. *p.* 589. ed. ſext. 1689. † V. Miſnah Tractatus de Pœnis, *t.* IV. *p.* 288. *n.* 10. Maimonides & Bartenora ibid. *God hath not ſaid* quadraginta numero, *but* numero quadraginta; *that is to ſay, the number which is neareſt to forty.* V. Buxtorf. || Manahem Ricinenſis Ben Eſra apud Druſium Not. in hunc locum, *p.* 3255. * Miſnah ibid. *p.* 289. *n.* 12. Coch. *or* Cocceius duo Tituli Thalmudici Notæ ad Tract. Maccoth. *c.* 3. *p.* 125. † Miſnah *a.* 13. Maimonides & Bartenora. || Ibid. *p.* 290, Deut. 25. 2. *'Tis in the Original the Judge ſhall cauſe him to lie down, and to be beaten* לפניו ad facies ejus. *They refer it to the Criminal, and our Interpreters to the Judge, which is the juſter.* * *Thoſe of* Deuteron. 28. 58, 59. Miſnah ibid. *a.* 14. Comm. Bartenora & Maimonides, *p.* 290. † 2 Cor. 11. 24. 25. Τρὶς ἐῤῥαβδίσθην. || Excerpta ex Gem. Cod. Sanhed. *c.* 1. *p.* 9. Coch *p.* 145. * Matth. 26. 67 ῥαπὶς & ῥαβδὸς *ſignifie the ſame thing.* † Selden de Synedr. *l.* 1 *c.* 7. & de Jure Nat. & Gent. V. *alſo* Coch. duo Tit. Thalmud, *p.* 149.

him. The Council likewiſe believed it, and affirmed, that this happened in the time of St. *Athanaſius* *. Laſtly, *Leo de Modena* aſſerts, that the Excommunicates are expell'd from the Synagogues. 4. JESUS CHRIST ate with Publicans and people of a bad Life. Tho' the *Jewiſh* Church durſt not excommunicate the Publicans, who were the common Drudges of the *Roman* Knights, for the gathering of their Impoſts and Taxes, yet it would at leaſt have puniſhed Men publickly Scandalous, *and People of bad Life.* 'Tis true, they tax'd our Saviour with theſe Entertainments; but if theſe Perſons had been ſeparate from Civil Society, and ſhut up by themſelves in a Cottage, I queſtion whether he would have found 'em out, and convers'd alone with 'em. The Goſpel rather notes Publick Treats, and Splendid Entertainments made by the Rich.

XVI. Death † is a conſequence of Excommunication; for ſay they, *Schammatà* ſignifies Death, and *wherever are the Eyes of the Wiſe, there is Affliction or Death.* They alſo cite ſome Examples of People, that after they had been excommunicated by the Rabbies never appear'd again, becauſe Death carried 'em ſuddenly off by a kind of Miracle. The *Kerem*, which is the great Excommunication enters into a Man by two hundred and forty eight Members, and God knows what Miſchief it makes there. He is actually deprived of all Society; and none but his Wife and Children can come near him. Others are obliged to keep at two Yards diſtance; if he has a Corps in his Houſe, no body muſt bury it, and if a Son be born, he is obliged to circumciſe him himſelf, becauſe no body would give him this aſſiſtance. They Puniſh the Excommunicate even after Death. They lament 'em not, when they die; they Stone their Grave and their Coffin in which their Body is put. The Court of Juſtice ſends a great Stone to be put upon the Grave of him, who dies in Excommunication, either to leave a Monument of Shame and Infamy, or to ſignify, that he ſhall never riſe in Glory. The *Jews* are not the only Perſons, who over-ſtrain the effects of Excommunication, and extend 'em beyond Death. It were to be wiſh'd, that this Method of reſtraining Sinners had never been abuſed, of which J. CHRIST, and the Fathers of the firſt two Ages have made ſo little uſe.

XVII. The Hiſtory of *Acoſta* ‖ proves all that we have advanc'd. He was born in *Portugal* of a *Jewiſh* Family; but of a Father, who had ſincerely embraced *Chriſtianity*, and who ſent him to ſtudy Law. In Studying, he doubted of the Truth of the Religion he profeſs'd, and believing the Law of *Moſes* to be more certain than that of the *Chriſtians*, he engaged all his Family to quit *Portugal*, and come to *Amſterdam*; where he was not long before he was embroil'd with the Rabbies, who were *Phariſees* and *Traditionaries*; obſerving ſeveral Defects in the Synagogue, and that they had introduced abundance of Rites different from the Law, he could not be ſilent. But he no ſooner open'd his Mouth, but they cenſured and excommunicated him; his Brothers would not ſpeak to him; the Children threw Dirt and Stones at him; they attack'd him even in his Houſe. Tired with being the object of his Family and his Nations's hatred, he reſolved ſo much the eaſier to diſſemble as he had no other Religion than the natural. He ſubmitted to whatever they pleaſed, in hopes they would not treat him rigorouſly. But he was miſtaken; for to return into Communion, he was obliged to aſcend the Desk of the Synagogue, where the whole Multitude was aſſembled to ſee the Spectacle. There he read a Confeſſion of his Sins, and his frequent lapſes. Coming down, they led him to a corner of the Synagogue; they ſtrip'd him to the Waſt; took off his Shoes; tied his Hands to a Pillar, and unmercifully gave him *thirty nine Stripes*, according to the antient Tradition. After this rude Penance, he was forced to proſtrate himſelf on the Ground, at the Door, and all that came out, paſs'd over his Body, not excepting the Children, who made a Paſtime of it. So unworthy a Treatment for a Man of Birth made him ſo deſperate that he reſolved to kill his Brother, or his Nephew, who had been one of his moſt cruel Enemies. He fired a Piſtol at him, as he paſs'd along the Street; and at the ſame time he took another Piſtol, which he had charged on purpoſe, and kill'd himſelf. He has himſelf given the Account of his Adventures, except * the laſt, and we may judge, that he ſeem'd violently provoked with the Rabbies of *Amſterdam*. He do's not ſpare even the Magiſtrates, who give Liberty to exerciſe ſo many Indignities againſt ſuch as deſpiſe a Religion, that is only tolerated.

XVIII. They make a great diſtinction betwixt the Tribunals that excommunicate. The Sentence of a private Perſon is not ſo formidable, as that of a Conjunction of three Rabbies. The Shame is not ſo great, when a Man is excommunicated by a foreign Court of Juſtice, and by a Council of another City, as when he is expell'd from his own Synagogue; but the moſt terrible of all is that which is pronounc'd *by the Head of the Captivity.* Hence proceed theſe two Maxims, whoever † *is excommunicated by his own City, is ſo in all others: but if he be excommunicated in a ſtrange City, he is not in his own.* All Iſrael *looks upon him to be ſo, who is excommunicated by the Prince. But the Prince do's not conſider as Excommunicates, thoſe that have been excommunicated by all* Iſrael.

Private Lay-men have a Power of excommunicating. A Servant Woman ſeeing her Son beaten, excommunicated him that did the Injury, and the Excommunication took place. 'Tis a conſtant Maxim, that Students may excommunicate for any Affront they have received. The Excommunication binds the Criminal as to the People, tho' the Maſter defers not to this Sentence. Laſtly, a Man that Dreams, that he is excommunicated, is truly excommunicated, becauſe they look upon their Dreams as Divine. In the mean time it muſt be confeſſed, that it is generally the *Houſe of Judgment*, or the Court of Juſtice among the *Jews*, that takes cognizance of Differences, and Proportions of Puniſhment to the Crime.

XIX. 'Tis alſo this ſame Court, that gives Abſolution to thoſe that deſire it. There are ſeveral caſes, wherein the Preſence and Authority of ten Rabbies is neceſſary; but there are alſo abundance, where three are ſufficient, and even when the number of Nineteen is not eaſie to be found, one ſingle Rabbi may abſolve; and often their Judgment and Abſolution is referr'd to ſome wiſe and experienced Laymen. There is alſo ſomething more remarkable; for a Rabbi excommunicates and abſolves himſelf. Nay, ſome have been ſeen to excommunicate themſelves without any reaſon, before they excommunicated others, and afterwards to give themſelves Abſolution. It would be a very hard matter to find a good reaſon for ſo whimſical a Conduct.

The Abſolution that is given, is very ſimple. They declare that the Sinner is *loos'd* from the Excommunication; and J. CHRIST ſeems to have borrow'd this Expreſſion from the *Jews* of his time.

XX. Laſtly, the Synagogue excommunicates even Beaſts. Excommunication has its effect upon Dogs, ſay the Doctors ‖, and they relate, that a Dog having

* Athan Op. *t.* 2. *p.* 12. † Bartol. *t.* 111. *p.* 416. ‖ Urielis Acoſtæ Exemplar Vitæ. Hum. *p.* 346. * An. 1623.
† Maimonid. de Studio Legis, *c.* 6. *p.* 35. ‖ Ordo 11. Mœd. Cod. 6. Bart. *p.* 415.

had

had the imprudence to gnaw the Shoes of one of their Sages, he excommunicated him in his wrath, and immediately a violent Fire was ſeen to faſten it ſelf to the Dog's Tail, which horribly tormented him. We can't without pity obſerve the Ignorance and Pride of theſe Doctors, who imagine, that Excommunication reſpects Beaſts, and that the fear of Anathema's drives 'em away, or kills 'em. *Ptolemy* ſaid that a Braſs Table, on which was engraven two Serpents, in the Aſcendant of the ſecond Aſpect of *Aries*, is capable of expelling Serpents, provided theſe words be added, *I bind the Serpents, by means of this Figure, I forbid 'em to hurt any body, and to continue in the places, where this Table ſhall be in the Earth.* *Gregory* of *Tours* relates, that in digging the Ditches of *Paris*, they found a piece of Braſs, upon which was found the Figure of a Rat, of a Serpent, and of Fire. They neglected it as a thing, that was uſeleſs and broken; but at the ſame time all the City was fill'd with Rats, becauſe the Figure, which had the vertue of expelling 'em, was removed. Excommunication has no more effect upon Beaſts, than braſs Tables upon Serpents and Rats, 'tis only ſtrange, that ſo much Credulity ſhould be found in all Religions, and that Heathens, *Jews*, and *Chriſtian* Biſhops ſo often cited with an Encomium, ſhould vend ſuch ſtupid Fables.

The latter debar themſelves of the Privilege of laughing at the Rabbies Idea of Excommunication, and its extent; ſince they are guilty of the ſame thing. *Cœlum ipſum petimus Stultitia.* Not to produce Examples drawn from Ages, wherein Superſtition and Credulity reign'd without controul, thoſe that at preſent take Snuſh in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*, are excommunicated *ipſo facto*. Is it that St. *Peter* in Glory has any particular averſion to the ſmell of Snuff? How do they know it? If it be an Irreverence, it ought equally to be puniſhed in all Churches. The Baron *de la Hontan* * relates that the Biſhop of *Quebec* excommunicated all the turtle Doves of his Dioceſe, for the diſorders which they cauſed in it. Here are reaſonable Men, Biſhops ſending out Excommunications againſt Brutes; and what is more ſurprizing, is that theſe Creatures deſtitute of reaſon, dread it more than Gun-ſhot or Arſenick. For *Theophilus* † *Raynaud* has copied the Sentence given in 1516. by the Official of *Troies* at the requeſt of a neighbouring City, by which, after a judicial Hearing of Witneſſes, and taking neceſſary informations againſt Caterpillars, which ravaged the Country, he ordered 'em to depart the Dioceſe in *three ſhort Days*, upon pain of being excommunicated. They were ſo frighted with the Anathema, that they ceaſed to do any farther Miſchief. A *Spaniſh* Biſhop having alſo excommunicated the Rats of his Biſhoprick, and aſſign'd the Iſland they were to retire to, *&c.* they were ſeen to go over in a Shoal and confine themſelves to the place appointed. How obedient are Animals! or rather, how extravagant are Men!

XXI. The Rabbies have Compaſſion of thoſe who ſtand not their ground under Violence and Perſecution; but they have no patience with ſuch as voluntarily abandon them to turn *Muſſulmans* or *Chriſtians*. The famous *Orobio* complain'd that in *Portugal* and *Spain*, the Convents of Monks and Nuns are full of Perſons of their Nation, who even turn Inquiſitors to preſerve their Eſtates. They call theſe Deſerters *Calumniators*, becauſe they charge their Brethren with Crimes they never committed; *Traitors*, becauſe they reveal the Secrets of Religion, that they may be leſs ſuſpected. They ſay in their Prayers on the Sabbath-day, *A los Renegados no ſea eſperance.* They even think it lawful to carry 'em off and kill 'em, which is much more terrible than Excommunication.

* *The Baron* de la Hontan, *Voyages to* North America. † Le Brun *Critical Hiſtory of Superſtitious Practices*, &c.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Polygamy, *and of the Ceremonies of Marriage.*

I. *The Neceſſity of Marrying.* II. *How many Wives the King and High Prieſt might have.* III. *Whether the Prieſts may marry Widows.* Grotius *confuted.* IV. *Private perſons confined to four Wives.* V. *The Law of raiſing up Children to the Brother ſeldom executed.* VI. *Who are the Perſons ſubject to it.* VII. *The Qualification of the Judges and Witneſſes.* VIII. *The Ceremonies of plucking off the Shoe.* IX. *Promiſes of Marriage. The Wedding-Ring unknown to the* Jews. *That of the Virgin falſe.* X. *Of the Portion and Dowry.* XI. *The Ceremonies of betrothing. A Veſſel broken among the* Jews *and in the* Greek *Church.* XII. *Days on which they Marry.* XIII. *Of the Crowns of the Bridegrooms.* XIV. *The Bride's Conduct in the Wedding-houſe.* XV. *Grains of Wheat thrown upon the married Couple.* XVI. *Ceremonies of the Bleſſing.* XVII. *Whether the Governour of the Feaſt at the Marriage in* Cana *was a Prieſt.* XVIII. *Bridemen noted by St.* John. XIX. *The neceſſity of Bathing at a certain time. Scruples upon this Subject.* XX. *Duties of Wives and Husbands.*

I. THE *Jews* are obliged to Marry, becauſe God's Precept to the firſt Man of Peopling the Earth, *Increaſe and multiply*, ſtill continues in all its force. *Wo to the Man who lives in a Houſe without a Wife.* They come not under this Law, till they are twenty Years of Age; but then they muſt Marry, otherwiſe they Sin againſt God and his Ordinance. *They become Murderers; they deſtroy the Image of the firſt Man; and cauſe the Holy Spirit to withdraw himſelf from* Iſrael. 'Tis a Queſtion in the *Talmud, who is he that proſtitutes his Daughter?* And the Anſwer is, *the Father that keeps her too long at home, or Marries her to an Old Man.* The *Jews* don't generally wait twenty Years. They make Contracts betwixt their Children betimes, and execute 'em as ſoon as poſſible. In the mean time, a Daughter Married by her Father before ſhe is twelve Years old and an half, has the Privilege of ſeparating upon a ſimple diſguſt at her Husband, becauſe ſhe was not then at the Age of Chuſing.

II. Polygamy is ſtill permitted. The *Talmudiſts* * ſay, that the King could Marry but eighteen Wives. They even aſſert, that the Kings ought not much to exceed this number, tho' they were ſo many *Abigails*, becauſe there is ſtill danger of their corrupting the Head and Heart of the Prince; but the antient Kings were not acquainted with theſe Rules, or had not a ſufficient eſteem for 'em, to make any ſcruple of violating them.

* Ex Gemara *c.* 1x. S. 1. Coch. duo Tit. Thalm. *p.* 290.

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They likewiſe maintain that the High-Prieſt could have but one Wife. *Tertullian* made uſe of this Notion to condemn ſecond Marriages; but his Error is manifeſt, there being a great difference betwixt ſecond Marriages and Polygamy; the firſt were never forbidden the High-Prieſt; on the contrary, if his Wife died before the Day of Propitiations he often took another. But as the Scripture never ſpeaks but of one Wife of the High-Prieſt, and that not an inſtance can be produc'd of a High-Prieſt that had two; it is very probable that Polygamy was forbidden him, and the Sanctity of his Office ſeem'd ſo much the rather to require it, becauſe he was the Type of JESUS CHRIST, who has but one Church for his Spouſe, which alſo is the Opinion of the *Jewiſh* Doctors. That paſſage of the Chronicles * is objected where it is ſaid, that † Jehoiadah *took for him two Wives, and he begat Sons and Daughters*; for the *Talmudiſts* underſtand this of the High-Prieſt. They ſeek at the ſame time vain Subtilties to diſcover how he might have two Wives. They ſay that he had married one after the Death of the other, or that he divorced one every Year, to celebrate the Feaſt of Propitiation. This proves their Ignorance in their own Hiſtory; for *Jehoiadah*, who was at leaſt a hundred Years old when theſe Marriages were made, was not likely to take two Wives for himſelf, beſides the Daughter of *Joram*, whom he had married long before, and who was ſtill alive. But he gave theſe two Wives to *Joaſh*, whom he had raiſed to the Throne, and thus *Joſephus* relates it.

III. The High-Prieſt ought to marry none but a Virgin: And therefore he was never called ‖ *to pluck off his Shoe, becauſe the Law forbad him to take a Widow.* However there was an exception to the Law; for *Joſhua* * the Son of *Gamaliel* had married a Widow before *Agrippa* II. had made him High-Prieſt, and he ſtill kept her. But according to the common practice the High-Prieſt's Wife ought not to have attain'd the Age of Puberty, which began at twelve Years and a half.

Grotius † ſays that the Prieſts are ſubject to the ſame Law, and that they are forbidden to marry Widows not only by *Moſes* ‖ but by *Ezekiel* *, who ſays, that the *Prieſts ſhall not take for their Wives a Widow.* He adds, that *Joſephus* has mentioned this Cuſtom †, which remained in his time, and has been changed ſince. But this great Man is miſtaken in two things: 1. Becauſe there is nothing in Law forbidding Prieſts to marry Widows; it ſo clearly diſtinguiſhes the Ordinances common to all Prieſts from thoſe that were peculiar to the High-Prieſt, that it is impoſſible to confound them, without ſpoiling the Text, and inverting the Order of the Verſes. 2. *Joſephus* inſtead of authorizing this Cuſtom, only ſpeaks of it ‖ to diſtinguiſh the High-Prieſt from the reſt, on whom alone he impoſes the neceſſity of marrying a Virgin. So that only the paſſage of *Ezekiel* gives us any conſiderable difficulty. *Kimki* removes it by aſſerting that the Prophet has given the deſcription of an imaginary Temple, which was to be purer and holier than that which *Solomon* had built, namely that which was to be ſeen in the Reign of the *Meſſiah*.

IV. As to private Perſons, 'tis a Maxim generally received, that they may have as many Wives as they can keep. Only 'tis a Prudential Conſideration with 'em not to multiply 'em beyond four, and this is alſo done by the *Mahometans*, becauſe 'tis difficult to ſatisfie the occaſions, and deſires of ſo many Women. The *Talmudiſts* have reduced this number to two, one whereof they pretend ſerved for Procreation, and the other was reſerved for Pleaſure; and that ſhe may preſerve her Duty, they endeavour to make her Barren by ſome Potion; but theſe are common Tales of the Doctors.

Gamaliel had ſeverely Condemn'd *Polygamy*; and has been alſo followed by ſome Rabbies, maintaining that it was forbidden by the Words of the Law; *You ſhall not take a Wife with her Siſter.* But *Gamaliel*'s Prohibition does not appear. 'Tis own'd it was never followed. They ſay that it was to end with the firſt Millennium, that is, in the Year 1240. of the *Chriſtian Æra.* His Diſciples have been look'd upon as Hereticks; and it is maintain'd, that the Law ſpeaks only of marrying two Siſters, which was not allow'd tho' *Jacob* had given an Example of it. The multitude of Rabbies have therefore been for *Polygamy*: And there are Laws in the *Miſnah* * upon this head. However, *Gerſon* has oppos'd the Doctors; and obſerving that the Rights of Children grew uncertain by the Plurality of Wives, pretended this antient Cuſtom ought to be aboliſh'd, and order'd the *Jews* upon pain of Excommunication to be contented with a ſingle Wife. *Buxtorf* aſſerts, that his opinion has prevail'd, and thoſe that have two Wives are obliged to ſend away one of them upon pain of Excommunication; but his Authority ought not to prevail againſt that of *Leo* of *Modena* †, who makes three diſtinctions. 1. The *Jews* that are in the Weſt mingled with *Chriſtians*, and that have Children, take not a ſecond Wife; but the reaſon is manifeſt, becauſe the condition of the Children, aud of the Portion it ſelf would be conteſted. They muſt ſubmit to the Laws of *Chriſtians*, and the Cuſtom of Places where they live; and ſo this Abſtinence can't be concluded to be voluntary. 2. Thoſe that have been long married and have no Children, diſpenſe with the Law, and take another Wife, particularly in *Italy*. They pretend even that the Pope gave them a Diſpenſation from the Goſpel Law, and authoriz'd ſecond Marriages. *Leo* of *Modena* had aſſerted it in the firſt Edition of his Tract *of the Jewiſh Ceremonies.* But whether he was miſtaken, or that the Pope would not ſuffer a Diſpenſation ſo little to his honour to be publiſhed, this Article was expung'd in all the following Editions. 3. Laſtly, he ſays poſitively that every *Jew* is allowed to have many Wives, according to what the Scripture ſays in ſeveral places, and *this is practiſed by the Levantines.* The *Jews* therefore conform to the Cuſtom of the Countries where they live. *Polygamy* is practiſed in the Eaſt, where the *Mahometans* allow 'em to have many Wives, and it has been long laid aſide in the Weſt, becauſe *Chriſtian* Princes will not authorize it.

V. By the Law it was ordained, that Brothers-in-law ſhould marry their Siſter-in-law, when ſhe was left a Widow without Children. This Cuſtom is almoſt vaniſh'd among the *Jews* ‖ ptrticularly in the Weſt, where theſe Marriages are not allow'd by *Chriſtian* Princes. Yet we ſtill ſee ſome Inſtances hereof in the *Holy-Land*, and particularly in the Eaſt, amongſt Perſons pretending to an exact Devotion. Beſides we find in the * *Miſnah*, and the Doctors that have commenced it, ſeveral Laws upon this ſubject which it is neceſſary to explain.

VI. The firſt of 'em relates to Perſons, who ought or who ought not to marry their Siſter-in-law. He that is born after the Death of his Brother, is not

* 2 Chron. 24. 3. † V. Selden. Uxor Hebr. *l.* 7. *c.* 8. ‖ Miſnah Tit. Sanhedrim *c.* 2. *t* IV. *p.* 214. * Ibid. Tit. Jabimoth. *cap.* 6. † Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis, *l.* 2. *c.* 5. Sect. 6. ‖ Levit. 21. 14. * Ezech. 44. 22. † Joſeph. contra Apion. ‖ Joſeſeph. Antiq. *l.* 3. *c.* 10. * Miſnah Tit. Cetuvot. *c.* x. S. 2. *p.* 90. S. 9. *p.* 93. † Leo de Modena *fourth part*, *c.* 2. *p.* 112. Voet. Diſp. ſelectæ, *t.* 2. ‖ Surenhuſ. Præf. ad *t.* 3 Miſnæ. * Miſnah liber qui inſcribitur *de Re Uxoria*, Maimonides & Bartenora Commentar. Maimonid. in *c.* 1. *p.* 2.

ſubject

ſubject to the Law, becauſe it will have *the Brothers to live together*. *Reuben* dying without Children before the Birth of *Levi*, *Simeon* his Brother marrying his Widow, and dying alſo without Children, *Levi* was not obliged to marry his Siſter-in-law, tho' he was born during *Simeon*'s Marriage, becauſe he had marryed her on account of her former Widow-hood during which he was not in the World. If a Husband leaves many Wives, a Man's obliged to marry but one, becauſe the Law ſays, he *ſhall raiſe up his Fathers Houſe*, and 'tis in the Original *one* Houſe.

If the Widow be a near Relation to her Brother-in-law; if ſhe be his *Daughter*, or *Wife's Siſter*, he is diſpenc'd from the Law, becauſe the Marriage would be inceſtuous. The Wife's Barrenneſs, and the Husband's Impotence are alſo Diſpenſations. The Doctors, without excepting *Maimonides*, note the Characters, by which we may judge of theſe defects, and enter into ſuch particularities, as often make a Man bluſh. Laſtly, Proſelytes are not ſubject to this Law, which only reſpects thoſe who are Born of *Jewiſh* Parents.

VII. The ſecond Law fixes the number and qualification of the Judges, before whom the Contract ought to be made. The *Miſnah* † only ſpeaks of three Judges, or witneſſes; even tho' they were *Ignorant* Fellows, it ſuffices if they can read the neceſſary Writings in *Hebrew*. Some think the Kindred of one of theſe Judges made the Action null; but *Jochanan* and *Simeon* have determin'd, that it remains good. It has happen'd that a Brother-in law and Siſter-in-law being in Priſon, renounc'd their Marriages by pulling off their Shoes; and *Akiba* decided that the Action was valid, tho' there was no Witneſs ||; but they are grown more rigorous, for *Maimonides* and *Bartenora* will have the Ceremony to be made in preſence of five Witneſſes, that it may be more publick.

VIII. The laſt thing we ſhall obſerve is the Ceremony of *plucking off the Shoe*. The Widow and her Brother-in-law offer themſelves before the Judges, who give their Opinions, whether it be expedient they ſhould marry, or ſhould pluck off their Shoe, when the Brother-in law refuſes Marriage. They are taught to pronounce ſlowly in *Hebrew* theſe three words: *He will not perform the* * *Law of the Brother in-law*. After reading, the Brother-in-law takes a Shoe, faſtens it to his Right Foot, and preſents it to his Siſter-in-law, who pronounces theſe Words: *N. refuſes to raiſe up Seed to his Brother, and to perform the Law of the Brother-in-law*. The Brother-in-law declares *he will not marry N:* Then the Siſter-in-law pulls off the Shoe, throws it in the preſence of the Witneſſes, ſpits on the Ground, reading theſe words in *Hebrew*, *So ſhall it be done unto that Man that will not build up his Brothers Houſe*; *and his Name ſhall be called in* Iſrael, *The Houſe of him that hath his Shoe looſed*. The Spectators cry thrice, *the Shoe looſed, the Shoe looſed, the Shoe looſed*, to ſignify the Shame that is annex'd to his Action. The Widow has an Authentick Certificate for what is paſſed, by vertue whereof ſhe is allowed to marry whom ſhe pleaſes. The Doctors examine, whether the Action be valid, when the Shoe is too big or too little, when it is ſow'd with Shoe-makers Thread againſt the Cuſtom; whether it be ſufficient to pronounce the Words without looſing the Shoe; or to looſe the Shoe without pronouncing the words; but theſe are the common little quirks, with which we will not burthen this Hiſtory. Let us rather examine the ordinary Marriages.

IX. The Promiſe of Marriage is made in preſence of ſome Witneſſes, ſaying, be thou my Wife; and at the ſame time the Bridegroom gave a piece of Money, for which they have ſince ſubſtituted a Ring. In the mean time this laſt uſage is neither antient nor generally receiv'd; we never find it in the *Talmud*, and † *Leo* of *Modena* ſays, that *neither the* Germans *nor* Italians *practiſe it*, tho' it be obſerved in other places. Formerly theſe words were read in his Manuſcript: || *Alcuni uſono al' hora porgli un anello en dito, e ſpoſarla, ma per lo più non la fanno.* Much pains * has been taken to prove, that the Ring which *Joſeph* gave the Virgin was found by a Merchant at the end of the tenth Century, and brought to *Perouſe*, where 'tis preciouſly preſerved. But we ought not to judge of the Rites of the *Jews* by thoſe of the *Chriſtians* and *Heathens*; by conſulting the Rabbies, it might be learnt that the Preſent of a Ring was unknown, and that if ſome have imitated the *Chriſtians* in latter Ages, this was not done in Our Saviour's time. *Hillel* and *Schamma* had a violent diſpute about the value of the piece of Money which the Bridegroom gave to the Bride; but neither they nor their Diſciples, who wrote the *Miſnah*, nor the *Talmudiſts* ever ſpoke of Rings.

X. They draw up a Writing, in which the Husband promiſes a Sum of Money for a Portion; and he engages all his Goods for it even to his *Cloak*; but it can't be demanded till after his Death.

Whereas according to the common Rule, the Maid brings a Portion to the Husband, the contrary is practiſed among the *Jews*; and the Husband promiſes a Portion to his Wife. 'Tis equal for all Maids rich and poor, and the Doctors have fixed it to the value of fifty Crowns, or two hundred Zuſes. They think by this equality to facilitate the Marriage of poor Girls, and to prevent the diſorder which the difference of conditions cauſes in Alliances, but they are miſtaken, ſince the Husband over and above the Portion he promiſes his Wife, commonly adds a Sum proportion'd to his Eſtate. The Cuſtom follow'd by the *Jews* is antient; for *Sichem* ſubmitted to the conditions which they would impoſe on him, provided they would let him marry *Dinah*, and *Saul* demanded three hundred Fore skins of the *Philiſtines* of *David* for *Michal*'s Portion. However, † the Wife brings to her Husband her Cloaths, her Moveables, and all that belongs to her, with the right to her Parents Succeſſion. What ſhe brings with her is valued, and ſometimes ſold, in order to buy Immoveables, and to reſtore it in caſe of Widow-hood, retrenching a part from the juſt value, to help the Husband to defray the Expences of the Wedding. This is the Moveable Gift; and the Gift that is made to the Bride not being paid till after Death, may be look'd upon as a Jointure, in which the Widow has the Propriety.

XI. When the Parties have given their Conſent to the Contract of Marriage, a ſhort Bleſſing is pronounced to the Praiſe of God, who has forbidden Inceſt and permitted Marriage. The young People who aſſiſt at the Ceremony break their Water-pots againſt the Ground, imagining 'tis a preſage of Proſperity and Abundance.

The Day of betrothing the Husbands alſo take a common Veſſel, in which they drink ſome drops of Wine; they throw the reſt upon the Ground, and break it after they have drunk. Hereby they mean to ſignify, the Community of Goods, and their fragility. *Buxtorf* will have the Veſſel broke in memory

† Miſnah *c.* 13. *p.* 40. 41. || Ibid. * לא אבה יבמי Non vult officium præſtare. *It muſt be pronounc'd ſlowly to give ſome pauſe betwixt the two words* אבה יבמי Miſnah *c.* 13. *p.* 40, 41. *t.* 3. Bartenora & Maimonid. ibid. † Leo de Modena *Ceremonies of the* Jews, *l.* 4. *c* 3. *p.* 114 || Apud Selden Uxor Hebr. *l.* 2. *c.* 4. * Baptiſta Laur. Peruſin. de annulo pronubo Virg. † V. Miſnah Tit. כתובות Cetuvot de Dote, &c. *c* 5. *p.* 52. *t.* 4. *See alſo a part of theſe Laws in Cod. MS.* Ez Echalim Hilcot Cſubba apud Wagenſeil in Miſn. Tit. Sotah de Uxore adult. ſuſp. *p.* 1230.

of

of the Temple that was ruined, and for the ſame reaſon, they throw Aſhes upon the married People, to put 'em in Mind that the ſecond Houſe was burnt. *Arcudius* is ſtrangely perplex'd, becauſe he has found the ſame Cuſtom among the *Greeks*. He has imagined, that this Wine was ſubſtituted for the Communion, for ſuch as married in the Afternoon. He draws his Argument from a Manuſcript, where mention is made of the pre-ſanctified Gifts that are in the Veſſel. But he did not take notice, that there are two Veſſels upon the Table, one of which contains the pre-ſanctified Gifts, for ſuch as will Communicate, and who are not deny'd em; and the other only contains the Wine, which is given to the Bridegrooms. And therefore it is called in the Manuſcript *a common Veſſel*. To think of finding the Ablution in it, ſo well known among the *Latins*, is to deceive one's ſelf, ſince it is not in uſe with the *Greeks*. We muſt return to the *Jews*, from whom this Rite is borrowed; and obſerve that the *Greeks* break the Veſſel, from a Superſtitious Motive, ſince they will not have it ſerve to other Purpoſes, after it has been employ'd in the Betrothing.

XII. || They commonly ſuffer a great deal of time to paſs betwixt this Ceremony and Marriage. Some wait ſix Months, others a Year, according as it is agreed upon. In this time they aſſign the Wife's Portion, and chooſe a Day to lead her to the Wedding-houſe. All Days are not proper: It can't be done on the Sabbath, nor on the Paſſe-over Week, nor on that of the Tabernacles; for fear of violating the Feaſt. They commonly chooſe a Day when the New Moon is on *Wedneſday*, becauſe if the Husband entertain'd any ſuſpicion concerning his Bride's Virginity, he might conveniently bring his Complaints before the Judges, who are commanded by *Ezra* to meet the next Day. Before ſhe is brought to the Synagogue, ſhe is ſumptuouſly apparell'd, and her hair is curled; by which they fancy they imitate God, who perform'd this Service for *Eve*, and with his own hands compoſed the Canopy, under which ſhe received the Benediction, and brought down the Angels to form a Conſort of Muſick; *for God brought Eve to Adam*, and he would not have Married her without all the uſual Ceremonies.

XIII. The antient *Jews* crown'd the married People. The Husband wore a Crown compoſed of *Salt and Sulphur*, the Salt was as tranſparent as Chryſtal, and with the Sulphur ſeveral Figures were drawn upon it. In the mean time as this Cuſtom was extraordinary, 'tis hard to diſcover the reaſon of it. * 'Tis ſaid, that this reminded the Husband of the Sin of *Sodom*, whoſe Impurities and Adulteries have been ſeverely puniſh'd, ſince that Land was changed into Salt and Sulphur, and 'twas an excellent Leſſon, which taught him to cleave to his Wife, without running after fooliſh Amours.

The bridal Crowns were commonly of Gold, made in form of a Tower, almoſt, as *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods is repreſented, and a great many Empreſſes in Medals. This Cuſtom is very antient among the Heathens from whom the *Chriſtians* have borrowed it.

Magniſque † Coronis
Conjugium fit.

and the Coronation of the Bridegroom is at preſent one of the principal Ceremonies of Marriage among the *Greeks*. The Sacred Writers have often mention'd it. || *Go forth, O ye Daughters of* Zion, *and behold King* Solomon *with the Crown, wherewith his Mother crowned him in the day of his Eſpouſals.* And 'tis very probable, that when *Iſaiah* rejoices, that God had covered him with a Robe of Righteouſneſs as a Bridegroom decketh himſelf with *Ornaments*, and as a Bride adorneth her ſelf with her Jewels, we ought to underſtand a *Crown* inſtead of *Ornaments*. Since the LXX. Interpreters, who muſt have known the uſe of the Expreſſion have tranſlated it, *he has * put a mitre upon my head as on a Bridegroom.* They have ſince changed; at leaſt we read in the *Miſnah* †, that this cuſtom of Crowns was aboliſhed *for the Bridegrooms, when the War began under* Veſpaſian, *and that of Crowns for the Brides when* Titus *beſieg'd the City*. Tertullian || has therefore, according to his cuſtom, over ſhot himſelf in ſaying the People of God *never uſed Crowns* as a publick Indication of their Joy. This was true in his time, when the Rabbies had aboliſh'd this ſign of rejoicing; but he had ill read the Scripture, which ſo often ſpeaks of the Crown, worn by married People. Beſides, the Doctors are divided; for if the Brides be abſolutely denied Crowns of Gold, ſome permit 'em to wear Roſes and Myrtles. R. *Simeon* reduces 'em to Reed and Bulruſh R. *Levi* pretends they are all forbidden. The Rabbies ſpeak much of four Crowns: they generally have 'em impreſs'd in the Front of the Books they Print, particularly at *Venice*, that *of the Law, of the King, of the Prieſt*, and of a good Name, which are more excellent than the reſt.

XIV. The Bride is led in Pomp to the Wedding-houſe. *Selden* thinks that the antient Cuſtom has been changed, and that they go to the Synagogue to receive the Benediction; but this is commonly done at home, or in ſome Garden. They place the Bride under a Canopy, ſupported by four Youths, and adorned with Jewels according to the quality of the married Perſons, and all the Company cries, *Bleſſed is he that comes.* They Sing about 'em with Torches in their hands. The Bride makes three turns round her Husband, becauſe *Jeremy* * has ſaid, *The woman ſhall compaſs the man*, and the Bridegroom makes two about her.

XV. In the next place they throw ſome Grains of Wheat upon the Married Couple, crying, *Increaſe and multiply*. The Relations throw ſome pieces of Money for the Poor to ſcramble for. In ſome places they put ſome time before hand, Barley in a Pot full of Earth, which is brought to the new-married People when it ſhoots, to ſhew 'em by this Symbol, that they ought to multiply ſpeedily like Barley.

XVI. The Bride takes the right hand, becauſe the Pſalmiſt ſays †, *upon thy right hand did ſtand thy Queen.* She turns towards the South; and they put the Thaled on her head. *Buxtorf* ſays, that the Bridegroom takes out his Thaled, and covers his Spouſe with it, to imitate the manner of *Ruth*'s Marriage, who ſaid to Boaz, *Spread thy ſkirt over thine handmaid.* The Rabbi or the Chanter of the Synagogue, or even a Relation takes a Glaſs of Wine, preſents it to the Bridegroom, bleſſing God for *having created Man and Woman, and forbidden Inceſt, and ordain'd Marriage.* 'Tis pretended, that this form of Benediction was given by *Ezra*, particularly for Betrothings. However as it was often recited without ſcruple in this firſt Ceremony, the Modern Rabbies never fail to repeat it in that of Marriage. After he has drunk, he puts a Ring without a Stone upon his Bride's finger, ſaying, *Behold thou art my Spouſe, according to the Rite of* Moſes *and of* Iſrael, There muſt be two or three Witneſſes when theſe words are pronounced; and they commonly chooſe Rabbies, tho' this is not abſolutely neceſſary. Wine is brought a ſecond time in a new Veſſel, the Mouth whereof is narrow, if it be a Maid, and larger if it be a Widow. They chant

|| Leo de Mod. V. Selden. Uxor Hebr. *l.* 2. *c.* 10. * Codex MS. apud Wagenſeil in Miſnam Tit. סוטה Sotah de Uxore adult. ſuſpect. *c.* 1x. S. 14. 3. *p.* 36. † Claud. de Laud. Serenæ. || Cant. 3. 11. * Iſ. 61. 10. † Miſnah Tit. Sotah *c.* 1x. S. 14. 304. *t.* 3. || Tertull. de Cor. Mil. *c.* 9. *p.* 344. * Jer. 31. 22. † Pſ. 45. 9.

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ſix Benedictions; the Husbands drink, and throw about the reſt of the Wine, as a mark of Joy and Plenty.

XVII. The Entertainment follows the Ceremony. An antient Biſhop * of *Breſcia* ſays, it was the Cuſtom to chooſe in theſe Entertainments, *a Governour of the Feaſt of Sacerdotal race, who had the ſuper-Intendency over the Diſhes and the Wine*, and obliged the Gueſts to obſerve all the Decorums which Religion requires. We can't tell, whence he drew this *Tradition*, which he derived from our Saviour's time, and perhaps he only believed it, to have the Pleaſure of ſaying, that *Moſes*, was the Steward, who formerly ſerved God at the Wedding he made with the *Jewiſh* Church, which he divorced, and preſided ſtill in that, where CHRIST was preſent, and which he celebrated with Infidels in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. All theſe thoughts were ſubtile and falſe. But he was at leaſt to give 'em ſome ſhadow of Solidity, and to this effect he imagined, that all the Major-domo's, that ſerved at Marriages in our Saviour's time were *Levites*. All that is true in the matter is, that they read ſeven Benedictions during the Feaſt: which they begin gravely, becauſe of the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem*; but ſorrow quickly vaniſhes. The firſt Meſs that is ſerved up to the Bride, is a Hen with an Egg. The Hen is tore to pieces, the very moment ſhe has taſted of it, and the Egg is thrown at the Noſe of a *Chriſtian*, if there be any one there to ſee the Ceremony.

XVIII 'Tis the Paranymph's care to lead the Bridegrooms to their Chamber. They ſay, that theſe Bride-men continued in the Chamber, to prevent the Commiſſion of any Fraud, but that they had another Cuſtom in *Galilee*. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that *John Baptiſt* alluded to this Cuſtom of *Judæa*, in ſaying, *the friend of the Bridegroom ſtandeth and rejoiceth*, when he hears his Voice. The Sabbath following, the whole Wedding goes in Pomp to the Synagogue; where the Bridegroom is called to the Desk to read the Law; but this is an honour to be purchaſed by great Alms, which he and his retinue generally make.

XIX. When † the Marriage is conſummated, the Bridegroom muſt leave the Bed, and not come near his Wife for a certain time. There are five Days in every Month, in which the Wife muſt advertiſe her Husband, that it is not lawful to touch her, and then he dares not ſit near her, nor eat upon the ſame Plate, nor drink in the ſame Glaſs. Afterwards, ſhe muſt bathe in running Water, and the Bath would be invalid, if ſhe wore ſo much as a Ring, that hindered the Water from touching any Part of her Body, for ſhe ought to be waſhed from Head to Foot. There are ſome, who ſuper-intend theſe ſorts of Baths, to ſee if the Woman be over head and ears in Water.

XX. The Doctors have not failed to regulate the married Peoples Duties. 1. There are Laws about the change of Habitation, which is not eaſily allow'd of, becauſe the Body is fatigued by Travel and Removal of Goods. R. *Simeon* Son of *Gamaliel* did not permit the going from a little City to a great one, nor from an unhealthy place to another, that would be more convenient. But others who are leſs ſevere, allow of Changes, when they are advantagious. There are only two Caſes, where they are wholly at liberty, when a Man marries a Wife of another City, or another Country; for then the Wife is obliged to follow her Husband, who contracted not but with that tacit condition. Beſides, a Wife is obliged to go, when it is to remove into *Judæa*, *becauſe they make* || *every body aſcend to the Land of* Iſrael; that is, that all the Family is obliged to follow him, that will go and ſettle there, and the Woman that refuſes, loſes her Portion. 2. 'Tis a queſtion, whether, ſhe can diſcharge her ſelf, from ſervile and painful Works; But at leaſt, ſhe is * obliged to labour in woollen Manufacture to avoid Idleneſs, which is a ſource of Luxury. If ſhe fails to obey her Husband, he leſſens every Day a Penny of her Portion; and when it is abſorbed by her frequent Rebellions, he may take the Overplus upon the Succeſſion that falls to him. The Husband only pays half the Fine when he abuſes his Wife. 3. Laſtly, they omit not to regulate Conjugal Duties. R. *Eliezer* has hereupon made Laws, which are burdenſome to Husbands, eſpecially to the *idle*, that is ſuch as live without Imploy, and the Wives Complaints againſt their Husbands muſt be very common.

* Gaudent. Sermo 9. B. P. *t.* 2. *p.* 38. † Leo de Modena, *c.* 5. *p.* 120. || Miſnah Tit. Cetuvot de Dote, cap. ult. 5. 10. & 11. *p.* 102. 103. * Miſnah ibid. *c.* v. S. 5. 6. 7. *p.* 74. *t.* 3.

CHAP. XX.

Of bitter Waters, and Divorces.

I. *Adultery puniſhed with Death.* II. *The Adultereſs brought to* JESUS CHRIST. *This Story examined.* III. *The Accuſations againſt the Women.* IV. *Horns ancient. Perſons ſuſpected by the Husband.* V. *The time for Adultery.* VI. Nicanor's *Gate.* VII. *The Procedures againſt the ſuſpected Woman.* VIII. *The Ceremony of this Trial and its Effect.* IX. *Diverſe Rites.* X. *The Duſt of the Golden Calf.* XI. *The Miracle continued till the Captivity. The Rabbies and Criticks confuted.* XII. *Divorce common with Soldiers. That of* Uriah. XIII. *Unlawful to Kings themſelves. The Example of* David. XIV. *The diſpute betwixt* Hillel *and* Schammai *upon this matter.* Akiba's *looſe Morality.* XV. *Examples of Wives that divorced their Husbands. Whether this was permitted.* XVI. *Divorces leſs frequent by reaſon of the* Chriſtians. XVII. *How they are made at preſent.* XVIII. *The Laws they are obliged to after the Divorce.*

I. ADultery was puniſhed with Death. * *Philo* affirms, that all Nations, whoſe Cuſtoms were ſo different from thoſe of his own, yet agreed with it in this Article, and not only condemned the Adulterer to Death, but licenſed the Killing of him when he was caught. 'Tis certain they gave the Husband a Power of revenging the Affront he had received. A Law of the twelve Tables indemnified him, that kill'd an Adulterer ſurprized in the very Act; and *Solon* permitted the Husband to puniſh him *pro arbitrio*. *Juſtinian* authoriz'd the ſame thing by a Law, that † was current among the *Chriſtians*. They tolerated the Conſequences of a reſentment that ſeemed juſt. In the mean time, 'twas abandoning the Criminal to the Judgment of an enraged Man, and the Iniquity of the Law ſeem'd ſo much the Greater, in as much as the Adulterer was not condemned to Death when the Husband complain'd of it to the Courts. *Philo* affirms it; but he is miſtaken. In *Eyypt*

* Philo de Joſeph. † Authent. Coll. 8. Tit. 18. *c.* 15.

likewiſe where he lived, the antient Law of *Seſoſtris*, which burnt Adulterers alive, was aboliſhed; and in his time they only ſcourged the Man, and cut off the Woman's Noſe. The *Greeks* * left the choice of the Puniſhment to the diſcretion of the Judges; but they excepted Death, and the *Romans* were content with Baniſhment. 'Tis ſtrange that ſo ingenious an Author as *Philo* ſhould be ignorant of Laws ſo well known.

II. They brought to CHRIST a Woman guilty of Adultery, to know, if ſhe ought to be ſtoned. What was the Snare the *Phariſees* laid for him, ſince the Law condemned this Woman to Death? Some remove the difficulty by rejecting the Story, becauſe it was not originally in St. *John*'s Goſpel, and *Papias* † took it from that of the *Nazarenes*. It was not yet received in *Euſebius*'s time; and therefore is not found in the moſt antient Manuſcripts. Others ſay, that St. *John* had not inſerted this Action of our Saviour in his Goſpel; but as the Apoſtles had been often heard to repeat it, it paſs'd for Authentick, and was placed in the Sacred Hiſtory. It has been receiv'd for a great many Ages; for it is read not only in very antient Manuſcripts, but alſo St. *Jerom*, and St. *Auſtin* have explain'd it, and the Univerſal Church has approved it. 'Tis therefore neceſſary to examine it.

A Learned Man || has obſerved in the Cuſtoms of the *Jews*, that the Husband was obliged to forbid his Wife *before two Witneſſes*, from having any commerce with the Gallant he ſuſpected; and the defect of this formality was a ſufficient reaſon to ſecure the accuſed from Death. *Maimonides* expreſly teaches it; and according to this Rule, the *Phariſees* laid a very ſubtile Snare for our Saviour, by obliging him to declare in favour of the Law againſt Tradition, or elſe *in favour of the Fathers againſt the Law*, which condemned the Adultereſs to Death. *Thou, what ſayeſt thou; Wilt thou condemn her to death according to the Law, or abſolve her according to the Doctors?* But is it neceſſary to have recourſe to *Maimonides* or *Raſchi* to explain the Goſpel; eſpecially ſince the *Miſnah* they have commented, only exempts from Death * *the Guilty that confeſs'd their Crime*, and requires not Admonition as a thing abſolutely neceſſary for Stoning We need only attend to the condition, the *Jews* were in, in our Saviour's time, to find the Knot of the Difficulty. They had loſt the power of Life and Death. In the mean time, *the Law condemned Adulterers to be ſtoned*. This Woman had been caught in the very Fact. J. CHRIST muſt therefore determine againſt the Law, which inflicted Death; or againſt the *Romans*, who ſuffered them not to put any body to Death, and who would have ſtill leſs permitted it for ſuch a Crime as Adultery, which was not capital among them. St. *Chryſoſtom* † leads us to this thought; for he obſerves that the *Phariſees* had tempted our Saviour by asking him, *whether they ought to pay Tribute to* Cæſar, *and ſtone the Adultereſs?* Both the Temptations were of the ſame kind; and expoſed our Lord to the cenſure of the *Jews*, zealous for the Law, or to the authority of the *Romans*, who would have treated him as a Rebel.

Inſtead of declaring, he drew ſome Figures upon the Ground or rather upon the Duſt, which the numbers of Goers and Comers left upon the Pavement. This is one of the great Objections that is made againſt this Story; becauſe the Temple was paved with great ſquare Stones, it could not be ſaid that J. CHRIST writ upon the Sand or the Ground, as if there was no Duſt upon Marble and Stones. Indeed they took from the Tabernacle the Duſt that was thrown into the Waters of Jealouſy; and if they ſometimes fetch'd it elſewhere, becauſe there was none, it was very ſeldom.

We read in an antient Manuſcript, that the Redeemer of the World *wrote down the Sins of each of the Accuſers*. St. *Jerome* || hyperbolizes the Matter, in ſaying that he *wrote the Sins of the Accuſers, and of all Mortals to accompliſh the ſaying* * *of* Jeremy, *they that depart from thee ſhall be written in the Earth*. Some accuſe St. *Jerome* of being the Author of this Tradition, and they ſay the *Greeks* drew it from his Works. But it is more plain in the *Greek* Manuſcript; and 'tis very probable that this is the Original. St. *Jerome* is only the Copier, who has added the words of the Prophet, *and the ſins of all men to thoſe of the Accuſers*. Be it how it will, J. CHRIST neceſſitated the Accuſers to pronounce themſelves, and to take upon 'em all the odium of the deciſion; and if he condemn'd not the Adultereſs to Death, when he was alone with her, he thereby teaches us to ſubmit to the Civil Laws of the places where we live, and not under pretence of Religion to uſurp upon the Authority of Sovereigns.

III. When an Adultereſs confeſs'd her diſloyalty, all that was done, was to break the Contract of her Portion; and having reſtored her what ſhe brought, ſhe was driven from the houſe of her Husband, to be ſtoned. If ſhe deny'd the Crime, ſhe was led to the *Eaſtern-gate of the Temple*, there ſhe was made to drink *the bitter Waters*. This Ceremony was peculiar to the *Jews* †, and this Miracle, which muſt have been common among 'em deſerves to be explained.

IV. *Artemidorus* relates ||, that a Husband having dream'd, that he fell from off a Ram, the horns of this Animal ſhewed him, that his Wife *made him horns*. *Andronicus Comnenes* cauſed ſome to be faſten'd to the Beds of all the Husbands, whoſe Wives he had corrupted, as ſo many Trophies of his Victory. The *Jews* alſo had a Proverbial ſaying, *he has a horned face*; Jealous Husbands, or ſuch as theſe Ralleries ſtung in the Point of Honour, were obliged to remedy their Misfortune, and to lay in Precautions for the future. To this purpoſe * a Man choſe two Witneſſes, before whom he forbad his Wife to ſee *N*. The Suſpicions fell upon Relations as well as Strangers, and a correſpondence of Brothers in Law, Brothers and Fathers was ſometimes forbidden. The Rabbies tell † in jeſt, that the *Jews* vex'd that God gave the Devil the liberty of doing Miſchief, in order to exerciſe their Vertue, and to recompence them afterwards with the Victories they obtain'd over him, conſented to be deprived of the glory of the Triumph, provided he would deliver 'em from this evil Genius. They faſted to obtain this favour of God, which he granted 'em. The Devil was deliver'd up to 'em, and they ſhut him up in a great leaden Kettle. From that time the *Jews* never fell into *Idolatry*; becauſe it was this evil Genius, that drove 'em to it. They quickly perceiv'd that the Victory was not entire; becauſe there was another Devil, that carried them to *Impurity*. God gave up this impure Genius to their Hands; but when they

* Diod. Sicul. *l.* v. *c.* 59 & 78. † Euſ. Hiſt. *t.* 3. *c.* 39. *p.* 113. || *See* Baſnagii *Flott.* Annal. Eccleſ. Polit. *t.* 1. * Miſnah Tit. סוטה Sotah. *This word ſignifies* declining, *from* סטה divertere; *'Tis a Woman that deviates from her Duty to become an Adultereſs. The Treatiſe of the* Miſnah in Titul. Sotah, *or* Adultery, de Uxore adulterii ſuſpecta, *c.* 1. S 5. *p.* 188. *t.* 3. *This Treatiſe goes not wholly upon Adultery. There are at the end of it ſeveral other Rites.* † Chryſoſt. in Joh. hom. 60. *p.* 389. Oper. *t.* 2. || Hieron. contra Pelag. *c.* 6. * Jerem. 17. 13. † Salomon Ben Virgæ Hiſt. Jud. *p.* 168. || Druſius Quæſt. *l.* 1. Q. 1. in Lib. Hebr. Maſal. Cadmoni, *c.* 26. * Miſnah in Sotah *c.* 1. *p.* 178. † Ex Joma fol. 62. *c.* 2. & Sanhedr. fol. 64. Wagenſeil Not. in Sotam, 180.

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were preparing to give him the fatal Blow, a Prophet admoniſhed 'em that they were going to put an end to Humane race, becauſe there would be no more Generation. A Wiſe man, that fell Sick, had occaſion for an Egg, but not one could be found, the Hens laid no more, becauſe this Dæmon preſided over the Generations of Birds and Beaſts as well as of Men. This confirmed the Prediction of the Prophet. And therefore they contented themſelves with putting out the evil Genius's Eyes, that he might do leſs Miſchief; but from hence proceeded a great diſorder, for being blind he ſometimes unites *the Brother with the Siſter*, and produces Inceſts, and therefore the Doctors, who know it, make no Exception, and permit the Husband to diſcharge the ſuſpected Wife, from ſeeing her neareſt Relations. This is the Fable of *Cupid*, who wears a Cloath over his Eyes, which they have turned into a leſs polite and gallant form.

V. When the Prohibition is made authentick, by the preſence of two Witneſſes, the Wife is no longer allowed to be alone with the Perſon deſcribed; but is reputed Guilty, if ſhe be ſhut up with him *, *as long as you are boiling an Egg, or ſwallowing three.* Then the Husband may expel her from his Houſe by giving her her Portion, tho' he learnt the matter only by *a Bird that flies*; that is, by an uncertain and light rumour. The more Wiſe authoriz'd the Husband to do it, when † *the Women that ſpin by Moon-ſhine, reproach'd him*; but he had need of Witneſſes to proſecute his Wife judicially. One was enough to convict her. The Relations and Domeſticks were not received againſt their Miſtreſs. *Juſtinian* || was not ſo ſevere; but yet he ordered the Marriage to be diſſolved, *when the Wife ſhould be convicted of making Entertainments, or going to bathe with Strangers.*

VI. The Proceſs * was begun before the Judges of the Place, who took the Examinations, and ſent 'em with the Parties to *Jeruſalem*, becauſe the *Sanhedrim* alone could decide the Queſtion, and judge the Cauſe. The great Council cauſed the Accuſed to be brought to the Gate of the Temple called *Nicanor*. Thoſe † who implicitely follow the Rabbies, know the Original of this Name; for theſe great Doctors ſay, that *Nicanor*, the General of the *Greeks*, having been kill'd by the *Aſmonæans*, they faſten'd his Feet and Hands to one of the Gates of *Jeruſalem*. Another affirms, that *Nicanor* || was a *Jew* of *Alexandria*, who brought this ſtately Gate; which was caſt into the Sea in a Tempeſt, and was miraculouſly found again: But beſide the diverſity of thoſe two Relations, *Joſephus* *, who affirms that *Nicanor* was kill'd in a Battle againſt *Judas Macchabeus* far from *Jeruſalem*, and who ſpeaks largely of the Gates of the Temple, do's not ſay that one of them was call'd *Nicanor*. They † ſtill celebrate a Feaſt in memory of the Victory obtain'd over this Perſecutor; but it do's not follow, that his Name was given to one of the Gates of the Temple, or that they faſten'd his Feet and Hands to that of *Jeruſalem*.

VII. When the Woman was arrived at the entrance of the Temple, a Prieſt violently pull'd off her Cloaths, and ty'd 'em to her Throat, with a Cord that came from *Egypt*, to put her in mind of the Miracles, that God had wrought in that Country. They diſchevell'd her Hairs, becauſe 'tis a Diſgrace particularly to the *Jewiſh* Women to be diſchevell'd. In the mean time, R. *Juda* has decided, that when *the Adultereſs had a handſom head of Hair and Neck, they were to be concealed.* The Husband brought an Oblation *for his Wife*. It was compos'd *of Meal of Barley, without Salt and Incenſe*, becauſe, ſay the Doctors, as ſhe *had committed a beſtial action, ſhe ought to preſent nothing but what the Beaſts eat.* The Prieſt took a new Vial, fill'd it with a Gallon of Water, taken from the *brazen Sea*, becauſe it was to be holy. In it he put the duſt, that was taken in the Temple. If there was none there ||, it was lawful to fetch it from without. The quantity of this Duſt was not regulated; It was ſufficient to ſee part of it ſwim upon the Surface of the Water, to be perfectly aſſured that there was ſome in it. The Prieſt afterwards took a piece of Vellum, upon which he wrote with great circumſpection the Accuſation of Adultery, the Adjuration he made to the accuſed, and a Malediction conceived in theſe terms of the Law; *The Lord make thee a Curſe, and this Water that cauſeth the Curſe ſhall go into thy Bowels to make thy Belly to ſwell, and thy Thigh to rot*, and the accuſed Perſon anſwer'd twice *Amen, Amen*; the one to ſhew that ſhe Swore, and the other to ratify the Curſe. After the Oath *, he put upon the Altar a part of the Oblation of the accuſed, and the Prieſt ſeized the reſt. This was the Order, which God had given in his Law; but it has been inverted in the *Miſnah* †; for there ſhe is made to drink the bitter Waters before the burning of the Oblation, and the Commentators know not whether they ought to determine for the Scripture or Tradition.

VIII. || The accuſed Perſon was left at liberty to ſay, *I will not drink*, till the words of the Curſe ſhould be blotted out from the Parchment. Then the Writing was folded up, and the Oblation caſt into the hole, where they put the Aſhes of the Altar; but when the Writing was blotted out, it was no longer allow'd her to confeſs her Crime, and the Ceremony being over, ſhe was forced to undergo the Puniſhment. For ſcarce had ſhe begun to drink, but her Veins ſwelled, her Face grew livid, and her Eyes ſtarted out of her Head. They cried, *Away with her* * *hence quickly, leſt ſhe pollute the Court*, † becauſe ſhe was like to dye. They call'd *theſe bitter Waters*, and the Doctors examine from whence their bitterneſs proceeded. The Antients have concluded, that they mingled Wormwood, which gave 'em this taſt; but *Nachmanides* affirms, that they began not to be bitter except in the Mouth of the Guilty. 'Tis ask'd farther, whether they always had ſuddenly their effect. The generality of Doctors think this depended upon the merit of the Perſon; for when ſhe had done good Works, or had learnt to read the Law, ſhe might *make love with ſome Security*, becauſe the merit ſuſpended the effect of the Puniſhment for Years together. There was another caſe in which the Miracle had no place, when *the Husband was found guilty of ſome Unfaithfulneſs.* At leaſt the Rabbies ſay ſo, who are back'd || by ſome *Chriſtians*, who think, that God the Supreme Judge hereby provided for the Chaſtity of Marriage; for Humane Laws averr *, that the Judge who condemns a Woman for Adultery, ought to make an inqueſt into the Life and Manners of the Husband, ſince it would not be juſt, that one of the Criminals ſhould be abſolved, whilſt the other was puniſhed. In the mean time, the Law only reſpects the Wife, and has no regard to the manners of the Husband. The Wife's condition has

* Sotah *c.* 21. S. 1. 2. † Sotah *c.* 6. *p.* 250. S. 6. Id. S. 2. 252. || Juſt. Novella *l.* 17. *c.* 8. Maim. & Barten. Ibid. *p.* 180. * Ibid. S. 3, 4. *p.* 184, 185. † Lightfoot Centuria Chorograph. Math. præmiſſa Op. *t.* 1. *c.* 30. *p.* 194. || Salomon Ben Virgæ Schevet. Jud. *p.* 168. * Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 12. *c.* 17. *p.* 423. & de Bello *l.* 6. *c.* 6. *p* 915. † Miſnah ibid. S. 5. || Miſnah ibid. *c.* 2. S. 2. 203. * Numb. 5. † Miſnah Sotah *c.* 3. Sect. 5. *p.* 214. || Ibid. S. 54. *p.* 118. * S. 5. Wagenſ. ibid. *p.* 222. † *Some maintain that it was the Mens Court, and others believe that this was done in that of the Women. The* Gemara *is for this laſt Opinion.* || Wagenſeil in Sotah, *p.* 244. * Ulpian. ad L. Jul. de Adult. *l.* 13. Sect. 5.

always in that reſpect been more Unfortunate than that of the Men. Modeſty, which is the Ornament of their Sex, impoſes upon 'em the Neceſſity of a more exact and ſevere Conduct. If there be any Injuſtice in the Men, who have made the Laws, 'tis too antient to retrieve it. 'Tis certain that God did not inſtitute any Miracle againſt guilty Husbands, and the Rabbies, who aſſert, that the bitter Waters which the Woman drank, extended their vertue upon the Adulterer in whatever part of the World he was, and made him rot in a moment, advance a Fact, of which they can give no inſtance. R. *Simeon* ſays that it is deſtroying the Miracle, and robbing chaſt Women of the Glory of their Innocence, to aſſert that the Puniſhment was ſuſpended or vacated by any other Cauſe. We are told * alſo, that two Siſters attempted once to deceive the Judges by their reſemblance. The innocent drank the bitter Waters for the guilty Siſter. The latter going to reſume her Cloaths, and kiſs her Siſter by way of Gratitude, ſmelt the odour of the bitter Waters, which poiſon'd and kill'd her upon the ſpot. When the Woman was innocent, her beauty increaſed, and ſhe return'd with honour to her houſe.

IX. If the Husband died before the end of the Proceſs, the Woman was diſpens'd from † *drinking, and received her Portion*, becauſe her Crime was not proved. *Schammay* had decided it in this manner; but *Hillel* deprived the accuſed Perſon of her Portion, and thinks 'twas favour enough for her to be diſpens'd from drinking.

When the too indulgent Husband ſuffer'd his Wife to be Guilty, or to ſpread Reports againſt his Honour, the Magiſtrate took the Husband's place, and made the Proſecution.

" However there are fifteen different || Caſes, in " which the Wives are exempt from the Magiſtrate's " and Husband's Juriſdiction; for the Wife and Hus- " band ought to be ſound in Body and Mind. A deaf, " a dumb, or a lame Man has no right." A minor Young Woman is not ſubject to the Inqueſt, becauſe the Law appoints it only againſt a *Woman*, and ſhe is not reputed ſuch tho' married, till ſhe is come to the Age of Majority.

X. It would be in vain to explain what God did in favour of Jealous Husbands. It ſuffices to ſay that this was a Miracle, to ceaſe ſearching after Natural Reaſons, which we ſhall never find in a water mingled with Duſt. *Aben Ezra* ſays, that God wrought ſuch another Miracle by the Duſt of the Golden Calf, which *Moſes* made the *Iſraelites* to ſwallow, ſince without this, the *Levites* could not have diſtinguiſhed them from Idolaters; but he has not ventur'd to determine, of what Nature this Miracle was, for fear of being miſtaken. A *Chriſtian* * Poet has done it; for he thinks the Beards of all the Worſhippers of the Golden Calf, became gilt or red, and that they were known by this Character:

Aurum quod fudit Aaron, deſcendit eorum
In barbas tantùm qui coluere Bovem:
Nequitiæ plumbum barbæ monſtratur in auro:
Et culpæ pondus aurea barba notat.

Selden adds, that the Poſterity of theſe Idolaters had a red Beard. We ought not to multiply Miracles. This is an imaginary one; but the bitter Waters diſcovered the Women guilty of Adultery; and God vindicated the Husband's honour by a ſupernatural Operation, ſince the Scripture ſays it.

XI. This Miracle ceaſed but a few Years before the Deſtruction of the Temple. At leaſt † the Rabbies affirm, that there was ſuch a multitude of debauch'd Women in *Judæa*, and of Husbands as bad as their Wives, that *Jochanan Saccaides*, who was then Patriarch of the Nation || cauſed this Cuſtom to be aboliſh'd by the *Sanhedrim*'s Authority. Others affirm, that God would no longer give any vertue to the Water. In the mean time, this vertue was never more neceſſary than when the Crime, and the number of the Guilty was multiply'd. The fear of Puniſhment would have check'd many Wives, which impunity render'd Wantons. Some have imagined that the *Romans*, when they became Arbiters of Judgments and Decrees of Death, aboliſh'd this Cuſtom; but the Miracle had ceaſed with all the reſt, from the time of the Captivity, and no inſtance was ſeen of it afterwards.

XII. And therefore Divorces become frequent, whilſt the ſecond Temple ſtood. The Rabbies have two very different Traditions upon this Subject, which perhaps are equally falſe. One ſays that all the Soldiers, that went to the Army, gave at their departure a Letter of Divorce to their Wives, that they might Marry again at three Years end, if they remained Priſoners with the Enemy. St. *Jerome* ſpeaks of this Tradition received among the *Jewiſh* Doctors, who thus explain'd the words of *Jeſſe* to *David*, *run* * *to thy brethren and take their pledge*, that is their Letters of Divorce. The Rabbies add that *Uriah* gave a Letter of Divorce to his Wife, that ſhe might marry again, in caſe he was kill'd in the War; and that *David* gave Orders to deſtroy him during the Siege, to excuſe himſelf from the Adultery he had committed, becauſe the Letter of Divorce having its effect from the Day that *Uriah* gave it, in caſe of his Death, *David* became innocent.

XIII. There is a ſecond Tradition, that no Divorces were ſeen, whilſt the Republick flouriſhed, becauſe they were not permitted; they prove it by the Example of *David*, who having occaſion for a young Maid to warm him in his Bed, took *Abiſhag* without Marrying her. The Doctors ſay, he durſt not divorce any of his Wives, becauſe it was a Crime, nor increaſe the number beyond Eighteen; but this Tradition is more evidently falſe than the other. Divorces were at the beginning more rare, without being forbidden for the cauſe of Adultery; and the frequent Alluſions, that *Iſaiah* † and *Jeremy* make to the Letters of Divorce, by repreſenting God giving 'em to the Churches of *Iſrael* and *Judah* for their Whoredoms, ſufficiently prove they were in uſe in their time; for Metaphors are drawn only from received Cuſtoms.

XIV. The Doctors, who lived after the Captivity, grew ſtrangely looſe upon this Subject. The Law permitted the divorcing a Wife, when any *filthy Action* was found in her. It was eaſie hereby to underſtand Adultery *negotium impudicum*, as *Tertullian* ſpeaks; but becauſe the Hebrew word || ſignifies a Word as well as an Action, the Caſuiſts abuſing this Ambiguity, began to maintain that a *word* was ſufficient to break the Matrimonial Union, and to give the Letter of Divorce.

Hillel and *Schammay* had a warm diſpute upon this matter, as upon many others. The latter aſſerted that Adultery alone diſſolv'd the Marriage; and *Hillel* maintained, that it was ſufficient, if a Wife had *over-dreſs'd the Dinner*. The famous *Akiba* carried the liberty ſtill further; and decided that when

* Peſikta Sutarta fol. 39. Jalkut fol. 205. Apud Wagenſeil in Sotah, *c.* 6. *p.* 255. † Sotah *c.* 4. S. 2. 3. *p.* 236. || Ez Hechalim MS. apud Wagenſeil in Sotah 1. Miſnæ *t.* 3. *p.* 242. * Petrus Rhemenſis dictus *de Riga* in Aurora MS. in Bibl. Cottoniana apud Selden. de Diis Syris Synt. 1. *c.* 4. *p.* 156. † V. Selden. Uxor. Hebr. *l.* 3. || Miſnah in Sotah, *p.* 291. Wagenſ. Not. ibid. * 1 Sam. 17. 18. † Iſ. 50. 54. Jer. 3. 1. || דבר Debar, *verbum*, actio.

a Man

a Man found a Woman that was more handſome and agreeable, it was lawful to leave his Wife that had not thoſe Advantages.

Such a looſe Morality was entertain'd with delight. *Philo*, tho' pretending to Devotion, yet eſpouſed *Hillel*'s Maxims; and as the Adultereſs was to be puniſhed with Death, he imagined that the Letter of Divorce, permitted by *Moſes*, ſignified nothing, unleſs it extended to other Caſes.

XV. The Women took the ſame liberty as the Men, and in their turn divorced their Jealous and diſagreeable Husbands. *Herod*'s Siſter ſent a Letter of divorce to her Husband *Coſtobarus*, and married again. *Joſephus* obſerves, that this was done againſt the Laws of the Country; and he maintain'd the Husband's Authority againſt the Uſurpation of the Wives. *Scaliger* is miſtaken here; for he imagin'd that *Salome* only Sin'd, becauſe ſhe married again, before ſhe had obtain'd *Coſtobarus*'s permiſſion, and that this permiſſion was neceſſary to capacitate her to contract a new Marriage. But this is not *Joſephus*'s notion. 'Tis true, the clauſe of having power to marry another is commonly inſerted in the Letter of Divorce the Husband gives the Wife; but it is not abſolutely neceſſary; for when all the Bonds of Marriage are broken, the Perſon returns to primitive Liberty. *Salome*'s Crime therefore, according to *Joſephus* * did not conſiſt in her marrying again; but in her breaking with him before he had ſeparated from her. It was then thought that the Husband had only the power of Divorcing, and *he had not ſent her away*. *Salome*'s Example was follow'd by *Herodias*, who deſerted her Husband to marry *Herod*; *Berenice*, *Agrippa*'s Siſter, did the ſame thing; for after having obliged *Polemon*, King of *Lycia*, to turn *Jew* to marry her, ſhe divorced him. Prophane Hiſtorians only ſay, that ſhe *left him in the lurch*, and forſook him to ramble elſewhere; but it is moſt probable, that ſhe made uſe of the liberty that was then enjoy'd, and of which ſhe had ſo many inſtances in her Family, to give a Letter of Divorce to a Man ſhe did not like.

XVI. Divorces are become much more unfrequent among the *Jews*, ſince they have been diſperſed among the Nations which allow not the Diſſolution of Marriages for light Cauſes. The Civil Law † having great influence upon theſe ſorts of engagements, they can neither be made nor broken, without running the risk of Law-ſuits, and throwing Confuſion into a Man's Family. Nevertheleſs we ſee ſome of 'em at this Day. A jealous Husband at firſt forbids his Wife to ſee the Man that gives him umbrage. If ſhe continues, and the Evidence is manifeſt, the Rabbies order him to forſake her, even tho' he be unwilling. They have even liberty of making their Complaints upon Caſes infinitely leſs momentous than Adultery, according to *Hillel*'s Tradition, which is ſtill in force; but then the Rabbies, who are the Judges, ſpin out the Trial || by abundance of formalities to give time to the Parties to make an accommodation.

XVII. When the Reconciliation is deſpair'd of, a Woman, a Deaf-man, or a Notary draws up the Letter of Divorce. He writes it on Parchment in the preſence of many Rabbies that preſide, that twelve Lines only may be put in ſquare Letters. A hundred Punctilio's are obſerved in the faſhion of the Characters. The Letter of Divorce contains theſe words: * *Such a Day, Month, Year, and Place I, N. divorce you voluntarily; I ſeparate you, I give you your liberty. You N. who have been hitherto my Wife, are permitted by me to marry whom you pleaſe.* Ten Perſons are preſent at this Act, beſides the four witneſſes, two of which ſign the *Ghett*, and the other two the Date. There is a diſpute about the qualification of Witneſſes. Some would have 'em † to be *Jews*, others ſay that one of the two may be a *Cuthean*, or an Idolater. *Gamaliel* has decided, that they might be both ſo; but this deciſion is thought to be founded upon the Circumſtance of time in which he lived. The Rabbi, after he had read the Act, and interrogated the Husband to be fully convinced of his intentions, he orders the Woman to open her Hands, and to bring 'em near to one another, for fear that the Inſtrument ſhould fall; and after having queſtioned her, the Husband puts the Parchment into her Hand; ſhe reſtores it to the Rabbi, who reads it a ſecond time, and from that Moment ſhe reſumes her liberty.

XVIII. After this Ceremony, the Perſons divorced are not allow'd to be together in any place. They have the right to marry again, provided the Wife marries not him who gave jealouſie to her Husband, and that ſhe contract not till after three Months end, for fear ſhe be with Child.

* Μὴ τὸ πρότερον ἀνδρὸς ἀρίεντ☉ Joſeph. Ant. *l.* 15. *c.* 9. † V. Leo de Modena, *c.* 6. || Miſnah Tit. Gittin. *c.* 2. S. 5. *p.* 327. * *The Ghett, or Letter of Divorce. Seee an entire form of the Letter of Divorce for the* Jews *of* Amſterdam in Surenhuſius in Miſnah, *t.* 111. *p.* 325. † Miſnah Tit. de Gittin. de Divortiis, *c.* 1. S. 5. *t.* 111. *p.* 324. Maimonid. ibid.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Purity, and the manner of Waſhing.

I. *Death is a great Defilement.* II. *On what the Holineſs of Places depends.* III. *The Purity of Veſſels.* IV. *Of Meats.* V. *Of Cloaths and Shoes.* VI. *The quality of the Water in which they waſh.* VII. *The difference betwixt Lotion and Immerſion.*

I. MOSES has laid down very intricate Laws about Purity; for the touch of unclean things defiles, and theſe things make a large Catalogue; but yet the Rabbies have multiply'd 'em, and hereby render'd the Law ſtill more heavy. The ſixth Volume of the *Miſnah* * is fully imploy'd in regulating the different Caſes of Conſcience, that may ariſe upon this Subject. Of all Creatures, *none but Man can defile and be defiled whilſt he lives*: but Death is a Fountain of Impurity, and *of all Impurities, the greateſt* † *is that of a dead Man.*

II. Places are holy in proportion, as admittance is forbidden to *the Dead, the Lepers, or defiled Perſons.* Thus *Judea* is the holieſt of all Lands. The walled Cities of the *Holy-Land*, are ſtill more pure, becauſe the Lepers can't enter them. The Mountain upon which the Temple was built, was more Holy ſtill ||, becauſe impure Perſons were excluded from

* Miſnah סדר מהרות ordo puritatum. † טהר Tahar, *mundum eſſe.* || Ibid. Tit. כלים *of Veſſels*, *c.* 1. S 4. *p.* 18.

it.

it. The Holy Place and the Altar were ſo in proportion.

III. They eſpecially regulate what relates to the Veſſels *, from whence the Water is drawn, and in which they prepare their Food, and they not only are cautious that they have not belonged to Strangers, for fear they have dreſs'd forbidden Meats in 'em; but they carry their ſcruple much farther, for a thouſand Circumſtances render the Veſſels †, the Staves, the Casks and Chariots unclean. 'Tis a great queſtion among the Doctors, whether a Veſſel, on whoſe Cover is enchaſed a Looking-glaſs, be || *pure or unclean.* R. Jehudah *maintains that it is pure. The Wiſe Men are of a contrary Opinion*; but we muſt diſtinguiſh, whether the Veſſel be pure, whether the Glaſs be broken, or whether it be not large enough to repreſent the whole Face, otherwiſe it is unclean.

IV. There is a diſtinction of Meats noted by *Leviticus*; but to the antient Prohibition they have added new ones. * They carefully take off all the Fat from the Creatures they eat, and even in *Italy* and *Germany*. Moſt *Jews* never eat the hind Quarters, becauſe of the Sinews and Fat. They leave the Meat an hour in Salt before it is boyled, to drain all the Blood out of it. They kill the Beaſt deſign'd for eating with a very ſharp Knife, that the Blood may quickly run out, and without interruption, and they cover it with Aſhes or Earth. Every Body is not qualify'd for this Action, it requires Ingenuity and Experience to kill the Beaſt, and to take the proper time. All Knives are not fit for it, and they don't uſually imploy thoſe that have belong'd to Strangers. They don't eat Meat and Milk or Cheeſe at the ſame Meal, becauſe the Law † *forbids boiling the Kid in the Mothers Milk.* They are leſs cautious about Fiſh than Meat, becauſe they are not forbidden to eat the Blood of 'em. They were formerly very nice about Wine, becauſe the Rabbies had forbidden the Drinking that which was made or touch'd by Strangers. The *Orientals* and *Germans* ſtill obſerve this Law; but the *Italians* elude it, and have no regard to it.

V. There are Laws || to regulate the Cloaths and the Purſe which becomes impure, when the Strings are broken, or a piece of Cloath is ſewed to it. A Shoe, whoſe Latchet is torn or unſew'd, grows unclean. We ſhould never end, ſhould we relate all the regulations about this matter.

VI. They muſt waſh frequently, but they are much perplexed about the meaſure and quality of the Waters they are to make uſe of. There are Waters which are never defiled, even tho' a Carkaſs be thrown into 'em, or an unclean Perſon drinks of 'em, becauſe there was no intention to defile 'em. There are others which muſt be repaired by Rain, and muſt run, otherwiſe they become unclean.

If Ink *, Gum or any thing fall into 'em, which alters their Nature, they ceaſe to be pure. If any one has waſh'd a Veſſel in 'em, that has been employed; if the Baker drops a Cake into them, they become Impure.

VII. They waſh themſelves in the Morning before they touch any thing, and throw not the Water on the Ground, becauſe it would be a crime to go over it. They repeat ſome Benedictions as they are wiping their Hands; but they begin to waſh again when they are to ſit at Table and eat Bread. Some do the ſame thing when they eat unclean Fruits, but *this is in Oſtentation.* This waſhing is not ſufficient, when the Queſtion is about eating things ſacred; for then Immerſion is neceſſary. *Maimonides* ſays, that they waſh the Hands when they ſhed the Water they have drawn in a Veſſel; but for Immerſion, they muſt plunge themſelves into a Ciſtern of Water that ought to contain a certain quantity.

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* כלי *inſtrumentum, vas.* Buxt. ibid. *p.* 21. S. 8. † Exod. 22. 19. || Ibid. 26. S. *p.* 126. S. 4. *p.* 127. † Ibid. *p.* 28. 33. || Ibid. *c* 14. S. 6. *p.* 77. * Leo de Modena. * Ibid מסכת ידים *de Lotione Manuum, c.* 1. S. 2 *p.* 480.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Dying Perſons; of Funeral Pomps; of the Mourning of Relations, and the different ways of Afflicting themſelves.

I. *The Confeſſion of Dying Perſons.* II. *Their deſign and the Kiſs they gave 'em.* III. *They rent their Cloaths.* IV. *They throw Water into the Street.* V. *They waſh the Body.* VI. *Whether this Office be perform'd by Women.* VII. *The antient Cuſtom of Embalming. Scripture paſſages explain'd.* VIII. *The Habits and Ornaments of the Dead.* IX. *A Controverſie about theſe habits.* X. *A Wax Taper lighted by the Dead Body.* XI. *A deſcription of the Coffin: The form of the Bed among the Antients.* XII. *Of the Perſons that accompanied the Corpſe.* XIII. *The Proceſſion of the Funeral Pomp.* XIV. *Marks of Sorrow. Forbidden to thoſe that are put to Death. Hairs pulled off.* XV. *Bearers, and the manner of carrying the Corps.* XVI. *Torches lighted.* XVII. *The uſe of Fruits.* XVIII. *Cœmeteries in Caves. Whether that of* Macpelah *was dug by* Adam, *and double.* XIX. Benjamin's *deſcription of it.* XX. *Whether the Sepulcher be a Houſe of Exile, or a little Houſe.* XXI. *A Deſcription of Sepulchres.* XXII. *Not agreeable to the Holy Scripture.* XXIII. *The reſpect they have for them.* XXIV. *Prayers made at them efficacious.*

I. WHEN a *Jew* is dying he ſends for ten Perſons with a Rabbi, before whom he repeats the Confeſſion of his Sins, which is compoſed in an Alphabetical Order; each Letter of the Alphabet containing one of the Sins which are uſually committed. As this Confeſſion is only made for the Ignorant, and for common uſe; thoſe that have a more lively Senſe of their Faults, and a more comprehenſive Knowledge, enter into the particulars of their Sins, after the manner of Penitent *Chriſtians.* The Sick Perſon alſo prays God to reſtore him his health, or to take care of his Soul; and eſpecially he begs that Death may ſerve for an *Expiation.* His Friends go to the Synagogue to pray to God for the Sick under another Name, to ſignifie that he has changed his Life.

II. Thoſe that continue in the Chamber wait the Moment when the Soul muſt ſeparate from the Body, and leave the Earth. They make it a particular piece of

of Devotion to be present, and they think also to reap great benefit by it, especially when 'tis a Person eminent for his Learning and Piety; for *David* hath said * that *he should not see Corruption, for he sees that Wise Men die.* The Intention of the Prophet was on the contrary to teach, that no Body could secure himself from the Grave, since the Wise and Righteous died as well as Fools. Some kiss the dying Persons. The use is very antient; for *Philo* relating *Jacob*'s Complaints upon the unexpected Death of his Son, makes him say, that he shall not have the Comfort of closing his Eyes, and *giving him the last Kiss.* As this was the last Farewel, and a Sign of Affection given to those that leave us for Eternity, this Opinion is found dispersed among the Heathens, who pleased themselves with receiving the last Breath of Persons that were dear to 'em, and this they call'd the *Soul of the Dying*; for they were not so foolish as to imagine, that the Spirit which had animated them, came into their Bodies, tho' they gave it this Name:

Sospite † te Saltem Moriar, Nero, tu mea conde
Lumina, & excipias hanc animam ore pio.

Herentemque || animam non tristis in ora mariti
Transtulit.

III. When the Person expires, one of the Assistants is obliged to tear his Cloaths in some place or other. This was moreover an antient Custom:

*It * Scissa veste Latinus*
Conjugis Attonitus fatis.

But above all the *Hebrews* fail'd not to rent their Cloaths upon all sorrowful Events. The Messenger who told *Eli* of the taking of the Ark, did it. *Hezechiah*'s Envoys to *Rabsheka* returned with their Cloaths rent; but this custom was so general for the Dead, that God was obliged to forbid it the High-Priest, who never tore his Robe but out of Zeal, when he heard Blasphemy. At present we see but a faint track of this antient Custom; for they only cut some part of their Garment to shew they are afflicted.

IV. 'Tis pretended that there is another antient Custom, which is, to throw all the Water into the Street that is found in the House and in the Neighbourhood; but it is peculiar to the Modern *Jews*, and we don't find that the Antients practised it. The design of those that do it is to give notice, that there is a Person dead in that place, that he may be regretted and lamented, and this is what is found in Antiquity; for God threatned *Jehoiakim* as with a terrible Curse that no Body should lament him at the Hour of his Death, saying, *Ah † my Brother, or ah my Sister; Ah Lord, or ah his Glory, he shall be buried with the Burial of an Ass.*

V. After Death they lay out the Body upon a Cloth on the Earth with the Face cover'd; it being no longer lawful to see it. They bend the Thumb into the Hand, which they tye with the Strings of his *Thaled*, because the Thumb having the figure of the Name of God *Schaddai*, the Devil dares no more come near it. The rest of the Hand remains open, to signifie that he abandons all, whereas Children come into the World with their Hands clutched, to shew, say they, that *God has put all the Riches of the Earth into their HANDS.* They wash the dead Body, which is a Custom difficult to give a reason of; for what occasion is there of cleansing a Carcass which is going to be the Prey of Worms? It can't be said that the Dead desire it, to appear more neat, like *Augustus*, who order'd a Looking-glass to be brought to him, and his Hair to be comb'd, when he was going to dye. Few People have the like Curiosity; but yet the *Jews* have always done it. St. *Jerome* and some learned Men, his Followers, have thought that God threatned as with a Curse such as should be stoned for Witchcraft, because they should not be *washed after Death*; for the Scripture says ||, that *their Blood shall be upon them.* This Expression only signifies, that they would have justly deserved Death. The notion of the *Jews* is, that the Body ought to be clean, when it shall appear before God. The Heathens wash'd as well as the *Jews*; but they * had two different Reasons for it. First, They believ'd that the animal Spirits might be recall'd by hot Water, if the Soul was still there: Secondly, The Perfumes enter'd more easily into the Pores, when open'd by hot Water:

Tarquinii Corpus bona fœmina lavit & unxit.

VI. The Women also perform'd this Office amongst the *Jews*. *Baronius* † denies it: He also cites a passage which Rabbi *Jacob* took from *Maimonides*, by which it appears that the Men buried the Men, and that the Women took care of the Women's Sepulture. Besides the Evangelists observe, that the two *Maries* look'd where they laid JESUS CHRIST, because they had not the privilege of burying him, and this Office only belong'd to the Men. Lastly, *Surius* || relating the Virgin's discourse to *Joseph*, concerning the burying of her Son, introduces her saying, *you shall take care of burying him, and embalming him with Myrrh*, because she could not do it her self: But these Remarks are false. The Women wash'd the Dead among the *Hebrews*, as among the *Latins*, and this Custom still remains in the Nations, where they make it an Act of Devotion and Charity. 'Tis no wonder that the two *Maries* should not go to take the Body of Our Saviour, who had been put to Death. It required a Man of Authority, as *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, to obtain the liberty of *Pilate*, to take down the Body from the Cross, and to bury him in his Tomb. These timorous Women were contented to behold afar off, and fear hinder'd them from paying this last Duty to JESUS CHRIST. This Virgin's Discourse related by *Surius* is evidently contrary to the Gospel, which makes Our Lord's Body to be put into *Joseph*'s Hands by *Pilate*'s Officers. Among the *Christians*, Women undertake the laying out the Men, and the *Jewish* Women are no more scrupulous as *Leo* of *Modena* testifies *.

VII. They † formerly embalm'd the Bodies; for *Joseph* || after he had *fell upon his Father and kiss'd him*, commanded *his Servants, the Physicians, to embalm him.* Considerable Persons had Physicians among their Slaves, and the Physicians embalm'd in *Egypt* *. Every Disease had its particular Doctors, and there was one Order appointed to embalm the Dead. They scoop'd out the Brain with a bent Iron, and threw in Medicaments to fill up the *vacuum*; they also drew out the Entrails, putting in Myrrh, and whatever was proper to dry up the Humours, and preserve the Body. This Science related rather to Physicians than to others. There is some difficulty in the Eighty eight Psalm †, where *David* asks of God whether he will shew wonders *to the Dead*, and whether the *Physicians shall rise again.* Thus the LXX. and the Au-

* Ps. 49. 10. † Livia apud Albinovanum. || Statius. * Virg. Æn. 12. † Jer. 22. 18. || Levit. * Cellarii Exercit. Academica de Antiquo funerum ritu, c. 2. Th. 3. † Baron. An. 34. p. 183. || Hieronymi Sopranis David Illustratus Digress. secunda Ritus in Hebræor. Funere, c. 4. p. 466. * Leo de Mod. P. 5 c. 8. p. 177. † V. Scacchus. || Gen. 50. 1, 2. * Herodot. l. 2. † Ps. 88. 11.

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thor of the Vulgar have translated it, and 'tis thought the Prophet alluded to the *Seasoners*, as *Diodorus Siculus* calls 'em, and to the Physicians, who in *Judea*, as in *Egypt*, were charged with Embalming the Dead, and that *David* asks whether these People † with all the Secrets of their Art, shall be able to raise any one again? Some Interpreters have translated it, *Shall the Giants rise again?* because the word in the Original is *Rephaim*. This is a mistake, for this title was only given to the *Giants*, because they made the Hands and Courage of those that saw them fail. It signifies properly, Men humbled, and laid in the dust, as it is in the *Chaldee* Paraphrase. *David* therefore alludes not to Physicians Embalmers; but he asks God whether he will do Miracles for the Dead, and whether those who are *dejected* and laid in the dust, shall rise again, which is much more Natural. However it be, it was || a Shame, and a kind of Curse for the Kings of *Judah* not to be embalm'd, nor have Perfumes burnt for 'em. Private Persons as well as Kings were at prodigious Expences on this account. *Joseph* of *Arimathea* spared no rich Spices for our Lord, who had been condemned to Death; and the devout Women, who feared lest there was not enough, went to carry more to the Grave, which shews a great Devotion to this Ceremony. The *Jews* practise it still in the *East*, where Perfumes are more common, and not so dear; but in *Italy* they are contented to put dry Roses, and Chamomil in the Water, with which they use to wash the dead Body.

VIII. When the Body is washed, it is shrowded. In most places they only put on a Pair of Drawers and a white Shift. It seems that this also was the Custom of the *Christians*. *Abravanel* affirms that *Samuel* was buried with the Cloak, wherewith he cover'd himself as a Prophet; but this Conjecture is only founded upon the Sorcery of the *Pythoness*, who shew'd *Saul Samuel*'s Apparition with his Mantle, which is very suspected. Others say *, that they sumptuously apparell'd the Dead, and that the funeral Expences grew so excessive, that they were sometimes forced to fly and abandon the Corps; but *Gamaliel* the Old restrained this abuse; by ordering them only to cover *their dead Body with a linnen Cloth*, without any distinction of Conditions, which was executed. 'Tis said, *his Friends and Disciples were disturbed at this Reformation, and with Grief beheld so great a Doctor buried without Pomp*; But, 1. It was not the antient Custom to dress up the Dead. They wrapp'd them up with Fillets, as is observed in the *Egyptian* Mummies, and the History of *Lazarus* whom JESUS raised again. 2. I question, † whether this Rabbie's thought has been well understood; for he speaks not of *Gamaliel*'s Friends, nor the Grief his funeral Reformation gave 'em. He insinuates rather, that *the funeral Expences, which were excessive before* Gamaliel, *afflicted the Family more, than the loss of their Dead.* Indeed this Doctor's Reformation was approved, instead of being condemned or lamented, and the Nation has followed this Example.

'Tis no wonder People should run into Excesses about habiting the Dead, however ridiculous the Customs be, which carries Vanity and Pride into the bosom of Corruption and Nothing. Pope *Utychianus*'s Decree forbidding the interring the Martyrs without the Dalmatick, which was a white Robe, with Scarlet Bands, is false and spurious. The Martyrs were not usually clad with sumptuous Cloaths in their Graves. A Roman Senator, call'd *Asturius* took the Body of a Martyr of *Cæsarea*, and cloath'd it || *with a white and precious Robe, and buried it very richly.* However these Examples were rare, and 'twas not till after-times, that they display'd so much Cost upon the Dead; and the Impostor who forged *Eutychianus*'s Decree, spoke conformably to the Age he lived in.

IX. There is a Controversy among the Rabbies about the kind of Habits they are to put upon the Dead. Some are persuaded that they may bury 'em in a Cloth mingled with Wooll, Thread, or Silk. 'Twould be a Crime in the Living to wear such, because they are forbidden by the Law; but they believe that Death dispenses with its Observation, and they add the words of *David*, * who complained, that he was *free among the Dead.* Others maintain, that if it be lawful to cloath the Dead with Linsey-woolsey habits, it can only be for the time they are exposed in the Coffin, and that they must be divested of 'em, when they are carried to the Grave. The devout cause themselves to be buried in the Cloaths they wore in their Life-time. Is it out of Simplicity, and do they think every thing ought to rot with 'em, or imagine, there is some vertue inherent in these Cloaths, as some *Christians* make it a Point of Devotion to die in a Franciscan habit? This last Superstition prevails, since they prefer the Dress they wore on the Day of Propitiations. Some add to the Habit, or to the Shift a kind of Rochet of very fine Linnen. Lastly, they put the Thaled over it, or the piece of Cloth, from which hang the four tufts we have already spoken of; and put a white Cap upon the Head.

X. They light a Candle, which always burns. Some place it at the Feet of the Dead; but *Leo* of *Modena* puts it near his Head. Some have imagined that this Light was ordered to enlighten the Soul, that returns to visit its Body, and to facilitate its entrance. But this Objection having been made to the *Jews* in a Conference held before the Pope in 1412. they † rejected the Accusation, and answer'd, that this very antient Custom among 'em had been established only to ridicule the Sorcerers, who maintain'd that the lighting a Wax Candle near the Dead Body, was sufficient to cause violent Pains in the separate Soul. I know not why these *Christians* made this Objection, because they also light a Taper, that burns constantly by the Dead. We find || too, that *Constantine*'s Body clad in his Royal Habit was carried into the Temple, where he continued for some time, surrounded with Lamps and Torches.

XI. Lastly, they place him in the Coffin. This Coffin was formerly a kind of Bed so made that the Body laid upon it might be easily carried. The History of the Kings tells us * that *Asa* being dead, they laid him *in the bed* which was filled with sweet Odours. *Josephus* describing the Funeral of *Herod* the *Great*, says that his Bed was *adorned with precious stones*; that his Body rested under a purple Covering; that he had a Diadem and a Crown of Gold upon his Head; a Scepter in his Hand, and that all *his house followed the bed.* Lastly, R. *Simon* the Son of *Eliezer* says that great Lamentation is made for those that are carried *on beds.* A learned Man † has thought that the *Christians* caused many Beds to be carried to their Funeral like the Heathens, who multiplied 'em as so many marks of Honour and Dignity. He confesses he can't conjecture what determined the *Christians* thus to multiply the number of the funeral Beds; but he submits himself to the Au-

† Sopranis ubi supra *c.* 5. *p.* 467. || V. Scacchus sacro Eleochrismatum Myrothecia tria. * R. Saadia *in* Sepher. Hemunoth. V. Nicolai de Sepulchris Hebræorum, *c.* x. *p.* 267. † Ibid. || Euseb. *l.* 7. *c.* 16. *p.* 274. * Ps. 49. 10. † Salomon Ben Virgæ Scevet Juda, *p.* 292. || Euseb. de Vita Const. *l.* 4. * 2 Chr. 16. 14. † Sophranis David Illust. Digress. 2. *c.* 6. *p.* 492.

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thority of St. *Epiphanius* ||, who says, that *George* the Usurper of the *Alexandrian* See, had fixed the number of Beds the *Christians* were to carry at their Funerals. The errour is gross; for St. *Epiphanius* speaks not of Beds, but of *those that made them*; and instead of praising *George* of *Alexandria* for repressing the Luxury, he censures his *Avarice*, because he imposed a Tax upon those that *made the beds*, to carry the Corps, and established Offices form them which none were allow'd to exercise, but such as paid him a Tribute. *Notker* * makes St. *Stephen*'s Body to be carried away in a Vessel, to be put into the hands of *Gamaliel*:

Poscit Cristicolas pia rapinâ
Corpus tollere dentibus leonum
Vectum navicula quod ipse sumit.

Gamaliel's Name inserted in this Account sufficiently discovers it to be a Fable. They carried the Bodies upon Beds, and these Beds were of Ivory, or of some other rich Materials, in proportion to their loving Luxury and Pomp. Those who loved to make a Figure in the eyes of the Publick, affected a distinction even in the Grave; but the vertuous man raised himself above these impertinences:

Nec mihi tunc fulcro sternatur lectus eburno,
Nec sit in Attalico mors mea nixa thoro.

The Coffin of the *Modern Jews* is peeked, when the Man dies rich. They load his Bed with Books, when 'tis a Rabbi, or a Man of Letters. *They* † *cover their Coffin with black, and carry it out of the House, where all the People meet:* Thus speaks *Leo* of *Modena*; but he curtails the Ceremony; for the Bodies were exposed, before they were carried to the Grave. When *Tabitha* was dead and wash'd, they laid her in an *upper Chamber*. The *Romans* commonly placed them in the Porch of the Houses: as was done by *Augustus*. The exposing the Bodies thus was necessary, to certify their natural Death; but some *Christians* do it to engage the Passengers to pray for the Dead. *Gregory* of *Tours* relates in his time, that *Pelagia* prayed her Son not to bury her till the fourth Day, that her Servants might have time to see her and *pray for her*.

XII. When all the Ceremonies are performed || to the dead Body, they take it out of the House, and *all the Company gather round it*. The Relations and Friends fail not to be present. Thus when *Joseph* buried his Father, *the servants of* Pharaoh, *the Elders of his house, and all the Elders of the Land of* Egypt, *and all the house of* Joseph, *and his brethren, and his father's house* followed the Corps to do honour to this Patriarch. Among the Heathens the Enemies to a Family were excluded from the Interment; and 'tis believed the same thing was observed among the *Jews*, since *David* * forbids the Death of *Jonathan* to be told in *Gath*, and published in *Ascalon*, for fear *the Daughters of the uncircumcised should rejoice*. But this is not the meaning of *David*'s words, who spoke not of the Funeral † of *Saul* and his Son, whose Bodies were carried away by the *Philistins* after the Victory, and who were buried and burn'd without Pomp by the Inhabitants of *Jabesh*. 'Tis a Song, wherein he Poetically deplores the Fate of Unfortunate Princes, and the Shame that redounded upon *Israel*. He would not have the Heathens insult the People of God upon so Tragical a Death, and so Scandalous a Defeat. The Proof alledg'd is a wretched one. The *Talmudists* say, that *Jacob* commanded his Children to hinder an uncircumcised Man from touching his Coffin, lest that touch should drive away God. The Fact is false, and this Command of *Jacob* imaginary; for on the contrary, the House of *Pharaoh*, and the great Lords of *Egypt* honour'd his Burial. Nor is it to be imagined, what this *presence of God*, in a Coffin is, that is lost by the touch of an Infidel: But however there is reason to conclude from this Testimony of the *Talmudists* ||; that this was their Opinion. So that tho' the *Jews* don't fear the insulting the *Manes* of the Dead, they distinguish the Persons, that ought to make up the funeral Train. Women were assistant as well as Men; for *Naim*'s *Widow* was at the Burial of her Son. The *Christians* did the same thing in St. *Jerom*'s time, who censures his friend *Paula*, because she fainted away at her Daughter's Funeral.

XIII. The Burial was made in the Day-time; and *Tobias*'s example, who carried the Dead Bodies of his Country-men to bury them in the Night is of no consequence; since he speaks of a time of Persecution, when the Sepulture of the Dead was made a Crime. We are told *, that they carried the Corps in Procession into all the Streets and Publick places, since JESUS CHRIST found the Herse at the *gate of the City*, where the great Streets and Markets met. This is purely a Conjecture; but 'tis almost a general received Custom to make a Procession, tho' of this mournful Object. The *Christians* have always done it. The Streets and Porches were crowded with People at St. *Basil*'s Funeral, and even the Roofs of the Houses were filled at that of *Fabiola*, described by St. *Jerome*. The *Modern Jews* have renounced these Pomps, because they are not in Places, where they enjoy a full Liberty; but when they represent to us the funeral Pomps of the Rabbies, we see that they have out-done all other Nations. Some recommended the passing of their Procession into the *great Cities*, that all the Country might be moved, and drawn out to this Spectacle, and the Crowd of those that followed the funeral Train of these great Doctors is represented to us as infinite.

XIV. Besides the Witnesses and Spectators, there are two sorts of People necessary to Funerals, hired Weepers and Bearers.

The Prophet *Amos* representing a great Mourning, says † they shall cry in the Streets, *Alas, alas, they shall call for such as are skilful of Lamention. Ezekiel* || representing the fall of the City *Tyre*, under the Emblem of Death, and the Funeral of a Man, enters into a greater detail of Ceremonies, *The Mariners shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads, they shall wallow themselves in the ashes, and they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth, and they shall weep for thee with bitterness of heart, and bitter wailing*. Here you have an Abstract of the Acts of Grief, that were publickly express'd; upon which it must be observed, that they violated thereby the Law of God, which prohibited cutting themselves, and plucking off the Hairs; And the *Jews* continued a long time in this breach of the Law; since St. *Jerome* observes in his time, that some among them cut and mangled their Skin, and made themselves bald by plucking off their Hairs, which they sacrificed to the Dead in imitation of the Heathens; but at present they are grown wiser, and have left off both these Customs. Tears and Publick Lamentations are allow'd only for those that die within the Pale of the Synagogue, and of a natural Death; for the Rabbies have determined that

||‖Epiph. Hær. 76. *p.* 913. * Notker Hymnus 2. de Revelat. apud Canis. Lect. Ant. *t.* 5. *p.* 772. † Ch. 8. *p.* 178. || Leo de Modena. * Sopranis David Illustratus Digress. 2. *p.* 488. † 2 Sam. 1. || Bereschit Rabb. Sect. 100. Lightfoot in Luc. *p.* 777. * Sopranis *p.* 487. † Amos 5. 16. || Ezek. 27. 29.

a Man *may afflict himself for the death of a person condemned by the* Sanhedrim; *but it is not lawful to lament over him.* They distinguish betwixt *Affliction* of the Heart, and *Lamentation*, which breaks out in Tears and Publick Ejulations. They alledge for a reason of this Decision, that the Contempt express'd for the *Condemned*, serves for an expiation of their Crime. Tho' * this Decision be read in the Doctors, it is not so antient as they pretend, since the Daughters of *Jerusalem*, who saw J. CHRIST, condemned by the *Sanhedrim*, pass along in his way to Mount *Calvary*, open'd the Sluces of their Grief, instead of confining it.

XV. The accompanying a dead Body, and carrying it to the Grave † is look'd upon as a good Action; and therefore *they all carry it by turns upon their Shoulders, and make it a point of honour to perform this Duty.* They ascribe this Devotion to the Patriarchs and Saints of the *Jewish* Church, because the Scripture observes, that they *buried* || their Relations, that is, *they carried 'em to the Grave.* But this is wresting the Text; for the Sacred Writers mean by Burial all the Offices paid and caused to be paid to the Dead. They were the *Christians* rather, that adopted this Superstition; for tho' there were Bearers, *ex officio*, as appears by *Justinian*'s Laws, yet sometimes Kings have been seen to assist in carrying a dead Body; at least *Usuard* * relates it of *Theodorick*. St. *Basil* was carried to the Ground *by the hands of the Saints.* They were Bishops, who bowed their Necks and Heads under *Paula*'s Coffin, and carried her *with their hands.* St. *Jerom*'s words are ambiguous; for did they carry the Coffin upon *their heads or with their hands?* or rather, did they not carry it on their Shoulders like the *Jews?* no great stress is to be laid upon what *Metaphrastes* says, that the Apostles *carried the Virgin upon their Shoulders*: But however, he described her funeral Pomp according to the Custom of his time. And it must be confess'd, that this was the most ordinary Custom. It was likewise practised by the Heathens; for *Persius* ridiculed the freed Men, who bore the Body of their Benefactor:

Illum
Hesterni capite induto subiere Quirites.

He calls 'em *Quirites of a Day*, because they had but just received their liberty, and he makes 'em cover their Heads, because they wore a Cap which was the sign of it. All the *Spaniards* and *Macedonians* that were at *Rome*, would needs carry the bed of *Paulus Æmilius*, when he was buried, to testify their Gratitude for the benefits they had received from him. The Tribunes carried *Germanicus*'s Ashes upon their Shoulders. It only appears from a Verse of *Horace*, that the Shoulders which bore this burden were naked:

Cadaver
Unctum oleo largo nudis humeris *tulit hæres.*

But this Custom was peculiar to the *Romans*, and never came among the *Jews* or *Christians.*

XVI. *In some places* † *they carried lighted Torches with the Corps, and sang doleful Ditties.* But it does not appear || from any passage of Scripture, that the antient *Jews* carried Torches in their Funerals in the Day-time: and those that cite *Josephus* * for their Voucher, as if he had lighted Lamps and Fires at *Herod* the *Great*'s Funeral are mistaken; for he makes no mention of it. 'Tis also very vainly observed that they buried in Shady Groves; for besides that this was not always done, they might have a Lamp to lighten the Grove without making an useless Illumination. And the *Christians* themselves laughed at this Custom when it began. But yet in St. *Jerome*'s time, the Priests, who assisted at *Paula*'s Funeral, held Lamps and lighted Tapers. The same was practised in the *Greek* Church in St. *Chrysostom*'s time. The *Christians* had borrow'd this from the Heathens, after they had long insulted them for burning Lamps by Day-light. The Modern *Jews*, that are mingled with the *Christians*, have imitated them in the places where they have had a Liberty to do it.

XVII. *David* sang an *Epicedium* upon the Funeral of *Abner*, whose Death afflicted him. It appears also by the Gospel, that they not only had Songsters, but hired Musicians; for J. CHRIST found Minstrils making a great noise at the Gate of a Nobleman, whose Daughter he raised from the Dead. Her death no doubt had drawn 'em thither:

Tibia cui teneros suetum deducere manes.

Yet it must be confess'd, that this Custom has often varied in the Synagogue; for a Council † of *Narbonne* held in the Sixth Century observes that the *Jews* formerly carried their Dead to the Grave *peaceably without Instruments of Musick*; and it charges upon 'em as a Novelty the introducing, for some Years past, the use of Hymns. It forbids the doing it for the future, and condemns to a Fine of Six Ounces payable to the Lord of the Place such as shall act contrary to the Prohibition of the Council. *Maimonides* says, that the poorest *Jew* is obliged to hire two Players upon the Flute, and a Weeper for the Burying of his Wife, and that the rich ought to increase the Number in proportion to their Estates. The *Talmudists* forbid weeping at the sound of Flutes, which an Idolater has brought on a Sabbath-day, *tho' they be design'd for Funerals.* Lastly, *Leo* of *Modena* says, that they sing Lamentations; but this must be understood only of Places, where the *Jews* have a full Liberty.

XVIII. The Cœmeteries were commonly out of the Cities, and pretty far remote. *Jerusalem* alone made an Exception to the general Rule; for it contained many Tombs, as of *David* and *Solomon*, who were buried in the City of *Sion*. There were publick and common ones. The Priests bought a Field out of *Jerusalem* to bury Strangers in. They meant doubtless by this the *Roman* Idolaters, who then came frequently to *Jerusalem*, and who had Troops there, whose Bodies they would not confound with those of the common *Jews*. There were also private ones. And as the places about *Jerusalem* were full of Rocks and Caves, Men bought them for their Burying-places, or else they dug new ones. *Abraham* bought of *Ephraim* the *Hethian* the Field and Cave of *Machpelah* to bury his Wife: where his Children and himself were put after their Death. I know not why the Interpreters torture themselves about the description of this Cave, as if there were two of 'em; one above for the Men, and another below for the Women. 'Tis true, the *Septuagint* and Vulgar have translated the Name *Machpelah*, by the word *double*. The ‖ *Jewish* Doctors maintain that this Cave was called *double*, by *Adam*, who fearing, lest his Body and Bones should be carried away to be worshipped, caused himself to be buried a great depth, and therefore dug in the Rock *a Cave within a Cave*, which gave it the name of double or *Machpelah*. Some * *Christian* Doctors have

* Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. in Math. *p.* 491. & in Acta *p.* 80. † Leon, *P.* 5. *c.* 8. *p.* 178. Berachot *c.* 3. Glossa. ‖ Sopranis Digr. 2. *p.* 494. * Usuard. Martyr. 1. Jul. † Leo, *p.* 178. ‖ Sopranis ubi supra *p.* 475. * Joseph. de Bello Jud. *l* 1. *c.* 21. *p.* 774. † Concil. Narbon An. 589. *c.* 10. *t.* 5. *p.* 1029. ‖ Juchasim fol. 65. Lightfoot Geogr. in Matth. *p.* 93. * Procopius Gazæus & Haymerus in Gen.

followed

followed 'em; for they believe that there was a little Cave in a great one, or * *rather that there were two different places hollow'd to place the Dead in*; as is the Cuſtom in great Sepulchres.

XIX. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* † relates, that being in a Valley near *Hebron*, he found this *double* Cave, of which he gives a Deſcription. "Here, ſays he, is "a Temple that bears the Name of *Abraham*, and "was formerly a Synagogue. The *Chriſtians* have "built ſix Sepulchres, to which they have given the "Names of *Abraham* and *Sarah*, of *Iſaac* and *Re-*"*becca*, of *Jacob* and *Leah*, and they ſhew them to "Travellers for Money; but when a *Jew* comes "there, the Porter, after he is paid, opens an Iron "Gate, which was made in the time of the Pa-"triarchs. The *Jew* enters in with a Wax-candle "in his Hand, paſſes the firſt and ſecond Cave with-"out finding any thing, but in the third are the "Sepulchres of the Patriarch's diſtinguiſh'd by their "Names. Theſe Tombs have a Lamp continually "burning by 'em. There are alſo great Casks full "of dry Bones, becauſe the *Iſraelites* continue to "carry their dead Bodies thither. At the end of "the Field of *Machpelah* is *Abraham*'s Houſe, and "a Fountain before it." No other Edifice is raiſed here out of Veneration for this Patriarch.

Benjamin ſpeaks of three Caves inſtead of *two*; but 'tis manifeſt enough, that this is a work of the *Chriſtians*, who to get Money out of Strangers, make 'em believe that they ſee the Tombs of the Patriarchs and their Wives. This Iron Gate fabricated in the Patriarch's time, and this Houſe of *Abraham* are Chimerical, and ſo is the Privilege of the *Jew* of entering by the Iron Gate, but they abuſed his credulity, to draw the more Money from him. How did they permit the dead Bodies of all the *Iſraelites* to be carried into *Abraham*'s Tomb, ſince they durſt not build a Houſe, in the ſame place where his was ſituate. If ſome People have been willing to be buried in the Sepulchre of the Prophets, it is ſtill more common to build Houſes near thoſe they formerly inhabited. So that this Veneration for *Abraham*'s Houſe, which for a great many Ages has diſappeared, was imagined to delude Travellers. *Abraham* dwelt in *Hebron*, and his Houſe was not at the end of the Plain of *Machpelah*, which was below *Mamre*. *Benjamin* did not know that *Adam* ought to be buried with the Patriarchs, and for this reaſon *Hebron* was formerly called *Kiriath-Arbah*, that is the City of the four Men, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, who had been buried near it. Perhaps this Notion was not yet come among the *Chriſtians* of his time. But at leaſt he ought not to have paſſed under ſilence the fear, which *Adam* had of being worſhipped, and the precaution that he took to prevent this Idolatry; for it makes for the honour of the firſt Man, and the *Jewiſh* Doctors have divulged the Story. As there is nothing more uncertain than Etymologies, and the Tales they tell of the firſt Men, we ſhall not inſiſt upon 'em. It ſuffices to obſerve that *Machpelah* was not barely a Cave; but a conſiderable Diſtrict, ſince it coſt four hundred Silver Shekels, which was a conſiderable Sum at that time. There was a Field and a Wood. The Patriarchs were buried there with their Wives, without any diſtinction of Caves that is known. J. CHRIST was laid in a new Sepulchre, which *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* had made in the Rock. This Sepulture was preferr'd in *Judæa* before all others; but at preſent the *Jews* are obliged to take up with a Field, which the *Chriſtians* and *Muſſulmans* allot 'em in ſome uſeleſs place, as at *Conſtantinople*, *Venice*, and *Amſterdam*: It lies within the Walls of the City of *Rome*.

XX. The Sepulchre ſhou'd be called the *Houſe of the Dead*; but on the contrary they give it the title of *the Houſe of the Living*, or *Houſe of the Age*; and they imagin that theſe Names were invented by the *Phariſees*, who would teach their Enemies the *Sadduces*, that the Immortal Soul lived after its ſeparation from the Body, and that the Body ſhall riſe in the World to come. The Heathens called their Tombs a *little Houſe*.

Et domus exilis Plutonia.

Berthius corrects the Text, and would have it read the *houſe of Exile* ||, and that Hell be meant by it, where the Souls are in eternal Exile, and Mr. *Le Moine* defended this Conjecture. 'Tis taking a great deal of Pains to authorize falſe Ideas; for Hell with the Heathens was the Habitation of Souls after Death, and it was not looked upon as a place of Exile, but a fixed Abode. *Pluto* was the God of the Dead, and the dead ſhut up in the Grave, poſſeſs'd but *a little Houſe*, ſuch was the Sepulchre of that Man of *Mantua*, who was call'd *Heaven*, and who had lived in prodigious State and Grandure.

Tres pateat Cœli *ſpatium non amplius ulnas.*

XXII. The Rabbies * give an exact Deſcription of Sepulchres. They make the Door of them very narrow; for generally a Stone, which they rowl'd † upon the Mouth of the Sepulchre, ſufficed to ſhut it. They left a great void ſpace, where the Bearers enter'd, and reſted the Coffin, before they placed it. On the ſides, and at the end, they hollowed a certain number || of Nitches, in which they placed the dead Bodies of each Family. Theſe Nitches were alſo very common in the Catacombs of *Rome*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*. In the mean time, I know not how the Doctors deſcription of the Sepulchres can conſiſt with the Sacred Hiſtory.

XXII. For the Women that went to *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*'s Sepulchre to embalm the Body of JESUS, found the Stone rowled away, becauſe it was ſhut with a Stone; and theſe Women violated the Rabbinical Law, which forbids the *opening* a Grave, when it is ſhut; for they deſign'd to open it to beſtow the Perfumes they had brought. But this Law was unknown, and hath not the Antiquity which is aſſign'd to it; theſe Women ſtooping their heads and looking down, perceived that the Body of JESUS was not there. Their Action proves, that 'twas ſufficient to look into the Sepulchre, to ſee the Situation of the Dead, and therefore they were not placed in Niches.

We find another Example in the Old Teſtament; for the dead Perſon that revived upon touching *Eliſha*'s Bones, could not have gathered this vertue from his dead Body, if it had been placed alone in a Nich of ſome Cubits, as the Doctors ſay. A double Cave in the hollow of a Rock was dug, in which they rank'd the dead Bodies one by another. There were only ſome of 'em in which they contrived Niches, and Apartments on the ſides to contain the greater number; and thus the Doctors may be reconciled with the Holy Scripture.

XXIII. * They had great reverence for their Tombs. It is not *lawful to croſs them with an Aque-*

* Le Moyne Varia Sacra *t.* 2. † Benj. Tudelenſis Itin. *p.* 49. || Et domus *exilli* Plutonia. Varia Sacra, *t* 2. *p.* 519.
* Lightfoot Cent. Chorogr. *c.* 100. *p.* 235. † *From hence the Door of the Sepulchres was call'd* גלל *from a word which ſignifies* to rowl. *This Door might be made of* Stone or of Wood, *according to* Maimonides. || *The* Jews *call them* כוך Koch.
* Lightfoot ibid.

duct or a High-way, nor to gather Wood there, nor to lead Flocks to Paſture. They formerly placed 'em upon the great Roads to awaken the Curioſity of the Travellers, and preſerve the Memory of the Dead. Thus *Jacob* not being able to carry *Rachel* to *Machpelah*, buried her in the High-way of *Bethlehem*. This Patriarch placed upon his Wife's Tomb, a *Pillar* that continued a long time. But they have ſince put their Tombs in Caves, and the hollows of Rocks and Mountains. Laſtly, they have placed 'em in Gardens, and at the entrance of the Synagogues, or rather they have taken up a Cuſtom of building Synagogues near the Tombs of Saints and Great Men, we ſhall ſpeak in the Sequel of thoſe that were built near the Sepulchre of *Ezekiel*. The ſame honour has been done to *Eſther* and *Mordecai*. The *Jews* meet in Multitudes on their Feſtivals, and having read the Hiſtory of their Deliverance, they revel it out, juſt as the *Chriſtians* do about the Churches on the Feſtivals of the Saints, to whoſe honour they were built.

XXIV. The Prophet *Zechary* * had a Synagogue near his Tomb, where the *Jews* being threaten'd with a Maſſacre, becauſe the *Muſſulmans* accuſed 'em of cauſing a Drought, which deſtroyed the Country, went to beg Rain of God. They had but three Days granted 'em to obtain it, and they all reſolved to kill one another, if it did not Rain at the end of the third Day, to deprive the Heathens of the Pleaſure of murthering them; but being aſſembled about *Zechary*'s Tomb, and having faſted and prayed, God cauſed it to Rain the ſame Day.

Indeed 'tis one of the *Jewiſh* Superſtitions, to go and Pray by the Tombs of the Saints, to whom they attribute a Power of ſuccouring their Sollicitors. Thus † Caleb *eſcaped from the hands of his Perſecutors, becauſe he went to the Tomb of his Anceſtors, to pray 'em to intercede for his Safety.* They alledge four different Reaſons of this Cuſtom. 1. They believe that the Souls return, and hover about the Tombs, where their Bodies are buried. 2. They imagine that there is a *ſenſitive vertue* in it, which being made active by the Prayer of the Devout, goes and wakes the Soul in Heaven, and admoniſhes it to Pray. 3. They are alſo perſuaded, that the Divine Influences are communicated to Men, by the Bones of the Dead. 4. R. *Levi* the Son of *Schammay*, aſſerts that they only go to the Sepulchres, to learn more preſſing Motives of Humility, and he proves || his Opinion from the Cuſtom of praying by the Tombs of Infidels, from which nothing can be expected, as well as near the Aſhes and Bones of the Saints of *Iſrael*. He thinks that this Leſſon naturally ariſes from the Sepulchre, *you are all dead like theſe unleſs you be converted.* We have ſaid enough of Sepulchres, and the Holineſs they annex to 'em.

* MS. Heb. apud Hotting. de Cippis Hebr. Præf. † Wagenſeil Excerpta Gem. || Vitringa de Syn. l. 1. c. XI. p. 222.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Continuation of the Subject of Funerals.

I. *Whether they burnt the Bodies of the Kings.* II. *Funeral Orations.* III. *The Way of placing the Dead. The bag of Sand.* IV. *Whether one Coffin may be placed upon another. How* Judas *went to his own place.* V. *The ſcruple of a Monk. Anathema's. The Miracle of three Coffins at* Arles. VI. *The ſcruples of* Chriſtians *to place Strangers in their Tombs.* VII. *The Ceremonies obſerved in their Burial-Place.* VIII. *The Burial of Children. Precautions againſt the Unchaſtity of Women.* IX. *An Explication of* vvhited *and uncertain* Sepulchres *mentioned in the Goſpel.* X. *The Antiquity of Epitaphs impugn'd.* XI. *The* Titles *on* Rachel's *Monument explained.* XII. *Epitaphs of the Modern* Jews. XIII. *Their Cœmetery at* Rome *diſcovered by* Bozius. XIV. *This diſcovery confuted.* XV. *The Epitaphs of the* Jews *are in the* Hebrew *Tongue.* XVI. *Of the Candleſtick and other marks of Judaiſm in the Sepulchres.* XVII. *An Explication of theſe words,* Here lies in Peace. XVIII. *Falſe* Jewiſh *Martyrs diſcovered upon the Banks of the* Tyber, XIX. *The diſcovery of the Tomb of* Mary, *the Wife of* Honorius. XX. *This diſcovery confuted.* XXI. *The Entertainment that follows the Interment.* XXII. *The uſe of Lentils.* XXIII. *The Lamp they light by the Bed of the Dead.* XXIV. *The Comfort they give the afflicted.* XXV. *The time of the Affliction.* XXVI. *Mourning Habits.* XXVII. *The Ceremonies and Rites of other Afflictions.* XXVIII. *Of the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *noted in the Houſes.*

I. TOſtatus * Biſhop of *Avila*, who is followed by many Interpreters, affirms, that they burnt the Bodies of the *Jewiſh* Kings, and only preſerved their Bones, whilſt the Fleſh was reduced to Aſhes, becauſe, as *Kimki* ſays, they were afraid *it would rot.* They produce the Example of *Saul* and his Children, who were burnt by the Inhabitants of *Jabeſh*. *Jeremy* † aſſures *Zedechias*, that they ſhall burn him as they did his Fathers: and on the contrary, it was a Malediction on *Joram* not to be *burnt after his death.* Nor ought we to be perplexed about what the Scripture ſo often ſays, that the *Jews* buried their Dead; for they alſo buried the Aſhes and Bones of thoſe they burnt among the Heathens. Beſides, we are to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Vulgar and Perſons of Quality. The Bodies of the former were buried, but thoſe of Princes and Kings were burnt.

But by this we ſee that there is nothing ſo clear but may be darken'd; for the Scripture never ſpeaks of the funeral Piles, of Urns, or of Ceremonies ſo well known and at the ſame time ſo neceſſary, when they burnt Bodies. But this ſilence is no obſtruction to the carrying on their Conjecture. The Example of *Saul* is the only one, and 'tis eaſie to gueſs the reaſon of ſo extraordinary an Event. The Inhabitants of *Jabeſh* were afraid that the *Philiſtines* would take their turn to paſs over *Jordan*, and carry away the Bodies of *Saul*, and his Children, as they had done themſelves, and to expoſe 'em a ſecond time to the Mob. To prevent an Enterprize that they could not have hinder'd, they burnt their Bodies contrary to common Cuſtom; but they carried away the other Bodies, which it was eaſie to preſerve. 'Twas only therefore out of neceſſary Precaution, that they burnt thoſe of theſe Princes, and therefore *David* commended it: But a general conſequence is not to be

* Toſtat in 1 Reg. 31. Q. 18. p. 316. † Jerem. 32. 2 Chron. 21. 19.

drawn

drawn from hence to all the Kings. Beſides, they impertinently perplex themſelves with the Examples of *Joram* and *Zedekias*, for the Scripture ſpeaks not of burning * their Bodies; but *Perfumes*, which were burnt before the Corps, according to the Cuſtom of the *Jews*. They ſtill bury their Dead, and never burnt 'em.

II. Coming to the Burying-place, a Speech is made to the Dead: "Bleſſed, ſay they † be God, who "has formed thee, fed thee, maintain'd thee, and "taken away thy Life. O Dead! he knows your "Numbers, and ſhall one Day reſtore your Life: "*Bleſſed be he that takes away life and reſtores it.*" They put the Coffin in the Ground, and if it be a Perſon of Merit, they *make his Elogy*. It ſeems that *Job* || alluded to this Cuſtom, when he conſiders it as a Curſe to the wicked whoſe *root ſhall be dried up, and his branch cut off, his remembrance ſhall periſh from the Earth, and he ſhall have no name in the ſtreet*. It ſeems alſo, that *David*, when he had the News of *Jonathan*'s Death, made a kind of funeral Oration for his Friend. But theſe Proofs are very weak; for *Job* ſpeaks of the reputation, which is loſt after Death, and the Street do's not ſignify *a Cœmetery*. *David* did not aſſiſt at the Funeral of *Saul* and *Jonathan*. He only made *a Song of Lamentation* upon the loſs of the Battle, and the death of the Princes that were kill'd in it. 'Tis much more probable, that the Vanity of the Rabbies, and afterwards that of the People have produced this Cuſtom; for we find no inſtance of it in Scripture. Some *Chriſtians* affirm, that this Cuſtom commenced among 'em, by the Bleſſed Virgin, at whoſe Funeral the Apoſtles teſtified a holy Emulation to make her Panegyrick, and they compare her to thoſe *Roman* Ladies, to whom the honour of Funeral Orations, which were before peculiar to the Men, was granted becauſe they ſacrificed their Ornaments to the Safety of the State, either to deliver the City in the War of the *Veij*, or to pay the Soldiers in that of the *Gauls*. The Virgin having furniſhed her Gold, that is *her Son*, for the Redemption of Men, it was fit, that the firſt Funeral Oration among *Chriſtians* ſhould be made for her. But this Cuſtom was not known in the firſt Ages of the Church; it was left to the Heathens, as a mark of their Pride and Vanity; the *Chriſtians* at laſt fell into the ſame exceſs as the *Jews*, who in the begining deſpiſed theſe Encomiums, and at preſent purchaſe them.

III. After the Encomium they make a Prayer, which they call the *Righteouſneſs of Judgment*, becauſe they give Thanks to God for having pronounced an equitable Sentence upon the Dead; and it begins with theſe words of *Deuteronomy* *, *he is the Rock, his work is perfect*. It has been imagin'd that all Nations bury'd their Dead with their Face towards the Eaſt, and this has been thought to be an Univerſal Teſtimony of the hope of the Reſurrection. But not to ſpeak of innumerable Heathens that burnt their Dead Bodies, the *Athenians* had a Law importing †, that the Dead ſhall be buried with their Face towards the Weſt. Nor is is certain, as is ſaid, that the *Jews* imitate the *Chriſtians* in the ſituation they give their Dead: They only turn their Face towards Heaven, crying ||, *Go in Peace*: Thoſe that moſt ſcrupulouſly obſerve the Rites of the *Talmudiſts* ſay, *Go to Peace*; becauſe the firſt of theſe Benedictions was given by *David* * to *Abſalom*, who remain'd hung in the Foreſt by his Hair, and the other was given to *Moſes* by *Jethro* his Father-in-law †, whoſe Journey was proſperous ||.

They * lay a little Bag of Earth upon the Head of the Dead; nail up the Coffin, if it be Man. Ten Perſons turn ſeven times round it, and ſay a Prayer for the Soul of the deceaſed; but this is not done in all places. Their neareſt Relation tears a corner off his Cloaths, and laſtly they lay the Body into the Grave.

IV. As they let down the Coffin, they muſt take care that there be not another, becauſe they will not have two Bodies laid upon one another. To this they apply what is ſaid in the Hiſtory of the Acts †, that *Judas* went into his own place, and that he *purchaſed a Field* by his Iniquity, *Judas* did not purchaſe the Field, which was afterwards called *Aceldama*. St. *Peter* therefore meant, that all that remain'd of his Treaſon, was a particular Sepulchre, and the place where he was buried; but this Explication was ſtrain'd. St. *Peter* ſays, that *Judas* had *purchaſed a Field by his Iniquity*, becauſe he had furniſhed the High-Prieſt with an opportunity, and Money to purchaſe this Field of Blood. And thus it is written, that *the believing Wife ſhall ſave the unbelieving Husband*; that is, ſhall furniſh him with opportunities and means of ſaving him. Beſides, neither the *Field* nor the *Place* mentioned by St. *Luke* ſignifie the Nich of a Sepulchre. Laſtly, 'tis eaſie to reconcile the Evangeliſt with St. *Peter*, without burying *Judas* in a *particular place*. I queſtion too whether they were ſo ſcrupulous at that time as not to ſuffer one Body to touch another, for the ſituation of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*'s Sepulchre, in which our Lord was buried, evidently proves the contrary.

V. *Baronius* || ſpeaks of one *Canaparius* a Monk, who, conceited with the ſame Superſtition as the *Jews*, anathematiz'd thoſe who durſt lay a Dead Body upon his:

Nemo ſuum vel alienum cadaver ſuper me mittat. Si quis hoc præſumpſerit, ſit maledictus & in perpetuum anathemate conſtrictus.

A Man muſt be very fond of Anathema's and Curſes, to pronounce them upon ſuch light ſubjects, and to make 'em Eternal. 'Tis ſtrange that a Monk ſhould aſſume ſo great an Authority; for in reality this mighty Superſtition was not general among the *Chriſtians*. Father *Montfaucon* * ſpeaks of three Coffins which he ſaw at *Arles* laid upon one another, in which there happens a perpetual Miracle, *To the Honour of St. Concord*; for they always ſee Water in that of the middle one, which ebbs and flows with a flux and reflux. This ingenious Traveller has reaſon to refer the Prodigy to the credit of Relators. 'Tis not the Miracle which we are in ſearch of; but we ſee that the *Chriſtians* have not been in all places ſo ſuperſtitious as the Monk *Canaparius*, ſince there were three Sepulchres laid upon one another.

VI. However let it not be forgotten that both Heathens and Chriſtians have often refuſed burying Strangers in their Tombs. † Sir *George Wheler* has brought *Lyſimachus*'s Epitaph from *Greece*, which forbids, under the Penalty of Five Hundred Pence, the burying any one in his Tomb, and we find a like inſcription in *Gruterus* ||.

SI QUIS HOC MONUMENTUM CUM
ÆDIFICIO UNIVERSO
VENDERE VEL DONARE VOLUERIT
VEL CORPUS ALIENUM INVEHERE
DABIT POENÆ
NOMINE ARCÆ PONTIF. H. S. XX.

* Geierus de Luctu Ebræor. *c.* 6. §. 5. † Leo de Mod. *Cuſt. of the* Jews. Buxtorf. Syn. Hebr. *p.* 502. || Job 18. 17. * Deut. 32. 4. † Ælian. Var. Hiſt *l.* v. *c.* 14. *t.* 1 *p.* 147. || Thalm. in fine Cod. Berachot. * 2 Sam. 15. 9. † Exod. 4. 18. || *They ſay* לך בשלום *or* לך לשלום * Leo de Modena *p.* 179. † Acts 1. 18. || Bar. An. 1004. *t.* xi. *p.* 24. * Montfaucon Diar. Ital. *c.* 1. *p.* 1. *An* 1703. † Wheler Voiage *t.* 1. *p.* 283. || Gruter. Inſcript. *p.* 672. *n.* 14.

VII. The

VII. The Relations of the Dead are the first that throw Earth upon their Coffin. Each of those present throw in handfuls, or with a Shovel, till the Grave be fill'd. Before they leave the Cœmetery, each plucks up Grass three times, and throws it behind him, saying, * *they shall flourish like Grass of the Earth*, and this in hopes of the Resurrection, which shall restore the Bodies, or to teach that *all Flesh is like Grass, and the Glory of Man is like the Flower of the Field.* They † also put dust upon their Heads to remember, that *they are Dust, and they shall return to Dust.* Some add, as taking farewel of the Dead, *we shall follow thee as the order of Nature shall require.* They wash, sit down, and rise nine times, saying, *He* || *that dwelleth in the secret places of the most High*, and at last the Company departs.

VIII. They distinguish the Age of the Children that die. If the Child expires thirteen Days after his Birth, a Woman carries it in her Lap; if it be a little older, they make it a Coffin, but they don't carry it on their Shoulders like bigger Corps: One or two Women make the Funeral Pomp. It is not lawful to alter this Order, because if there were two Women and one Man, they might both yield to be corrupted, whereas two Men don't so easily agree to debauch one Woman. At least this is the Notion of the Rabbies, which is founded upon the great distance of the Cœmeteries from the Cities, which gives opportunity of Temptation by the way. In the mean time *, they tell, that a Woman carrying her Child to the Burying-place, under pretence that it was Dead, tho' it was still alive, to find an opportunity of committing Adultery with him that accompanied her, suffer'd her self to be dishonour'd by ten Men, that follow'd her. This extraordinary Event shews they had reason to take Precautions, for the maintaining a Decorum, and preventing the Disorders, occasion'd by the weakness of Women.

IX. They mark'd the number of the Tombs with *Chalk*, and whited 'em every Year in *February*, that they might be known, for fear of defiling themselves in passing by. 'Tis thought that our Saviour † alluded to this Custom when he compared the *Pharisees* to *whited Sepulchres*, but yet I must doubt of it, since he speaks of an Ornament set round the Tombs to beautify 'em, and to note the respect they had for the Dead, rather than a Precaution to prevent Defilement. JESUS CHRIST || uses a very different Comparison; for he taxes the Scribes and Pharisees with being like *disappearing* Sepulchres, over which Men walk without perceiving the Stench and Bones they contain. They were the hidden Tombs the Doctors ought to whiten, rather than those that were visible, if they meant to avoid the stink and pollution. Nevertheless they did not do it in our Saviour's time, since he draws his comparison from *obscure* or conceal'd Sepulchres. To say that they were *obscure*, because they had no Epitaph or Name, is an overstretch of Subtilty. These Tombs were those that were dug in the heart of Rocks and Mountains; the Grass grew over 'em, and it was not perceived, that there were stinking Carkasses within. Thus the *Pharisees* so artfully concealed their Corruption, that it was difficultly discovered; and so it is the same thought that CHRIST diversifies in St. *Luke* and St. *Matthew*; but this Diversity serves to prove, there were two sorts of Sepulchres, some of which were adorned and whited, whilst others were unknown and concealed. 'Tis not therefore true, that it was a general Custom to chalk 'em over.

X. Epitaphs were yet in use among the antient *Jews*. *Benjamin* * of *Tudela* travelling into *Judæa*, read the Inscriptions of the Tombs of the Patriarchs, that were buried at *Machpelah*. *This is the Sepulchre of* Abraham *our blessed Father*. But the *Christians*, who for a long time had the Custody of these Tombs, had made these Inscriptions to deceive devout Travellers, and to get the more Money by 'em. The Holy Scripture says, † that *Jacob* having buried *Rachel* in the way to *Bethlehem*, set *a Pillar* there. The Author of the Vulgar has translated it *a Title*, and hence it has been concluded, that it was an Epitaph, since the Heathens engraved some Verses upon the Tombs of the Dead, and these Verses were called *Titles*. We find an antient Inscription with these words.

Corpus habet tellus, & saxum nomen inane.

Gutherius || observes that we must not hereby understand, a *Cœnotaphium*, but a Stone that became useless, because no Epitaph was cut upon it. But I question whether he has rightly understood the Poet's thought; for the *Name* of the Dead was engraven upon this Stone, as the Earth had his Body. But he calls it a *vain Name*, because indeed it is a vain Imagination, to think of conveying a Man's Name to Posterity by such sort of Monuments. However it be, *Jacob* engraved no Epitaph upon *Rachel*'s Tomb, as the Author of the Vulgar insinuates; but he raised a heap of Stones, and thus the Monuments *Christians* raised upon the Tombs of Martyrs were call'd *Titles*. And therefore of all that vast number of * titular Churches, that are seen at *Rome*, there is not one, but is consecrated to some Martyr, who had suffer'd in that City.

XI. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* † relates, that five hundred Paces from *Bethlehem*, he saw *Rachel*'s Sepulcher, upon which was a Pillar composed of twelve Stones with reference to *Jacob*'s twelve Children, which is covered with a Vault supported by four Pillars; and all the *Jews* that travel thither engrave their Names upon one of the twelve Stones. *Nachmanides* says also, that it was also a thousand Paces from *Rachel*'s *Statue in* Bethlehem, we must not quarrel with these two *Jews* upon some little difference that may be found in the distance from the place where *Rachel* was buried. They have come nearer to the mark than St. *Jerome* ||, who going to subtilize upon the *Hebrew* word, thought it ought to be translated, that *Jacob* enter'd *Ephrata* at *Bethlehem*, at *the choice time of the Earth*, and that by *choice time* we must understand the Spring, when the Flowers spring from the Earth, and Travellers fill their hands with Nosegays. There is nothing but falshood in this Explication; for *Jacob* who pass'd the *Euphrates*, whilst *Laban* was gone to Shear his Sheep, could not arrive in *Judæa* till towards Autumn, and the *Hebrew* word does not signify what St. *Jerome* makes it. Besides these Rabbies, who as well as the LXX. know best the use of words, own that it was *a stone Monument*, that *Jacob* erected upon his Wife's Grave; Indeed it was the antient Custom of the Orientals, and particularly of the *Egyptians* to raise Pyramids upon their Sepulchres:

Cum Ptolomæorum manes sacrumque pudendum
Pyramides claudant indignaque Mausolæa.

* Ps. 72. 16. † Leo de Mod. Salomon Ben Virgæ Hist. Jud. *pag.* 293. || Ps. 91. 1. * V. Lightfoot Decas Chorogr. in Marc. *p.* 581. † Matth. 23. 27. || Luc. 11. 44. ἄδηλα. * Benjamin Tud. It. *p.* 49. † Sopranis David Illust. Digress. 2. *p.* 516. || Guth. de Jure Manium *l.* 2. *c.* 26. *p.* 323. * V. Mabill. Iter. Ital. Comment. in Ord. Rom. pag. 14. † Benjamin Tud. Itin. *p.* 47. || Chabrata Hier. Q. Hebr. in Genes.

Absalom

Abſalom * deſirous to render his Memory immortal, ſupplied the want of Children by a *Pillar*, which he ſet up in the Valley of the King, and which remain'd a long time.

XII. But tho' Epitaphs are not ſo antient as the Patriarch *David* or *Abſalom*; yet the *Jews* have long ſince received this Cuſtom. We may read thoſe produced by *Buxtorf*: *I have ſet this Stone for a Monument over the Head of the Venerable* R. Eliakim *deceaſed,——God grant he may repoſe in the Garden of* Eden, *with the reſt of the Saints of the Earth, Amen, Amen, Selah.* Here is the Elogy of a Maid: *I have erected this Statue* †, *on the head of the moſt holy, moſt chaſt, and moſt excellent* Rebecca, *Daughter to the Holy Rabbi* Samuel *the Levite; who has lived in good Reputation, and who died the Eighth of* December *in the Year* 135. *(that is in the Year* 1375.*) Let her Soul be bound in the Garden of* Eden. We find another for R. Baruch, *who deſcended towards thoſe who are among the Cedars*, and God is prayed to, *that his Soul may be in the bundle of Life.* It would be uſeleſs to multiply theſe Inſcriptions, which may be ſeen elſewhere.

XIII. *Bozius* thought he had diſcovered the *Jews* Cœmetery at *Rome* by Candleſticks with ſeven branches, and ſome Inſcriptions, amongſt which was the word *Synagogue*. As it was of the greateſt importance to make this Diſcovery, they have dug in the Janicle beyond the *Tyber*, and coming from the Gate have found Tombs with Candleſticks with theſe words, *Here lies in peace*, and the title of *Synagogue*. But, as this ſtill appear'd dubious, they have call'd in the Teſtimony of *Benjamin* to their aſſiſtance, who coming to *Rome*, diſcovered on the Banks of the *Tyber*, a Cave, where *ten juſt Perſons reſted, who had been kill'd under the Reign of the Tyrants.*

XIV. But the antient *Jews* did not dwell on the Janicle, as is ſuppoſed without any Proof, their Dwelling being in the Vatican, near St. *Angelo*. I will demonſtratively prove it by an antient Author, which Father *Montfaucon* has lately publiſhed upon his return from *Italy*. Here alſo they had their Tombs and their Burial-place. For *Lampridius* affirms, that Heliogabalus *went to exerciſe ſome Elephants upon the Vatican Mount, and for that purpoſe they were obliged to level the Tombs that were there, and which hinder'd this exerciſe.* Whoſe Tombs were theſe raiſed above the Ground, that hinder'd the Elephants from marching in Order? They were not thoſe of the *Roman* Lords, ſince their Bodies were burnt; nor were they thoſe of the Vulgar, ſince the Wells in which they were thrown to rot, were in a place very remote from hence, near *Mecœnas*'s Gardens upon Mount *Eſquilius*:

Huc || *prius anguſtis ciceta cadavera Cellis*
Conſervus vili portanda locabat in Arca;
Hoc miſeræ plebi ſtabat commune ſepulcrum.

Nor can it be ſaid that theſe numerous Tombs raiſed above the Ground that ſtopp'd *Heliogabalus*'s carreer were thoſe of the *Chriſtians*; for there were not yet a ſufficient number of Martyrs at *Rome*. They carried off their Bodies and conceal'd them, inſtead of erecting Publick Monuments; but they were thoſe of the *Jews*, whoſe Religion had been long permitted, and who had their Settlements and Burying-place in the Vatican. Here therefore we muſt look for their Epitaphs.

XV. Beſides, if the *Jews* had their Epitaphs, they engraved them in *Hebrew* Characters, ſince that was the Holy Tongue, which they preferr'd before all others. Indeed if we believe *Maimonides*, the *Jews* neglected Epitaphs, becauſe there is no Monument more beautiful than that which ariſes from vertuous and good Actions, the Memorial whereof remains. However they did not deſpiſe the marks of honour, till they were denied the liberty of enjoying them. When the Cœmetery of the *Jews* was opened in one of the Suburbs of *Bâle*, they there diſcovered abundance of *Hebrew Epitaphs*, two of which we have produced preſerved by *Buxtorf*. We may be convinced of it by reading Father *Montfaucon*'s Travels. This Monk coming to *Venice* entered into the Cœmetery of the *Jews* ſituate near the *Benedictin*'s Monaſtery; and tho' they have been ſo long ſettled at *Venice*, as to ſpeak the Language of the Country, and *French* is ſpoke as commonly at preſent, as *Greek* formerly at *Rome*, yet he diſcovered upon his entrance this Inſcription, engraven on Marble in *Hebrew* Characters:

Death * *ſhall ſtill devour Men; but God ſhall wipe off the Tears of every Man. He ſhall take away the reproach from his People over all the Earth, for the Lord hath ſpoken it.*

This Inſcription is accompanied with a great many others that are ſeen on the Tombs of the Dead. If he had entered into the Cœmetery of the *Jews* at *Rome*, as he did into that of *Venice*, he would have obſerved as manifeſt Characters of Judaiſm, whereas all thoſe that are related prove nothing at all.

XVI. We can't conjecture, why they look upon the Candleſtick with ſeven branches as a particular Character of Judaiſm. The reaſon alledged, that the *Jews* place a Lamp at the head of the Dead ſeven Days together is falſe; for *Leo* of *Modena* † aſſerts that this Lamp is not placed in the Tomb; but at the Bolſter of the Bed of the deceaſed, and that it burns there ſeven Days. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* ||, ſpeaks of a burning Lamp he ſaw in *Abraham*'s Sepulchre, but this Sepulchre was then in the hands of *Chriſtians*, who had already adopted the Heathen Cuſtom of honouring Altars, and inſenſible Objects with burning Lamps. The Diſcoveries *Fabretti* * has added to thoſe of *Bozius* and *Aringhus*, prove the contrary to what he pretends; for we find no Character of Judaiſm in that Seal; which has a Candleſtick, with a Palm-tree and theſe Letters:

N. ONI. RUF.

On the contrary the Palm is appropriated to the *Chriſtians*, and would rather be the mark of a Martyr. He † has produced another Candleſtick with ſeven Branches, with ſeven Lamps with theſe words:

CALEVIUS BENDIDIT. AVI
LUCIUS IN PACE.

But at the ſame time we find *Lazarus* coming out of his Tomb, and the Monogram of JESUS CHRIST; which ſhews that a *Chriſtian* made this Monument. 'Tis ſo true, that the *Chriſtians* have often taken a Candleſtick as it can't be denied. *Bonani* || puts one amongſt the Medals of Pope *Urban* VII. There the Pontiff is repreſented by the Figure of a Candleſtick with this Exhortation to imitate him. *Let your light ſo ſhine: Sic luceat lux veſtra.*

XVII. Theſe words ſo commonly found upon Tombs, *Here lies, Here reſts in Peace*, were common

* Supranis *p.* 516. † מצבה *ſignifies* Statue, Epitaph, *or* Monument. Buxtorf Thalmud. Hottinger. de Cippis Hebraicis. Nicolaus de Sepulchris Hebræorum || Horat. Olaus Borrichius Antiqua Urbis R. facies *c.* 7. *p.* 1543. in Theſ. Antiq. Rom. Græv. *t.* 3. * Montf. Diar. Ital. *c.* 3. *p.* 37. † Leo de Mod. P. 5. *c.* 9. *p.* 181. || Benjam. *p.* 13. * Fabretti Ant. Inſcr. Explicatio *c.* 7. *p.* 537. † Reineſ. Claſſ. 20. *n.* 43. || Bonani Numiſm. Pontif. Urb. VII. *t.* 1. *p.* 433.

to

to Heathens and *Christians* as well as *Jews*. We see at *Rome* the Tomb of one *Zosimus* a *Jew*, upon which we read this Epitaph: *Here lies* Zosimus, *who was whilst he lived a Member of the Synagogue of the* Agrippesians *; *he rests in Peace*. These last words make Mr. *Spon* believe that *Zosimus* was a *Christian* Merchant of *Cologne*, who came to *Rome* for the sake of Trade, and died there. The Error is manifest; for why should a Merchant of *Cologne* desire to have his Epitaph in *Greek*? Besides the Inscription does not import that the Merchant was of *Agrippina*. All these Difficulties are removed by observing that *Zosimus* was a *Greek* by Birth, who came from a City named *Agrippa*, which was in *Bithynia*, and where there was many *Jews*. And therefore we read another Epitaph of a *Jew* of this Country: *The Son of* Julian *President of the Synagogue of* Agrippa. This therefore is the Tomb of a *Jew*, and these words *he rests in Peace*, ought not to startle any body, since they still say to the Dead, in their Burial place, *Go in Peace*. Let it be only observed here, that there is no Candlestick upon this *Jewish* Tomb.

XVIII. *Benjamin*'s Narrative †, who discovered on the Banks of the *Tyber* the Cave of ten Martyrs of Judaism, ought not to give us any trouble; for he makes no Proof of it. On the contrary, this Cave situate on the Banks of the *Tyber* was in the Vatican, near the Palace of the *Lateran*, as we have already observed. Besides, 'tis a hard matter to discover these Martyrs of *Judaism*, Nor is it any wonder, since this Author is guilty of gross Ignorance in speaking of *Rome*. For he affirms, that three hundred Senators would not receive *Titus*, because they had ordered him to employ but two Years in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, and he took it not till the third Year. He asserts, that they reckoned a Succession of eighty Emperors, who had constantly reigned from *Tarquin* to *Pepin*, the Father of *Charlemagne*, who had each of them their *Louvre*. Amongst these Emperors, he reckons one *Galbinus*, in whose Palace there were *three hundred and sixty Halls*, to equal the Number of the Days of the Year. Perhaps he was better acquainted with the Martyrs of his Religion, than with the Heathen or *Christian* Emperors; but not to examine, the Confusion some Learned Men fall into ||, who attempt to dis-entangle this part of his Work, there is nothing more known, than the ten Righteous * he designed to speak of; for they are celebrated by the Rabbies. Two of these Martyrs suffered in *Judæa* at the time of the Ruin of the Temple: how came they to to be buried at *Rome*. The great *Akiba* perished under *Adrian*, in his Country where he had raised Rebellion. *Juda* the Son of *Bava* had his Body pierced with three hundred holes like a Sieve, because he had cast five Doctors upon the Floor to revenge himself of 'em. The sixth called *Ananias*, was burnt with the Book of the Law. *Isibab*, the Scribe was cast to the Dogs, and remained unburied. The tenth is hardly known, whom some call † *Judah* the Son of *Thima*, and others *Eleazar*, the Son of *Dama*. A third Party confounds these two Names, and gives 'em to one and the same Martyr. But how could *Benjamin* have seen at *Rome* the Tomb of these ten Just, some of which had been burnt, others remain'd unburied, and others were buried in *Judæa*?

XIX. In the last Age the Body of the Empress *Mary*, the Wife of *Honorius* || was pretended to be discovered; and to raise this Princesse's glory, 'tis asserted, that she and her Sister, both Daughters of *Stilicon*, having been surprized by an unexpected Death, preserved their Virginity. *Mary* was buried in the Vatican, in the Triumphal Street, where the Church of St. *Lewis* is at present. In the Year 1644. was found part of her Body with a great number of precious Stones; Rings; and Necklaces. Upon an Emerald was a Head representing *Honorius*; there was a Seal with these words, *Our most flourishing* Mary; a Plate of Gold having in *Greek* Characters the Names of *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael*, *Uriel*; Lastly, there was a Bodkin * of Gold, with these words upon it, *To our* † *Lord* Honorius; and on the other side, *Our Lady* Mary. From these Ornaments and Inscriptions they conclude, that this was the Tomb of the Empress *Mary*, who died a married Virgin, and thereby deserves to be put in the Catalogue of Saints.

XX. 'Tis true *Jornandes* || says, that *Honorius* having successively married two Sisters, God commanded 'em to depart the World without being known; and St. *Chrysostome* in his Exhortations to a young Widow, endeavours to move her by the Example of the Empresses, one whereof had a Husband, attack'd by abundance of Enemies, and *who was impotent to act*. But the weakness St. *Chrysostom* attributes to the Emperor only related to State-Management, because indeed he was too young to support a shaken and tottering Monarchy. Besides, we can't tell what *Jornandes* means, by the command God gave the two Sisters to continue Virgins. Was this impotence on the Emperor's part, or was it a miraculous Revelation; or lastly, was it an exemplary Punishment for his marrying two Sisters? *Claudian* on the contrary says the Marriage was consummated:

*Castumque * cubile*
Aggreditur, Tyrio quo fusus Honorius ostro
Carpebat teneros Maria cum Conjuge somnos.
Hic uterus crescat Mariæ; sic natus in astra
Parvus Honoriades genibus considat auctis.
Aurea sic videat similes Harmantia Tædas.

Philostorgius † moreover insinuates that a Child proceeded from this Marriage, and 'tis one of the Crimes he charges upon *Stilico*, to have endeavoured to deprive his Grandson of the Empire, to give it his Son *Eucherius*. Thus you have *Mary*'s Virginity, and the Foundation of her Saintship overturn'd.

Besides we don't discover the Emperor *Honorius* here, and the face observed upon an Emerald might be that of a private Husband as well as of an Emperor, to whom they gave not the bare Title of *Lord* or *Dominus*. They gave him the Name of *Dominus Rerum*, *Dominus Orbis*, and the Name of *our most flourishing Lady*, given to *Mary*, does not sute with an Empress. The Jewels might have belonged to some rich or noble Person as well as to an Empress. Lastly, we observe the tracks of a gross Superstition; for the Names of the Angels *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael* and *Uriel* are not the Characters of *Christianity* or Devotion. *Adelbert* was condemned || in a Council of *Rome*, for invoking the Angel *Uriel*, and many others, whose Names are not sufficiently known; and this Superstition was not in use, in the Empress *Marie*'s time, Either this Tomb, which is reverenced for its Antiquity is new; or else it must be restored to the *Jews*, who had their Cœmetery there, and who often put Wealth and Jewels into the Sepulchres as into that of *David*. Besides the Angels, to

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* Ἀγριππησίων, non Ἀγριππινήσιων. Fabrett. *c.* 5. † Benjam. *p.* 12. || Aringhus ubi supra. * *Names of the ten Just ones, or Martyrs.* R. Simeon *the Son of* Gamaliel, *and* Ananias, *kill'd at the time of the Ruin of* Jerusalem. Ismael *after the Desolation.* Akiba 52 *Years after the Destruction.* Judah *pierced like a Sieve.* Ananias *burnt.* Chotzphat *the Interpreter.* Isibab *the Scribe without Burial.* R. Eliezer *the Son of* Seimoa. Juda *the Son of* Thima. Ganz. ubi supra. † Ganz. Chronol. An. 880. *p.* 103 || Marliani Urbis Romæ Topograph. *l.* 5. *c.* 21. in Thes. Antiq. Rom. Grævii *t.* 3. *p.* 189. * Discriminale. † Domino nostro. || Jornandes de Reb. Getic. *c.* 30. *p.* 410. * Claud. Epital. Honor. † Philost. *l.* 12. *c.* 2. || An. 745.

whom

whom the Cabbaliſts * have aſcribed ſuch great Vertues, and made Governours of the World, and whoſe Names are found engraven in this Monument, give a great ſuſpicion of Judaiſm.

XXI. The Feaſt follows the Burying, The Heathens made many Collations in this Ceremony. They brought Meat and Wine to the Tombs, as if the Dead could be repleniſhed with 'em; and 'tis † imagined that the *Jews* had eſpouſed ſo ridiculous a Cuſtom, becauſe the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* || ſays, that *Delicates poured upon a mouth ſhut up, are as meſſes of meat ſet upon a grave*; but the Author does not attribute to his Nation the Cuſtom of ſetting Diſhes upon the Graves, but only alludes to that of the Heathens, which is no wonder; for then the *Jews* mingled with the *Greeks* could not be ignorant of their Practices.

Secondly, the *Gentiles* invited their Friends and Relations to eat upon the Sepulchre of the Dead, where they made a Feaſt. One would think that this Cuſtom had come among the *Jews*, ſince *Tobias* * adviſed a *man to pour out his bread on the burial of the Juſt*. God threatens his People by the Prophet *Jeremy*, as with a great Calamity † that Men ſhall *not give them the cup of conſolation to drink for their father or their mother*. *Joſephus* || obſerves, that *Archelaus* after he had lamented *Herod* the *Great* ſeven Days, gave a magnificent Treat to the People, and that that Cuſtom ruined moſt of the *Jews*, who were not able to bear the expence of thoſe Feaſts: and yet they would have been thought Atheiſts if they had not done it. *Gregory Nazianzen* alludes to it, when he introduces the Mother of the *Macchabees*, ſaying that ſhe did not call the Companions of her Grief, and preſented not *the bread of Affliction*, rejoycing at the Victory her Children obtained by Martyrdom, ſhe would not obſerve the common Ceremonies of Mourning, nor make the *Feaſt of Affliction*. The *Chriſtians* themſelves followed this Cuſtom, ſince St. *Chryſoſtome* taxes them with not inviting the Poor. They thought by this to celebrate the Memory of the Dead. However it does not appear, that they prepared a Table in the Church-Yards, but the Entertainment was rather made by the Relations at Home.

XXII. St. *Jerome* relates another Cuſtom of the *Jews* of his time, who roll'd themſelves in Aſhes, and in imitation of the *Phariſees*, they at firſt ate Lentils, to remember that they had loſt their Birth-right. At preſent the Relations * of the Dead being returned Home ſit upon the Ground, and having taken off their Shoes, Bread and Wine and hard Eggs are brought 'em, and they eat and drink †, *Give ſtrong drink unto him that is ready to periſh, and Wine to thoſe that be of heavy hearts*. He that ſays the common Grace to the Meat is uſed to add ſome word of Conſolation. In the *Levant*, and in many other places the Friends and Relations have uſed to ſend in, for ſeven days together Night and Morning to the near Kindred of the Dead, Proviſions for great and ſumptuous Entertainments; and alſo go and eat with them to comfort 'em.

XXIII. As ſoon || as the Dead is carried out of doors they double up the Quilts, and roll up the Coverings which they leave upon the Mat: then they light a Lamp at the Head-board, which burns uninterruptedly for ſeven Days.

XXIV. They alſo take down all the Beds of the Houſe. Some * ſay this is done the very Moment the Dead is carried out; but Rabbi *Joſhua* orders it to be done, when the Grave is ſhut up; and the Controverſy is ſo nice, that the *Talmudiſts* have left it undecided. The reaſon *Jochanan* aſſigns for this Cuſtom is, that the Friends of *Job* ſate with him near *the Earth*. They did not lie upon the Floor, but near *the Earth*. However R. *Aſher* is of Opinion, that all that come to the Burial-houſe to comfort the afflicted, ought to lie upon the Floor. And this laſt Cuſtom muſt have prevailed. For *Leo* of *Modena* † aſſerts, that the Relations of the Dead *continue in the houſe ſeven Days, ſitting on the Ground, and eat in this poſture*.

XXV. The Rabbies reckon thirty Days of Affliction for a dead Perſon. The three firſt are given up to Tears and Grief, and the ſeven following they lament his Fate. But yet the common Term is ſeven Days. The Heathens had the ſame Number of Days: At leaſt *Ovid* ſays, that *Orpheus* lamented his Wife ſeven Days without Eating:

Septem tamen ille diebus
Squalidus in ripa Cereris ſine munere ſedit.
Cura dolorque animi lachrymæq; alimenta fuere.

This is what *David* ſays, *my tears have been my meat day and night*.; who faſted till Evening for *Abner*'s Death. During this time, they ſalute no body; they can do no ſort of Work, nor bathe, nor lie with their Wives, nor put on a new or white Habit. Ten Perſons || come Evening and Morning to Pray with the Afflicted; they read the XLIX Pſalm, pray for the Soul of the Dead, diſtribute their Comforts in proportion to the loſs; but no body opens his mouth, till the afflicted Perſon has ſpoke, becauſe *Job* ſpoke before his Friends. If he ſhakes his Head, 'tis a ſign that he comforts himſelf, and wants not the comfort of his Friends; if he continues at reſt, they ſpeak to him. Four famous Rabbies once went to viſit R. *Iſhmael*, who had loſt his Children; *Tarphon*, who was the Chief of 'em, admoniſhed his Companions as they entered not to interrupt one another in their Diſcourſes, becauſe their Buſineſs was with a learned and ingenious Man: *Iſhmael* ſpoke, as ſoon as they were enter'd and ſaid, *Iniquities are multiplied, and troubles have ſurrounded me*. The Comforters hereby obtained the liberty of ſpeaking. *Tarphon* having firſt cited ſome words of *Leviticus* * ſaid they ought to *argue from the leſs to the greater*; and that if they regretted *Nadab* and *Abihu*, who had but once performed the Service; for a ſtronger reaſon they ought to lament the Children of *Iſhmael*. *Joſes*, who was the next, took the ſame Method, *and concluding from the leſs to the greater*, ſaid, that if *Abijah* the *Son of* Jeroboam *was lamented, who had only done one good work*, they ought much more to lament the Children of *Iſhmael*. The Comforters often make the Elogy of the Dead, *&c.*

XXVI. They dreſs themſelves † in Mourning according to the Cuſtom of the Country where they live, without being obliged to it by any Commandment. At the ſeven Days end, they come out of Doors to go to the Synagogue, where many cauſe Lamps to be lighted, Prayers to be ſaid, and promiſe Alms for the Soul of the Dead, which they repeat again at the end of the Month and the Year. If the Dead be a Rabbi, or ſome conſiderable Perſon, they make on theſe Days the *Eſped*, that is his Funeral Oration and Elogy. The Son was uſed to ſay every Day night and morning in the Synagogue his Prayer || *Cadiſc* for the Soul of his Father or Mother; and

* V. Bibl. Rabb. *t.* 1. *p.* 228. † Sopranis David. Illuſt. Digr. 2. *c.* 5. *p.* 524. || Eccleſiaſtic. 30. 18. * Tob. 4. 17. † Jerem. 16. 17. || Joſeph. de Bello *l.* 1. *c.* ult. * Leo de Mod. *p.* 181. † Prov. 31. 16. || Leo de Mod. ibid. * Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. in Matth. *p.* 321 & 1071. † Leo de Mod. *p.* 131. || Leo 182. & Lightfoot in Joh. *p.* 1072. * Levit. 10. 6. † Leo de Mod. *p.* 182. || Holy.

this for eleven Months together: and ſome faſt every Year on the Day that one or the other of 'em died.

XXVII. On other Publick or Private Afflictions, the *Jews* faſted; threw Aſhes upon their Heads; put on Sack-cloth, beat their Breaſts and Thighs. Theſe * Rites are well known; and therefore we will only make ſome Obſervations which will help to explain the Scripture.

Firſt, 'Tis a Miſtake to make the Pious Perſons of the Old Teſtament pluck off their Hairs, and to maintain that this was lawful. They impertinently cite the Author of the Additions to *Eſther*. For beſides that this Book is Apocryphal, it does not agree with the true Hiſtory of this Princeſs who ſpeaks but of one Faſt of three Days; and without ſuſpecting him of inſincerity, we may ſay, he has made one of thoſe Hyperboles ſo common with the Orientals in repreſenting *Eſther* † *going to fill with her curled Locks all the places where ſhe had taken pleaſure.* This behaviour literally taken would be ridiculous. The falſe *Eſdras* likewiſe relates, that he pluck'd off his Hair and his Beard, when he underſtood, that the *Jews* who were returned from the Captivity, had married ſtrange Wives; but there is only mention of a Faſt in the true Hiſtory of the Reſtorer of the *Jewiſh* Diſcipline and Religion. The Extravagances of the Heathens ought not to be fathered upon the *Jews*: who were content with throwing Aſhes upon their Heads, and ſuffering their Beards to grow, which Cuſtom ſtill continues amongſt 'em; for 'tis not lawful to be ſhaved during the Days of Mourning.

Secondly, they put on Sack-cloth; and faſted upon Sack-cloth and Aſhes. They ſay, that theſe Sack-cloths made of Camels Hair, like *John* Baptiſt's Cloathing, were not deſigned to expreſs Sorrow but Repentance ‖, and they were worn to merit of God the Pardon of their Sins, by their ſevere treatment of the Fleſh: even when they put it upon their Cloaths, it ſtill continued to make an act of Penance, becauſe it denoted the Debaſement and Humiliation of the Soul. This was only imagined to give a more venerable Antiquity to the Hair ſhirts of the *Chriſtian* Hermits. 'Tis certain theſe Sack-cloths were made of harſh and courſe Materials; but it is only conjecture to affirm they were of Camel's hair, like *John* Baptiſt's Garment. *Jacob* put on Sack-cloth, when he had loſt his Son *Joſeph*; and ſo did *David*, when his Enemies purſued him. Shall we ſay, that this was not Affliction, but a Notion of ſatisfying Divine Juſtice, which made them cloath themſelves in this manner? On the contrary, they knew not the uſe of Sack-cloth for Penance, but it was common in Mourning, and in great Afflictions.

Laſtly, they beat the Breaſt and Thigh. The Prophet *Nahum* ſays *, that *the Queen being a Priſoner, her Maids accompanied her as with the voice of doves, tabring upon their breaſts.* This Paſſage has been thought obſcure. To make the Queen march with the ſound of Tabers, as many Interpreters ſay, is a ſign of Joy rather than Grief. 'Tis therefore more natural to aſcribe to theſe Maids, who followed their Princeſs in her Captivity *the mourning of doves*, and to make 'em beat their Breaſts with the ſame vehemence as a Taber is beaten. Sometimes they laid their Hand upon their Head, as well as upon the Thigh. *Jeremy* mentions both theſe Cuſtoms: *Thou* † *ſhalt go forth from him, and thine hands upon thy head, for the Lord hath rejected thy confidences, and thou ſhalt not proſper in them. I have laid my hand upon my thigh*, ſays he in another place: And this Cuſtom has continued to this Day.

XXVIII. The *Jews* have another which is very peculiar to them. As the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem* is a ſubject of conſtant and perpetual Grief; that they may always remember it, and ſhew the Devotion they continue for this City, they leave a place in their Houſes of ſix Foot ſquare without Lime.

* Sopranis Digreſſ. 3 *p.* 544. † Eſther 4 2. ‖ Sopranis Digreſſ. 1. *p.* 316. * Nahum. 2. 7. † Jer. 2. 37.

CHAP. XXIV.

Precautions againſt the Impurity of the Dead, of Lepers and Idolaters.

I. *Any part of the Dead ſuffices to defile.* II. *Tombs impure. How Houſes become ſo.* III. *The uſe that deſerted Cœmeteries may be put to.* IV. *Diſputes about the kinds of Leproſie.* V. *Difficulties about the Leproſie of Cloaths and Houſes,* VI. *The Examination of a leprous Houſe.* VII. *The Purification of the Leper.* VIII. *Whether the Treatiſe concerning* ſtrange Worſhip, *and that of Idolatry reſpect the* Chriſtians. IX. *A Prohibition to lend to Idolaters.* X. *Rigorous Precautions againſt Idolatry.* XI. *Death decreed againſt all Idolaters.* XII. *Society with 'em forbidden.*

I. DEAD Bodies * defile and render thoſe that touch them Unclean; but the Impurity is not contracted, till the Soul is perfectly ſeparate from the Body, and there remains no Motion. Then a Piece of a dead Body no bigger than an Olive; a Nut-ſhell full of Aſhes; any part of a Bone; a little quantity of Blood, are ſufficient to propagate the Contagion.

II. Some doubt is raiſed about the Gate and Pales that ſhut up or encompaſs the Tombs. Some allow the carrying them, and † maintain that they can't defile, except when ſome Aſhes, or Particles of a dead Body are obſerved upon them. Others, that are more rigid, will have every touch of the Sepulchral Stones or Planks to be impure. They are divided alſo about the manner of Houſes becoming unclean. Some think that *a ſpoonful of Corruption* diſperſed, is enough to make 'em ſo; but R. *Simeon* is of a contrary Opinion. If the hairs of the Dead ‖ are withinſide of the Door, tho' the Body lies without, the Houſe is Unclean. If all the Doors are ſhut the Houſe is conſidered as a Sepulchre, and conſequently is defiled; but when one Door is open, the Impurity goes out, becauſe they ſuppoſe * a deſign of carrying the Body through that paſſage, even tho' it be ſo little, that it could not go through without Mutilation.

III. When they plow up a Burial-place, they may plant Trees and ſow Grain in it, which is mow'd

* Miſnah מסכת אהלות Tractatus de Tentoriis *c.* 1. &c. *t.* IV. *p.* 148. *c.* 2. *p.* 149. † Ib. *c.* 2. Sect. 4. *p.* 152. ‖ Ib. *c.* 3. *p.* 154, 155. * Ibid. *c.* 7. Sect. 3. Maim. ibid. *p.* 170.

and

and reap'd; but 'tis not lawful to ſow ſuch * as is pluck'd up, becauſe the root carries with it Duſt and Bones with the Earth; at leaſt, the Grain that has been thus gathered muſt be twice ſifted, to avoid contracting Impurity. In order to purify the Burial places, they add new Earth to 'em, or take a certain quantity from 'em; but the ſureſt way is to cover 'em with great Tables of Stone faſten'd together, for fear that by moving them in walking, a pretty large quantity of Bones or Duſt may fly out and defile.

IV. Lepers † defile as well as the Dead, and therefore the Doctors according to the antient Ordinance of God, take great Precautions againſt them. They diſtinguiſh ſeveral kinds of this Diſeaſe. *Chanina* reckoned but ſixteen. R. *Doza* thirty ſix; but *Akiba* has multiply'd 'em to ſeventy two. One is known by a Puſtula that is white *like ſnow*; and is the moſt dangerous, becauſe it penetrates through every thing. Another is of a darker white. The third is of a reddiſh colour, and produces no Puſtula. The difference of Puſtula's raiſes new Subjects of Controverſy between *Akiba* || and the other Caſuiſts.

V. One of the greateſt Difficulties that ariſes upon this Subject, relates to the Leproſie of Houſes and Cloaths. Indeed 'tis no wonder to ſee this Diſtemper reigning amongſt Men, whoſe Blood is eaſily corrupted, but how is it communicated to inſenſible Objects? R. *Levi* the Son of *Gerſon*, thought that a foreign heat paſſing into Cloaths, corrupted natural heat, and a certain humour that contributes to the preſervation of the Stuff, which is intirely deſtroy'd. And therefore God ordered theſe Cloaths to be burnt. *Moſes Nachmanides* has recourſe to the Divine Vengeance, that puniſhed the *Iſraelites* by a miraculous Scourge, which ſhew'd that God withdrew himſelf from a Perſon; but he only exerciſed this Vengeance in the Holy Land; for he ſays, *When ye ſhall be come to the Land.* Others imagine that this was only a threat, that God made uſe of to terrify the People, and to induce 'em to Purity and Sanctification, of which the Purity of their Cloaths is an Image and Figure. *Abravanel* * thought to ſolve the Difficulty by ſaying, that the Cloaths which a Man wears, contract ſomething of his Qualities and the Miſeries that afflict him. This appears, ſays he, by the red and green Stains obſerved upon the Cloaths of the Leprous; and as drops of Sweat paſs from the Body to the Garments that touch it, the qualities of the Leproſie † may alſo be diffuſed and communicated. As to the Leproſie of Houſes, it was miraculous; for the corruption of the Blood can't be communicated to Wood and Stone. God hereby admoniſhed Sinners to be Converted; the Stones cried out, and the Wood preach'd Repentance. "In "general, there was ſomething Supernatural in this "Diſtemper, which was not cured by Blood-letting "or Remedies, and for which they were to preſent "Oblations, and make diverſe Aſperſions."

VI. When the Leproſie is ſuſpected to be in a Houſe, they go and acquaint the Prieſt with it, to whom the judgment of this Diſtemper belongs. It is not allow'd the wiſe Men themſelves to determine that there is a Leproſie: They are to ſpeak in a very dubious manner. *Methinks there is there as it were a kind of Leproſie.* The Prieſt examines the || Wall; and if he thinks there is an actual Leproſie, he ſhuts up the Houſe; ſeven Days after he returns; and if the marks be multiplied, he cauſes the Stones to be moved and carried out of the City into an unclean place. Others are brought, and the Wall is plaiſtered; he returns at a Week's end; and if the Leproſie continues, they pull down the Houſe, and caſt the Materials out of the City.

VII. The manner of Purifying the Leper is regulated by the Law. The *Miſnah* * notwithſtanding adds that the blood of a Bird ought to be mingled with a certain quantity of Water, that the two Birds ought to be perfectly equal, and muſt be kill'd upon an Earthen Veſſel. Beſides they have multiply'd Caſes of Conſcience upon this Article, as upon all the reſt. They determine for inſtance that a Houſe becomes impure, when only any unclean Object to the bigneſs of an Olive is put into it. Putting one's Head and part of the Body into a Leprous Houſe ſuffices to contract its Impurity; but theſe Regulations particularly relate to the Holy Land, where the Doctors think that Leproſie was more common than in other places.

VIII. Laſtly, they take great Precautions againſt Idolatry, which carries a much greater Contagion of Impurity, than the touch of a Carkaſs or a Leper. We find in the *Miſnah* † a Treatiſe of *ſtrange Worſhip*, which contains many Laws upon this Matter. || *Peringerus* who tranſlated it, was ſcrupulous of publiſhing it, becauſe he apprehended the *Chriſtians* would be ſcandalized at it. In the mean time, he thought the *Chriſtian* Religion was not formidable enough to *Juda* the Saint, who compoſed the *Miſnah*, to deſerve his notice, and be the object of his Laws. Beſides he quotes an authentick Confeſſion of the Jews, *who acknowledge the* Chriſtians *at preſent not to be addicted to the worſhip of Idols.* Laſtly, he excuſes himſelf, becauſe the Tract only relates to Heatheniſh Idols. This laſt reaſon was the only one, that could determine him; for the Rabbies pun upon the word Idol, when they ſay that the *Chriſtians* don't worſhip it. They look upon them all as Idolaters; ſome becauſe they worſhip a Man, whom their Fathers crucified; and others becauſe they pay religious Worſhip to Saints and their Images. It ſuffices to know the Principles of their Religion, which confines Adoration to God alone, to perceive that their Accuſation of Idolatry falls upon the *Chriſtians.* Beſides *Judah* the Saint muſt have fear'd the *Chriſtian* Religion more than Heatheniſm. ſince it cited his own, was its Rival, and had its Temples partly filled with the Deſerters of the Synagogue; but he did not ſpeak of the Worſhip of Saints and Images, becauſe it was not eſtabliſhed in his time, and the Idolatry that then prevailed was that of Heatheniſm. For we find a Dialogue betwixt the *Romans* and *Jews*, wherein the firſt ask why God doth not aboliſh Idols, if they diſpleaſe him; and he is anſwer'd, that the Sun and Moon, which are worſhipped are neceſſary to Mankind, and that if God deſtroyed the other Objects of Heathen Worſhip, he would thereby confirm the Worſhip of the Stars, which he would have ſpar'd. *Proculus* the Son of a Philoſopher is introduced, who ſtrangely puzzled *Gamaliel*, becauſe he had bath'd in a Bath, where the Statue of *Venus* was. *Gamaliel* anſwer d, that the Statue of the Goddeſs, was only placed there to adorn the Bath, ſince inſtead of worſhipping her, the moſt fulſom Indecencies were committed before her face. Laſtly, the Emperor *Adrian*'s Clay * is there condemned. 'Tis a ridiculous Story, which yet ſerves to prove, that the Heathen Idolatry was the thing in view. 'Tis ſuppoſed, that this Prince had the Art of mixing Earth with Wine: He had this mixture dried, and

* Ibid. *c.* 18. 208, 209. † Miſnah *t.* IV. טהרות נגעים Tractatus de Plagis Lepræ *c.* 1. *p.* 213. 215. || Ibid. *c.* 45. *p.* 229. * Abravanel in Levit. *c.* 13 47. Diſſ. de Lepræ Veſtim. ad Calcem Coſri, *p.* 400. † Id ad Levit. *c.* 14. *c* 33. ibid. *p.* 405. || Miſnah ſupra *c.* 12. *p.* 257. * Ibid. *p.* 265. † עבודה זרה Avodah Sarah Cultus Peregrinus Miſn. *t.* VI. *p.* 364. || Pering. Præf. ad illum Tract. * Miſnah *c.* 1. *p.* 382. &c. 3. *p.* 375. & 377.

when

when he was in his Army, he diluted these Earthen Vessels with Water, and the Wine came out of 'em, So that he never wanted any during the Campaign.

Maimonides *, who a long time after wrote a Treatise of Idolatry, had no interest to attack a Worship that was abolish'd. But on the contrary, he ought to have turn'd his Pen against the *Christians* of his Age, who were great Worshippers of Images and Saints; but yet he has not done it; but it is no wonder, since he has only Paraphras'd the Treatise of *Judah* the Saint; and both of 'em have believed, that by prescribing several Rules against Idolaters, they sufficiently condemn'd the Worship of any Creature whatsoever. And yet *Maimonides* speaks oftner of Images of different Kinds; and relates this common Argument as one of those of the antient Idolaters: "That as Kings will be honoured by their "Favourites, which is their Glory, God will also "be glorified in his Saints, which he has raised to "honour."

IX. Be it how it will, it is forbidden † to Purchase, Sell, Borrow or Lend to Idolaters, three days before their Feast, and some have extended their Law till three days after. *Jehudah* permitted the receiving a Payment of them, because the Payment of a Debt afflicts the Payer; but the Doctors have revolted against their Master, because 'tis a Joy to a Creditor to be acquitted, and to owe no more.

X. It is not lawful for a *Jew* to go into the place ||, where the Feast is kept, unless the way absolutely terminates there, and leads no farther, lest he should be suspected of joyning with Idolaters: when he goes under a Tree consecrated to Idols, or passes by a Statue, he may not pluck a thorn out of his foot, lest it should be imagined that he bows to worship the Idol. Lastly, it is not lawful to rest himself under the Shadow of a Tree consecrated to Idols. 'Tis a question whether Workmen are permitted to labour and make Ornaments for Idols. Some * deny it; but *Eliezer* is of a contrary opinion, provided a Man be well Paid.

XI. Their Severity against Idolaters is screw'd to the height. *Maimonides* speaks of nothing less than Stoning, and Death for those of his Nation, who give themselves up to this Sin; and the Seducers † are condemned to the same Punishment. He forbids making any Alliance with 'em, without distinguishing the *Canaanites* from other Nations. He is for having them all either *converted or killed*, because it is written, *Ye shall have no pity on 'em.* If an Idolater is a Drowning, he must not be drawn from the Water nor assisted; and the only favour that is shew'd him, is not to push him down a Precipice or into a Well; whereas those that forsake Judaism, to turn Epicureans or Idolaters, ought to be persecuted to Hell.

XII. Great care is to be taken || how to converse with 'em; A Man must not leave his Bottle upon the Table, where an Idolater eats, lest he should mix it, whilst he goes out. Grapes must not be gather'd with 'em, tho' it may be lawful to tread in the same Press. Horses must not be left in their Stable, for fear they should abuse them. A Woman * would be to blame, to remain alone with an Infidel; because they are suspected of loving Lewdness. Nor must she serve Idolaters, as a Midwife, because the Child will be educated in Idolatry. *Meir* would not have Medicines prepared by them to be made use of. They only ask the Physician's Advice, and the manner, how the Medicine ought to be prepar'd. But in spite of the Authority of *Meir* and the *Misnah*, their practice is quite contrary. In the mean time we see by this, the *Jews* abhorrence for Idolatry.

* Maim Tr. de Idolat. *p.* 3. † Misnah Avodah Zarah *c.* 1. *p* 364. Maimon. in Misnam & Tr. de Idolat. *c.* 9. *p.* 62. || Misnah ibid. Sect. 4. *p.* 365 & Maimon. de Idolat. *c.* 3. Sect. 10. *p.* 25. * Misnah Sect. 8. *p.* 367. † Maim. de Idol. *c.* 5. *p.* 34. *c* 6. 38. *c* 10. *p.* 69. || Misnah *c.* 5. *p.* 387. * Ibid. *p.* 368.

The End of the Fifth BOOK.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

BOOK VI.

Containing the Diſperſion of all the Tribes in the Eaſt and Weſt, till the Eighth Century of the Chriſtian Æra.

PART I.

A General Account of the Diſperſion of the Tribes in *Aſſyria*, among the *Medes* and *Perſians*, in the *Indies*, *America*, *Æthiopia*, *Egypt* and *Arabia*, in the *Greek* and *Ottoman* Empire, among the *Tartars* in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *France* and *England*.

CHAP. I.

The Sources from whence the Miſeries of the Jews proceed.

I. *A Miracle of Providence. The Preſervation of the Jews in Miſery.* II. *The difference of their preſent State from all their preceeding Captivities.* III. *The particular Characters of their Miſery.* IV. *The Reflections we ought to make upon 'em.* V. *Whether* Amos *forbad the reading of the Law out of the Holy Land. The Error of St.* Chryſoſtome, *who ſays it.* VI. *The Corruption of the People at the time of the Siege of* Jeruſalem. *Wonder-working Saints who flouriſhed at that time.* VII. *The Gate of Prayer ſhut up.* VIII. *Their Love of Women the Origine of Misfortunes.* IX. *Whether the Jew ſuffers for the other Nations.* X. *The Collective Body of Sins of the whole Nation.* XI. *The Death of Jeſus Chriſt only a collateral Cauſe of their Miſery.* XII. *The difference of Religions, the Source of hatred.* XIII. *This hatred increaſed. Frequent Imprecations.* XIV. *Several Inſtances of this hatred.* XV. *The Jews diſtinguiſhed into Orientals and Occidentals.*

I. NOtwithſtanding the drineſs and barrenneſs of the Hiſtory we are upon, yet it offers to the Publick View an Object worthy of admiration; and the greateſt Prodigy imaginable, is the preſervation of the Jewiſh Nation in the midſt of all the Calamities they have run through for Seventeen Hundred Years. Religions depend upon temporal Proſperity; they triumph under the Protection of a Conquering Prince; and fall and languiſh with decaying Monarchies. The old Heatheniſm, that over-flow'd the Earth, is ſunk and vaniſh'd. The Chriſtian Church, ſo renown'd and glorious for its Martyrs, has yet been conſiderably diminiſh'd by the Perſecutions: And the breaches that have been made by violence, could not eaſily be repaired. However, we ſhall here ſee a Church, that has been hated and perſecuted for Seventeen Hundred Years, ſubſiſting and ſtill numerous. Kings have often employ'd the ſeverity of Edicts, and the Hand of the Executioner to deſtroy it. The ſeditious Multitude has perform'd Maſſacres and Executions infinitely more tragical than the Princes. Both Kings and People, Heathens, Chriſtians and Mahometans, who are oppoſite in ſo many Things, have united in the Deſign of ruining this Nation, and have not been able to effect it. The Buſh of *Moſes* ſurrounded with Flames, has always burnt without conſuming. The Jews have been driven from all Places of the World, which has only ſerv'd to diſperſe them into all the Parts of the Univerſe. They have from Age to Age run through Miſery and Perſecution, and Torrents of their own Blood. They ſtill live in ſpight of

the Disgrace and Hatred that attends them in all Places, whilst nothing remains of the greatest Monarchies but the Name.

II. Their present Misery has its particular Characters. In the other Captivities, God pointed out a Time in which he would be reconciled, and break the Yoak of Tyrants, and restore his People to their Liberty. The longest, which was that of *Egypt*, lasted but a few Ages. From *Babylon*, they returned at Seventy Years end, and *Antiochus*'s Persecution was to terminate after three Years and ten Days: But God fixes no Term to the duration of the Jewish Misery, and we know more clearly by our Gospels, that they must be re-called, than they can see it in the Writings of the Prophets. God comforted them in their other Calamities by Heroes, or Men Divinely Inspired. *Ezekiel* propheſied at *Babylon*, and *Daniel* shewed at a distance the *Messiah* that was to come. The *Macchabees* raised again the Glory of the Nation against the Kings of *Syria*; but in their present State, we have seen nothing but pretended *Messiah*'s, who have added fresh Weight to the Yoak of the Nation, by attempting to shake it off. The Race of Prophets is extinct, and not one of 'em is to be seen, that promises the end of a Calamity, which has already lasted such a vast number of Ages.

Moreover, when God delivered up his People to the Infidels, he was careful to preserve the Nation in a Body, by conveying it into the same place. It was all united together in the Plains of *Goshen*, when it was to depart from *Egypt*. *Cyrus* was at no great trouble to re-unite the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, to send 'em back to *Jerusalem*. One part of the Nation inhabited the same Cities, and the *Israelites* peopled both the Banks of the River *Chaboras*; but at the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and afterwards in the War of *Adrian*, the Nation weaken'd by unheard of Massacres was dispersed into all the Provinces of the Empire. The dispersion is as great as ever it was; and 'tis a hard matter to find some straggling remainders of the Ten Tribes in the East, where they were formerly very numerous and considerable.

The *Romans*, when they made themselves Masters of *Judæa*, left its Inhabitants a publick Worship, and the exercise of their Laws. The Synagogues, as those of *Damascus*, unappealably determin'd the Affairs of Religion, even where the Christians were concern'd. The High-Priest had an eminent Power. They had their Judges even in *Chaldea*, as appears from the History of *Susanna*, tho' it be a Romance. But at present they have no shadow of Supream Authority remaining; nevertheless the Nation still subsists, and is numbered by Millions.

III. The Chastisements God has inflicted upon this Nation, are the most terrible in the World; as having involved both the Men, and their Religion, and the Land they inhabited. The Ceremonies, essential to their Worship, can no longer be observed. All that pompous Train of Rites, which raised the Renown of the Jewish Worship, and struck the Heathens with that Veneration, as to cause them to send presents and Victims to *Jerusalem*, is absolutely lost; for they have neither Temples nor Altars, nor Sacrifices. Why did God annex their Religion to one place, and a particular Temple, if he was not resolved it should for ever stand? And why has he suffered it to fall, if he designed the Sacrifices should be *Eternal*.

Nor has their Religion been the only Sufferers; but the Professors of it were Massacred: Such as had escaped the Rage of War and Soldiers, were sold in the Market. They were dispersed over all the Universe, and this Dispersion continues to this Day. Lastly, It seems, that the Land it self is loaded with an everlasting Curse. The Heathens, Christians, Mahometans; in a word, most Nations have made themselves Masters of *Jerusalem*, one after another. How many Revolutions have happened to States in so long a succession of Ages? And yet the Jews are the only People to whom God has denied the Possession of this little Spot of Ground, which is infinitely necessary to them, since they must *Worship upon this Mountain*, and they never have met with so favourable a Conjuncture, as could give them the full enjoyment of it. *Julian de Toledo* [a] alledged, that it had been a long time; since any Professor of Judaism was seen about *Jerusalem*, and scarce at this Day can they purchase in it six Foot of Ground for a Grave.

IV. There is no exaggaration in it. I content my self with pointing to notorious Facts, and so far am I from designing to render the Nation odious by its Misery, that I conclude, that it ought to be looked upon as one of those Wonders we admire, without fathoming the depth of 'em, since in spite of so long a train of Miseries, and a so long tried Patience, the Jewish Nation is still kept up, and preserved by Providence. The Jews ought to be tired with waiting for a *Messiah*, who after he has fed 'em for so many Years and Ages with the vain hopes of Prosperity, leaves 'em still grovelling in Misery; and the Christians ought to quicken their Regard and Charity for Men whom God so long preserves, notwithstanding the Miseries which would have quite sunk and buried any other People.

V. The Author [b] of the Apostolical Constitutions thought that God to aggravate the Punishment of so great a Dispersion, had forbidden them the reading of the Law *out of the Holy Land*. St. *Chrysostome* [c] has followed him, and these two ancient Authors bottom their Assertion upon the Prophet *Amos*, who has condemned the Jews for *reading the Law without*; but the first of these Writers has betrayed himself by this Reflection; and we can't give him the Antiquity he pretends to, since the great Dispersion of the Jews did not arrive till *Adrian*'s Reign. Then it was, that not being able to live any longer in the adjacent Parts, they were forced to read the *Law without*. But this is a pure Vision; for *Amos* [d] exhorts the Jews to offer *a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving with Leaven*, instead of censuring them for *reading the Law without*, which has no manner of Sense in it. The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions, as well as St. *Chrysostome*, have been misled by the *Greek* Version, which is called the *Septuagint*. If they could not consult the *Hebrew*, good Sense should have taught 'em, that there had been Prophets, as *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, who read the Law without a Crime out of the bounds of *Judæa*. These ancient Authors therefore Father upon *Moses* a Law which he never made; upon the Prophet *Amos*, a Notion he never had; and add a degree of Misery to the Jews, which they never knew. We read [e] in the Works of a Jew, who turned Christian, that there had been such direful Times, that those who read the Law, were torn to pieces with Combs of

[a] Julian Tolet. contra Jud. B. Max. Par. t. 12. pag. 622. [b] Constit. Apost. l. 6. c. 24. 25. p. 353. [c] Chrysost. Or. III. contra. Jud. [d] Amos 4. 5. *It is* מחמץ ex fermento. *The Greek is* καὶ ἀνέγνωσαν ἔξω νόμον, [e] Hieron. a Sancta Fide contra Judæos, l. 1. p. 51. V Pet. Alfonsi Dial. Tit 9. B. M. P. t. xx. p. 185.

Iron;

Iron; and it was a Crime attended with Death, or a moſt heavy Puniſhment to teach Children the Myſteries of the Paſſover or Circumciſion. But this does not juſtifie the two Authors before-mentioned; for the Buſineſs here was a cruel Perſecution; whereas the Prohibition to read the Law out of *Judæa*, is imputed to *Moſes* and the Prophet *Amos:* Beſides, we can't gueſs at what time the Perſecution happened, which the Jews ſpeaks of. He adds alſo, that Chriſtian Princes commanded the Jewiſh young Women, who were Married, to be brought to the Governour of the Province, that he might have their Virginity, which render'd Marriages very rare, unleſs a Man was ſo happy as to meet with a Widow. This Story ſeems to be fabulous, and renders the Perſecution dubious. The Jews have real Miſeries enough, without loading them with imaginary ones, like St. *Chryſoſtome* and this Proſelyte.

VI. *Joſephus*, [e] who only ſaw the beginnings of this Deſolation, could not forbear to obſerve the Hand of God in it; but he attributes this Chaſtiſement to the impiety of the Zealots, who had ſo often prophaned the Temple, by ſhedding in it the Blood of their Enemies. Some Doctors have followed him, thinking that the ruine of *Jeruſalem* was cauſed by the Diſorders which the Impious and Prophane carried to the higheſt degree. However, there was at that time no Idolatry in the Temple; and for a Man to bring the Golden Calf among the Cauſes of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, is to own, that he has nothing to ſay to the purpoſe. Beſides, the *Rabbins* can no longer aſcribe their Miſery upon the Sins of that time, ſince they boaſt to us the Virtues of many Wonder-working Saints who were then alive. God governed the whole World only for the ſake of *Ananias* the Son of *Doza*; and one Day, that he and his Wife faſted, their Oven was found full of Bread. *Hunna*, who flouriſhed then, ſeeing a deſolating Drought, ſwore by the Name of God, that he would not come out of a Circle, which he had drawn about him, till it had Rain'd. The Miracle came to paſs, as in *Elias*'s time, and there was a very abundant Harveſt. There was not ſo much as a ſingle Bird who durſt fly over the Head of *John* the Son of *Zachai*, whilſt he taught; for God cauſed 'em to fall down dead. Laſtly, *Gamaliel* lived in this time. It will be ſaid, that theſe Miracles, and perhaps the Doctors are imaginary, and that 'tis better to follow *Joſephus*, who repreſents the Corruption of the Nation extreamly great. I own it, but 'tis not amiſs to ſhew, that the Modern Doctors oppoſe the old. Beſides, we ſee, that to raiſe the Glory of their pretended Maſters, they throw themſelves into an inextricable Difficulty.

VII. Others believe, that the Law they love, renders 'em odious to other Nations, and that this was ſignified by the place where it was given; for *Sinai* ſignifies *Hatred*. They add, that their Prayers have never been heard ſince the ruin of the Temple; becauſe tho' God has left the Gate of Repentance ever open, yet he has ſhut up the Gate of Prayer. To this they apply the words of the Prophet *Jeremy*, who ſays, that God has *rejected their Prayer*. They add, that God ordered *Ezekiel* to put a Plate of Iron on his Side, to be an impenetrable Wall betwixt *Jeruſalem* and him. Repentance is a *Sea wherein every Man may waſh, and dive when he pleaſes; but 'tis not poſſible for a Man to pierce through a Plate of Iron.* All Moments are Opportunities of Converſion; but a Man cannot always make his Prayer effectual. They reaſon abſurdly; for they maintain that Prayer remains uſeleſs and ineffectual, even tho' the Repentance be ſincere.

VIII. They own, that they love fair Women, tho' they be Chriſtians, which has drawn upon 'em a double misfortune; for the Husband jealous of the Adulterous Jew, often kills him, and makes the Nation bear the Puniſhment of a private Perſon. Beſides, the Children proceeding from this Criminal Conjunction, are Chriſtians, which kindles the Wrath of God. The Jews are as fond of Money as Beauty; and as they undermine the Commerce of Chriſtians, and render themſelves odious by exceſſive Uſuries, they frequently incur exemplary Chaſtiſements. In order to enrich themſelves, they take *falſe Oaths*; which were ſo common, that *Aben-Ezra* has thought 'em a ſufficient Cauſe for perpetuating their Miſery. The *Rabbins* charge them alſo with an inſatiable Ambition, of which they gave ſuch ſtrong Symptoms in their Synagogue in *Spain*, the ſame Year, they were expell'd by *Ferdinand*, that this was thought to have drawn this new Baniſhment upon 'em.

IX. A *Rabbin*, who inſtructed the King of *Cozar*, attempting to lay open the Fountain of theſe Miſeries, alledged to this Prince, that his innocent Nation ſuffered for the Sins of all the Nations of the World. His Nation, he ſaid, [f] was in the Univerſe, what the Heart is in Humane Body: As the Heart ſuffers from the weakneſs of Conſtitution, from the abundance of Humours, from bad Digeſtion, and the Paſſions; the Jews ſuffer for all the Sins that are committed. *All the parts*, ſaid he, *diſcharge themſelves in the Heart.* Thus the Jews, who are in the midſt of all the Nations, are oppreſſed with their Sins, and grow diſtempered by their Communication with them; which is what *David* foretold, [g] by notifying, that *they ſhould be mingled among the Heathen, and ſhould learn their Works.* Whilſt they are in Trouble and Diſeaſes, the World enjoys a profound Tranquility. However, as an Impoſthumation is not formed in the Heart, ſo Sin does not reſt among the Jews, but among the Infidel Nations. Afflictions ſhall one Day be the cauſes of the Reſtoration of the Law, and of the ſeparation of the Wheat from the Chaff; and 'tis only to purifie 'em, that God preſerves the World. In a word, they look upon themſelves as the principle of the Happineſs of all other Creatures; as the Heart, tho' often decay'd, is the principle of Life and Motion diſperſed over the whole Body.

Therefore in ſpite of all the Afflictions and Miſery they ſuffer, they ſtill overlook all Nations, and conſider themſelves as the Favourites of Heaven. They ſay, [h] farther, that God having two Patients to govern, one whereof is deſperate, and the other curable, he permits the firſt the uſe of Wine and Delicacies, which he forbids the ſecond, for fear the Fever ſhould re-double, and he ſhould Periſh. The Gentiles and Chriſtians are the ſick Perſon, whoſe recovery is deſpair'd of, and whom God permits the uſe of Pleaſures, and a worldly Proſperity, whilſt he limits the Jews to a certain Diet, leſt they ſhould be debauched and damned. This is rather colouring their Miſery than juſtifying it.

X. They make a Collection of the whole Nation, and of all the Sins of it; and maintain, that as

[e] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 6. p. 695. [f] Coſti Pars 2. § 44. p. 112. [g] *Pſ.* 36. 105. [h] R. Bechai.

they make up but one Body with their Anceſtors, in whatever Age they lived, they have all their ſhare in their paſt Iniquities, as they have in the Fruits of the Covenant, which God contracted with 'em: And as the Saints and the Faithful, who liv'd in the time of the Babyloniſh Captivity, were confounded with the Wicked, and led to Slavery in *Aſſyria*; 'tis no wonder that the Good that remain at preſent in the Nation, and are the Salt of it, partake in the Exile and Poverty of the reſt. They add, that the return from the Captivity, was only a Trial, which God made, to ſee whether the Chaſtiſement of Seventy Years was ſufficient to ſave 'em: But that finding they perſevered in the *ill Courſes of their Fathers*, he ſaw that there was no way to ſave 'em, but by deſtroying 'em.

XI. They [i] ſay alſo, that the Death of Jeſus the *Nazarene*, is one of the Sources of the Oppreſſion under which they groan:

——Judæus patra de ſede revulſus,
Supplicium pro cæde luit Chriſtique negati
Sanguine conſperſus, commiſſa piacula ſolvit.

But this is only by accident; and becauſe the Chriſtians have retain'd an irreconcileable Hatred for thoſe who put their God to Death, and who becoming Maſters of one part of the World, take cruel Revenge upon 'em, for what their Anceſtors did. Laſtly, They accuſe themſelves of Idolatry; not that they pay any ſort of Worſhip to the Creature, but they believe, that God revenges upon 'em the deſertion, or diſſimulation of the Jews, who make Profeſſion of Chriſtianity; who frequent their Temples, and proſtrate themſelves before their Images, whether or no they embrace this Worſhip in earneſt, or only in pretence.

XII. To all theſe Reaſons may be added, the Hatred which the difference of Religions kindles betwixt the Jews and Chriſtians. Chriſtianity was erected upon the ruines of the Temple. And what a Subject of Grief and Rage muſt this be to a Nation, priding its ſelf in its Privileges, and confident that God hath made an Alliance with it! The Chriſtian Church was at firſt compoſed of Jews that forſook their Religion, and believed Chriſt to be the *Meſſiah*. 'Twas in vain to think of ſoothing their Spirits, and to give the Synagogue an honourable Sepulture; Chriſtianity was obliged to condemn its Rites, and to bury them. The Jews incens'd with this Affront, omitted nothing to excite a Perſecution againſt a growing Church, and to blow it up in the places where it was kindled. The Chriſtians provok'd by the Death of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Evils they have ſuffered from the Synagogue, have thought that they might juſtly retaliate them in the Places and Times wherein they have been Maſters. *Tryphon* confeſs'd to *Juſtin Martyr*, [k] that the Doctors forbad their Diſciples to have any Society, and eſpecially Diſputes with the Chriſtians, becauſe the latter blaſphem'd, by comparing Chriſt with *Moſes*. The Chriſtians, on their part, interdicted Diſputes with the Jews, who curſed Chriſt; whereas *Moſes* was only a Prophet, whom the Chriſtians Honour as well as they. And thus the Hatred was kept up betwixt the growing and the falling Church.

XIII. This Hatred was increaſed inſtead of abating. On one Hand the Chriſtians, prompt by a falſe Zeal, have thought it an Act of Religion, to ſacrifice the remoteſt Poſterity of Chriſt's Murderers to their fury. And hence have proceeded cruel Maſſacres and Perſecutions, as we ſhall ſee in this Hiſtory. Nor muſt it be diſſembled, that the Jews has often mutined under the Yoke, and that they preſerve a baneful Hatred againſt the Chriſtians. A Prayer againſt the Chriſtians, is attributed to *Samuel* the Little; which Prayer is repeated in the Synagogues, and paſſes for the moſt ancient Monument they have preſerved: Becauſe *Samuel* was Cotemporary with the Apoſtles, ſome have even taken him for the Apoſtle St. *Paul* before his Converſion. *Juſtin* [l] *Martyr* long ſince taxed them with loading the Chriſtians with their Curſes, whilſt the latter bleſs'd them, and prayed to God for their Converſion in their Aſſemblies. In the Inſtallation of a Prince of the Captivity, they pray'd God *to reſtore Judah at that time*. This Prayer might be innocent; but the Jewiſh Hiſtorians add, that this Head of the Captivity taking poſſeſſion of the Dignity, concluded the Prayer with other things, which he ſpoke in a low Voice, for fear any Stranger ſhould go and accuſe him of his wiſhing Deſtruction to the State in which he lived. Beſides, we read in the *Thalmud*, that *They ought to kill the beſt Man that lived among the Nations*; which Nations are not only the Idolatrous, but the Chriſtians. A Monk, who had deſerted the Synagogue, having preſs'd the *Rabbins* upon this Maxim of the *Thalmud*, they were forc'd to diſtinguiſh the Gloſs from the Text; and to alledge, that tho' they had great Veneration for the *Thalmud*, they rejected the Additions that were made to it. *Salomon* [m] the Son of *Jarchi*, having determin'd, that a Woman's Head ought to be cruſhed like the Head of a Serpent, explains his Thought, and confines it to Chriſtian Women, *Maimonides* is tax'd [n] with ſaying, they ought to throw head-long ſuch as they found upon the Rocks; to tumble into a Well ſuch as ſtood upon the brink of it; to ſtop it afterwards with a Stone, or to take away the Ladder if there was one. This relates rather to the Deſerters of the Synagogue than the Chriſtians. [o]

XIV. Laſtly, If the Chriſtians load the Jews with Abuſes, they don't ſpare the Chriſtians, whom they call [p] *Hereticks*, *Nazarens*, *Idumeans*, and a *Baſtard Nation*. Some Chriſtians have rather choſe to ſuffer Pain, and expoſe themſelves to Death, than be relieved by a Jewiſh Phyſician's Hand. *Schickard* brings an Inſtance of a Man, who ſeeing his Nephew dying by the bite of a Serpent, and who obſtinately refuſed the aſſiſtance of *John Stephanetis*, who would undertake his Cure, applied to him theſe words of *Salomon*, *whoſo breaketh an Hedge a Serpent ſhall bite him*. He congratulated himſelf, that the Partition had not been broken by the charitable Union of the Chriſtian and his Nephew. They maintain, that the four Perſecutions they have ſuffered, are ſignified by the four impure Animals of *Leviticus*. [q] The Camel denotes the *Babylonian* Empire; the Hare, that of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; the Cony, that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, under which they have long groaned; but the Swine, which they infinitely deteſt, repreſented the Chriſtians, under whom they ſuffer more than under Idolaters. *Alphonſo* King of *Spain*, accuſed them, that at the time they lived

[i] *See* Schudt Judæus Chriſticida graviſſime peccans & vapulans. *This Treatiſe was writ to ſhew that the Death of* J. Chriſt, *was the Source of all the Evils the Jews ſuffer.* [k] Juſtin Apol. 2. p. 88. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 239, & 265. [l] Juſtin Martyr, Dial. p. 323, & 335. [m] Salomon Fil Virgæ S. Gentius. Hiſt. Jud. p. 276. & 305. [n] Maimon. apud Hier. a Sancta Fide contra Judæos, l. II. c. 6. B. P. t. IV. p. 1. p. 792. [o] מינים Minim Hæretici. מסורגוי Goi Mamzer. *Baſtard Nation.* [p] U. t. 3. p. 912. [q] Levit. 11. 4, 5, 6.

peaceably

peaceably in his Kingdom, they desired of God in their Synagogues, [r] *That the proud Reign might quickly be destroyed:* For which they gave no other Excuse, than that they meant the Kingdom of the *Amalekites*, whom God commanded 'em to destroy by the way of an Interdict.

XV. Not to penetrate farther into the Sources of their Misery, we shall relate the principal Circumstances of it. We'll begin with the Jews, that have been dispersed in the East, and will conclude with those of the West; but as the East and West are often differently divided, and the Jews of *Egypt* and *Judæa*, were heretofore called Occidentals, in opposition to those who had been carried to *Babylon*, and the Plains of *Assyria*, 'tis necessary to observe, that we follow a more Modern Idea, and call those Eastern Jews, which are not only dispersed in *Irack*, but in *Egypt*, *Judæa* and *Greece*, and all the *Eastern* Empire, and shall only comprize under the *West*, the Jews of *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *England* and *France*; where they have had considerable Settlements.

[r] Salomon Ben. Virgæ, p. 345.

CHAP. II.

The Dispersion of the Ten Tribes in the East.

The Relations that Three Jewish Authors, Eldad, Benjamin *of* Gudela, *and* Peritsul *have given of the Ten Tribes, and of the Kingdoms they Possess.*

I. *The Translation of the Ten Tribes into the East. They return to* Judæa. II. *The opposite Testimony of* Josephus. III. *Jews, of the Dispersion, converted by St.* Peter. IV. *Their situation in the East according to* Philo. V. *The false* Esdras's *Romance concerning the Ten Tribes.* VI. *The Character of this Author: The Time in which he lived, and his Christianity examined.* VII. Josephus's *Testimony concerning the Dispersion of the Tribes.* VIII. *The infinite Number of the Jews in the East.* IX. Eldad's *Description of the Tribe of* Dan, X. *The Situation of the Tribes of* Nepthali *and* Gad. XI. Moses's *Tribe imaginary.* XII. Issachar *Tributary to the* Persians. XIII. Benjamin *of* Tudela's *Description of the Kingdom of the* Rechabites. XIV. *Several Errors of this Author concerning the Ten Tribes, and the Pearl Fishery.* XV. Daniel's *Tomb works Miracles. The City of the Jews.* XVI. *The Situation of many Tribes upon the* Gozan. XVII. *A potent Kingdom of Jews.* XVIII. Peritsul's *Description of his Nation in the East.*

I. THE Ten Tribes carried by *Salmanasar* into the Cities of the *Medes*, established themselves there, and preserved their Settlements for many Ages. Some Greek Fathers, as *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, and *Theodoret* have imagined, that they returned again with *Ezra*, and that this was necessary to the accomplishing many Prophecies. Besides, 'tis observed, that *Ezra* offered Twelve Sacrifices for the Twelve Tribes, which must be returned, because they had a share in the Sacrifice. Lastly, There were Persons of all the Tribes in *Judæa* in our Saviour's time, since *Anna* was of the Tribe of *Asher*. There were four different Tribes in *Galilee*, from whence the Apostles were taken. St. *Chrysostome* adds, that there were Pharisees scattered in every Tribe; and that the most dangerous dwelt at *Jerusalem*. In fine, *Picus de Mirandola* [t] is made to say, that the Jewish Doctors asserted the return of the Ten Tribes: But this Count only says, that they *rejected what the spurious* Josephus *relates concerning it*, and the *Thalmadists* are so far from acknowledging this Fact, that they maintain, that none but the dregs of the People followed *Ezra*. All the Nobility, and particularly the House of *David*, remained in *Chaldea*; and for this reason they bestow so great Encomiums upon the City of *Babylon*, which they exalt sometimes above the Holy Land; as we shall see in the sequel.

II. He must withstand the Scriptures, and ancient Tradition, who goes to maintain that the Ten Tribes were restored; for *Ezra* reckons but Twelve Thousand Families, besides those of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, which amounted not perhaps to the fifth part of the Refugee Nation in this Country. It is not even certain, that the Families, whose Heads are not noted, were of the Ten Tribes, rather than of that of *Judah*, who might have lost their Genealogy. If *Ezra* offer'd Twelve Sacrifices, it was to maintain an Union with the Body of the dispersed Nation, which came afterwards to strengthen it, by their annual Worship at *Jerusalem*. *Josephus* [u] affirms, that none but the Tribes of *Benjamin* and *Judah* resumed their Possession of the Holy Land. This did not hinder but some of all the Tribes might be there in our Saviour's time; because some who had escaped *Salmanasar*'s fury, remain'd, and some Families returned with *Esdras*, or took advantage of the Revolutions of the Empire, and of the frequent Journies they made to *Jerusalem*, to Re-people the Country of their Ancestors; but the Body of the dispersed Tribes continued in the East, where it still remains.

III. A great number of these Orientals appeared at *Jerusalem*, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, when the Apostles began to preach the Gospel there after our Saviour's Ascension, and during this Festival. It must not be imagined, that these were nothing but Proselytes, which the Jews of the Dispersion had converted. Most of 'em were Jews, who came to Sacrifice at *Jerusalem*, according to the Law. By St. *Luke*'s Enumeration of 'em, it appears, that there were Relicks of the Tribes among the *Medes*

[t] Pic. Mirand. Epist. Aurear. Lib. Ep. ult. ad ignotum, t. 1. p. 261.

[u] Joseph. Ant. l. 11. c. 5.

where

where they had been ſettled a long time ago, among the *Parthians*, in *Meſopotamia*, in *Cappadocia*, in *Pontus* and *Aſſia* Minor.

IV. *Philo*, [u] who lived at the ſame time, repreſented to *Caligula*, that *Jeruſalem* ought not to be conſidered only as the Metropolis of *Judea*; but as the Center of a Nation diſperſed in infinite Places; but who appeared from time to time, and were able to ſupply him with potent Succours for his Defence. He reckoned among the Places, that were well ſtor'd with Jews, the Iſles of *Cyprus* and *Candia*, *Egypt*, *Macedonia* and *Bithynia*. To which he added the Empire of the *Perſians*, and all the Cities of the Eaſt, except that of *Babylon*, from whence they were then expell'd. Here therefore it was, that the Ten Tribes tranſplanted by *Salmanaſar* ſtill reſided: And here they kept themſelves up, notwithſtanding the various Revolutions that befel the *Perſian* Monarchy. Here we find them at this Day, and I know not why the Jews maintain that they are *loſt*. The Prophets had foretold them, that *Ephraim ſhould be no more a People, and that the Land of their Enemies ſhould conſume them.* This has happened; for they no longer make a National Body. There is great Confuſion in their Genealogies; and the Tribes thus confounded, don't make that Figure, which they bore, when the Kings and Califs permitted them to have a Head of the Captivity. Their numbers are leſſen'd by Perſecutions, and the Revolutions of Government. *The Land of their Enemies has conſumed them*; but yet ſince there are Jews ſtill to be ſeen in the great Cities of *Perſia* and *Media*, we may ſay that thoſe are the Poſterity of the Ten Tribes, who have remained and ſtill ſubſiſt there; which we ſhall evidently prove in the Series of their Hiſtory.

V. 'Tis a Viſion, tho' of very ancient Date, that a great bulk of theſe Ten Tribes was ſent into unknown Countries. "The Counterfeit *Eſdras* [x] "affirms, that *Salmanaſar*, having tranſplanted "the Ten Tribes beyond the River, they enter'd "upon a Reſolution of quitting the Gentiles, and "retiring to a Place where they might religiouſly "obſerve the Law, becauſe they had been ſeverely "puniſhed for the breach of it." And this Hiſtorian gives four Characters to the Country they went to inhabit. 1. No Body had ever lived there; and therefore it was an unknown Country which they went to diſcover. 2. It was a *Year and a half's March* to come at it. 3. They paſſed the *Euphrates*; where God wrought a Miracle for the Jews of the Diſperſion. He ſtopt the Sources of this great River, and dried up its Channel till they had paſſed over; and the Author believes, that God will work the ſame Miracle, when they ſhall return in the laſt Days. Laſtly, He calls this Country *Arſareth*. But how could People under the Yoke of haughty Maſters have been able to conſpire, to retreat in a Body out of the Lands of their Governours, to ſet up a particular Kingdom in another place? This muſt have happened in the Thirty Firſt Year of the Captivity. Nevertheleſs the genuine *Eſdras* affirms, that the Jews were ſtill in all the Places where *Salmanaſar* had conveyed them. Religion it ſeems was the Motive of this Enterprize; but the Jews of the Diſperſion had at that time ſo little Zeal for the Law, that they eſpouſed the Worſhip and Cuſtoms of the Heathens. Laſtly, *Arſareth* is a City of *Media*, ſituate beyond the River *Araxes*. 'Tis believed alſo, that the Jews gave it this Name, and if it be meant, that it is a Place at a great diſtance from *Media*, where the Ten Tribes were, this Country is unknown; and tho' we examine into its Name, or the Road the Refugees take to come to it, we can't gueſs at the Place whither they retired. And therefore, thoſe who were for ſending them into *China*, and *Tartary*, and the *Indies*, or have imagined a new River *Sabbation*, equally make uſe of the Authority of the falſe *Eſdras*. Which is the more to be ſuſpected, becauſe it does not appear by the Hiſtory of *Tobit*, that they made ſo long a Peregrination, nor that they conſtituted a ſeparate Body from the Nations, to *obſerve their Laws*. On the contrary, they were then diſperſed at *Suſa*, *Ecbatana*, *Raguez*, and other Cities of the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians* on the Banks of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

VI. There are a great many, who conſider the ſpurious *Eſdras*, as an Author that is Venerable for his Antiquity, and that ought to be believed in things relating to his Nation, ſince he could not but know the Hiſtory and Rites of it. St. *Ambroſe* has often quoted him. The Roman Church, tho' ſhe does not receive him into her Canon, yet admits him into the Celebration of her greateſt Myſteries; for 'tis ſaid [y] in a Maſs, which is celebrated in *Whitſun-Week*, *Receive the joyfulneſs of your Glory, by giving Thanks unto him that hath called you unto the Heavenly Kingdom.* And elſewhere the Martyrs are crowned by the Mouth and Words of *Eſdras*. In fine, *Picus de Mirandola* [z] received him as a genuine Piece, and that was divinely inſpired.

But for all this, it can't be denied, 1. That this *Eſdras* was an Impoſtor: For the true *Eſdras* declares, he was deſcended from *Aaron* by Fourteen Generations. He has alſo inſerted into his Hiſtory, the Names of his Anceſtors, who were to be reckoned in that Genealogy; whereas the Suppoſitious *Eſdras* counts Nineteen Generations, and is evidently miſtaken. 2. 'Tis a Man that vents his crude Imaginations with the ſame Aſſurance, as if they were dictated by God. He boaſts of a Divine Inſpiration, which he had not; he pretends to have acquired it by drinking a Fire-colour'd Liquour, by the help whereof, he dictated Two Hundred and four Books; he had the liberty to ſhew the firſt to the Worthy and Unworthy; but *the Seventy latter were reſerved for the Wiſe among the People: for in them was the Spring of Underſtanding, the Fountains of Wiſdom, and the Stream of Knowledge.* *Picus de Mirandola*, [a] affirms, that theſe Seventy Volumes of a ſecret Science contained the Cabbala. He pretended alſo, that theſe Books comprehending exact Metaphyſicks, began to be Publiſhed in *Latin*, by order of Pope——IV. He bought 'em at a dear rate, and found the Doctrine of it entirely Chriſtian. Another Critick cenſures him, becauſe he would be impoſed upon by ſuppoſititious Pieces; and affirms in his turn, that the Seventy Books praiſed by *Eſdras*, was the Verſion of the Seventy which were read almoſt every where; and from thence he draws a manifeſt proof of the pretended *Eſdras*'s Impoſture, ſince he that brought back the Jews from the Captivity, could not make an honourable mention of a Verſion, which was not made [b] till a long time after. Both theſe Conjectures are equally naught. The Cabbala could not be there treated of; for the Traditions of the Jews, and their ſubtile Metaphyſicks, were not compoſed till towards the end of the ſecond Century; and *Judah* the Saint is thought to be the firſt, who made a Collection of

[u] Philo ad Cajum. [x] 2 Eſdras, 13. 44. [y] 2 Eſdras, 2. 36, 37. Miſſa in Fer. Poſt Pentecoſtem. Miſſ. Rom. p. 316.
[z] Picus Mirand. Apol. p. 82. t. 1. [a] Ibid. [b] Le Moyne Var. Sac. p. 838.

the Decisions of the Ancient Doctors. If there had been Seventy Volumes of the *Cabbala* written after *Esdras*, how could they have remained buried, till the Count of *Mirandola*'s Time, whose Fondness for this *Esdras* cost him dear, besides the Shame of being deceived. Nor is it the Version of the Seventy that is spoken of, since the false *Esdras* must have been the Author of it, because he says he wrote these Seventy Volumes. There were Seventy Interpreters; but they did not reckon so many Volumes. Lastly the Volumes, that the Seventy's Version consisted of, were not to be concealed, nor reserved only for the Wise, as this Impostor says. Is it not doing him too much Honour to pretend to guess at his Meaning? and is it not plain that he was a Visionary [c], who went to deceive the Publick by boasting to have *dictated to five Persons in forty Days, two hundred and four Volumes*, which he never wrote or published?

3. This Author [d] appears to have known Christianity; he says that *the World shall perish when the Blood shall drop out of Wood*. 'Tis in vain to say, *'tis impossible to guess at his Meaning*; nor is it necessary to have recourse to the Blood, which is made to flow miraculously from Wooden Images and Crucifixes. He alludes to the true Cross, from which the Blood of *Jesus Christ* has flow'd; and he follows the prevailing Opinion of his Time; that is, of the Second Century of the Christian Church, that *the World should quickly be at an end.*

4. He explains the Manifestation of *Jesus the Son of* God. He notes the Time and Manner he was to appear in; for this Man *came out of the Sea*, that is, from an impenetrable Abyss; was hewn from a Mountain; but the Place could not be seen from whence he was hewen. "The "Princes and People, tho' trembling at his Sight, "ventured to make War upon him. He held "neither Lance nor any Instrument of War: but "from his Mouth proceeded Fire; and when he had "consumed those that withstood him, he called "a *more peaceable Multitude*. This peaceable Multitude were the Jews of the Ten Tribes, who had been dispersed in the East, and whose Travels he relates, and which we are examining.

5. If any Consequence may be drawn from these Four Observations, I shall conclude that this Man was actually born a Jew, and bred up in *Chaldea*; and that he had formed his Style upon that of *Daniel*, from whom he borrows his Method, Style, and Prophetical Expressions.

6. He was desirous to flatter that Part of his Nation, which he thought was to be recall'd by the *Messiah*; and indeed they were the Jews of the Dispersion, *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Elamites*, who embraced Christianity at the first Preaching of St. *Peter*. The Author, who had seen or known this Miracle, hoped it would have great Consequences; and that the rest of the *peaceable* Nation, that is, which did not make War against *Christ* like those of *Jerusalem*, should come and constitute the Church.

7. He was actually a Christian; for he speaks often of *Jesus the Son of* God, but he had still a great Respect for Traditions, and the Jewish Cabbala, which was much esteem'd in our Saviour's Time.

8. He seems also to have followed this Prejudice, or not to have been well acquainted with the *Persian* Monarchy; since he has shorten'd it, and made *Esdras* to say, that *Jesus* shall appear four hundred Years after his Prediction. He was therefore a Jew, turned Christian, who still preserved a Love for Traditions, and the Visions so customary with his Masters.

9. He wrote in the Beginning of Christianity. Since St. *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tertullian* have espous'd his Vision concerning the *Restoration of Scripture*, we must place him at the End of the First, or Beginning of the Second Century of the *Christian Church.*

10. But his Visions, his Fondness for uncertain Traditions, his Impostures about Divine Inspiration, which he boasts of; and the Time in which he lived, will not suffer us to give any Credit to what he says concerning the Dispersion of the Ten Tribes in unknown Lands. This Writer's Authority vanishes from the very Moment we are acquainted with him; and that of the Fathers, who have followed him, ought not to ingage any body in the same Error.

VII. In fine *Josephus* observes, that *Ezra* having obtained Leave to bring back the Jews to their Country, many came from *Media* to *Babylon* to follow him, but that abundance preferr'd the Settlements they had in that Country to the Trouble of making new ones. And the Jews say at this Day, that a great many Families of *Benjamin* and *Judah* refused to return to *Judæa*; and that from these Families, whose Posterity was preserved in the East, they were used to take the Prince of the Captivity, who was always of the House of *David*. It must therefore be owned, that the Ten Tribes were to be sought in *Media*, since they there remained in the Time of *Ezra.*

VIII. *Josephus* [e] asserts, that those who remained in the East, amounted to *many thousands*; and he makes *Ahasuerus*'s Edict to reach to a hundred and twenty seven Provinces, quite from *Ethiopia* to the *Indies*, as if there were Jews in all these Dominions. *Orosius* [f] and many Christians have followed *Josephus*; But the Modern Jews who are much more credulous or fabulous than the Ancient, have added Facts to *Josephus*'s Story that seem incredible. However we can't wave relating 'em since we are giving their History.

The Hebrew [g] *Joseph* pretends to have Copied a Book, Intituled, *The Generations of* Alexander *the Great*, and Composed by the *Egyptian Magi* immediately after this Prince's Death. He had read that *Alexander the Great*, having gone over a vast Extent of Ground, arrived at last to the *gloomy* Mountains חשר *Choschec*. From thence he meant to pass to a Place inhabited by the Children of *Jonathan* and *Rechab*, who lived beyond these Mountains. He took thirteen hundred Choice Men to accompany him; but he had not so much as a Ray of Light; and the Ground on which he march'd was nothing but Dirt. He only heard Birds that *spoke Greek*, one of which cried to him, *In vain* Alexander, *thou attempteſt to penetrate into the House of God, and the Habitation of his Servants, the Children of* Abraham. Another admonish'd him to *go to the* Indies, *where he should conquer* Porus, which made him retire, and return to his Army to push his Conquests towards the *Indies.*

IX. *Eldad* [h] is one of those, who have most in-

[c] 2 Esdr. 15. 36. [d] Le Moyne, ibid. [e] Joseph. Ant. l. 11. c. 5. & 6. p. 380. [f] Oros. l. 2. c. 7. [g] Josippon. l. 2. c. 10. p. 71. [h] Vid. Barfol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 1. p. 129.

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tereſted themſelves in writing the Hiſtory of the Ten Tribes: He proceeded from that of *Dan*. He has been thought [i] to have lived in the Thirteenth Century, and to have ſent the *Spaniſh* Jews the Memoirs we are going to ſpeak of; but others place him four hundred Years ſooner [k]. He ſays that in *Jeroboam*'s Time, the Tribe of *Dan* being unwilling to ſhed their Brethren's Blood, and to fight againſt 'em, took a Reſolution of leaving their Country and going into *Ethiopia*, where they made a ſort of an Alliance with the Inhabitants of the Place, who became their Tributaries. 'Tis eaſie to perceive, that he ſtumbles the very firſt Step, for this Tribe did not leave *Judæa* upon the Account of *Jeroboam*. God did not remove it till a long time after. But further it muſt be obſerved, that by the *Ethiopia* he ſpeaks of, muſt not be meant the Kingdom of the *Abyſſins*, in which hereafter we ſhall find the *Jews* very potent; but ſince he traces up the *Piſon* to this Tribe, he means *Chaldea*, where *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus* Reigned, and which is often call'd *Ethiopia* in the Scripture. He only falls into a groſs Miſtake in imagining the Inhabitants of this Country were black as Crows, of a Gigantick Stature, and that they ate Humane Fleſh; for the firſt of theſe Characters agrees with the *Abyſſins*, and can't be apply'd to the *Chaldeans*.

X. He pretends, that the Tribes of *Nephtali*, *Gad* and *Aſher* followed that of *Dan* into this Country; that they paſſed beyond the Rivers of *Ethiopia*, feeding their Flocks and dwelling in Tents. They were headed by a King deſcended from *Oliab*, and they obſerved the principal Ordinances of the Law. Their Prince could muſter a hundred and twenty thouſand Horſe, and a hundred thouſand Foot. Theſe Four united Tribes divided betwix't 'em the Four Quarters of the Year; each of 'em made War for three Months, and brought their Booty to the King, who equally divided it amongſt the reſt. This ſecond Article comes ſomewhat nearer the Truth; for 'tis certain from the Holy Story that *Tiglath Pileſer* obliged theſe Three Tribes with that of *Reuben*, and the half of *Manaſſeh*, to go and ſettle in this Country. They might live there, and wage War with the Neighbouring Nations; but 'tis not probable that the Kings of *Aſſyria* permitted them to have a King of their own.

XI. To theſe Four Tribes *Eldad* adds a Fifth, altogether unknown; which is that of *Moſes*, which, ſays he, was Idolatrous, and being converted, went and ſettled in thoſe Places, and built ſtately Palaces. The Author maintains, that they had ſtill in his Time admirable Gardens and Paradiſes; but the Bleſſing of Heaven was ſo ſhowred amongſt 'em, that the Children never died before their Fathers; and that the latter lived ſix-ſcore Years. Gold and Silver abounded there, and the Numbers of the Men were ſo great as to exceed the Children of *Iſrael that came out of* Egypt. *Genebrard*, tranſlating this Letter, has metamorphoſed *the Men into Habits like thoſe of the* Egyptians; but he did not underſtand the Author's Meaning, who ſpeaks of the Number of Perſons, this new Tribe was compoſed of. It only ſpoke Hebrew, and religiouſly obſerved the Law; but it knew neither the *Amoraiim*, nor the *Gaons* (Authors of Traditions) *becauſe they lived under the Second Temple*. The Author probably was ignorant, that theſe Doctors all lived ſince the Deſtruction of the Second Temple. Beſides, we know not what he means by this Tribe of *Moſes*, unleſs it be the Family and Deſcendants of *Jethro*, who had gone thither, and had left their Idolatry. Some Chriſtian Interpreters have thought, he deſigned to ſpeak of *Jonathan*, the Grandſon of *Moſes* by *Gerſhom*, who was a *Levite* in the Tribe of *Dan*, and by this means engaged himſelf in the Idol-Service, by carrying away *Micah*'s *Teraphims*. They eſpouſe the *Rabbins* Conjecture, who ſay, that in the Hiſtory of the *Judges*, where *Jonathan* the Son of *Manaſſeh* is mentioned, the N [l] remains ſuſpended, ſo that we may read *Moſes* as well as *Manaſſeh*; becauſe on one hand, this *Levite* was *Moſes*'s Grandſon, on the other he had eſpouſed *Manaſſeh*'s Idolatry. But I don't know how *Jonathan* can be made the Son of *Gerſhom*, and Grandſon of *Moſes*, ſince there were above three hundred Years betwixt *Moſes* and his Grandſon *Jonathan*. We muſt therefore refer this *Chimerical* Tribe to *Eldad*'s Imagination.

XII. Having thus diſpoſed of the Five Tribes, he makes that of *Iſſachar* ſubject to the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and only obſerves, that ſome of them worſhipped the Fire, and married their Siſters, according to the Laws of that Country. The Children of *Zabulon* extended from the Mountain *Pharan* to the *Euphrates*. Thoſe of the Tribe of *Reuben*, dwelt behind Mount *Pharan*, and ſpoke *Arabick*. *Ephraim*, and the half of *Manaſſeh* were thrown upon the Southern Coaſt, they lived only upon Theft and Robbery; and were as wicked as thoſe of the Firſt Tribes were good and holy. *Simeon* and *Judah* were numberleſs in the Kingdom of *Chozar*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and brought twenty five Neighbouring Kingdoms under Tribute. What he adds concerning the *Saracens* being their Tributaries manifeſts the falſe and hyperbolical manner of his treating of this Tribe's Power. This is the Firſt Deſcription.

XIII. A famous [m] Traveller of the Twelfth Century [n], and who ſeems to have undertaken his Voyage only to diſcover the State of his diſperſed Nation in all Parts of the World, aſſigns to it large and ſpacious Countries; and his Teſtimony ſeems to be the more Authentick, becauſe he ſpeaks as an Eye-witneſs, and relates what he had ſeen. 'Tis fit we ſhould examine what he ſays upon this Matter. Firſt, as he took his Journey to the North of *Babylon*, and run over a Deſart for one and twenty Days, he arrived at the Kingdom of the *Rechabites*. This Kingdom was then divided betwixt two Brothers Deſcendants of the Houſe of *David*, and who had proved the Line of their Pedigree by Books and very exact Extracts. *Thema* was the Capital City, where *Annas* Reign'd. There were a great many other Cities, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes, and an Extent of Country that could not be travelled over under ſixteen Days. The *Rechabites*, his Subjects, enrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of their Neighbours, and particularly of the *Arabians*. They had their Academies and Doctors, to whom the People paid Tythes. They alſo charitably maintained ſome People, reſembling Monks, clad in Black, who never drank Wine, and lived retired and in Caves, ſpending all their Days in lamenting the Calamities of *Jeruſalem*, and of the Diſ-

[i] Ann. 1283. [k] Ann. 880. [l] *The Son of* Gerſhom, *the Son of* ן משה *We may read* Manaſſeh *and* Moſes; *'tis* Manaſſeh *with the* נ) *but* Moſes *without it*, Judges 18. 30. [m] Benjamin de Tudela, Itin. p. 89. [n] Ann. 1173.

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perſion. They alſo annually made Supplications for forty Days for the Fugitives.

Salmon Annas's Brother reckoned alſo in his Dominions forty Cities, two hundred Boroughs, and a hundred Caſtles. Three hundred Thouſand Subjects all of the ſame Nation, peopled this great Kingdom; of which *Tanai* which had a hundred thouſand Inhabitants was the Capital. As many were reckoned at *Tilimaſa*, a very ſtrong City ſituate between two Mountains, where the Prince made his Reſidence. Here then you have a great Country of nothing but Jews, 'Tis Pity it has always continued unknown, and that the Traveller who ſays he was there, is ſo groſly miſtaken in its Situation; for the *Arabia* he mentions is not on the North of *Babylon*; and ſo groſs a Blunder at his firſt ſetting out, makes it reaſonably be feared, that he lightly took upon Truſt what was told him of a Country which he never ſaw, and that agreeably flattered the Pride of his Nation: But he does not ſtop there.

XIV. He places the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad* and *Manaſſeh* at *Cebar*, three Days Journey from *Tilimaſa*, which ſingle City contained fifty thouſand Jews that made War againſt the *Babylonians* and *Arabians*: Beyond it is a hideous and unpaſſable Deſart of eighteen Days Journey; and here the Tribes that were vaſtly potent have large and fine Cities, and Armies numerous enough to make War with all the Neighbouring Kindoms. It muſt be obſerved that the Author did not viſit all the Places he ſpeaks of. He often built upon the Accounts of ſome People he met by the way, and there was not a ſurer Means to be deceived, than to believe what was told him of certain miraculous Places without Examination. Inviſible Countries are always the fineſt in the World; they contain a thouſand Prodigies and unheard of Curioſities. Beſides, this Jewiſh Traveller deſcribes ſo ill the Situation of certain Places where he ought to have paſs'd, that a Man is tempted to believe, he ſav'd himſelf the Labour of going thither even when he ſays he did. He ſpeaks for Inſtance of an Iſland which muſt be at the Mouth of the *Tigris*, where the *Indian* and *Perſian* Merchants came to Traffick; and of the *Katif* in which they fiſh for Pearls. However, 'tis certain that the *Ormus*, which he means, is very far from the *Tigris*; for it lies near the Streights of *Baſſora*; and a Traveller who is ſo egregiouſly miſtaken in the diſtance of the Places he hath ſeen, ought to be more cautiouſly credited in the reſt. What he ſays concerning the Way how Pearls are made, is ridiculous. He had probably heard, that Pearls were formed of drops of Dew. Upon this *Chimera* he grounds, that the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Banks go and gather *upon the Surface of the water* the Rain that falls the twenty-fourth of *March*, and ſhutting it up, they throw it to the Bottom of the Sea, where it reſts till the Month of *September*, at which time Skilful Fiſhermen go in ſearch of theſe Water-Veſſels, wherein they find Reptiles, which they diſſect, and draw the Pearls from. If *Benjamin* [n] had viſited the Places, would he have talked at this rate of Oyſters, from which they gather Pearls?

XV. 'Twas the Cuſtom of the Oriental Jews to build Synagogues near the Tombs of the Prophets. They affirm, that *Eſdras*'s Tomb was on the Frontiers of *Perſia*, where he went to wait upon *Artaxerxes*. That on one Side of it there was a Synagogue, where fifteen hundred Jews came to pay their Devotions; and that on the other the *Mahometans*, who love *Eſdras*, had built an Oratory. The Tomb of the Prophet *Daniel* was alſo ſeen in a City ſituate upon the Banks of the *Tigris*, in the Province of the *Elamites*. The River ran through the City which was Peopled with Jews. On the one Side lived the rich, on the other the poor. The latter imagined, that *Daniel*'s Tomb occaſioned the Bleſſing of their Neighbours. They made their Complaints, and from Complaints came to Blows to get Poſſeſſion of this Tomb, which became a Source of Wealth. After many Battels, 'twas agreed, that the Tomb ſhould be removed every Year from one Part of the City to the other, that each might have its Share in the Benediction. The Treaty was honeſtly executed for ſome Years; but *Benjamin* ſays, that *Seniger*, King of *Perſia*, who had forty-five Kings for his Vaſſals, ſeeing the Prophet's Tomb paſs backwards and forwards, and being concerned for his Honour, ordered it to be placed at an equal Diſtance from the two Quarters of the City, and to be hung up by a Chain, which was accordingly done. Afterwards a Synagogue was built in this Place, where every body goes to make their Prayers, and the King forbad to fiſh a Mile above or below this Place, in Honour to the Prophet. A Man muſt be fond of Fables and Popular Errors to relate this in earneſt. 'Tis ſtill leſs ſurprizing than what he ſays [o] concerning the *Turks* having two Holes in their Face inſtead of a Noſe.

XVI. He alſo places the Tribes of *Dan*, of *Zabulon*, and of *Aſher* and *Nepthali*, upon the Banks of the River *Gozan*, and in the Mountains of *Nisbor*, which Mountains and River are equally unknown. *Eldad* and *Peritſul* [p] who have deſigned to Copy *Benjamin*'s Narration, widely depart from him; for one of 'em ſends us in queſt of this Chain of Mountains to the *Indies* upon the Banks of the *Ganges*; and the other places the ſame Tribes, excepting one, upon the Banks of the River *Sabbation*, which we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. The *Gozan* at preſent is not to be found in the Lands of the *Parthians* and *Perſians*, where it ought to flow, according to the Road [q] our Traveller took; But let us however march after him into theſe imaginary Lands, to ſee what Pains he takes to raiſe the Glory of his Nation, and to diſcover the Ten Tribes we are in ſearch of. The Account he gives, is this.

XVII. The King of *Perſia* being enraged at the *Turks*, who *have two Holes in the midſt of their Face inſtead of a Noſe*, for having plundered a City of his Kingdom, reſolved to purſue them. He was forced to have a Guide to ſeek 'em out, beyond a long and frightful Wilderneſs, which ſeparated them from *Perſia*. The Guide loſt his Way after fifteen Days March, and the Army was very near periſhing with Hunger; but at laſt it approached the Mountains of *Nisbor*. It refreſh'd it ſelf upon the Banks of *Gozan* at the Jews Expence, who had planted fine Orchards there. The King of *Perſia* ſurprized to find upon theſe Mountains, Cities, Fortreſſes, and a Country ſo well Peopled, ſent to enquire what unknown Nation this was. He was willing to enter into Alliance with it, after he had learnt

[n] Pag. 104, 105. [o] Pag. 98. [p] Peritſul, Eldad. [q] *He went out of* Media *into* Perſia.

that it was Jewish, and to treat for Provisions. At first they refused him, but upon his threatning to murder all the Jews of his Empire, the Treaty was concluded, and at the same Time, Intelligence was given of all that pass'd to the *Turks*, their Allies and Neighbours, who waiting for the *Persians* at the Pass of the Mountains, beat them, and obliged the King to return home with a small Retinue. *Benjamin* learnt this History from a Person of his Nation called *Moses*, whom a *Persian* Officer had brought with him from that Expedition, and who was grown a great Lord in *Persia*. He added, that all the Nation secured within its Mountains, acknowledged no King. 'Tis difficult to receive these Narratives upon the Credit of a private Person, who has the Precaution to throw a Desart of twenty Days March before the Nation and the Country he speaks of; or rather it would be impossible, but that Travellers should since that Time have found out so potent a Kingdom, which yet they have not done.

XVIII. Another Jew[r] of *Ferrara*, who lived not two hundred Years ago, giving the Description of all the Parts of the Earth, assigns a much vaster Extent to his Nation, since there is hardly any Place in the World, but where he gives it a glorious Establishment. He invents a large Country shut up by unknown Mountains, and bounded by *Assyria*, of which he makes a Kingdom called *Perricha*, containing a vast Multitude of Jews. He places others of 'em in the Desart of *Chabor*, who live there after the manner of the Ancient *Rechabites*, without Houses, without Sowing, and the Use of Wine; and that it may not be imagined, that he vents a *Chimera*, he gives a Chart of the Road that leads to this Desart. You must pass the Cape of *Good Hope*, enter into the *Indian Sea*, set Foot upon Land and you find *Chabor*; nevertheless no body has yet found it. He assigns them potent Kings in the Desarts of *Arabia*, through which you pass in the way to *Meccha*. They inrich themselves with Spices and the Pepper they sell, and are as numerous in these Parts as the Sand of the Sea. He enters into the *Indies*, and Peoples the Banks of the *Ganges*, the Isles of *Bengala*, the *Philippins*, &c. with *Jews*. Lastly he finds the famous *Prester John* there, whose Letter shews they had in that Country a Potent King called *Daniel*, on whom three other Kings depended; and that the Power of this Nation was so great, that they would become Masters of the Country, were they not prevented by numerous Troops. Not to examine the Truth of what is said by this modern Jew, Son of another Jew of *Avignon*, we must observe that he is impertinently taxed with making *Prester John* (the King of the *Abyssines*) write his Letter from the *Indies*; for if there was ever any King of this Name, he might sooner be found in the *Indies* than in *Ethiopia*. Besides it were to be wished, that these three famous Authors had produced the Proofs of what they advance for the Glory of the Nation.

[r] R. Abi Ben. Mordochei, Peritsul. Ann. 1525. Orchot. Olam Viæ Mundi, c. 4. 9.

CHAP. III.

Whether the Ten Tribes passed into Tartary, *and from thence to* America *and the* East Indies.

I. Menasseh's *Account of the Jews of* Tartary *and* China. II. *Proofs that the Tribes of* Dan *and* Nepthali *are in* Tartary. III. *From thence they pass into* America. IV. Americans *believe the Deluge and the Giants.* V. Noah *Peopled this Country.* VI. *The Correspondence of the* American *and Jewish Rites.* VII. *Different Conjectures concerning the Origin of the* Americans. VIII. *Whether* Obadiah *foretold that the Jews should go thither. This Prophet explained.* IX. *Other Scripture Passages explained.* X. *There is only a General Conformity between the Jews and* Americans. XI. *They have a great Conformity with the Christians and* Roman Catholicks. XII. *Whether the Gospel was Preached to the* Americans *by the Apostles.* XIII. *The Footsteps of their Christianity rejected.* XIV. *The* Americans *wonderfully Idolatrous.* XV. *The Jews are not the Fathers of the* Tartars. *A Confutation of the Arguments alledged.* XVI. Solomon's *Fleet in the Isle of* Ceylan. XVII. *Whether the Jews were settled in the* East Indies. XVIII. Benjamin *confuted.* XIX. *The Jews in* China, *how established.* XX. *The River* Sabbation *in* Judæa. XXI. *Or in* Media; *imaginary.*

I. THERE are chiefly Two Opinions, that have been currant with the Jews, and even with the Christians: One, that the Ten Tribes went into *Tartary*, in which are still observed some Tracks of Ancient *Judaism*; the other that they have penetrated into *America*. They make the Holy Spirit their Voucher, and quote several Passages of Scripture denoting this Transmigration: Which is what we must examine.

Menasseh, who was one of the Wisest Doctors of the Nation, has nevertheless in the last Century asserted the Transmigration of the Ten Tribes into *Tartary*, where he assigned his Nation a great Province called *Thabor*, which he confounded with *Chabor*, mention'd by the Prophet *Isaiah*, and situate upon the Frontiers of *Media*. He would also have his Brethren, passing over the Great Wall that divides the *Tartars* from the *Chineses*, to have settled themselves in this Country; and as he found all this in the Scripture, he applied the Words of *Isaiah*[s] to this Passage, who foretold that the People shall *return from the land of Sinim*, that is from *China*; but he had not observed, that *Sin*, which with the *Arabians* signifies *Clay*[t], was the City *Pelusium* so famous in *Egypt*.

II. *Menasseh* is not the only Person that has had this Notion: *Postel*, who had it before him, and derived the *Turks* from Judaism, trusted to the Authority of an *Armenian* Historian, who said the same thing, which has imposed upon abundance of People. *Ortelius*, [u] that ingenious Geographer,

[s] Isaiah 49. 12. [t] Bochart. Geog. Sacr. πλὸς, lutum. [u] Ortel. Tartaria, sive Tabula 62.

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giving the Description of *Tartary*, notes, 1. The Kingdom of *Arsareth*, where the Ten Tribes retiring, succeeded the *Scythian* Inhabitants, and took the Name of *Gauthei*, because they were very jealous of the Glory of God; from whence came the Kingdom of *Bathai*. 2. In another place he found the *Nepthalites*, which had their *Hord* there. We are told that this word is borrowed from the Hebrews, with whom *Morad* signifies a *Descent*. 3. He discovered the Tribe of *Dan* in the North, which has preserved its Name of *Danois* or *Danites*. 4. There is another Kingdom called by the *Tartars*, *Thabor*. The Jews have still kept up there, tho' they have lost the sacred Books. The Country has received its Name from them; for it is the middle of *Tartary*, which is called *Thabor* from a Hebrew Word which signifies the [x] *Navel*. From hence it was, that the famous Jew came, who having pass'd into *Portugal*, and seduced one of the Officers of the Court, got so much Reputation in *Italy*, that *Charles* V. had a [y] mind to see him, and engage in a Conference with him at *Mantua*. 5. They add, that the very Name of *Totares*, for so we ought to call 'em, is Hebrew, and signifies *Remains*; which perfectly agrees with the Tribes dispersed in the North, which were the Remains of of ancient *Israel*. 6. No reason can be given why the Remains of this Nation are so numerous in *Muscovy* and *Poland*, except we fix their Habitation in *Tartary*, from whence they pass'd into the the Neighbouring Places. 7. We find among them the Footsteps of ancient Judaism, as the Circumcision of Children. Whether then we examine the Name of the *Tartars*, their Languages, or that of the Jews, their Tribes, or their Religion, we easily observe the one to be descended of the other. And 'tis no wonder to find the Ten Tribes dispersed there, since it was no great way to go from *Assyria*, whither they were transplanted, having only *Armenia* betwixt them.

III. From *Tartary* they are conveyed into *America*. Sir *William Pen* [z] thinks he has discover'd 'em in his *New Republick*, and finds their Faces so very much resembling the Jews, "and especially "their Children, that when you look upon 'em, you "would think your self in the Jews Quarter at "*London*. Their Eyes are little and black, like "the Jews. Moreover, they reckon by Moons; "they offer the first Fruits; and have a kind of "Feast of Tabernacles. 'Tis said, their Altar "stands upon twelve Stones. Their Mourning lasts "a Year. The *Customs of their Women* are like "those of the Jews. Their Languages Masculine, Short, Concise, and full of Energy, in "which it much resembles the *Hebrew*. One word "serves for three, and the rest is supply'd by the "understanding of the Hearers. Lastly, They "were to go into a Country which was neither "Planted nor known; and he that imposed this "Condition on 'em, was well able to level their "Passage thither; for we may go from the Eastern "Extremities of *Asia*, to the Western Extremities of *America*.

Pen is not the only Person, for 'tis not much more that fifty Years, since R. *Menasseh* Printed [a] the *Hope of Israel*, founded upon the Number and Power of the Jews in *America*. He dedicated his Book to the *English* Parliament, and was favourably received by *Cromwel*, which made some say, that they took him for the *Messiah*. *Menasseh* had been misguided by *Montesini*'s relation, who reported, that he had found a great many Jews concealed behind the Mountains *Cordilleras*, which run all along *Chily* in *America*. The Fact was thus, *Montesini* travelling in the Province of *Quif*, with an *Indian*, was overtaken with a violent Storm, which occasioned the *Indian*, called *Francis*, to exclaim against the *Spaniards*, whose Cruelty and Sins drew down upon 'em these effects of the Divine Vengeance. *Montesini* arriving at *Carthagena*, was seiz'd by the Inquisition, where he had leisure to make Reflexions. He imagined that the *Indians* were Jews, and revolved it often in his Mind; and as this Notion hath made a great Impression upon him, the first thing he did when he came out of the Inquisition, was to seek for his *Indian*, and be more amply instructed in the matter. In effect he found this *Indian* to be a Jew, that his God was *Adonai*, and that he acknowledged *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob* for his Ancestors. Curiosity [b] engaging him to pursue his Voyage, he arrived upon the Banks of a River, and upon giving the Signal, People appeared, who pronounced these words of *Deuteronomy*, SCHEMAH ISRAEL ADONAI ELOHENU ADONAI EHAD. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. They looked upon Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as their Fathers, and pretended to descend from 'em by Reuben.* They told how Providence had placed them there by incredible Miracles; that the *Indians* had treated 'em with the same Cruelty, that the *Spaniards* had exercised upon them; that at the instigation of the *Magi*, they had thrice declared War against 'em; but God protecting his People against the Idolaters, these latter had been so beaten, that there was not a Man remaining of all their Armies. Some *Magi*, who had escaped by a secret of their Art, had declared, that the God of the *Israelites* was the true God, and that this Nation should become the Mistress of the World at the Consummation of Ages. *Montesini* left 'em, with a persuasion that his Brethren should one Day see themselves the Masters of the Universe. *Menasseh* believed him upon his sincerity, and took the Pains to trace out the Road, which had led the Tribe of *Ruben* into the *West-Indies*. He found a Prediction in the Prophet *Isaiah*, which informed him of it; for he says, the *Isles shall wait upon the Lord*. Here then you have Islands of *America*, that Worship the true God. He imagined farther, that *Asia* and *America* were one Continent; and that God divided them afterwards by the Straits of *Anian*. But before this separation, the Jews had travelled to *America* by Land, and canton'd themselves against the Native Inhabitants of the Country. A Man has since [c] given himself the trouble to confute this Notion and Relation of *Montesini*. It seems that there was no need of Reasoning to discover the falshood; but yet there are Christians that corroborate it with their Conjectures.

IV. We are [d] told, that the Jews have left many manifest signs of their Passage into this part of the World which discover 'em there; and that these People have a Notion of the Deluge, tho' they relate it in a different manner: For those of *Peru* tell, that [e] their Land being overflowed, the Men were obliged to shut themselves up in Caves, and to stop up the Entrance of 'em. After

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[x] שכור Tabbur, Umbilicus. [y] *In the Year* 1540. [z] Pen's *Letter of the Present State of the Lands of the* English *in* America, p 156, & 143. [a] Spes Israelis, Amstæl. 1650. [b] Montesini. [c] Spizelii Elevatio relat. Montesini. [d] Acosta. lib. 1. c. 16. [e] Antony Zarate *of the Discovery of* Peru, t. 2. cap. 10. p. 49.

they had waited there ſome time, they ſent out Dogs, who returning very wet, without being loden with Mud and Dirt, they concluded the Earth was ſtill covered with the Waters; but making a ſecond trial with the ſame Dogs, who returned dirty, they came out of the Caves, and fell to Re-peopling of the Country. The ſending out the Dogs has pretty much affinity with that of the Raven and Dove, which acquainted *Noah* with the ſinking of the Waters.

Others ſay, [f] that all the Inhabitants of the Country were buried under the Waters, except *Viracocha*, who came out of a great Lake, and fixed his Habitation at firſt, in a place where the Ruins of ſome great Buildings appeared; afterwards he came to the City *Cuſco*, where he began to renew the Stock of Humane Race. Laſtly, There are a third ſort, who ſay, that only ſix Men were preſerv'd, who came out of the Cave through a Hole or a Window, and were the Source of Humane Kind, and they called the Place where they ſettled *Pacari Tampo*. The *Tampo*'s, or Inhabitants of this Place, are thought to be the moſt ancient dwellers on the Earth. From them proceeded *Mango Campa*, the Head of the *Inchas*, who have made War and ſubdued many Provinces, pretending they of right belong to them, ſince their Anceſtors had Peopled 'em, and had eſtabliſh'd Religion there, which they had received from Heaven.

They ſpeak alſo of Giants, who were fought by a Man deſcended from Heaven, who flung upon them Torrents of Fire. A [g] *Spaniſh* Captain, who heard 'em tell this Story, had the Curioſity to dig in the place where the Battle was fought, where he found Bones enough to make a Skeleton, the Teeth whereof are four Inches long, and two broad. *Acoſta* relates, that another much larger was diſcovered at *Mexico*; for one of his Grinders was as big as a Man's Fiſt, and the other Parts of the Body in proportion. Laſtly, other Bodies were found there three times bigger than the ordinary *Indians*.

V. Some ſay, [h] that *Noah*, who continued three Hundred and Fifty Years after the Deluge did not live upon the Earth in a careleſs manner, and without thoughts of Re-peopling the World, ſince God had intruſted the Care of it to him. He could not be ignorant, that there was a great Continent in the Weſt ſince he was Divinely inſpired. He was too experienced in the Art of Navigation and building of Ships, to be ignorant of the means of going or ſending to the *Weſt-Indies*; and it was much eaſier for him to make this Voyage, than to ſail from the end of the *Mediteranean* Sea to the *Tiber*, and build upon Mount *Janiculus*; or to paſs from the *Streights* to *New France*, and from *Cape Verd* to *Braſile*, than to ſend his Children to *Japan*. *Solomon*, who ſent his Fleet upon a three Years Voyage for Gold, was not ſo ingenious. If it was true, that *America* had been Peopled in *Noah*'s time, it would be no wonder, that its Inhabitants ſhould know the Hiſtory of the Deluge, and find among them the Relicks of the Giants. But who will believe any thing of this Colony of *Noah*?

VI. And therefore the Jews maintain it was their Anceſtors, rather than the Children of the Patriarch, that convey'd theſe Stories thither, ſince we diſcover other Footſteps of their Religion, which do not ſute with the *Noachides*: For the *Americans* affirm, they eſcaped from the Sea, becauſe the *Iſraelites* paſs'd through the *Red Sea*, and they have preſerved Circumciſion, which is one of the Characters of the Jewiſh Religion: They offer their firſt Fruits to their Idol, which they muſt have borrowed from the Jews; they eat the Paſchal Lamb, at leaſt in *Peru*; they kill a white Lamb every Year, whoſe Blood they mingle with Meal, and diſtribute it to the People, who piouſly believe, they eat the Blood of their God, who came down from Heaven. Laſtly, [i] They believe the Reſurrection; and therefore they cauſe their Wives and Slaves to be buried with 'em, that they may appear with an Equipage worthy of 'em, when they ſhall riſe from their Graves; and upon this ſcore, when the *Spaniards* plunder'd the Tombs, for the Gold that was buried in 'em, they beg'd of 'em to be ſo kind as not to diſperſe the Bones, that they might the eaſier muſter them up at the Reſurrection.

VII. But firſt, the origine of the *Americans* is unknown; which is what creates ſo vaſt a variety of Opinions. One [k] would have them to be the Poſterity of *Cham*, expell'd by *Joſhua*, who taking Shipping were driven by a Tempeſt upon ſo remote a Coaſt. He proves it from this, that the *Canaanites* eat the Fleſh of their Enemies, like moſt of the *Americans*. This [l] cruelty is abſurdly imputed to the *Canaanites*; but however, they made their Children paſs through the Fire, and the *Americans* dance and paſs over the Fire, when they invoke their *Dæmons*.

Another [m] will not have *America* to be peopled before Jeſus Chriſt. For as the Impiety of the Builders of *Babel* cauſed God to diſperſe 'em into ſeveral Places; the Infidelity of thoſe that rejected the Goſpel drew upon 'em the like Puniſhment, and *God ſent 'em into remote Iſlands, where they might live like Beaſts, becauſe they would not live like Gods by embracing Chriſtanity.*

Grotius [n] would have the firſt Inhabitants of the New World to be conveyed thither from *Greenland*. And for an Argument to prove it, he alledges ſome Conformity of Language betwixt the *Germans* and the Northern *Americans*. One of their firſt Territories is called *Eſtotiland*, which is a *German* Name. The Name of a Lamb is *Lam*, and the Name of God is *Theut*. The *Germans Thoth* is ſufficiently known; but 'tis obſerved, that the *Americans* have no general Term to ſignifie the Divinity; and therefore ſince the *Spaniards* came there, they have borrowed of 'em the word *Dios*. *Si queremos*, ſays *Acoſta*, who muſt know it, *in linque de Indios Hallar vocable que reſponde a eſte, Dios no ce halla en la lengua del Cuzco, ni en la lengua de Mexico per donde los que Predicen o eſcrivon para Indios uſan elmiſimo noſtro Eſpanol Dios*. So that *Grotius*'s laſt Obſervation is evidently falſe. One of the *American* Kings was called *Theuch*, whom this learned Critick probably miſtook for a God they Worſhipped. Some will have the Inhabitants of *America* to be tranſplanted from all the Parts of the World; for ſome bring 'em from *Ethopia*, from whence Seamen were unexpectedly driven by the Winds that blow directly upon this Country. Others will have 'em to be *Tartars*, who left their Deſarts to People a gentler Climate. In order to facilitate the Paſſage of Beaſts as well as Men, they ſeek for a ſlip of Ground, that connects the New World with the Old. All the Neighbouring Banks are viſited to examine whether the Paſſage was made. Hence *Ireland* becomes Subject of Conjectures. As ſome Plants and even Animals, like thoſe of *America*,

[f] Acoſta. *Ibid.* [g] Zaraet *Hiſt. of the Diſcovery of* Peru. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 18. Acoſta l. 7. c. 10. La & de origine Gent. Americ. p. 83. [h] Leſcarbot *Hiſt. of* New France, t. 1. c. 3. [i] Zaret, ibid. cap. 12. p. 55. [k] Leſcarbot, l. 1. c. 3. [l] *See* Wiſd. 12. 4, 5. [m] Urſini Analecta, l. 6. c. 24. p. 378. [n] Grotius Diſſ. de Orig. Gent. Americ.

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are found in this Country, they ſuppoſe, that if theſe Lands have not been united, yet at leaſt the Paſſage betwixt 'em was neither long nor difficult. We read alſo in the Hiſtory of *Wales*, that in the Year 1170. *Madoc* ſeeing his Brethren at War for the Succeſſion and Kingdom of their Father, went on Board ſome Ships, truſted himſelf to the Sea, landed upon unknown Coaſts, and left his Crew there. Being charmed with the Country he had diſcover'd, he returned to *England*, and laughed at his Brethren, who fought ſo furiouſly for a barren and ungrateful Soil, whilſt a fertile Country might be poſſeſſed without any trouble. He returned again with Shipping, and we are told, that theſe are the true *Americans*, that came from *Wales*. The Poets [o] as well as the Hiſtorians, have celebrated *Madoc*'s Voyages, who preferr'd the Sea to the Land; nor ought the prodigious number of Inhabitants found in the *Weſt-Indies*, be any Objection; as if *Madoc* could not have produced ſo great a People; for four Hundred Years were ſufficient to have ſtock'd the Country. Men may ſay what they pleaſe, when they pretend to determine concerning an uncertain Fact; at leaſt, they have the ſatisfaction to confute their Adverſary ſucceſsfully, and the Pleaſure riſes in proportion to the Reputation, which the Perſon confuted has in the World. 'Tis therefore no wonder, that there are Criticks, who maintain, that the firſt *Americans* were Jews of *Tartary*; for if this Conjecture be uncertain, ſo are the others too. They ruine one another, which is ſufficient for us, ſince we have nothing certain to offer about the Origine of the *Americans*.

VIII. Secondly, the Scripture Paſſages, quoted in favour of the Jews, prove nothing. The Doctors alledge for inſtance *Obadiah*'s [p] Prophecy, which promiſes, *That the Captivity of the Children of Iſrael ſhall poſſeſs the Land of the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath, and the Captivity of Jeruſalem, which is in Sepharad, ſhall poſſeſs the Cities of the South.* The *Rabbins* ſay, that *Sarepta* or *Zarphad* is in *France*, that *Sepharad* is *Spain*, and that the Jews which came from theſe two Kingdoms went over to *America*. Others from this Paſſage have drawn an Argument of the *Americans* being Converted by the *Spaniards* and *French*. But is not this trifling with Scripture? *Sarepta*, a City of the *Sidonians*, is well enough known; why then muſt the word *Zarphad* be ſubſtituted for it, and interpreted by *France*, as if the Jews were ever to reign there. *Sepharad* is leſs known. St. *Jerome* would have it to be the *Boſphorus*, and we can ſee no Foundation for this Conjecture. The *Rabbins*, with as little Foundation, gave *Spain* this Name. The LXX. have tranſlated it as far as *Ephrata:* Might we not read in their Verſion *Ephratis* [q]? And ſo the Prophecy would be clear; for the Prophet meant by it, the *Comagena*, which the *Greeks* call *Ephrates*; or rather we may read it *Euphrates*, which is a known River. The Jews would have theſe by a vaſt extent of Country, from *Sarepta* on the *Maritime* Coaſt, quite to the *Euphrates*; and on the other hand, they wou'd ſtretch themſelves towards *Arabia*, which *Obadiah* calls the Country of *Nageb*, or the South. They muſt be bounded by the Sea on the Weſt, by *Euphrates* on the Eaſt, and *Arabia* on the South; which would give a vaſt reach to their Country, and fulfill the Oracle, which God pronounced by *Moſes*, that they ſhould carry their Conqueſts as far as *Euphrates*. But at the ſame time we loſe ſight of *America*, *France* and *Spain*, and the Jews that were to poſſeſs them.

IX. In the Third place, the Author of the Second Book of *Eſdras* affirms, that the Ten Tribes were carred *into a place, where no Body* ever lived; which not being to be underſtood of *Europe* or *Aſia*, has occaſioned many Interpreters to believe, they were tranſplanted into *America*, which then wanted Inhabitants. But beſides, the different Falſhoods we have already obſerved in this pretended Tranſmigration, ſince the ſpurious *Eſdras* expreſſes himſelf only in general Terms about the inhabited Place he ſpeaks of; it can't be concluded from thence, that the Ten Tribes were rather carried into *America*, than into a Deſart of *Africa*, or even into ſome place of *Aſia*, which was not very well Peopled. Whether then we examine the Holy Scripture, and the Apocryphal Books, or aſcend up to the Origine of the *Americans*, we can't determine, that the Ten Tribes paſſed into this Country.

X. In the Fourth Place, it is not ſufficient to find amongſt theſe barbarous People, ſome Tracts of Judaiſm; becauſe there are a great many Rites that have been common to the Idolatrous Nations and the Jews. Thoſe who give too much to the Devil, have for a long time complain'd of his mimicking God, and attempting to make his Myſteries and Worſhip perfectly like thoſe of the Supreme Being. But not to draw the Devil out of Hell, humane Mind being all of one and the ſame Make, has frequently the ſame Opinions about the Matter of Worſhip. There is no need that Idolaters ſhould go and fetch all their Ceremonies from the true Church. How many Idolaters who never knew one another, had the ſame Ideas of their Gods, and paid 'em almoſt the ſame Homages? Without leaving the Subject we are upon, the *Americans* have no more concerted with the *Manichees*, than with the old *Egyptians*, concerning the two Principles. Nevertheleſs they ſay in *Peru*, that a powerful Man called *Con*, had formed Men; but that another more potent Principle, called *Pachacama*, the Son of the Sun and Moon, metamorphoſed them into Apes, Parrots and Bears, and made the *Indians*. They Worſhip [r] theſe two Principles, and the laſt has moſt Adorers, becauſe they are afraid of his doing Miſchief, and transforming Men into Beaſts. In like manner, the *Americans* might imitate the Jews without any Commerce with 'em. The Altar raiſed upon Twelve Stones, the Oblation of the firſt Fruits, and the reckoning by Moons, may have been imagined in all Countries. Circumciſion makes a more ſpeaking Character; but the Fact is very uncertain. *Peter Martyr* [s] ſays it. *They Sacrifice their Children to the honour of their Idols, and are Circumciſed. Gomara* ſays, that ſome of 'em are Circumciſed; but not all, *Retaianſe a junque no todos.* But *Acoſta*, who had much ſtudied this Country, obſerves, that the *Americans* can't be Jews, becauſe they never Circumcis'd their Children, nor do it now; and tho' they ſhould be Circumciſed, how many other Nations are ſo too? We muſt not therefore inſiſt upon ſome Shadow of Reſemblance, nor raſhly found Concluſions upon ſome Conformity of Religion, as if the one muſt neceſſarily be deſcended from the other.

XI. For indeed, [t] the Chriſtians have had the ſame Imaginations as the Jews, and have thought they have found Croſſes in *America*. Towards *Darien*, they have diſcover'd People, that Baptize their

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[o] Mereditſh An. 1477. De Laet de Orig. Gent. Americ. p. 137. [p] Obadiah, v. 20. [q] Ἑως Ἐφραθᾶ, *read* Ἑως Ἐφραθις Euphratesa; or rather, ἑως Ευφρατου, *as far as* Euphrates, *as* Exod. 23. 31. [r] Zarate, l. 2. c. 11. p. 49. [s] Petrus Martyr, Decad. c. 4. [t] Petrus Martyr ubi ſupra.

Children

Children in form of a Croſs, and made a kind of Ceremony like that of the Euchariſt. It appear'd alſo, that they had ſome Notion of the Trinity; and they ſaid, a ſtranger had left them all theſe Cuſtoms. It would be eaſie to find almoſt a perfect Correſpondence with the Church of *Rome*. The Prieſts never approach their Idols without a white Linnen in their Hand, as thoſe of *Rome* never Officiate without a Surplice; and as the Women had formerly their Dominical or white Linnen, with which they covered their Hand, when they were to communicate. They [u] preſent to the Idols an Image of the Things they deſire to obtain, which little Image is of Silver or Gold, as is done to our Lady of *Loretto*. Every Trade has its particular Gods. Fiſhermen and Huntſmen have their Patrons, as each has his Saints in the *Romiſh* Church. The Prieſts ſpeak to the Idols in a Language which others don't underſtand; as the Service of *Rome* is performed in *Latin*, to make themſelves more acceptable to the God they Worſhip. They faſt; they ſeparate from the Society of Men and Women, by which Retirement and Mortifications, they obtain Viſions and Revelations. They adorn their Idols with a Croſs and a Mitre, and therefore when the *Peruvians* ſaw a Biſhop Officiate in his *Pontificalibus*, they asked, whether he was the *Guaca* of the Chriſtians. There is nothing even to the word Pope, but is found among the *Americans*, to ſignifie the Chief Prieſt. Laſtly, [x] In *Mexico*, ſome Virgins conſecrated to the Service of Idols, made an Effigies of Paſte and Honey, which they conſecrate with a great deal of Ceremony, and afterwards diſtribute it to the People, who believe they eat the Body of their God. Is not this the Myſtery of Tranſubſtantiation? 'Tis alſo very expreſly concluded, that Chriſtianity was brought there in the Apoſtles Days by St. *Thomas*. And therefore at *Braſil* they preſerve the Memory of a miraculous Man, called *Meire Humane*, of whom they report the ſame things, that are told in the *Eaſt-Indies* of St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle: It may alſo be ſaid, that this was his Name; for *Meire* with the *Americans* ſignifies a Stranger, a Man that wears a Beard, and Humane is the ſame thing with *Thomas*. In the Mines has been found [y] a Medal of *Auguſtus*, which perhaps was brought there in that time; and there is a Valley called *Imperial C. Auten*, becauſe we find in moſt Houſes the Imperial *Eagle*, which proves that the Chriſtians have had conſiderable Settlements in this Country. It ſeems likewiſe, that without this we can't ſalve the Decree of God, and the Credit of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, ſince the one commanded the Goſpel to be Preached to *all Nations*, and the others affirm it has been declared to every Creature under Heaven. How could this be true, if the vaſt numbers of Inhabitants that people *America*, had never heard mention of the Goſpel?

XII. Nevertheleſs *America* was not known in the Apoſtles times. 'Tis in vain to ſeek it in *Plato*'s Iſle of *Atlantis*, the Story whereof is mixed with Fables. How ſhall we find it in *Virgil*'s Verſes, who is thought to have given the Deſcription of it?

——Jacet [z] *extra ſidera tellus,*
Extra anni ſolitq; vias, ubi cælifer Atlas
Axem humeris torquet ſtellis ardentibus aptum.

Don't we ſee, that this is a Poetical Flight, and that there is no Land uncovered by the Heaven and ſituate beyond the Stars? And if we would underſtand any thing hereby, it muſt be *Æthiopia*, or rather *Mauritania*, the common Reſidence of *Atlas*, and of which a Poet ſpeaks thus,

—Æthiopumque [a] *ſolum quod non premeretur ab ulla,*
Signiferi regione Poli niſi poplite lapſo
Ultima curvati procederet ungula Tauri.

The Prophecies of the Old and New Teſtament have their different Degrees of Accompliſhment. The Apoſtles began to carry the Goſpel into one part of the World, as Jeſus Chriſt had commanded; but they could not finiſh their Undertaking. *Perſia* received not the Knowledge of the Truth, till a long time after they were Dead. The Churches of *Carthage*, and of all that part of *Africa*, were not founded by the Apoſtles. From whence the *Donatiſts* drew an imaginary advantage, becauſe the Scripture has ſaid, *The firſt ſhall be laſt*. None of the Diſciples penetrated into *Ethiopia*, and 'twas in *Conſtantine*'s Reign, that the *Kings of the Earth and Nations Worſhipped Jeſus Chriſt*. We muſt not therefore lay too great a Streſs upon theſe Expreſſions, that the Goſpel has been Preached to *every Creature under Heaven*, and that it ought to be Preached *to all Nations*; for the Scripture often uſes ſuch ſort of Terms only to denote a great extent of Country. *Nebuchadnezar* wrote [b] *Unto all People, Nations and Languages that dwell in all the Earth; and his Dominion reached to the end of the Earth.* Whereas he had not carried his Conqueſts into *America*, nor was *Europe* ſubject to him, and abundance of Nations never heard of his Edict. It muſt always be remember'd, the Writers of the Old and New Teſtament were Orientals, and that they followed the Genius and Stile of the Nation, in which they lived. We muſt not therefore take their Expreſſions literally, which are often Metaphorical and Hyperbolical. It was ſufficient to the Execution of our Saviour's Order, and St. *Paul*'s thought, that a great part of the World had already heard of the *Meſſiah*, and of the advantages procured by his Death, without ſending his Diſciples from Place to Place, and Nation to Nation, as far as *America*.

XIII. Beſides, the Footſteps of Chriſtianity obſerved in *America*, are too faint to make a proof of its being known. The Church of *Rome* having a prodigious number of Ceremonies of humane Invention, and tack'd to one another, 'tis impoſſible but they ſhould be often found correſpondent to thoſe of Idolaters. They are invented by the ſame Genius, and inſtituted for the ſame end; I venture to ſay it without deſigning thereby an Affront. All Nations have the ſame Idea of the Deity, and think God would be Worſhipped by the Intervention of Sacrifices, and numerous Rites like the Kings of the Earth. Is it any wonder, that theſe Ceremonies which are purely humane, ſhould be the ſame in different Places, tho' inſtituted for different Objects? The Heathens had their Ablutions and Sacrifices like the Jews. The *Guebres Zeroaſters*, Diſciples and Deſcendants of the ancient *Perſians* have their Baptiſm; by which they pretend that all the Stains of the Soul are waſhed away; but they celebrate it with Urine. They have their Confeſſion which they make in the Prieſt's Ear, who acquits them from all Puniſhment, provided they ſatisfie the Deity themſelves by Repentance or ſome Alms-deeds. Have they borrowed all this

[u] Zarat. l. 2 c. 12. p. 55. [x] Huet Quæſt. Alnet. l. 2. c. 20. p. 7. [y] Hornius de Orig. Gent. American. l. 3. c. 19. Marinus Siculus Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 15. Mebius Diſſ. an Evangelium Americanis publicatum fuerit. [z] Æneid. 6. p. 460. [a] Lucanus. [b] Witſius Miſcellan. Sacra t. 2. Ex. 14. p. 430.

from

from the Christian and Roman Church? Fasting and Retirement necessary to converse with God; Abstinence from Women; White Linnen, the Symbol of Purity; the Effigies of Gold and Silver presented to the Idols to obtain any thing of 'em, are Superstitions common to the Generality of Men. The Cross laid upon the Tombs of the dead, might be a more sensible Sign of Christianity; and some have imagined, that the *Spaniards* expell'd by the *Moors* under *Rodrigo* came thither, and brought with 'em this Badge of their Religion. But *Lopez de Gomara*, who had enquired into the matter, did not believe it; because no Cross is to be found in all the Islands, which must necessarily be touch'd upon before they came thither. *No los Creo pues no las ayen las Islas que nombrado ave mos es Alguna de las quales es necessario y aun forcoso tocar antes de slegar alli.* The Stakes the *Indians* lay upon the Grave have been taken for Crosses, because they sometimes place them a-cross; for a great many People have never seen these Crosses.

XIV. Lastly, tho' more manifest Tracks of Christianity or Judaism could be found in *America*; yet we could not reasonably conclude that the Gospel was brought thither by the Apostles, or that the first Inhabitants of the Country were the Posterity of the Ten Tribes. 'Tis sufficient, that a Vessel driven thither by a Tempest had landed some Jews; who had left some Marks of their Religion among the Inhabitants of the Country, without having Peopled it themselves. 'Tis the true Character of Judaism to continue separate from other Nations. Tho' for Seventeen Hundred Years, they have been mixed with Christians, and many Ages before with the Eastern Idolaters, yet they have preserved, in the midst of 'em, their Books and Rites, and Notion of a *Messiah*, as a particular People which God has reserved for himself. Would *America* be the only Place wherein they had lost their Ancient Character, and were so confounded with the Idolaters, as to have none of their Sacred Books, or Hebrew Letters, the Distinction of Meats, of Sabbaths and New Moons; nor the Hopes of that great Deliverer, who is to make 'em reign over all the World?

The Truth is, all these Nations to which they would give a Tincture of Judaism are excessively Idolatrous. Some have in their Temples Two Statutes of Black Goats, before which they burn Wood of a pleasant Smell. They Worship also the Figures of Serpents, and Reverence Heifers and Oxen. Others pay their Homages to the Sun. They invoke the Devils; they Sacrifice their Children to them, and their Worship consists of an heap of extravagant and barbarous Ceremonies. 'Tis no great Honour for the Jews to be the Fathers of this People, if their Posterity has so degenerated, and nothing remains but the Physiognomy of their Ancestors. This is the Character which *Pen* knew 'em by; but what is more changeable than Physiognomy? *Acosta* maintains on the contrary, that they could not be the Descendants of this covetous Race, because the *Americans* despise Riches, which Two Reasons have an equal Solidity.

XV. 'Tis still easier to prove that the Ten Tribes are not the *Fathers of the Tartars or Turks.* 1. The *Scythians*, who inhabited *Tartary* were a very Ancient People. *Justin* relates the Dispute they had with the *Egyptians* upon this Subject; and he affirms, that the latter were forced to yield Antiquity to the *Scythians*. How then could the Ten Tribes, who passed through *Media* into this Country find it desolate and uninhabited. This is not probable; for besides what *Justin* relates of their Original, this Part of the North was soon Peopled by the Posterity of *Japhet*. 'Tis still less probable, that a handful of Fugitives, who left their Families and Treasures with the *Medes* should be able to conquer and expel the *Scythians*, a People terrible for their Fierceness and Expence in War. What a Whimsie would it be to leave a tolerable good Country, to go and make Conquests upon the *Scythians!* 2. This Part of the Ten Tribes, which must have gone thither, ought to give themselves the Name of *Totares*, because it was the Remains or the *Overplus* of the Nation. *Fuller*[c] thought this Name might be given the *Scythians* by the *Syrians*, because of the prodigious Multitude of People their Country abounded with; but those who have examined the matter more narrowly say[d] that this Country has a River and a Province called *Tatar*, from whence the People have taken that of *Tatares*, which has no Relation to the Transmigration and Superfluity of the Ten Tribes. 3. 'Tis strange, that so ingenious a Man as *Ortelius* should find here the Names of the Tribes of *Dan* and *Nepthali*. There were actually *Daces* and *Danois*, who inhabited the North; but how are these *Danois* to be turned into *Danites?* We might for the same Reason find the same Tribe in *Danemark*, and fix their Abode there. There were also *Ephtalites*, who derived their Name from one King *Ephtalanus*, whom *Procopius* places in the North of *Persia*; but neither this Prince[e] nor his Nation, nor the *Euthalites* had any thing in common with the Jews. 4. The *Tartars* have their *Hordes*, which some multiply to Seven, but this Word is not borrowed from the *Hebrews*, it signifies a *Camp*, or an *Assembly of People*, a Canton of *Tartars*. 5. 'Tis ridiculous to seek the *Glory of God* in the Kingdom of *Cathay*, as if the Ten Tribes who posted there, gave it this Name to shew their Zeal for the Glory of God, who had conducted 'em. For, not to examine the Origin of this Name, they have always been extremely Idolatrous in this Kingdom. "We "see there, says the Historian[f], that *Postel* had "Copied such a vast Number of Sects, as could "not be reckoned. Some adored Idols made of "Metal. Others made Gods of the Oxen that "Plough their Land; others prostrate themselves "before great Trees, the Sun, and Moon, and "Stars; others live like Beasts and are without "God in the World." All this affords us no Footstep of Judaism. An Ingenious Man, who spent Seventeen Years at the Cham of *Tartary*'s Court, says they have been always Heathens; that their Great God was called *Natagai*; that the Wife and Children of this Deity were Gods of a Second Rank; and that the *Tartars* have so great a Veneration for 'em, that there is not a House to be found without their Images. They don't eat without rubbing their Mouths with Grease. 'Tis true, they have altered since that time, and *Mahomet*'s Religion having spread so far, they at present receive Circumcision, and practise some Ceremonies of the Law conformably to the Books of *Moses*. But the *Mussulmans* communicated these

[c] Fuller Misc. Sac. l. 2. c. 5. p. 22. 83. [d] Leunclav. Pandect. Hist. Turc. Haithon de Tartaris, c. 16. [e] Grotius *calls these Inhabitants*, Euthalites Diss. de Orig. Gent. Americ. [f] Haitho Armenius, Lib. de Tartaris, c. 1.

Rites

Rites to the *Tartars*; and it ought not to be aſcribed to the Jews. 6. 'Tis true theſe latter are numerous in *Poland* and *Muſcovy*; but there is no need of aſcending to an Imaginary Conveyance of the Ten Tribes into *Scythia*, to diſcover the Reaſon of it. There is a natural one, taken from the Tranquility and Privileges which the Kings of theſe Nations have granted the Jews, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

XVI. Moreover, the Ten Tribes are convey'd into the *Eaſt-Indies* and *China*; which Conjecture is much more likely than thoſe we have been confuting. For *Solomon* having made an Alliance with the King of *Tyre*, theſe two Princes ſent their Fleets to *Ophir*, to fetch Gold and Ivory. Mr. *Bochart* [g] has diſtinguiſh'd two very different Places, which went by the Name of *Ophir*, becauſe of their *Abundance:* One known in *Job*'s time, was ſituate in *Arabia*, where Gold was ſo common, that it was taken without trouble from the Bowels of the Earth. They exchanged it with the Neighbouring Nations, for Iron and Braſs; and as if theſe Metals had been of an equal Value they gave Weight for Weight; and ſometimes the *Sabæans* out of a haughty Pride refuſed to give 'em their Braſs, but for double and treble Weight of Gold. This Place was called *Caſſanitis*, from a *Hebrew* Word ſignifying *Treaſure* [h], as when *Solomon* ſays in his *Proverbs* [i], *In the houſe of the righteous is much treaſure*. *David* knew this Province, and ſpoke of the *Gold of Ophir*; but his Son's Fleets went to another Place.

Thoſe that are concerned for the Peopling of *America*, will have the Mines of *Peru* to be the Sources of *Solomon*'s great Riches, which made *Gold at Jeruſalem as plenteous as Stones*. But they don't obſerve that the Navigation would have been very difficult, whether they had ſteer'd on the Coaſt of *China* and *Japan*, or whether they had doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and coaſted along *Africa*, whereas the Iſle of *Tapobranes*, ſo famous with the Ancients, was not very far from the *Red Sea* and the Gulf of *Arabia*, from whence the Ships of the King of *Tyre* and *Solomon* ſet out.

The Iſle of *Tapobranes* was that of *Ceilan*, a Similitude of Names has been obſerved betwixt theſe two Iſlands. It has been ſuppoſed that *Tapobranes* had been called *Simunda*, and they change *Simunda* or *Sumænda* into *Sumatra*. 'Tis true this Word is found in a famous Geographer [k]; but there was a Fault in the Manuſcript, and it ought to be read *Palæ Simunda*, which is the Name the Ancients gave the Iſland *Tapobranes*. It has changed ſince and been called *Sales*, from whence came *Ceilan*, which is the Iſle we ſeek for, and from which *Solomon* drew his Treaſures. Thoſe that doubt of it may conſult the Learned Mr. *Bochart* [l], who has found one and twenty Correſpondences betwixt the *Ceilan* of the Moderns, and the Ancients *Tapobranes*. It had abundance of Ivory, ſince the Elephants are numerous and of a prodigious Bulk. Precious Stones abound there; it only ſeems that the Navigation could not laſt Three Years, ſince *Ceilan* is not far from the *Red Sea*. *Strabo* ſays, that it was formerly believed this Iſland was Twenty Days Voyage from Land, but it was found that it was no more than Seven. Without examining this, the Length of the Voyage proceeded from their ſending Veſſels that were ill equipp'd and *Paper Veſſels*. *Iſaiah* ſays alſo, that the *Egyptians* ſent Veſſels of Paper to the Maritime Cities, to acquaint them that *Oſiris* was found again. What do theſe Veſſels of Paper expoſed to the Rage of the Sea, and ſent to the Iſland of *Ceilan* mean. We muſt underſtand by 'em, the Sails that were then made of Paper and taken from a Book. Theſe Sails were very bad, and therefore the Navigation was tedious. *Strabo* explains his Thought; for he ſays that the Ships that went for *Tapobranes*, were bad Sailors, or had bad Sails. Navigation was ſtill leſs known in *Solomon*'s Time. Perhaps too inſtead of Sailing directly they coaſted along *Arabia*, and the other Shores, which required a great deal of Time.

Since *Solomon* [m] ſent into this Country, ſome Jews went thither with the Fleet, but they were only particular Perſons, who made no conſiderable Settlements. *Benjamin* ſays, that he ſaw in this Place a kind of Abyſs, which the Interpreter, tho' very Learned, took for a God, *Alhauta*; that they daily kindled a great Fire, and that the Inhabitants made their Children paſs through it; but this comes nearer to the Cuſtoms of the *Canaanites* and *Tyrians*, who Sail'd thither, than to thoſe of the *Jews*.

XVII. *Claudien* ſeems to inſinuate in his Verſes, againſt *Eutropia*'s, that the Jews were ſettled in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

——— *Jam frugibus aptum*
Æquor, & aſſuetum ſylvis delphina videbo;
Jam cocleis hominis junctos & quidquid inane
Nutrit Judaicis quæ pingitur India velis.

Why was the *Indians Groteſque* Figures found more particularly in the Tapeſtries of the Jews, than in thoſe of other Nations? Is it that they had greater Commerce, and lived amongſt them? To change the Text, and reſtore the Name of *Attalus* [n], inſtead of that of the Jews; to ſeek here the Veil of *Solomon*'s Temple, to maintain that the Jews are here taken for the *Babylonians*, whoſe Tapeſtries were much cried up, as *Juvenal* [o] calls the Jews the Soothſayers of the *Chaldæans*, is to ramble after vain Imaginations; and even *Juvenal*'s Example which is quoted, is not juſt, ſince he accuſes not the *Chaldæans*, but the Jews, of profeſſing Divination. It ought rather to be obſerved, that it is not the *Eaſt-Indies*, but *Ethiopia* that is ſpoken of to which the Church-Hiſtorians frequently give this Name, as when they ſay that *Ædeſius* and *Frumentius* carried the Goſpel to the *Indies*. The Jews are numerous in *Ethiopia*, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, and there they wrought the Tapeſtries we ſpeak of. And indeed it ought not to be ſaid that theſe Sails or Tapeſtries were called *Judaick*, becauſe there were a great many rich Perſons in the Nation in *Theodoſius*'s Reign, who adorned their Houſes with 'em. Nor is it to any purpoſe to quote for a Proof *Theodoſius*'s Laws, his favourable Orders to the Jews, directed to *Claudian*, Count of the Eaſt, who is confounded with the Poet. Theſe Tapeſtries took their Name from the Artiſts that work'd them. The Jews of *Ethiopia* got their Living by this ſort of Work. They delighted to put Antick Figures in 'em, becauſe they bordered upon *Egypt*, which was fertile in Monſters, and eſpecially, ſince Images were ſeverely forbidden them; they ſcrupled the making the

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[g] Boch. Phaleg. l. 2. [h] בית ערוץ חסנ דב Beth Tſadick chaſan Rab. *'Tis ſometimes tranſlated*, In the houſe of the righteous there is a great deal of Strength; *but it ought to be tranſlated* abundance. *The* Hebrew *Word ſignifies* to fortify *and* to poſſeſs, Strength *or* Inheritance. [i] Prov. 15. 6. [k] Stephanus de Urb. [l] Boch. Canaan l. 1. c. 46. p. 770, &c. [m] Bochart ibid. p. 774. [n] Attalicis. [o] Barthius in Claud.

Figure

Figure of a Man or of the Sun, which the Heathen might worship. Instead of Humane Figures they contrived those of Animals, or Men growing out of a Sea-shell, which render'd these Pictures ridiculous, and pleasant to be look'd upon. *Claudian* therefore speaks of *Ethiopia*, and Jewish Workmen, who diverted themselves in working Monsters and uncouth Figures into their Tapestries.

XVIII. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* [p] says, that in his Travells in the *Indies*, he found a great many People of his Nation. He met with a hundred of 'em in the Island of *Ceilan*, where *White Pepper and Ginger* grow. Sailing thence to the Islands, which are probably those of *Java* and *Sumatra*, which is thought to be the ancient *Charsonesus*, he was inform'd, there were Twenty Thousand People of his Religion mingled with Idolaters, who Worshipped the Fire, and often made a Vow to burn themselves in honour of it. Lastly, having pass'd through *China* into a City of the *Indians* called *Adan*, or *Baadan*, he discover'd a Nation of Jews there, who dwelt upon the tops of the Mountains, and had built them Towers and Cities. They were govern'd by their own peculiar Laws, without depending on any Prince. They made War against all the other Nations, and no body durst attack them. One would think, there could be no disputing against a Man, who has travelled into a Country, and relates what he saw: But yet we can't forbear doing it. 1. Because *Benjamin* mixes his Narratives with ridiculous Stories and Fables, which manifest the falsity of them. The Customs [q] he attributes to most Nations, where he ought to have been, are falsly imagined. 2. He should at least be certain of the Places, through which he passed. Nevertheless he is often out in these. He here tells us of the *Lybia*, which is in *Egypt*, and very remote from the Road he took: And yet it seems, that it was very adjacent, and a few Days would have brought him to it in his return from the *Indies*, which is ridiculous. 3. He affects to confound the Names of the Cities and Places, where he gives his Nation any Sovereignty, and a prodigious number of People. The City *Adan* or *Eden*, he speaks of, is not known, and the Country of *Telassar*, where it was seated, is less known. What occasion of this so frequent Affectation, unless it be to shelter himself from the imputation of Error or Design? As no Body has known these Multitudes of Jews in the *Indies*, we may well believe they did not spread thither till the last Centuries, and that they have neither Principality nor Kingdom with Governours of their own.

XIX. Indeed it can't be denied, but there are at present Jews in *China*; for [r] *Trigaut* tells the Story of a Man of that Nation, who was of the Province of *Honan*, and who one Day coming into the Jesuits Church, was amazed to see upon the Altar a Woman with a Child in her Arms, and before her a Man prostrate, and four other Persons at the four Corners of the Altar. He imagin'd, that the Woman was *Rebecca* with her Sons *Esau* and *Jacob*. He asked the Jesuit whether the other Men he saw were not the Children of these? and Father *Ricci* answered, *yes*; immediately the Jew prostrated himself before all these Images, which he thought represented the Patriarchs of his Nation. The Jesuit laugh'd to see a Man thus Worship the Virgin, Jesus Christ, and the Evangelists, as taking them for so many Saints of his Nation, tho' he would have abominated them, if he had known them. *Ricci* abused the Simplicity of the Man, who demanded, whether the four Evangelists were the Children of *Jacob*, or of those he saw; for they were the Children of the Virgin *Mary*, and of Jesus Christ only in a Spiritual manner; but Equivocations are lawful with them, even when they are used to damn Men at pleasure, by putting them upon Acts of Idolatry. *Trigaut* speaks also of three other Jews of *China*, who once ignorantly Worshipped the Image of Jesus Christ. These Jesuitical Tricks acquaint us, that there are many Jews in *China*. But they don't make a considerable Body. They have neither Kingdom nor a Government different from the *Chineses*, as *Benjamin* of *Tudela* affirms. Lastly, They are not the Descendants of the Ten Tribes we seek for.

XX. We must not forget the River *Sabbation*, on whose Banks, we are also told, there have been for a long time vast numbers of Jews. *Josephus* [s] is the first who has mentioned this River, which derived is Name from its ceasing to flow on *Saturday*. Some suspect, there is a Fault in this Historian; who says, that the Course of the River was interrupted for six Days, and that it began to run again on *Saturday*; and it seems as if he meant the quite contrary; since otherwise it would not have represented the rest to be observed on the Sabbath. And therefore Criticks have corrected this Historians Text, to give it a more natural Sense; and this Correction, tho' it be somewhat strain'd, appears the more necessary, because *Pliny*, who perhaps took his account of this River from *Josephus*, makes it rest on *Saturday*. The Jewish Historian has clearly fix'd its Situation, by placing it in the Kingdom of *Agrippa*, betwixt the City *Arcen*, which belong'd to the Tribe of *Asher* and *Raphanes*, a little City depending on the Government of *Syria*. The *Latin* Interpreter, who has placed these two Cities in the Kingdom of *Agrippa*, has been mistaken by the wrong pointing. There are only two things surprizing in *Josephus*'s Account; one, that this River is not found in the place noted by him. To say with some Criticks, that the Sabbath being abolished, the Miracle of the River ought to cease with it, since it only flow'd so, to be an Emblem of the observation of the Sabbath, is to delight in vain Imaginations. A young Traveller has seem'd to confirm the Testimony of *Josephus*, by asserting, that having stopp'd there on *Friday* in the Evening, he did not see the River flow; and that coming away on *Saturday*, he could not satisfy himself about the return of the Waters after the Sabbath: but he had learnt from the Country People, that the the thing was certain. If this Traveller had himself seen the Prodigy, his Testimony would be worth something; but as he only produces the Story of the Country, which perhaps he lightly enquired into, his Evidence can't over-rule the general Tradition, which says, that this River is no longer visible. Besides there is another River there, called *Eleutherus*, in which this Miracle was never observed. All that can be said in favour of *Josephus* and *Pliny*, is, that this was a Torrent that descended from Mount *Libanus*, which sometimes was dried up on *Saturday*. This having happened sometimes, was a sufficient ground for popular Reports; and, like other Torrents, it was at last intirely dried up, or else had changed its Channel. As its Course was not long, it can't be said that the

[p] Benjamin Itinerar, p. 108, 109. [q] V. Const. l'Empereur Not. [r] Trigaut. l. 1. c. 2. [s] Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. VII. c. 24. p. 976. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. XXXI. c. 2. p. 750. Casaub. Exerc. adv. Baron. Ex. XV. n. 20. Fullerus Miscell. Sacr. l. 1. c. 9. p. 2236. Magri apud Partol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 1. p. 117.

Jews had placed themſelves there for a retreat. Nor is this the River of which they ſay ſuch mighty things.

XXI. They have imagined another River of this Name, which they have not borrowed from *Joſephus*, as is ſaid of 'em; for this Hiſtorian of the Nation was hardly known by the *Thalmudiſts*, moſt whereof were ignorant of *Greek*. Beſides, they have changed its Situation; and convey'd it from the Frontiers of *Syria* to *Media*. *Jonathan* [t] who was before *Joſephus*, and whoſe Paraphraſes are in ſuch eſteem, has mentioned it; for he introduces God promiſing his People to work Miracles, even when he ſhall carry them beyond the Rivers of *Babylon*, and make them dwell *beyond the River Sambation*. Here then is the River *Sambation* beyond *Babylon*, from which they draw great advantages. Some [u] make uſe of it to convince the Unbelievers, that the obſervation of the Sabbath is ſtill in force. *The River teaches you*, ſay the Jews, with the ſame aſſurance, as if they could demonſtrate, that there was ſuch a one in the World. Others complain, that this River running with ſo much rapidity, and rolling abundance of Stones with its Stream, makes it impoſſible to croſs it without violating the reſt of the *Saturday*, which retains the Jews beyond it in a great Captivity. *Preſter John* in the Letter aſcribed to him, adds, that he was forc'd to place great Garriſons upon the Banks of this River, to hinder the Jews from paſſing it, and diſperſing themſelves elſewhere. Laſtly, The Jews have plac'd upon its Banks imaginary Kings, and abundance of Subjects and People of the ſame Nation and Religion with them. This River is unknown to all Travellers; but it concerns the Glory of their Nation to maintain, that it is real. And thus they have alſo invented a new Kingdom of *Cozar*, from whence they have produced Letters to perſuade the Remains of the diſperſed Nation, that it is ſtill Potent in certain Places; but we ſhall ſpeak of this Kingdom, when we examine the Converſion of the King of *Cozar*, which the Jews place in the Eighth Century.

[t] Jonath. Paraph. in Exod. c. 34. 10.

[u] Galatin de Arcan. l. XI. c. 9. p. 692.

CHAP. IV.

The true Situation of the Ten Tribes in the Perſian Irack, *at* Babylon, *and on the Banks of* Euphrates. *The Pretence of the River* Sabbation *among the* Medes *confuted.*

I. *The Situation of the Ten Tribes upon the River* Chaboras. II. *The Reaſons for placing them there.* III. *How they have maintained themſelves in* Media. IV. *Whether* Artaxerxes Ochus *convey'd them into* Hyrcania. V. *This Tranſplantation explain'd.* VI. Fuller's *Conjectures about the Country of the* Caduſians. VII. *Theſe, and thoſe of* Allatius *confuted.* VIII. *Their State at* Babylon *under* Alexander. IX. Antiochus *the Great carries 'em into* Aſia. X. *The Deſertion of* Babylon. *Whether there were Jews there under* Titus. XI. *Many Jews at* Babylon. *St.* Peter *laboured about their Converſion.* XII. *Whether St.* James's *Epiſtle be directed to them.* XIII. *The diſtribution of the Ten Tribes at* Nahardea. XIV. *A ſurpriſing Story of two Brothers that came from thence.* XV. *The Jews retire to* Cteſiphon *and* Niſibe. XVI. *The Converſion of King* Monobazus *in* Adiabene. XVII. *The ſpread of Judaiſm among the* Parthians. XVIII. *Their Settlement in* Meſſene. *Its true Situation.* XIX. *In the* Sittacena. *The New Palaſtine mentioned by* Pliny. XX. *In the* Oſrhoene, *a Frontier of* Meſopotamia. XXI. *Their State in the Eaſt.*

I. WE more eaſily diſcover the true Situation of the Ten Tribes, taking the Holy Scripture for our Guide, than by following the Accounts of the *Thalmudiſts*, and the Modern Criticks. The Scripture ſays, [x] that *The King of Aſſyria carried away the Jews unto Aſſyria, and put them in Halak and Habor, by the River of Gozan, and in the Cities of the Medes.* There is ſome little difference betwixt the Interpreters concerning the Situation of theſe Places; for the famous Mr. *Bochart* [y] affirms, that *Chalac* is *Ptolemy's Chalacena*, ſituate on the North of *Aſſyria*. *Habor* is the *Chaboras*, or rather the *Choatras*, a Mountain well enough known. In the Mid-way betwixt this Mountain and the *Caſpian Sea*, ſtands the City *Gozan*, which gave its Name to the Province and the River, which was called *Cyrus*, after the *Perſians* made themſelves Maſters of this Country.

But there is a difficulty in this Opinion; becauſe it changes a River into a Mountain, and the very Name of this Mountain. 'Tis true, the Scripture expreſſes it ſelf in an ambiguous manner, and *Gozan* may be called a River as well as *Habor*; but ſince there is no River to be found of this Name, and 'tis only ſuppoſed there was one before *Cyrus*, 'tis more natural to place the *Iſraelites* on both ſides of the River *Chaboras*. 2. It ſeems to me, that People have not given ſufficient attention to a thing that is evident. Which is, that the Scripture diſtinguiſhes two places, into which the Jews were carried; and indeed they were numerous enough to make two different Colonies. The ſacred Writer places one of theſe Colonies in *Aſſyria*, and intimates the Cities of this Province which were aſſigned to it. *Chaboras*, *Gozan* and *Chalcitis*; and afterwards he adds, that he placed them [z] *alſo in the Cities of Media.* We muſt ſeek 'em therefore in theſe two Provinces, which the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt has diſtinguiſhed as well as the Original *Hebrew*. We find the places noted, in *Aſſyria*. We ſee there that River, which the *Arabian* Geographer [a] calls *Alchabor*, which proceeds from the Mountains, and running through *Meſopotamia*, falls into the *Euphrates*.

[x] 2 Kings 13. 11. [y] Bochart. Phaleg. l. 3. c. 14. p. 220. [z] ועירי מדי & in urbes Medorum. *The* Chaldee *Paraphraſt* קרוי מדי *the Cities of the* Medes, V. Buxtorf. 2127. [a] L. Holſten de Sabbath. Flum. in Allat. *συμμικτὰ*. p. 440.

phrates. *Gozan* is a City and a Province, ſituate on one of theſe Banks, which the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed, and *Halak* is *Ptolomy*'s *Chalcitis*, which is found on the other ſide of the *Chaboras*. So that the Ten Tribes were ſeated in the two Provinces, which ſtretch'd along both ſides of this River. This was a happy Situation for 'em, ſince all theſe Tribes were ſeparated only by a River, which watered the Cities that were aſſign'd to them.

III. We are more in the dark [b] *as to the Cities of the* Medes, becauſe the Sacred Hiſtorian does not ſpecifie any; but we ought to preſume that the ſecond Colony was placed in Mountainous *Media*, which was leſs Peopled than the other. *Eſdras* inſinuates the thing, for he ſays the Jews were carried into the Province of *Hara*. This was an ancient Name of *Media*; for *Herodotus* calls the *Medes Harians*, Ἄριοι. 'Twas Mountainous *Media* that had this Name, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *a Mountain*. 'Tis not to be wonder'd, that they convey'd the Jews thither; for theſe Provinces wanted Inhabitants, and if we believe *Strabo*, [c] they were Peopled by Strangers, or Colonies ſent into them. The truth is, the Ancients have cried up *Media*, as a very happy Country. *Ecbatana*, where its Kings kept their Reſidence in Summer, was one of the fineſt and largeſt Cities in the World. *Suſa*, where they ſpent the Winter, was alſo very conſiderable; but on the North ſide ſtood high Mountains. There was good Paſturage, ſince the *Perſians* drew abundance of Horſes from hence, which were much valued. But to this purpoſe, there was need of People, that were uſed to Tillage; and the Jews, who had made it their principal Buſineſs in the Holy Land, which abounded with Hills, were fitter for it than other People.

Indeed the *Thalmudiſts* [d] ſeat their Brethren in *Media*; for they ſay, that *Akibah preached at Ginzak*, which they think the Scripture *Gozan*; but they add, that they inhabited *Chemdam*, and its aſſociate Cities, which they call *Muſak*, *Hidki*, and *Domki*. None of theſe Places are to be found, the Names whereof may be ſtrangly diſguiſed by the difference of Languages; but it ſuffices to obſerve, that they are are all placed among the *Medes*. *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, [e] who lived in the Twelfth Century, reckons ſtill fifty Thouſand Perſons of his Nation at *Madai*, a City of Mountainous *Media*, which took its Name from the Provine, which the Ancients called *Medena*, and continued it ſo long, that the Author of the Vulgar ſometimes calls it by it. 'Tis difficult at preſent to mark out the Bounds of this Province, which have been often remov'd. *Algebal*, which contains one part of Mountainous *Media*, is very ſmall; and on the contrary, the *Perſian Irack* reaches far beyond the antient *Media*. But it ſuffices to know, that the Ten Tribes were ſituate in Mountainous *Media*, and in *Aſſyria*, upon the Banks of the River *Chaboras*, which iſſues from the Mountains, and throws it ſelf into the *Euphrates*, whoſe Neighbourhood gave them afterwards Opportunities and Means of making conſiderable Settlements.

IV. They not only poſſeſſed *Media*, where they had been carried by *Salmanaſar*, but they ſtretch'd upon the Right into the Provinces bordering upon the *Caſpian Sea*, at preſent called *Gorgian* and *Tabareſtan*. St. *Hierome* relates, [f] that *Artaxerxes Ochus* having taken *Apodaſmus in Judea*, *conveyed the Inhabitants into Hyrcania, near the Caſpian Sea*. There are two palpable Faults in this Account of St. *Hierome*; for 1. He has taken *Apodaſmus* for a City which *Artaxerxes* took, and ſent away the Inhabitants; whereas this *Greek* word explained by *Syncellus* ſignifies *a part*. 2. He thinks they were the Inhabitants of this City, or of *Judæa*, that *Artaxerxes* ſent into *Hyrcania*, whereas they were the Jews that he found in *Egypt*, that underwent this wretched Fate. And indeed it is not probable, that this Prince, who made the *Greeks* ſuch a noble Recompenſe for attending him in this Expedition, would have ill rewarded the Services of the Jews.

Artaxerxes Ochus, carrying the War into *Egypt*, marched through *Judea*, took *Jericho*, and ſome other Cities. He afterwards beat the *Egyptians*, and made himſelf Maſter of their Places, in which having found a great many Jews, to whom the defence of 'em was truſted, he ſent part of 'em into *Hyrcania*, in the Neighbourhood of the Country, which the Tribes, already Tranſlated, inhabited, and left the reſt at *Babylon*. *The Greek Hiſtorians*, [g] ſays *Africanus*, *affirm they were ſtill there in his time*.

V. *Africanus*'s Teſtimony is corroborated with that of *Hecatæus*, [h] as if he ſaid the ſame thing; but this Author, who is much ancienter, obſerves only that the Kings of *Perſia*, had tranſplanted a great number of Jews to *Babylon*, which can be no more apply'd to *Artaxerxes*, than to his Predeceſſors. *Oroſius* ſays, that the Jews who were carried to the Banks of the *Caſpian Sea*, were much multiplied there in his time, and that they hoped one time or other to return, and Re-people the Holy Land. But, I fear he was miſled by the Author of the Second of *Eſdras*, [i] who ſays, that the Jews have *dwelt there even to the laſt times*, and that the Sovereign, who ſhall one Day re-call 'em, ſhall once more ſtop the Streams of *Euphrates*, that they may re-paſs it. As the Modern Writers ſtill out-ſtretch the Ancients, we are told, [k] that *Alexander* the Great, who puſh'd his Conqueſts to the *Indies*, having found the Jews in *Hyrcania*, ſhut them up in the *Caſpian Gates*; that is, in the Mountains of this Country. For our part, who don't believe, that the numbers of Authors living at a diſtance from the times they ſpeak of, confirm the truth of a Fact, we only depend upon the Teſtimony of *Africanus*, who places one part of the Jews in *Hyrcania*. This is the more probable, becauſe it was uſual for *Artaxerxes* to remove the Inhabitants of a Place into Deſart Provinces, and he placed theſe new Jews near the reſt, who already Peopled a great part of the ancient Country of the *Medes*.

VI. I queſtion whether *Fuller* [l] has ſo much reaſon to drive one part of this Nation from the other ſide of the *Caſpian Sea* to the Banks of the River *Araxes*, where he pretends they took the Name of *Caduſians* and *Geles*; for he only bottoms upon the reſemblance of Names; which is not ſufficient to eſtabliſh this Colony. This Learned Man maintains, "That the Name of *Geles* is *Chaldaick*, and "ſignifies *Strangers* or *Fugitives*, and that this "Title ſuited with the Jews, whom God had ex-"expelled their Country for their Sins. The *Cadu-"ſians* had a little altered the word *Cadoſchim*, "which ſignifies *Saints*, which Title was affected "by the Jews, who called themſelves the *Holy Na-"tion*. Laſtly, *Arſareth* [m] the moſt famous of all

[b] Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 64. & 84. [c] Strabo. l. 6. [d] Bereſh. Rabba Sect 33. apud Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. in 1 Cor. p. 931. [e] Benjam. Tudel Itiner. [f] Hier. in Chron. p. 136. [g] In Euſeb. Chron. & Syncellis Chronogr. p. 256. [h] Hecatæus apud Joſeph. cont. Ap. p. 1049. [i] 2 Eſdras 13. 40. [k] Petrus Trecenſis Hiſt. Schol. [l] Fuller. Miſcell. Sacr. l. 2. cap. 5. pag. 2225. מרשים [m] Arſareth eſt עיר שאריות *civitas Reliquiarum*.

" the Cities, built upon the *Araxes*, had a *Hebrew* " Name, ſignifying the *City of Relicks*, or of the " *Remains* of *Iſrael*. 'Tis no Wonder that the " Jews were mixed there with the *Medes* upon " the Frontiers of the Country to defend it a- " gainſt the frequent Inſults of the Enemy.

VII. If theſe Conjectures were well-grounded, the Jews muſt have taken up a vaſt Tract of Ground. They muſt alſo have been very potent, ſince they changed the Ancient Names of Cities and Countries, to give 'em thoſe of *Fugitives*, *Relicks*, *and Saints*. How is it, that they have not changed the Names of the River *Chaboras*, and *Gozan* on the other ſide of the *Media*, where they were ſtill more numerous? If their Power and Numbers were ſo conſiderable as to abſorb the Inhabitants of the Country, how comes it that they have not been known there? Without relying upon all theſe Reflections, there is one deciſive one which ſuffices; for the *Caduſians* were People much ancienter than the Jews, that were carried into *Media*, ſince *Ninus* reckoned 'em among his Subjects. The War broke out afterwards betwixt theſe People and the *Medes*; and *Parſorius*, one of their Leaders, beat the King of the *Medes*, who invaded them with Fourſcore Thouſand Men. They were ſubject to the *Perſians* in *Cyrus*'s Reign. We muſt therefore take from the Ancient Jews, that were diſpers'd, the River *Eraſh*, the City of *Arſareth*, and the Country of the *Geles* and *Caduſians*, which are abſurdly given to them.

Allatius, who had judiciouſly placed them upon the Banks of *Chaboras*, would alſo at once have *Iberia* and *Colchis* Peopled by them. He founds this laſt Conjecture upon the Teſtimony of *Herodotus*, who thought that theſe People came from *Egypt* or *Ethiopia*, becauſe they were Circumciſed; and the firſt is founded upon the Authority of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitas*, who ſays that the People inhabiting betwixt *Colchis* and *Media*, deduce their Pedigree from the Jews, and pretended to be the Deſcendants of *David*. Theſe are Conjectures, that don't ſhock Probability, becauſe 'tis not impoſſible, but the Jews might branch out from *Media* into other Provinces. However, I ſhall obſerve that *Allatius*'s Teſtimonies are uncertain. *Herodotus* ſpeaks only of the Circumciſion common to many Nations; and *Conſtantine* only relates the Imagination of People who were very jealous for the Glory of their Extraction near Two Thouſand Years after their Eſtabliſhment [n], which muſt be a very uncertain Ground for us to go upon. We ſtand by *Allatius*'s firſt Conjecture, which is more ſolid, without embelliſhing it with new Notions, which might render it ſuſpicious.

VIII. 'Tis well known that the Jews were numerous at *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. Beſides thoſe, that were carried thither at the time of the Captivity, we have ſeen, that *Artaxerxes* ſent over a new Colony of the Nation, which muſt render it ſtill more conſiderable. They had the Courage to reſiſt *Alexander the Great*, the Maſter and Conqueror of ſo many Nations, when he went to rebuild a Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*; for whilſt all the other People were eager to furniſh and carry the Materials neceſſary to this Building, the *Jews* alone refuſed this Task, as thinking it had ſome Strain of Idolatry, which render'd 'em odious, and expoſed 'em to the Inſults of the People. *Hecateus* [o] inſinuate Two Things; 1. That this Multitude of Workmen who reſiſted *Alexander the Great*, did not live at *Babylon*, but they had *their Country*, or their Canton, from whence they were ſent for to work upon the Temple; and 'tis very probable, they were ſent for from *Aſſyria* and the Banks of *Chaboras*, where we have fix'd 'em becauſe this Province was not very remote from *Euphrates* and *Babylon*. 2. That this Province was large, ſince it contained many *Satrapæ*; for when the Jews, who were called to *Babylon* were returned home, they demoliſhed all the Temples and Altars Conſecrated to Idols; but theſe *Satrapæ* paid a Fine for ſome, and obtained Pardon for the reſt.

IX. *Antiochus the Great* conſiderably leſſen'd the Numbers of thoſe who dwelt at *Babylon*; for, underſtanding there were ſome Commotions in *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, he order'd *Zeuxis*, one of the Generals of his Army, to draw out Two Thouſand Jewiſh Families from *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, and ſend them into this Country, becauſe their Fidelity was well-tried. He ordered, that they ſhould be tranſplanted with their Effects; Lands ſhould be aſſign'd to them, and Materials furniſhed them to build with; and that they ſhould be permitted to live according to their Law. And thus they have ſpread themſelves from *Babylon* to *Aſia*, where *Seleucus* had already invited them by the Privileges which he granted them.

X. The *Parthians* having taken *Babylon* from the *Macedonians*, *Vardanes*, one of their Kings, built *Cteſiphon*, ſome Leagues from *Seleucia*, and drew thither the Inhabitants of both thoſe Cities. *Babylon* began to be evacuated in *Strabo*'s Time, and was much more ſo in *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*'s Reign; for *Pliny*, who wrote at that time, repreſents it as a great and vaſt *Solitude*. Criticks diſpute, whether St. *Peter*, to whom *Jeſus Chriſt* committed the Converſion of the Jews came hither to execute his Commiſſion. One, the more confidently to deny that this Apoſtle ever went to *Rome*, maintains that there were great Number of Jews at *Babylon* which required his Preſence, and that the little Number of thoſe who were fled to *Rome* did not deſerve his Care. And therefore he paſſed from *Antioch* into the Eaſt, from whence he wrote his Epiſtle, and continued there till his Death. Another on the contrary, who exaggerates the Solitude of *Babylon* aſſerts [q], that the Jews were retired from thence; and that ſince we can't give the Name of *Babylon* to *Rome*, we muſt underſtand that of *Egypt*, whither St. *Peter* travelled after he had founded the Church of *Alexandria*, becauſe there were a great Multitude of Jews to be Converted.

XI. We are no ways concern'd to maintain St. *Peter*'s Voyage to *Rome*; but we ſhall obſerve 1. That it does not appear that this Apoſtle went into *Egypt* to found the Churches of *Babylon* and *Alexandria*. It can't therefore be ſaid, that he dated his Epiſtle from *Egyptian Babylon*, ſince nothing is ſaid to prove it. It was much more natural for this Apoſtle to paſs from *Antioch*, where he had made a large Stay, into the Eaſt, where there were ſuch Multitudes of Jews of the Ten Tribes, who were better diſpoſed than the reſt to embrace the Goſpel. The Experiment and happy Succeſs which St. *Peter* had made upon them at *Jeruſalem* by one ſingle Sermon, was Encouragement enough for undertaking this Journey. St. *Epiphanius* ſays, that St. *Peter* had often ſeen *Pontus* and *Bithynia*; and

[n] Allat. *συμμικτα* p. 440. [o] Εἰς τὴν χώραν. Hecatæus apud Joſeph. cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 1049. [p] Salmaſ. de Prim. Papæ. [q] Dodwel Add. ad Op. poſth. Pearſ. p. 56, &c.

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St. *Jerom*'s Errour in placing this Voyage in the Second Year of *Claudius*, do's not abſolutely deſtroy his Teſtimony. But not to reſt upon theſe Authorities, St. *Peter*'s Epiſtle addreſſed to the Churches of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Aſia* and *Bithynia*, is a Proof of his having founded them; for he ſpeaks of their Temptations and their Joy, which could not have been well known to him, but by his converſing with them. As he was near the *Euphrates*, 'twas natural to viſit the Ten Tribes diſperſed thereabouts: It's of little Importance to know what Number of Inhabitants *Babylon* then contained: It was ſtill of Nineteen Hours Circuit, and it might ſeem deſerted to the Geographers, tho' there were ſtill above a Hundred Thouſand Perſons in this great City. Beſides, did St. *Peter* go into the Places where there was a great Multitude of Jews? Criticks here run into two Exceſſes; one in ſwelling up their Number at *Babylon* to hinder St. *Peter* from leaving it, to go to *Rome*; the other in leſſening it to make him prefer the *Egyptian Babylon* before that of *Euphrates*. It was ſufficient to invite St. *Peter* there; that there were in his Time Jews enough to make a Chriſtian Church: And indeed the Jews were diſperſed and numerous in theſe Parts. This *Babylon* was alſo better known than that of *Egypt*; and ſince he ſimply names it, we ought not to caſt our Thoughts on the other ſide. He ranks the Churches he wrote to in an Order, which ſufficiently manifeſts he was in the Eaſt; for he firſt addreſſes himſelf to thoſe that were neareſt *Babylon*, and concludes with thoſe that are fartheſt off. Laſtly, ſome think they obſerve ſome Characters of the *Babyloniſh* Language in his Second Epiſtle [r], which was written from thence as well as the firſt; for he calls *Balaam* the Son of *Boſor*. The Author of the Vulgar thought *Boſor* was a City. And *Grotius* [s] comes pretty near him, in pretending that the *Syrians* changed *Pethora* into *Boſor*; but the Conjecture is ſtrain'd, and the Change unaccountable. A much more natural one is made by obſerving that the *Chaldæans* put the S for the *Gnaiin*, ש inſtead of ע [t], and then we find *Boſor* in this Language inſtead of *Beor*, who was the Father of *Balaam*. St. *Peter* not only went to *Babylon*, but continued there a long time, ſince he adopted its Idioms, and wrote his Two Letters thence. He was willing to convert theſe Jews, whoſe Miniſter he was, and of which there were great Numbers there; for *Philo*, who muſt know 'em, ſays, they were the *Maſters* of this great City, which the Heathens had deſerted, to go and make their Court at *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*.

XII. Criticks demand alſo, whether St. *James* directed his Epiſtle to the diſperſed Tribes in the Eaſt. *Torniel* [u] denies it, and imagines that he wrote to thoſe *Twelve Tribes*, which had been expell'd out of *Jeruſalem* upon the Beginning of the Perſecution after St. *Stephen*'s Martyrdom. He bottoms his Conjecture upon this, that St. *James* wrote to the *Twelve Tribes of Iſrael*, whereas there were only Ten in the Eaſt. This Reaſon is not ſound; for all the Tribes had been carried beyond *Euphrates*; and tho' Part of thoſe of *Judah* and *Benjamin* returned with *Ezra*, yet ſome had preferred their Eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt before their own Country. Laſtly, ſome particular Perſons only were diſpers'd by the Perſecution at *Jeruſalem*, and it is not probable they were of the Twelve Tribes, nor that St. *James* addreſſed his Letter to them. Shall it be ſaid that this Apoſtle wrote to the Twelve Tribes who were then in *Judæa*, and returned? *Scaliger* maintains, that there was not any of the Ten Tribes in *Judæa*. Theſe are Two Extremes to be avoided. The Ten Tribes never returned; but ſome of 'em remained in *Judæa* when *Salmanaſar* carried away the principal Inhabitants. Private Perſons often came and reſettled themſelves, when they had the Liberty, by reaſon of the great Revolutions that befel the *Perſian* and *Grecian* Monarchies. Hence alſo the Hiſtorian of *Judith*, tho' an Impoſtor, has followed the received Notion of his Time, in placing a great Number of *Jews* at *Bethulia*, which was of the Tribe of *Nephtali*. *Ariſtæus*, another Impoſtor, durſt not have ſaid, that Doctors of each Tribe were ſent into *Egypt*, if it had not been believed as a Certainty in his Time, that there were Remains of theſe Tribes, who had re-peopled their Ancient Inheritance. *Galilee*, which contained Four of theſe Tribes, was well inhabited, and 'twas from theſe different Tribes, that our Saviour choſe his Apoſtles. However, I believe a Third Concluſion is to be made concerning the Inſcription of St. *James*'s Epiſtle, which was neither addreſs'd to the Twelve Tribes, which remained in *Judæa*; nor to the Ten, the greateſt Part whereof remained in the Eaſt. But this Apoſtle equally addreſſed himſelf to thoſe Two Bodies of the Nation, where-ever ſcattered or diſperſed.

XIII. One Part of the Nation was eſtabliſhed in the other Cities, ſituate on the Banks of *Euphrates*; for we find from the Hiſtory of the Goſpel and the *Acts*, that they came from thence to Worſhip at *Jeruſalem*. They were ſo numerous there in *Caligula*'s Time, that *Petronius*, who commanded then in *Judæa*, was aſtoniſhed at their Numbers, when he ſaw them come to Celebrate the Feaſt of the Paſſover; and as he did not doubt but a potent Succour might come from thence to thoſe that were in *Judæa*, this ſtagger'd him about placing the Emperor's Statue in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. *Philo* ſays, that they were then Maſters of *Babylon*, and of many Provinces. They had alſo a conſiderable Eſtabliſhment at *Nahardea*, another City ſituate on the Banks of *Euphrates*. From whence it was, that the Two Brothers came, who were abuſed by their Maſter, who cauſed ſuch great Diſorders, and coſt the Nation ſo much Blood.

XIV. Theſe Two Brothers Names [x] were *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus*, Mechanicks of *Nahardea*; being diſcontented with their Maſter, they left him, and retired to a Wood to ſet up the Trade of Robbing. Their Company was increaſed with all the Rogues of the Neighbourhood. They made ſucceſsful Inroads upon the *Parthians*; and *Artaban* their King ſending a great Army againſt 'em, it had the Misfortune to be beaten, by People that fought like deſperate Men. He deſired to enter into a Negotiation with 'em. They went to Court upon his Word, and this Prince was ſo affected with their Valour, that inſtead of abuſing their Confidence and puniſhing 'em, he honourably diſmiſs'd them. They continued plundering and beating their Enemies, when Love came to diſturb them. *Anilæus* being ſtruck with a *Parthian* General's Wife, reſolved to ſatisfie his Paſſion, and to Conquer him. He declared War with the Husband; defeated him; killed him; carried away

[r] Druſius in 2 Pet. 2. 15. [s] Grot. ibid. [t] Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. in 1 ad Cor. p. 932. [u] Torniel. Ann. 3314. t. 2. p. 189. [x] An. ch. 40.

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his Wife, who brought her Gods and Religion among the Jews. People murmured to ſee ſtrange Gods Worſhipped, and the Law openly invaded. *Aſineus* ſpoke haughtily of it to his Brother, who fearing they would deprive him of his Beloved Spouſe, and give her up to the enraged Multitude, reſolved to poiſon his Brother, and to ſeek his own Security in his Death. He executed his Deſign; But being lull'd a-ſleep by Love, he put himſelf at the Head of his Forces, and fell upon the Lands of *Mithridates*, a Great Lord among the *Parthians*, and *Artaban*'s Son in Law. *Mithridates* muſter'd up his Vaſſals, and made 'em take up Arms; but being beaten, he fell into his Enemies Hands, who releaſed him only upon Condition, that he would Negotiate a Peace between the *Parthians* and Jews. He deſigned honeſtly to execute his Promiſe; but the Princeſs, his Wife, being exaſperated, upbraided him with his Cowardiſe, and obliged him to waſh off his Diſgrace with the Blood of the Jews. He ſuddenly muſter'd up all the Troops he could find, ſurprized his Enemies in a Deſart, where he made a horrible Slaughter of 'em. *Anilæus* was not diſcouraged; but march'd towards *Babylon* with the reſt of the Robbers. The *Babylonians* enraged to ſee their Country pillaged, ſent to demand *Anileus*'s Head, which was refuſed them. Hereupon they armed at *Babylon*, which was then in the Hands of the *Parthians*; and *Anilæus* being forſaken by Fortune, was beaten and knock'd on the Head with Part of his People. But Revenge did not ſtop there. There was nothing more to be feared, now *Anilæus* was dead. But to prevent ſuch another Diſorder, they fell upon all the Jews round about, and put 'em to Death. Thoſe that were wiſeſt retired to *Seleucia*. The Reſidence of the *Greeks* in this City make ſome think that it was a City of *Syria*; Yet 'tis hard to concieve how the Jews fled from thence to *Cteſiphon*. The *Seleucia* built by *Nicanor*, ſeems much fitter for it. The Jews lived quietly there Five Years. But being increas'd by their Brethren who left *Babylon* becauſe the Plague rag'd in that Place, and who brought along with them a Murdering and Seditious Temper. They joined at firſt with the *Syrians* to oppreſs the *Greeks*, who were then rich and numerous in that City; but the Idolaters being all re-united againſt the Jews, fell upon 'em with ſo much Fury, that they kill'd Fifty Thouſand in that Expedition, and no body eſcaped but thoſe that had faithful Friends to ſkreen 'em from Popular Fury.

XV. Their Numbers were conſiderably leſſen'd by ſuch a horrible Slaughter. Such as could eſcape being maſſacred, fled to *Cteſiphon* on the Banks of the *Tigris*, which was then the Capital of the Country, and Reſidence of the Kings; becauſe *Babylon* was already decay'd, and much depopulated. Hither the Idolaters purſued 'em, and forced them to ſeek their Retreat at *Niſibe* and *Nahardea*, from whence ſome of 'em had come before the Incurſions of *Anilæus*. The Situation of theſe Places ſecured them from the Attempts of a mutinous People. They found there many Families which they had left, ſince *Agrippa*, who Reigned a little after this Misfortune; repreſents the Number of the Jews, that lived in Subjection to the *Parthians* as very conſiderable.

XVI. A remarkable Thing alſo happened in *Adiabene*, a Kingdom which conſtituted Part of the *Parthians*, and lay along the Banks of the *Tigris*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſays, that the Ancients gave it this Name becauſe it was difficult to go through it[y], by reaſon of a great many Rivers that were in this Province; but he thought the Two Rivers, *Diavas* and *Adiavas*[z] had lent it their Name. The *Thalmudiſts* lean on the other ſide, believing that the *Chabor*[a] mentioned in the Scripture was the River *Diavas*; and that their Relations were carried by *Sennacherib* into *Adiabene*. If this Conjecture was good, the Jews would have a great Antiquity in this Province; But yet it does not appear, that their Religion was known there in the Time of *Izatus*. *Monobazus* who was King of this Country, preferr'd *Izatus* to the Succeſſion of his Throne, before a great many other of his Children, leſt the Jealouſie occaſioned by this Preference at his Court, ſhould expoſe him to his Brother's Fury, he ſent him to *Caraſpaſin*, a little Country ſituate on the Banks of the *Tigris* towards the *Perſian* Gulf, where *Abenneric* Reigned. There were at that Time Jews, who thruſted themſelves into all Places both at Court and Country. *Ananias* had great Credit at the Court of *Abenneric*. He had even taught this Prince's Wives to Judaize; and he had ſo won upon the Temper of *Izatus* during his Stay in this Country, as to get a perfect Aſcendant over him, and to inſpire in him an Inclination for *Moſes*'s Religion, which never died with him. *Izatus* became King a little after, of ſome Part of *Armenia*, if it be true, that the Remains of *Noah*'s Ark are ſeen in this Place; for this Tradition ſeems to me uncertain, and *Armenia* was too remote from *Adiabene*, to think that *Monobazus* could eſtabliſh his Son there. *Izatus* did not continue there long, being recall'd by his Father's Death, who had made him his Heir. He found, that his Mother had Proclaim'd him King of *Adiabene*, purſuant to her Husband's Laſt Will; but nevertheleſs had Crowned *Monobazus*, having firſt ſecured all her other Children. *Izatus* aſcended the Throne of his Father as peaceably as if *Monobazus* had not been Crowned. His firſt Care was to get rid of his other Brothers, who were more reſtleſs and invidious. To do it with the better Grace, he ſent part of 'em as Hoſtages to *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, on whom he depended, and the other to the Emperor *Claudius*. Finding himſelf in an uncontroll'd Poſſeſſion, he reſolved openly to profeſs Judaiſm, which he had embraced in his Heart. He ſent for *Ananias* to Court, and would be Circumciſed; but *Ananias*, who was a Court-Doctor, fearing the *Parthians* would knock out his Brains, if he Circumciſed their King, perſwaded him that this Character of Judaiſm was not neceſſary, provided he obſerved the other Commands of God. He was ſupported by *Helena*, *Izatus*'s Mother, who had alſo been inſtructed in the Jewiſh Religion; but who feared that a Publick Profeſſion of it would create a Rebellion. *Izatus*, who was very ſollicitous concerning his Salvation, ſent for one *Eleazer* from *Galilee*, whom he conſulted upon his Caſe of Conſcience. *Eleazer* gave his Opinion ſtoutly for Circumciſion; and conferr'd it on the Prince, which ſtrangely aſtoniſhed his Mother, and his former Caſuiſt, when he acquainted 'em, that the thing was done.

[y] *From the* Greek *Word* διαβαίνειν. [z] Ammian. Marc. l. 23. c. 6. pag. 401. [a] *The* Thalmudiſts *ſay* חכור זה הדייב Chabor eſt Hadiabene.

XVII. The

XVII. The King immediately applied himself to the making of Proselytes, and he gained some Courtiers, and his Brother *Monobazus*; and this made a noise. His Subjects allarm'd at this change of Religion, rebell'd, and call'd in *Abia* King of the *Arabians*. They deserted their Prince in the Battle, and took Post in the Enemies Camp; but one part of 'em continuing faithful, the *Arabians* were beaten the next Day. *Vologesus* [b] King of *Parthia*, came to the assistance of the Rebels; but *Izatus* routed his numerous Army, and by these two Victories established the Tranquility of his Kingdom. *Helena* was long since retired to *Jerusalem*, where she had her Palace. She also built her Monument there, which was reckoned one of the Wonders of the World; and she exercised great Charities in feeding the People during the Famine; but understanding that her Son was dead, she returned [c] to *Adiabene*. She found *Monobazus* on the Throne, whom his Brother had preferr'd to twenty four Children he had left behind him, hereby designing to recompence his Moderation in permitting the Execution of his Father's Will. *Monobazus* persevered in Judaism, and sent his Children to *Jerusalem* to be instructed in all the Mysteries of Religion. They were still there when the City was taken by *Titus*, who carried 'em Prisoners to *Rome*. The Christians envying the Jews, the Glory of this Conversion, have attempted to rob 'em of it. They maintain, that *Helena* was a Christian, and that *Izatus* was converted also. [d] But how is this Christianity to be reconciled with that number of Wives and twenty four Sons he left without reckoning Daughters? Besides they have no Authority except that of *Orosius*, who offers no Arguments to prove it.

XVIII. The *Thalmudists* say, there were also Jews at *Mæson*; but they look upon those who were settled there as Bastards: And hence they say, that *Mæson is dead*. [e] This *Mæson* is a little Province inclosed in *Mesopotamia*, and absurdly confounded [f] with it. For *Mesopotamia*, of a much vaster extent, was included betwixt the two great Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; but the *Mesene* was an Island formed by the two Arms of the *Tigris*, which, when they met again, it took the Name of *Pastigris*; [g] that is, the *whole Tigris*. Here stood the City *Apamea* [h] sirnamed *Mesene*, which must not be confounded with the Cities of *Syria* and *Persia* of the same Name. 'Tis said, that the Jews were at *Mesene*, from the time that *Salmanasar* carried away the Ten Tribes; but they send these Ten Tribes into too many places at once. 'Tis more probable, that they came and settled in this Country, when *Seleucia* became a Capital City, the Trade whereof obliged 'em to approach it, when they left *Babylon*.

XIX. *Pliny* [i] speaks also of a Neighbouring Province, whose Capital built by the *Greeks*, was called *Sitta*; but the Province was also named *Palestine*, in which was the City *Sabbata*, or *Sabbatica*. 'Tis probable that the Jews, who were numerous in this little Province, during the decay of the *Grecian* Empire might give these Names of their Country, and their principal Feast. It must not be dissembled, that we read [k] in some Manuscripts *Calestine* instead of *Palestine*; but the former Name is much more unknown than the latter, which is found in all the Prints, and in a Manuscript of the *French* King's Library.

XX. Lastly, This Nation was spread into *Osrhoena*, of which *Edessa*, where *Abgarus* Reigned, was Metropolis. The *Notitia Imperii* speaks of some Cavalry, which received Orders from the Governour of this Province, which *Panvinius* will have to be the same with *Adiabene*. This Cavalry was garrisoned at *Sina of the Jews*, *Sina Judæorum*. This was not *Mount Sinai*, upon which the Law was Published, but another in *Mesopotamia*, to which the Jews, who inhabited it, gave this Name, as they called the *Sittacene* Province *Palestine*. There were therefore Jews there; but we can't conjecture at what time they were placed there. There is no need of recurring to the Colonies brought from *Judæa* by *Salmanasar*; but we may say, that this dispersed People seized on all the favourable Opportunities to spread themselves in the East, and to inhabit all the Places, where they might live at Peace.

XXI. Their Numbers still increased by the Desolation of *Jerusalem*; for 'twas natural for these poor Wretches to go and seek for a Settlement among their Brethren: They even grew very powerful there in the following Age, since the Heads of the Captivity set up a kind of Sovereignty, by taking advantage of the sinking Authority of most of the Eastern Kings. They erected Academies, which became famous; one at *Nahardea*, and another at *Sora*, upon the two Banks of *Euphrates*. A third was founded at *Pundebita*, two Hundred Years after the ruin of *Jerusalem*. They called them the Academies of *Babylon*, because they were upon its Frontiers. There were also Courts of Justice in these Cities, which proves that the Jews were very numerous in these Places.

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[b] An. Ch. 50. [c] An. 60. [d] An. 70. [e] מישוג מתה *Mæson mortua*. Klidduschim fol. 72. Lightf. in 1 Cor. p. 940. [f] Steph. de Urbib. [g] Πᾶς ὁ Τίγρις. [h] Ammian Marc. l. 23. c. 6. [i] Plin. l. VI. c. 27. [k] Harduin. Not. ad Plin. pag. 717.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Origine of the Jews in Egypt, Æthopia *and* Arabia *explained.*

I. *Whether the Jews went into* Egypt *in* Pſammetichus's *Regin.* II. *Two other Colonies in* Egypt *under* Alexander *the Great, and* Ptolomy Lagus. III. Ptolomy's *Expedition into* Syria *proved.* IV. *The Sale and Diſtribution of the Jews in* Egypt. V. Ptolemy *kindly uſes them.* VI. Philadelphus *ſets 'em at liberty.* VII. Ariſtæus's *Work ſuppoſititious.* VIII. *The deſign of the Septuagint Verſion formed by the two* Ptolemy's. IX. *The Heathens ignorant of the Hiſtory of the Jews.* X. *This Verſion compoſed by the Doctors of* Judea *and* Alexandria. XI. *The Authority of this Verſion. Why the Jews and Chriſtians have eſteem'd it.* XII. Philopater *perſecutes the Jews of* Egypt. XIII. *A Temple built by* Onias: *Its Antiquity confuted.* XIV. *Whether the Jews were forbidden to ſettle in* Egypt. XV. *The Children of* Onias *Generals of* Cleopatra's *Army.* XVI. *The Synagogues of* Cyreneans *and* Alexandrians. XVII. *Whether St.* Peter *went to* Egyptian Babylon. *Jews in this Country.* XVIII. Philo's *Deputation under* Caligula. XIX. *Their* Alabarch. XX. *The Seditions they raiſed there after the ruin of the Temple.* XXI. *Murders and Aſſaſſinations.* XXII. *The Impoſter, that ſeduced them in this Country.* XXIII. *The Origine of the Jews in* Æthiopia. XXIV. *The Queen's Eunuch, a Jew, or a Proſelyte.* XXV. *The Jews Paſſage from* Æthiopia *into* Arabia. XXVI. *Settlements* in *Aſia* and *Greece.* XXVII. *The inevitable Confuſion of Genealogies proved.*

I. THE Jews ancient hatred of the *Egyptians* was extinguiſhed by Neceſſity, and theſe two Nations were often ſeen to unite their Forces to reſiſt the King of *Aſſyria*, who deſigned to conquer them. *Ariſtæus* even relates, that before this Neceſſity had united 'em, abundance of Jews had already gone to *Egypt*, to help *Pſammetichus* to conquer the *Æthopians*, who made War againſt him. But this firſt Tranſmigration is much ſuſpected, becauſe we can't ſee what Relation the Jews could then have with the *Egyptians* to ſend thither Auxiliary Troops. 1. They were ſome Souldiers of *Ionai* and *Caria*, that according to the Prophecy appear'd on the Banks of *Egypt*, as *Men of Braſs*, becauſe they had Breaſt-Plates, who lent *Pſammetichus* their aſſiſtance to vanquiſh the other Kings of *Egypt*, and theſe, ſays *Herodotus* [l], were the firſt that began to introduce a Foreign Language in *Egypt*; for Fathers ſent 'em their Children to learn of them to ſpeak *Greek*. *Diodorus* [m] joins ſome *Arabian* Soldiers with the *Greeks*, but *Ariſtæus* is the only Perſon that ſpeaks of the Jews. 2. It does not appear that *Pſammetichus* had penetrated into *Æthopia*; for on the contrary, the conquered People choſe inacceſſible Places for their retreat, and theſe Fugitives made themſelves a conſiderable Settlement under the Government of a Queen. All this has nothing to do with *Judæa*. 3. On the contrary, *Pſammetichus* beſieg'd *Aſhdod* or *Azotus*; and tho' *Eſarhaddon* had taken it from the Jews ſome time before, yet as he had not unpeopled it, they were theſe old Inhabitants that maintained a Twenty Nine Years Siege [n] againſt the King of *Egypt*; and ſince they were never ſuccoured by the Kings of *Aſſyria*, they muſt needs be the Neighbouring Jews, that ſupplied the place with Proviſions, and ſent their Troops for its Defence. So that the Jews were a long while at War with *Pſammetichus* inſtead of ſerving in his Armies as Auxiliary Troops, and all that could be ſaid, is, that after the taking of *Aſhdod*, he convey'd ſome of its Inhabitants into *Egypt*, which does not agree with *Ariſteus*'s Account. Laſtly, *Philadelphus* does not ſpeak of this Colony tranſplanted by *Pſammetichus*. He confines himſelf to that which was made by the Kings of *Perſia*, when they were Maſters of *Egypt*, and the other of his Father, *Ptolomy Soter*. 'Tis true, this is making *Ptolomy* contradict *Ariſtæus*; but we ſhall ſee there is reaſon for it.

After the firſt Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the Murder of *Gedaliah*, who was left Governour of *Judea*, *Jochanan* went in ſearch of a Sanctuary in *Egypt* againſt *Iſhmael*'s Cruelty. He carried all away, and even the Prophet *Jeremy*, who exclaim'd againſt this Violence, and had foretold the Miſeries that ſhould accompany the Refugees in *Egypt*. For *Nebuchadnezar* taking advantage of the Diviſion betwixt *Apries* and *Amaſis* (who had put himſelf at the Head of the Rebels inſtead of fighting them) enter'd *Egypt*, and conquer'd it by the Defeat of *Apries*. He followed the Cuſtom of that time of carrying away the Inhabitants of conquer'd Countries to prevent future Commotions. The Jews that fled into *Egypt* had the ſame fate with the natural Inhabitants. *Nebuchadnezar* made 'em change their Habitation once more: Nevertheleſs ſome remained in that Country, whoſe Families ſpread conſiderably.

II. *Alexander* the Great, reſolving to fill *Alexandria*, ſent a ſecond Colony of the Jews thither, and granted them the ſame Privileges as the *Macedonians*. We are told that the *Egyptians* [o] appear'd before this Conqueror to plead againſt the Jews, and to re-demand of them the Gold, and Silver, and Precious Stones, which their Anceſtors had robb'd them of, when they left *Egypt* in *Moſes*'s Time. The Jews conſented to the Reſtitution, provided they were paid what was due to them for their four Hundred Years Service. *Alexander* rejected the Petition of the Plantiffs, and diſcharg'd the Jews from the Debt. The Jews think this Fact ſo certain, that they ſtill celebrate a Feaſt for it annually in *March*. *Ptolomy Lagus*, one of his Generals, having ſeized on *Egypt*, made Incurſions into *Judæa*, brought off a Hundred Thouſand Inhabitants, which he ſold as ſo many Slaves to the *Egyptians*, who were afterwards reſtored to their Liberty by *Ptolomy Philadelphus*.

Ariſteus relates the Fact, as if he had taken it from *Ptolomy*'s Original Letters, but his Authority is conteſted, and ſeveral Circumſtances he has produced. We pretend not to defend this Impoſtor, who was a Jew, and who has diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of a Heathen, whom his Maſter had ſent to *Jeruſalem*. Beſides, the difference obſervable

[l] Herodot. l. 2. p. 152. 154. 157. [m] Diodor. l. 1. p. 48. [n] Ariſtæus de LXX. Int. Strabo. l. 16. p. 770. [o] Hody de Verſ. Græc. l. 111. P. 1. p. 221.

betwixt

betwixt the Letters of *Ptolomy Philodelphus*, which *Josephus* relates, and those of *Aristæus*, shews, that he had not the Originals. But tho' we don't defend the Imposture, yet we will clear up the Fact as much as possible, against those, who running into two different extreams, find difficulties in it, or imbellish it with many Circumstances, which are evidently false.

III. First, It is thought, that the false *Aristæus* is mistaken, in saying, that it was *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, who carried the Jews into *Egypt*, because this Translation was made two Years after the Death of *Alexander* the Great, in the first *Syrian* Expedition, in which *Ptolomy* did not assist, since *Diodorus Seculus* observes, that he sent *Nicanor*, one of his Generals, who in a little time subdued all the Cities of *Syria*. *Diodorus*'s Authority is great, but *Hecatæus*'s, [p] a Cotemporary Author, who was perfectly acquainted with the Jews, is much greater. In the mean time this Historian relates, that *Ptolomy* took *Jerusalem* during the Sabbath. He was therefore present in the first *Syrian* Expedition. We must therefore vindicate the pretended *Aristæus* from this imaginary Fault, and reconcile the Historians, by saying, that *Ptolomy* gave the Command of part of his Army to *Nicanor*, whilst he headed the rest; or else that *Nicanor* having marched first, *Ptolomy*, upon notice of his happy Success, followed him, and took *Jerusalem*, and carried away its Inhabitants into *Egypt*.

I find indeed the World somewhat inclined to reject *Hecatæus*'s Piece as suspicious, because an Ancient has said, [q] that *He suffered himself to be prejudiced by the Jews, even to dote on their Opinions, or that the Work that goeth by his Name is not his.* *Scaliger* [r] has even expresly determined on the side of the Imposture; but *Herennius*'s Alternative proves on the contrary, that he was very desirous to rob *Hecatæus* of the Book that goes by his Name, but durst not do it. And tho' he should have expressed himself clearly, yet his decision would not have sufficed, unless he had produced other Reason besides his Indignation to see that he countenanced the Jews. This Historian, who was in *Ptolemy*'s Train, and lived at his Court, is an Eye-witness, whose Suffrage ought to out-weigh the silence of others. It can't then be doubted, but *Ptolomy* was in the *Syrian* Expedition, that was made two Years after *Alexander*'s Death, since he took *Jerusalem*, and brought off great numbers of Prisoners.

IV. Some have said, [s] that *Ptolomy* exposing them to Sale, found Merchants of all Nations to purchase 'em, which caused a horrible Dispersion of the Jews into all the Parts of the World; to which St. *Luke* alludes in saying, *There were at Jerusalem Jews of every Nation under Heaven*; but the Error is manifest, since the Jews were dispersed in the East, and in the *Asian* Cities, by another Method than *Ptolomy*'s Sale. This Prince left some of them in *Phœnicia*, which perhaps wanted Inhabitants. He took Thirty Thousand of 'em which he thought fit to bear Arms, and put them in Garrison in the strong Places of *Cyrene*; and from hence came the Jews of *Cyrene*, mentioned in Scripture. Lastly, He sold the rest.

V. *Ptolomy* went a second time into *Judæa*, Ten Years after, and by his Gentleness prevailed with abundance of Jews to come and People his Kingdom. This is also one of the Contradictions that is observed in the false *Aristæus*, because they think it impossible that this Prince, who had sold such numbers of Slaves, should afterwards induce the Jews to a voluntary Settlement in the same place where their Brethren had been sold. But there is no Contradiction in it. Conquerors at first treat a subdued Nation with some severity; but afterwards they take gracious and attractive Methods. *Ptolomy* had expressed his Confidence in the Jews, by giving them the Custody of his Cities. There were others of 'em settled at *Alexandria*, who made their Fortune there, and who being well pleased with the indulgence of the Government, might invite their Brethren, already inclined, by the Kindness and Promises which *Ptolomy* had expressed to 'em in his second Expedition.

VI. *Philadelphus* did more than his Father; for he ransomed the Slaves that his Father had made, and restor'd 'em their Liberty. Many returned to *Judæa*, which they loved as their Native Country; but doubtless many of 'em remained in a place where they had time to take Root; and *Scaliger* has reason to say, that these were the People that constituted in part those numerous Synagogues of the Hellenist Jews. There is some Diversity betwixt *Josephus* and the false *Aristæus* about the Price, which *Philodelphus* paid for the Ransom of these Slaves. But is this sufficient to destroy the Fact? Nevertheless if any one will say, that the Jews, who were sold by the Father, continued Slaves in the Reign of the Son, and that the true *Josephus* is mistaken as well as the false *Aristæus*, I shall not contradict him. However, it must be acknowledged, that this Nation then injoyed a great Liberty, since it composed that famous Version of the LXX. and perhaps the first *Greek* Translation that was made of the Books of *Moses*.

VII. The method of making this Version is much disputed, and neither the Jews nor Christians can agree about this Event. Three very ingenious [t] Criticks have lately written all at once upon the same Subject, without being able to Copy one another. The last imagines, that the false *Aristæus* is impugned through Interest, to give a blow to the Version of the LXX. whose Authority would appear to him much greater, if the High Priest was introduced in it; but the Historian of the LXX. may be attack'd without destroying the Authority of their Version, which grows never the greater for the High-Priest's having chosen the Interpreters. We shall give our Thoughts in a few words upon this great Work.

The Authority of the Fathers who have supported *Aristæus*'s Narration ought not to stagger any Body after the demonstrative Proofs that have been produced against him. Nevertheless it must be own'd, that his Work is ancienter than *Philo*, [u] who had already allowed the LXX Interpreters to be Divinely Inspired. Besides, the Foundation of the Romance is true, and derived from History, as generally such sort of Pieces are; to which they add a Turn of Fancy to embellish them. To this end there is no need of multiplying the number of *Aristæus*'s, whereof one Composed the rough Draught before our Saviour's time, and another has added the Ornaments; nor to say, that a Christian

[p] Hecatæus apud Joseph. cont. Apion. [q] Herennius Philo Comm. de Judæis apud Origen. cont. Celf. l. 1. pag. 13. [r] Scaliger ad Casaub. Ep. 115. Vid. Voss. de Hist. Græc. p. 52. [s] P. Comestor. Histor. Scholast. [t] Hody de Bibliorum Textibus Original. &c. Liber, l. 2. de Versionis Græcæ Auctor. veris, & Antonii Van Dale Dissertatio super Aristæa de LXX. Interpret. 1705. Nourry Apparatus ad Bibl. Pat. Diss. XII. c. 1. n. 2. p. 234. [u] *Mr.* Van Dale *thinks that the Impostor was after* Philo, *tho' he speaks of this Version.*

at last added, *the Precept of loving Enemies*; for this Precept was known by the Heathens themselves, and *Socrates* had given it before our Saviour. 'Tis the Dictate of purified Reason; and generous Souls practise it without Law. Why then must we have recourse to a Christian Hand, to foist this Precept into the false *Aristæus*? 'Tis probable, they told Wonders in *Egypt* of the Version of the LXX. these were believed by a Jew who made a Collection of 'em, and publish'd 'em in *Aristæus*'s Name, whom the King had sent to *Jerusalem*. He thought hereby to do an honour to his Nation. Fifty Years were sufficient to alter the first Tradition, and to add several false Circumstances to it, which he took up. 'Tis no wonder, that this Work, which had been Published almost a Hundred Years before *Philo*, was received in his time as true, and that he followed a Prejudice so favourable to the Jews of *Egypt*. St. *Epiphanius* had read this Piece which is come down to us; but as he Paraphras'd instead of Copying it, and cited it *Memoriter*, 'tis not strange, that it has seem'd different. Let us try to disentangle Truth from Falshood in the Tradition concerning the LXX.

VIII. *Ptolomy Lagus* was the Person, that enter'd upon the design of this Version, who very obligingly treated the Jews, and was willing to know their History. And therefore there is some reason for introducing *Demetrius Phalereus* into this Project; but the Work was not finished till *Philodelphus*'s Time, and for this Reason the Glory of it is ascribed to him. Two Reasons are urged against this Conjecture; one, that *Philodelphus* was a Prince profligately Debauch'd, who had kill'd his two Brothers, and Married his Sister, and that God, who refused a Temple from *David*'s Hand, would have been far for suffering so impure a Man to assist in the Translation of his Law. But this is ridiculous; for the Kings of *Egypt* had no thoughts of serving the Glory of God, by the *Greek* Version of the Books of *Moses*. They were only touch'd with the Curiosity of knowing the History of a Nation, which accounted for the Origine of the World differently from the *Egyptians*; and as this People made a considerable Figure in his Kingdom, he was willing to know their Laws and Religion, which were singular. *Philadelphus*'s Incest and Murder of his Brothers, were no obstacle to this piece of Curiosity, and God had no Interest to repress it.

IX. Dr. *Hody*'s Objection [x] taken from the silence of a great many Heathens, who knew not the Jews, notwithstanding their Version of the LXX. is learn'd and much more reasonable. Nevertheless it proves too much; for whether this Version was made by the Jews of *Alexandria*, for the use of the Synagogues of this Country; or was done by the Order of the Kings, and plac'd in their Library, the Heathens might either have known, or not known it. They might not have known it, because all Manuscripts in Kings Libraries are not always known; and the *Ptolomys* did not trouble themselves to publish a Version which they had made for their own use. The Heathens might also have known it, tho' it had been made by private Hands without Authority. If *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Acron*, and several others, have not read this Version, 'twas their own fault, since it was undoubtedly made long before they wrote. I confess 'twas natural for the Jews of *Alexandria* to be proud of the Protection and Command, they had received from the King, to translate their History; but I must likewise acknowledge, that the Consent of all Authors about this Circumstance, determines me to believe it; and the rather, because it is not an extraordinary thing that a King, who observ'd a vast number of Jews dispersed in his Dominions, should be willing to know 'em.

X. 'Tis demonstratively proved, [y] that only the five Books of *Moses* were Translated at first, and that the Authors of this Version were Jews of *Alexandria*; but I must beg leave also to believe, that they sent to *Jerusalem* for Jews, because it was a persuasion that the constant Inhabitants of that Country might better understand the *Hebrew* Tongue than those of *Egypt*, who had taken the *Grecian* Customs, and might have forgotten part of their Language. What could hinder *Ptolomy* from solliciting the High Priest to send him some ingenious Persons of the Nation to contribute to this Work, and that they should be consulted upon occasion. But 'tis ridiculous to say, that the *Palestine* Inhabitants were the Pen-men who Composed the *Greek* Version. For common Sense will tell us, that this related only to the Jews of *Alexandria* accustomed to speak that Language: Besides, the Proofs produced are so strong, that 'tis impossible to answer 'em. Afterwards they have romanced this History; one has placed *Esdras* at *Philadelphus*'s Court, by a fault in Chronology, [z] which is unpardonable in a Man, that pretends to write one; another has turned *Eleazar*, who followed *Ptolomy Lagus*, into a High Priest. The false *Aristæus* and *Josephus* that followed him, multiply the number of these Doctors to Seventy Two. He produces six out of every Tribe, [a] as if King *Philadelpus*, who required Interpreters had any Interest to distinguish the Tribes, and to desire an equal number out of each. That nothing might be wanting to their Dignity, they are made so many Nuntio's or Legates of the High-Priest; and also Counsellors of the *Sanhedrim*. Nor is *Philadelphus*'s magnificent Reception and Entertainment of 'em forgotten: These are Romances and Circumstances tack'd to the History to dazle the Learned Vulgar. But by insisting on what is Plain and Natural in it, we may believe, that Learned Men were sent for from *Judæa*, to consult them, not only about the Language but the Ceremonies, the memory whereof might be decay'd in *Egypt*; and that the *Alexandrian* Doctors, upon the strength of this assistance, Composed their Version agreeably to the Style of the Place, in which they had always liv'd. 'Tis hard to conceive, why 'tis called the Version of the Seventy, unless it be that the *Alexandrian* and *Jerusalem* Doctors, who contributed to the Undertaking actually made this number.

XI. The Jews that remained in *Egypt*, had reason to authorize this Version, since they quickly forgot the *Hebrew*; but the Cells and the Feast of *Pharos*, celebrated in memory of this Work, or the Feast in detestation of it, are meer Whims. These Cells were never spoke of before *Justin Martyr*, and those who have fancied they have seen 'em lately, teach us not to believe Travellers upon their bare word.

The Christians also were highly concerned to enforce this Version; for the *Greek* Fathers who understood neither *Hebrew* nor *Latin*, had no other way to come at the Scripture. People run

[x] Hody de Vers. Græcæ. Aut. l. 2. c. 2. p. 104. [y] Hody ib'd. c. 3. p. 110. *&c.* [z] Godfridus Viterbiensis Chronic. XI.
[a] Scaliger *denies that there were Persons of every Tribe in* Judea; *but he is mistaken. Mr.* Hody *proves the contrary*, contra Aristeam Diss.

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here into two different Extreams; for this Version may be very useful to illustrate many obscure Passages of the Original, since they were Men well skilled in both Languages that Composed it, before any Controversies could arise betwixt the Jews and Christians; but the Original is also necessary to correct the Faults crept into this Version; and when a Debate arises betwixt the Original and the Version, Reason dictates, in spite of all the subtlety of the interested or too opinionated Criticks, that the Original ought to be prefer'd.

XII. Thus you have the Origin of the Jews in *Egypt*; where they continued quietly enough till *Philopater*'s Reign, who was a Monster of Debauchery and Cruelty. This Prince who had ravaged *Judæa*, being returned to *Alexandria*, shut up all the Persons of this Nation in the *Hippodromus*, with Design to have 'em crush'd by Elephants. We may imagine what were the Cries and Howlings of this Multitude doom'd to Death. *Ptolomy* was frighted with 'em, and deferr'd the Punishment some Days, at the End whereof he pardoned 'em, and delivered 'em of all their Fears. However they continued faithful to this Prince, who was mortally hated by his other Subjects, who revolted the Year following; for the Jews furnished this Persecutor with a numerous Army, of which he lost Sixty Thousand Men.

XIII. This Nation wanted a Temple in *Egypt* for the Service of God. I know not whether the Kings denied 'em this Liberty; but God had deprived 'em of it by confining his Worship to *Jerusalem*. Nevertheless *Onias*, a Fugitive in *Egypt*, by reason of the *Maccabees*'s Usurpation, obtained Leave of *Philometor* to Purify a deserted Temple, or rather to build a new one in the lower *Egypt*, in the Province since called the Second *Augustamnick* or *Imperial*, because it was upon the *Nile*. *Philometor* was moved by the hopes of inviting a great Number of Jews, if they had a Place to Sacrifice in; and to succeed in this Design, they imitated the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and introduced all the Rites and Ceremonies, that the People imposed upon by this Similitude might more easily be accustomed to it. *Onias* added the Necessity of uniting the Jews that Worshipped in different Synagogues. Lastly he quoted a Prophecy of *Isaiah*, foretelling that *there should be five cities in the land of Egypt, one of which should be called the city of destruction, and in that day shall there be an altar to the Lord.* He adapted this Prophecy to his Interests by making two Alterations; for he read the *City of the Sun* instead of the City of *Destruction*, and made the Temple to be built by a *Jew*. *Josephus*, who had said that this Temple was built in the Time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, afterwards retracted. But yet *Godfroy* of *Viterbo* has given it a greater Antiquity; making it to be built in *Philadelphus*'s Reign, whilst the Septuagint Version was composing, and he places it at *Memphis*.

Dum quasi Legista Philadelphus transtulit ista,
Instituit Templum Templi Salomonis ad instar
Judaico more simili fabricavit honore.
Urbs Pharaonis erat quondam, cognomine Memphis,
Quâ dedit hoc Templum Domino Sother Philadelphus,
Hanc sub Pompeio post cecidisse lego.

XIV. This Temple [b] drew new Inhabitants into *Egypt*, because those who were discontented at *Jerusalem* came hither: It occasioned great Divisions; for most of the *Alexandrian* Jews refused to Worship at it; and at *Jerusalem* they look'd upon both the Worship and the Priests that served it as prophane. The *Rabbins* have even said, that God had severely prohibited their settling out of *Judæa*, unless they were forced by a Superiour Power or a Famine. They ground this Prohibition upon these Words of *David* [c]: *They have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord.* They included *Egypt* in their Prohibition, because *the Sins of that Nation were greater than those of other People.* 'Tis very likely, that these Prohibitions, which are not found in the Law of *Moses*, were only the Dictates of their Jealousie, who lived at *Jerusalem*, and saw with Indignation that Concourse of People, that settled at *Alexandria*.

XV. For indeed [d] the Numbers of the Refugees were so considerably increas'd at *Alexandria*, that besides a great many stately Synagogues, they had a particular Magistrate assigned to judge them by their own Laws. *Onias*'s Children Fifty Years after saw themselves at the Head of *Cleopatra*'s Forces, who disputed the Sovereignty with her Son *Ptolomy Lathurus*; and prophane Historians [e] give an Honourable Testimony of the Jews Fidelity at that time, who always fought for the Queen, whilst most of the *Egyptians* deserted her.

XVI. 'Tis pretended, that St. *Mark* found the Opportunity of an abundant Harvest amongst the dispersed Jews in *Egypt*, when he went to settle the Church of *Alexandria*; but not to recur to an uncertain Tradition, the History of the *Acts* informs us, that the Synagogues of the *Cyreneans* and *Alexandrians* were those, that most violently opposed St. *Stephen*, and contributed to his Martyrdom, by the Tumult raised by their Dispute. This Passage gives Interpreters some Trouble; but not to wander from the Subject we are upon, we may observe two things. 1. The Jews say, that their Nation had a lofty Temple at *Alexandria*; but 'tis probable they have mistaken that of *Heliopolis* built by *Onias*, and absurdly placed it at *Alexandria*. *Selden*, with all his Ingenuity has embraced this Notion of the Jews, and thought that there were Two Temples in *Egypt*, tho' Historians speak but of one. But at least this City had so fine a Synagogue, that Tradition says, that he *who had not seen the benches of it, had never seen the Glory of Israel.* They had moreover several Oratories in the same City, which were sufficient for the Exercise of their Religion in that Country. 2. But farther, they had a Synagogue at *Jerusalem*, where their Academy was. Hither they sent their Children to study the Law, and the *Hebrew* Tongue. Here they paid their Devotions when they came up to Celebrate the Feast of the Passover; for there was not room for every body in the Temple. The Jews of *Cyrene* had a Synagogue at *Jerusalem* for the same Use, and the Governours of these Synagogues were those that broke out with so much Violence and Injustice against St. *Stephen* the Proto-Martyr.

XVII. There were also Jews at *Babylon*, another City of *Egypt*. And therefore 'tis pretended that St. *Peter* having founded the Church of *Alexandria*, went thence to *Babylon*, where he found a Multitude of Jews, whose Conversion was committed to his Charge; and it was from thence, that he dated his Epistle to the Churches of *Asia*

[b] *A Hundred and fifty Years before* Jesus Christ. [c] 1 Samuel 26. 19. [d] *A Hundred and Three Years before* Jesus Christ.
[e] Joseph l. xiii. c. 21. Strabo Cappadox apud Joseph.

But as St. *Peter*'s Journey to *Alexandria* not only appears doubtful but Chimerical, we muſt ſay the ſame thing of his Travels to *Egyptian Babylon*. 'Tis more likely that he went to the *Babylon* of *Chaldæa*, where whatever may be ſaid to the contrary, there were ſtill a great many Jews as well as in *Egypt*. From hence it was that he writ to the other Jews diſpers'd in *Aſia*; and all that can be cenſured in *Salmaſius*'s Conjecture, is the long Stay that he gives St. *Peter* in *Chaldæa*. He abſurdly maintains that he never came from thence, whereas he died at *Rome*.

XVIII. *Philo*, who writ in that time, repreſents alſo his Nation very potent in *Egypt* by the deſolation that befel it, which occaſioned his deputation to *Caligula*. They had paid their Reſpects to this Prince at his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown; but having only made their Compliment by writing, and committed their Addreſs to *Flaccus*, this Governour who did not love 'em, ſuppreſs'd the Memoir, to make the Emperor believe that they were the only People, that had not aſſured him of their Obedience. This Governour having incur'd his Prince's Diſpleaſure by the violent Death of *Macron*, thought he could not better render himſelf neceſſary in *Egypt*, than by pleaſing the People, and to pleaſe them, there was no ſurer way than to licence them to inſult the Jews. *Agrippa*'s arrival, who paſs'd through *Alexandria*, adminiſtred an Opportunity to this. The People inraged to ſee a Jewiſh King, equipp'd a Fool call'd *Carrabas*, like a Prince, and drew together a multitude of Children, crying behind him *Marim*; that is, *Lord*. *Agrippa* was ſenſible of the Inſult. The reſemblance of Names betwixt *Carrabas* and *Barrabas*, has made ſome obſerve here a juſt Puniſhment of God upon *Agrippa*, in revenge of the ridiculouſly dreſſing Jeſus Chriſt like a King at *Jeruſalem*. But this is fetching the Puniſhments of God a great way. *Flaccus* carried on his Point againſt *Agrippa*, and reſolved to deſtroy him: The Jews of *Egypt* gave him notice of it. *Flaccus* did not pardon them, and tho' there was a Million of People of this Religion in *Egypt*, he ſuffered them to be oppreſs'd. The Mob began, and burnt the Oratories of *Alexandria*, burying a great many Perſons in the Flames. They obliged the Jews to quit five Quarters of the City where they dwelt, two of which were called the Quarters of the Jews: They gathered them into one place, where many died with Hunger, becauſe they durſt not go out, for ſuch as did, were knock'd on the Head by the Rabble. The Governour countenanc'd the Mutineers by declaring, that the Jews were Aliens, and had no Right to defend themſelves. Some he cauſed to be ſeverely handled in his Palace. In a word, the Perſecution was violent; and *Caligula*, who had a Journal ſent him of all the Tranſactions, only laughed at them. A ſecond Sedition aroſe at *Alexandria*, and the two Factions ſent Deputies to the Emperor *Caligula*. *Appion*, who took the Title *Alexandrinus*, tho' he was born in *Oaſis*, was at the Head of the *Egyptians*, *Joſephus* reckons but three Deputies of the Jews; but *Philo*, who was the firſt of 'em, reckons five. This Deputation had no Effect, becauſe *Caligula* would be own'd as a God, and have Sacrifices offered him. They took Breath again under *Claudius*, who put out an Edict in their behalf.

XIX. 'Tis ſaid, that there were a Million of Jews diſperſed in *Egypt*, *of which the greateſt part periſh'd*. They drew upon themſelves theſe Miſeries by their Seditious and Rebellious Tempers. However they ſtill enjoy'd their Privileges of Citizens of *Alexandria*, and might come into Offices. They were headed by a Perſon, whom they call'd their *Alabarch*. *Valeſius* fancies that this Name was given him by way of Contempt and Rallery; but *Joſephus*, who could not be ignorant of the State of the Jews in *Egypt* in his time, repreſents this as an honourable Title, and attributes it to none but thoſe, whoſe Eminence and Birth he would enoble. *Philo* was Brother to one of theſe *Alabarchs*; and *Mariamne*, Daughter to *Agrippa* the Great, left *Archelaus*'s Bed for that of *Demetrius*, who was then, ſays *Joſephus*, [f] powerful among the Jews of *Alexandria*, by reaſon of his Birth and his Wealth, and becauſe he was an *Alabarch*. This Poſt was given for Life, and 'tis often confounded with that of *Ethnarch*, which Title was ſo honourable in *Judæa*, that *Archleaus* the Son of *Herod* the Great, had never any other.

XX. The Refugees in *Egypt* encreaſed their numbers by the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and the Temple; for the Holy Land being deſolated, and the Worſhip, which devoted the People to *Jeruſalem*, aboliſhed; they made no ſcruple to go into *Egypt*. And there was a neceſſity of doing it, ſince there were ſome Perſons of the Nation, who had had for a long time ſome conſiderable Eſtabliſhments there. In the mean time it may be ſaid, that they carried Divine Vengeance along with 'em, and the Miſery that attended them in all Places; for beſides the Miſery inſeparable from a Refuge ſo violent as that which they underwent, the Emperor obliged his Lieutenant in *Egypt* to ſhut up the Temple which *Onias* had built. The Example of that at *Jeruſalem* created apprehenſions. 'Twas feared, that the one being raz'd, the diſperſed would fortifie themſelves in the other, and enterprize ſome Project of Rebellion as obſtinate as that which was juſt ended in *Judæa*: And therefore *Veſpaſian* gave Orders to pull it down; but the Governour to whom the Order was ſent, qualified it, and only ſhut it up. 'Tis alſo probable, that he did not ſet ſo ſtrict a Guard upon it, but that the Neighbouring Jews aſſembl'd there ſometimes in ſmall Numbers, ſince Hiſtorians obſerve that *Paulinus Lupus*'s Succeſſor in the Prefectſhip, alſo ſhut up this Temple, hindred them from exerciſing their Religion in it, and carried away all the Riches, that the Peoples Devotion had made Sacred.

XXI. Nor was this the only Misfortune, that fell upon the Diſperſion in *Egypt*; ſix or ſeven Hundred Aſſaſſins, who had made cruel Havock in *Judæa*, being accuſtomed to fiſh in troubled Waters, and to enrich themſelves with the Peoples Spoils, ſollicited their Brethren to rebel, and fell to murdering thoſe who yielded not to their Inſtigations. The Principals of the Nation, which had long been eſtabliſhed at *Alexandria*, eaſily foreſaw the Conſequences of this Storm, and reſolved to prevent them, by impeaching theſe Leaders of Sedition and Rebellion to the Deputy. They delivered up ſix Hundred of them, who at laſt received the Puniſhment due to thoſe infinite Crimes they had committed. Some eſcaped to *Thebes*, where they were purſued, and at once all were involv'd in the ſame Sentence and Puniſhment, who were ſuſpected of the Confedracy. So that a great many innocent People were brought in; nor were their Wives and Children ſpared. They would have obliged theſe latter to acknowledge the Emperor [g]

[f] Joſeph. Ant. l. 20. p. 693. [g] Δισποτην.

their

their *Master*, but they chose rather to suffer Death, than to pay him that Homage; which shews, that these were the Remains of *Judas* the *Galilean*'s Faction, which still survived.

XXII. Lastly, Their Miseries were redoubled by an Impostor. He was one of those Assassins, who having escaped the Hands of Justice, had gather'd together a fresh Company, by promising to shew them strange Prodigies. Two Thousand Fools from *Lybia* and *Cyrene* believed him, and enter'd his Retinue, who were quickly cut to pieces by *Catullus*'s Troops, who took that opportunity to enrich himself. For *Jonathas*, which was the Impostor's Name, falling into his Hands; to please him, accused the richest Merchants of his Nation in *Egypt*, of being engaged in his Conspiracy. They were Executed, and their Estates confiscated. Three Thousand Persons perished in that Execution. *Catullus*, to his misfortune, was willing to go on, and caused some Jews of *Rome* to be nam'd as guilty of the same Crime; but *Vespasian* having seen the Informations, and caused the Impostor to be confronted with the Accused, discovered the Injustice, ordered *Jonathas* to be burnt, and acquitted all that were attainted. He pardoned *Catullus*; but God revenged his Injustice, by disturbing his Mind, which was tormented by abundance of Apparitions which he fancied before his Eyes.

XXIII. Some Refugees had passed from *Egypt* to *Æthopia*. If you will believe them, 'twas the Queen of *Sheba*, that carried *Solomon*'s Religion thither, and a Child of this Prince, with which she was big, when she left him, who established it afterwards. They confidently assert, that Religion was preserved there without Books by the help of Tradition. And therefore the Kings of *Æthopia* call themselves at this Day *Kings of the Israelites*; and the Princes that from State-Jealousie are shut up in two Rocks call'd *Gheseu*, take also the Title of *Israelites*. They produce ancient Genealogies, by means whereof they prove the Descent of the Kings of *Æthopia* from *Solomon*. They find even in Christianity, which they now profess, some manifest Tracks of the Jewish Religion, which could not be effaced. Tho' these Arguments have been thought very solid by ingenious Men, who were well read in the History and Customs of this Nation. I must own, that it is hard to believe, that Judaism subsisted from the Queen of *Sheba*, through so long a Succession of Generations without Books and Writings. 'Tis much more probable, that it was carried thither from *Egypt*, where the Jews had been so long established, as indeed 'twas the *Egyptians*, that convey'd the first Inhabitants and their old Religion into this Country.

XXIV. 'Tis difficult to fix the time of this Event: But 'tis sufficient for our History to know, that Queen *Candace*'s Eunuch Baptized by St. *Philip*, was of this Country. *Baronius* has thought that this Eunuch had no Religion besides that of the *Æthopians*, and that it differed not much from Judaism, nor even from Christianity. But 'tis strange how he could say it; [h] for the Natural *Æthiopians* were extremely Idolatrous. *Jupiter Hammon* had his Temple and his Altars there. They had barbarous Gods, and they placed in the same Rank all the great Men that died. *Erasmus* wittily said, that this Heathen Eunuch, who was Baptized in the way without Witnesses, *had stole the Grace that belonged to the Jews*. Which Rallery was only imagined to ellude the difficulty that arises from St. *Peter*'s Ministry, whom God by a Miracle licensed to open the Gate to the Gentiles a long time after *Philip* had Baptized the Eunuch. But it must be said, that this Eunuch was a Proselyte, or a Jew, who, like the rest of the Dispersion, came to Worship at *Jerusalem*; and whether you make him a Jew or a Proselyte, there must have been People of this Religion in *Æthiopia*, who taught it others; and the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets must have come thither, since this Eunuch was attentively reading the Prophet *Isaiah*, and was so favourably disposed to receive the *Messiah* declared to him. The Conveyance of Judaism into *Æthopia* through *Egypt*, appears the more easie, as the Kingdom of *Candace* was, as is believed, at *Meroe* very near *Egypt*; for the other *Æthiopians* excluded Women from the Crown. *Philostorgius* and *Procopius* [i] say likewise, that in *Constantius*'s Reign, there were a great many Jews mingled with the Nations of *Æthiopia*, who Worshipped the Sun; and in the Sequel we shall find entire Nations there, that profess'd Judaism.

XXV. We know neither the Time nor the Manner of this Religion's spreading in *Arabia*. There was great Commerce betwixt the *Arabians* and *Æthiopians*; the Passage was short and easie. It might be said then, that it was this way that Judaism came among the *Arabians*; and that which confirms this Conjecture, is, that the *Homerites*, who were almost all Jews, and who were headed by a King of that Religion, dwelt beyond the Sea. They might have pass'd from *Æthiopia* to this Coast, and therefore they retained the Name of it. As the *Arabians* had taken this way to settle in *Æthiopia*; the *Æthiopians* and Jews might also have bent their Course thither after the Depopulation of *Judæa*, by *Titus* or *Adrian*; because they were necessitated to avoid the pursuits of the *Romans*, and to seek a Sanctuary in foreign Places. They Peopled a part of this Country; built Cittadels, and had their Princes; and therefore we shall see 'em mustering up Armies, and giving Battle to *Mahomet*, to oppose the impetuous Course of his Religion and his Conquests.

XXVI. It would be useless to shew, that the Jewish Nation was dispersed into the Cities of *Asia* and *Greece*, because this Dispersion is well known. Hence came that famous distinction of *Hellenist* Jews. *Antiochus* the Great had sent 'em into *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, from whence they multiplied into *Thracia*, and therefore they were found there when *Constantine* fix'd the Capital of the Empire in that Province. The other Kings of *Syria*, who often built Cities, drew Inhabitants to 'em of all Religions, and gave the Jews not only liberty of Conscience, but the same Privileges as their natural Subjects. *Philo* asserts, that in his time his Nation was settled in *Bithynia*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus*, *Thracia*, as well as in the Islands of *Cyprus* and *Candia*. They were so numerous in the Cities of *Antioch*, *Apamea* and *Sidon*, that they durst not Massacre 'em, when the Inhabitants of *Ascalon*, *Ptolemais*, *Damascus*, the Capital of *Syria*, *Cyrene*, and the *Arabians* unmercifully Murder'd them. Which manifests that they were dispersed into all Places. Lastly, Those who survived the destruction of their Temple and Country, were sold and scattered into all the Provinces of the Empire. Let this suffice to give a general Idea of the dispersion of this People in the East.

XXVII. 'Tis surprizing after this to see 'em ven-

[h] Plin. l. VI. c. 29. Strabo l. XVII. [i] Philost. l. III. c. 4. p. 25. Procop. Persic. l 1. p. 34.

turing

turing to affirm, they have preserved the distinction of Tribes and Families. *Maimonides* [k] had the honesty to own, that they were so confounded after *Senacherib*'s Time, as to be no longer distinguishable. *Hinc familiæ internos confusæ sunt, ita ut dignosci nequeant inter se, nec locis ipsarum cognosci.* The *Thalmudists* distinguish the places, where the true Jews are to be known. *Babylon*, say they, *is sound, Mæson is dead, Media is sick, Persia is expiring.* That is, according to the Gloss, "That all the "Jews of *Babylon* are of *pure Blood*, those of *Mæ*-"*son* are Bastards, in *Media* there are many of "*pure Blood*, and many that are not, in *Persia* "there are some of *pure Blood*, but few of this "Character." But this indefinite and general distinction does not regulate the Condition of each Family. The *Thalmudists*, who wrote at *Babylon*, raised the Glory of this City, and flattered themselves, that they were all of the Blood Royal of *David*. They founded their Nobility upon a thing evidently false; that all those that forsook the East to return to *Jerusalem* with *Ezra*, were Beggars, and the Scum of *Israel*. *Ezra*, say they, *left the pure Flower at Babylon, and took with him the Dregs of the People.* They add, "That all the Countries of the "World are an impure Mass in comparison of *Ju*-"*dæa*; but *Judæa* is a corrupted and depraved Mass "in comparison of *Babylon*." 'Tis easily perceiv'd, that all these Encomiums bestowed on *Babylon*, preferably to *Judæa*, arise from Self-Love, and are very ill grounded. The House of *David*, who had great Pretensions in the *Holy Land*, was far from leaving them to groan under Slavery of Foreign Princes. *Ezra* reckons Forty Two Thousand Families that returned with him. Of this Number there were Thirty Thousand of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, which doubtless made the Total, or at least the greatest part. We can't tell, of what Tribes were the Twelve Thousand Families, the Chiefs whereof are not put down. It may be said, that they were the Rascality of *Judah*, who could not shew their Genealogy with some Families of the Ten Tribes. So that we ought not to seek for *David*'s Family in the East. This Proof has another manifest fault in it; for it seems to muster all the Nobles in one City, and all the Bastards in another, which is a thing impossible. It will have *Media* to be sick; whereas the Families might better preserve themselves unmixed there than at *Babylon*, since they had there their Cities and Villages. But the *Thalmudists* follow their Genius, and speak at random, because the Genealogies were horribly confounded by so many different Revolutions. Lastly, They say, without any Foundation, that *Mæson is dead*; for on the contrary, the Jews that went thither, came from *Judæa*, and must have had a purer Blood, than those that had been transported long ago to *Babylon* and *Media*, where the Families were confounded. For 'tis very probable, that *Mæson* was the City *Emese*, or *Hems*. For *Herodian* observes, that *Mæsa* the Mother of *Saeme*, from whom came *Heliogabulus*, and *Mammea* the Mother of *Alexander Severus*, took her Name from the City *Emesa*, where she was Born. This City depended on *Antioch*, which was Peopled with Natural Jews: It was near to the *Palmyrenians*, where they had a Queen of their Religion. It must be owned, that the Jews who came from *Judæa* or *Antioch* to *Emesa*, must have been of as good Families as those that were dispersed among the *Medes*; and it can't be said without rashness, that there was not in that place one single Person, that was a Jew by extract, or that *Mæson was dead*. The *Rabbins* can say nothing positive hereupon. Nor is there any thing certain besides the general Confession of *Maimonides*, that the Families are so confounded, that they cannot be known or distinguished.

[k] Maimon. Tract. ידים *de lotione manuum*, c. VI. S. 4. p. 49.

CHAP. VI.

The Dispersion of the Jews in Italy.

I. *The Design of this Chapter. Why the Roman Empire was called the Kingdom of* Edom. II. *The Synagogue of the Libertines at* Rome. III. *Several Conjectures about these Libertines.* IV. Augustus *favours 'em.* V. *A fabulous Account of his Persecutions of 'em.* VI. Augustus's *Sentiments expressed by* Suetonius. VII. *The Freedom of* Rome *given to the Jews.* VIII. *Liberty of Conscience.* IX. *The Jews Quarter at* Rome. X. Aringhus *and* Fabretti *confuted upon this matter.* XI. *Jews in the Vatican till the thirteenth Century.* XII. *An Examination of the Book of the Wonders of* Rome, *Published by* P. Monfaucon. XIII. *Jews Farmers to the Goddess* Egeria *at* Caffarello. XIV. *Placed in the Isle of the* Tiber. XV. *The Jews Poverty in their Quarter.* XVI. Tiberus *transports 'em to* Sardinia. *The cause of this Banishment.* XVII. Caligula's *hatred of 'em.* XVIII. Claudius *banishes 'em because of* Chrestus. XIX. *Whether this was* Jesus Christ, *or a Jew.* XX. *The cause of this Banishment.* XXI. Orosius's *Error about the time it happened. The Restoration of the Jews to* Rome. XXII. *The Oath by* Anchialum *explained.* XXIII. *The Superiority of the Synagogue at* Rome; *upon what grounded.*

I. WE have seen how one considerable part of the Jewish Nation was dispersed in the East, and had taken Sanctuary there. Let us at present learn how they were settled in the West, and in all the *Roman* Empire; that having a general Idea of the places we shall speak of hereafter, we may find less difficulty in their History, which may be said to extend from one end of the World to the other.

Italy and *Rome* are called in the *Thalmud* [l] the *Cruel Empire of Edom.* When you ask the reason of it, of their greatest Masters, as *Abravanel*, *Aben Ezra*, *Joseph Albo*, they maintain, by a surprizing Infatuation, that *Italy* and the *Roman* Empire were fill'd with *Idumæans*, who came to *Rome* after they had embraced Christianity.

[l] Ex Gemartit. Sanhed. c. 1. § 34. p. 307.

Abravanel

Abravanel affirms, " That the *Romans*, and in " general all the Christians may be called *Edomites*, " as *Isaiah* call'd the Sinners of his time, a People " of *Sodom* and *Gomorra*, because they took their " Manners and Customs. He carries the Compa- " rison of the *Romans* and *Idumæans* farther. They " have one and the same *Father*, as *Esau* and *Ja- " cob*, which is God. *Esau* introduced Strangers " into the Patriarchs Family, and in the like man- " ner we find in the *Roman* Empire, and the Chri- " stian Church, a jumble of all sorts of Nations, " that provoke God. *Esau* hated *Jacob* and at- " tempted to rob him of his Birth-right, his Goods " and his Life; which is what the Christians do to " *Israel*. Besides, the *Cabbalists* maintain, that *E- " sau*'s Soul pass'd by a Metempsycosis into the Bo- " dy of Jesus Christ. Hence they have received the " same Name. [m] *Esau* was born under the Con- " stellation of *Mars*; and therefore he became a " Hunter and Sanguinary. The Heroes who de- " scended from him, and reigned in *Italy*, were " Murderers, who eat the dead Bodies of those they " Conquer'd. Besides the *Roman* Emperors, were " Cloathed in *Red*, because *Esau* was Red, and had " a mind to eat of *that Red*. The Cardinals also " wear a Red Habit. Jesus Christ, who was " Born under the same Planet *Mars*, had *Blood up- " on his Head*; and therefore he was put to Death " with part of his Disciples. Lastly, *Ramban* af- " firms, that the *Idumæans* embraced Christianity, " and that the *Romans* followed their Example; for " which reason all Christians have been called *Edo- " mites* or *Idumæans*, because these were the first " that turned Christians. *Ramban* could not lye; " for he took this from Tradition, and perhaps had " read it in the Annals of that Time. 'Tis there- " fore past Dispute, that *Idumæans* govern'd *Rome*, " and that the *Roman* Empire is that of *Edom*, as " we read in the *Thalmud*.

Aben Ezra, [n] can't bear to have it said, that the Holy Nation is subject to the *Idumæans*; nevertheless he will not forsake Tradition, and therefore he turns the thing another way. He maintains, that the *Cuthæans* took *Jerusalem*, and led the People Captive to *Rome*. For the faithful *Idumæans* in *Agrippa*'s Reign, brought Succours to *Jerusalem*. But *Constantine* having embraced the Religion of some Persons who had deified a Man, and who believed in him, was resolved to have it received at *Rome*; but none but some *Idumæans* observ'd his Orders; and therefore the *Roman* Empire was called the Empire of *Edon*; as the *Egyptians* and *Arabians* are called *Ishmaelites*, tho' they had among 'em but very few of *Ishmael*'s Descendents.

Lastly, *Joseph Albo* [o] asserts, that the *Roman* Empire is call'd *Edom*, because 'twas an *Idumæan* Priest, that brought the Faith to *Rome*, and the Nations take the Name of those whose Religion they embrac'd, as the Jewish Proselytes are called *Israelites*.

There are therefore three Opinions concerning the Title given to the *Roman* Empire: One of the Conformity of Manners, the other concerning the Progress of the Christian Religion under *Constantine*; and the third concerning its Origine from an *Idumæan* Priest. These Opinions are too evidently false to be confuted. The *Roman* Emperors, who eat the Carkasses of their Enemies, because they were born under the Planet *Mars*, like *Esau*, and were habited in *Red* because *Esau* was *Red*, makes such a Jest, as is grosly ridiculous.

Joseph Gorionides [p] relates the Fact otherwise, *Tsepho*, *Esau*'s Grandson, kept Prisoner in *Egypt* by *Joseph*, fled to *Æneas* King of *Carthage*, who made him General of his Troops. *Æneas* went from *Africa* into *Italy*, beat *Turnus* King of *Beneventum* twice, and carried off *Janiia* [q] or *Lavinia*, whom he designed to Marry. *Pablus*, *Æneas*'s Nephew, was kill'd in the Battle, as well as *Turnus*, to whom were erected two Towers or *Mausolæums*, which were still seen betwixt *Alba* and *Rome*, when this Historian wrote. One was called *Kopablus*, and the other *Copturnus*. The *Africans* commanded by *Tsepho*, repass'd frequently into *Italy* to plunder it. 'Twas in one of these Expeditions, that *Tsepho* the Son of *Esau* once lost a young Calf, he found him again in a Wood; and in a Cave where a terrible Beast, who was half Goat and half Man, was tearing him in Pieces. He kill'd the Monster, and brought back his Calf. The Inhabitants being delivered from a Beast, that destroyed their Herds, look'd upon *Tespho* as a Hero, and made him Presents and Libations. They gave him the Name of *Janus*, which was that of the Beast he had kill'd. They call'd him also *Saturn*, from the Name of the Star they Worshipped at that time. So that *Janus* and *Saturn* were only one Man, the Grandson of *Esau*, who Reigned whilst he lived in the Country of *Rome*, and was Worshipped as a God after his Death.

Latinus [r] succeeded him. War arose betwixt him and *Asdrubal* King of *Carthage*. The ground of the War was a Bridge, that *Æneas* had caused to be built from *Africa* to *Italy*, to convey the Water by an Aquedact, because *Janiia* his Wife could drink no other without being sick. One part of the Bridge was over thrown. *Asdrubal* was killed in a Battle, and after his Death, *Latinus* Married his Daughter, who was of a charming Beauty. Being rid of a troublesome Neighbour, he carried on his Conquests into *Germany* [s] and *Burgundy*, and made them Tributary. He built a Temple to *Lucifer*, and made his Children pass through the Fire. The *Trojan Æneas* Reigned after him. Many Kings succeeded him, one of which called *Aventinus*, beat the Inhabitants of *Tourain on the Banks of the Loire*. *Romulus* came a great while after, who Reigned Thirty Years, and built *Rome*. *David* at that time was at War with the *Idumæans*, and *Adaraser*, and *Tsir* his Son deserted this Prince, and fled into *Italy*, where they built ancient *Alba*, where their Posterity still remained in *Joseph*'s time. *Romulus* was afraid left *David* should re-demand of him his fugitive Subjects, and that the retreat he had given them, might be the cause of a War; and therefore he inclosed the Temples and Palaces of his Predecessors with a Wall, which was Forty Five Miles long. He made War, and afterwards a League with *David*. Thus the Jews established themselves in *Italy* by *Esau*'s Grandson, and afterwards by two Officers of *David*'s Houshold, who preserv'd their Habitation at *Alba* and *Surento*. This is sufficient whereby to judge of the *Hebrew Joseph*'s Character, and of the Nations Taste in preferring him before the *Greek* Historian. *Abravanel*, who had quoted this Passage [t] of the *Hebrew Joseph*, to ground his Conjecture upon the Passage of *Thespo* into *Italy*, has swerv'd from the Original, by making him build

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[m] *Jesus, that is,* ישוע *The same Letters are found in the Name of* Esau, *by transposing them* עשיו. Abravanel in Esaiam. c. 35. *There are many allusions upon the Name* Rou *which we omit.*
[n] Aben Ezra in Genes. 27. 40.
[o] Joseph Albo de Fundam. Sermone 4. c. 42.
[p] Josippon l. 1. c. 2. p. 4.
[q] יאנויה
[r] Josippon, c. 3. p. 6.
[s] כורגוגיא אלמגיא
[t] Gagnier Præf. ad Josippon, p. 42.

Palermo,

Palermo, and ſettle his Habitation in *Sicily* as well as in *Italy*. But he is not the only one; for *Fazellus* [u] giving the Hiſtory of this Iſland, produces two Inſcriptions, found in the City of *Palermo*, and engraven with ancient Characters, which neither the *Greeks*, nor *Chaldæans*, nor *Arabians* could decypher. One [x] of theſe Inſcriptions informs us, that *Iſaac the Son of* Abraham *reigning in* Idumæa, *and his Son* Eſau *in the Valley of* Damaſcus, *a Troop of Jews being joyn'd by a great many* Syrians *and* Phænicians, *paſſed over into this Triangular Iſland, and founded their Habitation in this charming Place, which they call'd* Palermo. Upon the Second Stone [y] we read theſe words, *There is no other Deity but God alone; there is no powerful Being beſides the ſame God. The God we Worſhip is the ſole giver of Victory. The Governour of this Tower is* Saphu, *the Son of* Eliphar, *the Son of* Eſau, *the Brother of* Jacob, *the Son of* Iſaac, *the Son of* Abraham. If we take the Jews word, they not only came into *Italy*, but into *Sicily* in *Eſau*'s Time, which Conjecture is founded upon Monuments, which muſt needs have ſome Antiquity. But they are nevertheleſs doubtful, to ſay nothing harſher: And therefore, inſtead of inſiſting upon them, we will look after more certain Facts.

II. *Pompey* had convey'd abundance of Jews to *Rome*, and made Slaves of them. Their Maſters having given them their Liberty, they would not quit that City, in which they were firſt diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Libertines or Free-Men. They always preſerved their Religion, and ſent their Preſents to *Jeruſalem*, where they had their Synagogue, which is mentioned in the Hiſtory of the *Acts*; [z] for 'twas the *Chief of the Synagogue of the Libertines, Cyreneans and Alexandrians*, who roſe againſt St. *Steven*, and made him our firſt Martyr. A Critick extreamly bold, has fancied here three Sects of Paganiſm. The *Libertines*, ſays he, were *Academicks*; the *Alexandrians* were *Ariſtotle*'s Diſciples, becauſe they preſerved in this City a vaſt Veneration for the Preceptor of *Alexander*, who had founded it. Laſtly, We muſt underſtand the *Cyrenaick* Sect by the *Cyreneans*. This ſo novel Conjecture is founded upon a Paſſage of the *Gemera*, which ſays, [a] that from *Abba*'s School came four Hundred Diſciples, who had the *Language and Wiſdom of the Greeks*. They had learnt there to ſpeak *Greek*, and at once had ſtudied Philoſophy, and had enter'd the Sects of the ancient Philoſophers. We are obliged to relate ſuch a kind of Conjecture, by reaſon of its Novelty; but it deſerves not to be confuted, nor do we know who this *Abba* was, to whom he aſcribes ſuch a famous School. One *Abba* the Author of ſome Books, is ſpoke of; but it was *Abraham Ben Aſhor*, who had nothing to do with the *Greeks*. In effect, the Sects of Philoſophers were little known or eſteemed by the Jews in our Saviour's time; ſo far were they from having Schools and Aſſemblies to teach their different Opinions.

III. Mr. *le Moyne*, [b] who lov'd to make Conjectures, ſays, that we ought not to read the word *Libertin's* but *Labithins* in the Hiſtory of the *Acts*. *Lapetho* was one of the Bridges of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, whence the Jews, who were numerous in that Country, came often to perform their Devotions at *Jeruſalem*. He finds the *Cyreneans* in the ſame Iſland; for *Cyrene* or *Cyrenia* was a conſiderable City; and therefore he would not have us ſeek for theſe People at *Cyrene*, and among the *Lybithenians* of *Africa*, but in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, where the Jews were ſo prevalent as to Maſſacre all the Heathens. This Conjecture is no more ſolid than the other.

Laſtly, It has been ſaid, that St. *Luke*'s *Libertin's* were *Heathens*, who having been ſold as Slaves in *Judæa* obtained their Liberty by embracing *Moſes*'s Religion by way of Baptiſm, and the other Ceremonies common to Proſelytes. But *Tacitus* is a better Commentator of St. *Luke*, than the Chriſtian Criticks, who obſerves, [c] that there were above *Four Thouſand Libertine Jews at Rome*. What occaſion is there to ſeek them elſewhere, when they are ſhewn by a Heathen Hiſtorian, who could not but know 'em; and there was nothing more common, than for Strangers to have their particular Synagogue at *Jeruſalem*, where they pay'd their Devotions.

IV. *Auguſtus* favoured the freed Men at *Rome*, upon obſerving their Zeal for *Cæſar*, whoſe Death they lamented. *Fuſcus Ariſtius* was one of theſe Favourite Freed Men, a Poet of Repute, and ſuch an intimate Friend of *Horace* that he addreſs'd Epiſtles to him.

Urbis [d] *amatorem* Fuſcum *ſalvere jubemus*
Ruris amatores: hac in re ſcilicet una
Multum diſſimiles, ad cætera pæne gemelli:
Fraternis animis: quidquid negat alter & alter.
Annuimus, pariter vetuli, notique colombi.

Theſe two Poetical Friends did not agree in every thing as *Horace* ſays; for he had no Religion:

Nulla mihi unquam
Religio eſt.

But the other was zealous for his:

Sum paulo infirmior unus
Multorum.

He was going to the Synagogue to celebrate one of the Feaſts of his Nation, when *Horace* ſtop'd him to get rid of an impertient Talker that follow'd him.

Sed [e] *meliori*
Tempore dicam hodie triceſima Sabbata.

This Thirtieth Sabbath, which was the occaſion of this Poet's Devotion, was the Thirtieth of the Year, whether it began with the Month *Niſan* or *Tiſri*; for at *Rome* they might reckon the Weeks by the Sabbaths. At leaſt this Conjecture is more ſimple and natural than all that is commonly ſaid upon that Subject. [f]

The Freed-Men ſo multiplied at *Rome*, under this Emperor's Protection, that Fifty Deputies arriving from *Jeruſalem*, after *Herod*'s Death, to defend the

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[u] Fazellus de Reb. Sicul. dec. 1. l. 8. cap. de Panormo. [x] *It was diſcovered in the Reign of* William *the Second, or the Good, at the end of the Twelfth Century.* [y] *It was diſcovered and explained in the Year* 1470. [z] Acts 6. 4. [a] Adami Tribbechovii Liber ſingularis de Doctoribus Scholaſt. c. 1. p. 5. [b] Moyne Varia Sacra t. 1. Prolegom. [c] Tacit. An. l. 2 Suet. [d] Hor Ep. l. 1. ep. 10. [e] Sat. l. 1. Sat. 9. [f] *A* Rabbin *had perſuaded* Lumbinus (a) *that the Thirtieth Sabbath was obſerved more religiouſly than the reſt, becauſe they eat the Lamb on it, and he thought the* Saturday *of the Paſſover was the Thirtieth from the beginning of the Civil Year, to the Month* Tiſri. Bucher, (b) *with other Interpreters, thinks the Buſineſs concerned the New Moon, which appeared ſome times on the Thirtieth of the Month, inſtead of the Firſt. But he owns that the Name is improper; it ought to be called* ultimo prima, *and even the Sabbath never ſignifies the New Moon.*

(a) Lamb. in Horat. p. 104. Turneb. ibid. p. 106. (b) Bucher Doctrina Temp. p. 390.

Privileges

Privileges of their Nation before *Augustus*, *Eight Thousand Jews*, Inhabitants of *Rome*, joined the Deputies, without reckoning either their Wives or Children. So that there was at that time Twenty Thousand Jews in this City.

V. The Jewish Historians, instead of acknowledging this Protection of *Augustus*, take him for one of their bittereſt Enemies. Observe how they relate [g] the Matter, which they have taken from the Archives of the Kings of *Arragon*.

Antony Emperor of the *Romans*, being upon the point of Besieging *Jerusalem*, with a *Grecian* King call'd *Cesius*, was informed that *Cleopatra* was the fineſt Woman in the World, and that he might Marry her since she was a Widow. In the height of his Passion, he sent to ask her Consent, but she would not give it, unless *Augustus*'s Sister was Divorced; which was executed. The Senate exasperated at this, deprived *Antony* of the Empire, and gave it to *Augustus*; and as it was noised that the Jews were the contrivers of this Match, as thinking thereby to divert an impending Storm, the Senate ordered *Augustus* to march with a potent Army against *Antony*, and afterwards *against the Jews*. *Antony* was beaten, and *Cleopatra*, and her two Sons put to Death. War was declared against the Jews, who defeated one part of the *Roman* Army. The Emperor, in a Consternation, cried out, *That he must retreat, as having to do with Lions rather than Men*. The Generals incouraged *Augustus*, and resolved to wash off the stain of this Disgrace with the Blood of the Jews. *Jerusalem* was Besieged, taken and plunder'd by the Soldiers. The Emperor left a Deputy in *Judæa*, and went to Triumph at *Rome*. The Army was scarce out of sight, but the Jews Rebell'd, which brought *Augustus* back again to Besiege *Jerusalem* with a more powerful Army than the former. The Siege continued a Year; but the City being taken, dead Bodies were seen as numerous *as grains of Sand upon the Sea-shore*. Which obliged *Augustus* to lift up his Hands to Heaven, and to pray God not to lay to his Charge so many Murders, which the Jews had brought upon themselves. He carried the principal Persons of the Nation Prisoners to *Rome*, where they all died by the change of Air, and by reason of the Sins they continued to commit. 'Tis enough barely to intimate this History, which is different from the *Roman*, and it need not be confuted.

VI. *Suetonius* [h] says, that *Augustus* was well pleased to hear, that *Caius*, the Son of *Agrippa*, went to *Jerusalem*, *but did not Sacrifice there*. The Commentator affirms, that this Prince spoke against his Conscience; and a Critick, in defence of *Casaubon*, says, that he call'd the God Worshipped by the Jews, a *Supreme God*. Nevertheless *Suetonius* observes, that *Augustus* despised the *New Ceremonies*. 'Tis therefore most probable, that he then rejected the Sacrifices of the Jews, as well as of the *Egyptians*. 'Tis not *Augustus*, but *Philo*, who, speaking of this Prince, has said, that God was a *Supreme* Deity; and in the Edict which *Augustus* sent to the Jews, he takes the Jewish Style in speaking of the most High God. 'Tis only true, that *Augustus* changed his Opinion, and ordered Sacrifices to be offer'd for him in the Temple at *Jerusalem*. He grew more superstitious as he grew Old, but he always countenanced the Jews at *Rome*.

VII. They enjoy'd the Privilege of *Roman* Citizens. *Cæsar* confer'd it on *Antipater*; and St. *Paul* boasts of his being a Free-man of *Rome*, which was not common to him and all the Inhabitants of *Tarsus*, since this City was but a Colony. 'Twas a Privilege peculiar to his Family; whether his Father had purchased it, tho' he was not Rich; or any one of his Ancestors had merited by some important Service to the State. A Jew therefore might be a Citizen of *Rome*, [i] and have thereby a Claim to Honours and Dignities.

VIII. They had also Liberty of Conscience, and the Exercise of their Religion, and they observ'd their Feasts and Sabbaths in so publick a manner, that *Augustus* having number'd 'em among the rest that received Corn and Money Monthly, he order'd his Officers to reserve the Jews Portion till the next Day, when the Distribution happened on a *Saturday*. They had there their Oratories, their Synagogues and Doctors, that explained the Law; for he that deceived *Fulvia*, was an Interpreter of the Law. Lastly, They had at *Rome* a sort of Council or *House of Judgment*, which decided the growing Controversies; and 'twas doubtless to this House of Judgment, composed of the chief Members of the Nation, that St. *Paul* went to give an account of his Conduct, when he arrived at *Rome* in *Nero*'s time. 'Tis also very probable, that this House kept Correspondence with the *Sanhedrim* about important Affairs; since St. *Paul* thought they had been inform'd of his Business, and these *Roman* Judges were surpriz'd, that they had received no letter from *Jerusalem* to acquaint them with a Controversie, which had caused so much noise there.

IX. Lastly, the Jews had a place beyond the *Tyber*, where they liv'd. *Ancus Martius* fearing lest his Enemies should seize upon the two Mountains, the *Janiculus* and the *Vatican*, which were near the City, placed some Inhabitants upon them. Part also of the *Roman* Citizens were obliged to keep Guard there, during the Comitia, to prevent surprize. During the Comitia, the Rabble settled in those Places, which were less convenient, and were the Houses were cheap. The Watermen, Carmen, Chairmen and Curriers, had their Habitation there. *Martial* and *Juvenal* [k] allude to it, in saying

Nec te fastidia mercis
Ullius subeant ablegandæ Tyberim ultrâ,
Et detracta cani Transtyberina cutis.

Not but there were also reputable Men [l] there: The *Egyptian* Merchants, and the Jews, who were in Credit at *Rome*, before the ruin of *Jerusalem*, and that vast Multitude of Wretches that *Titus* convey'd thither, had their Habitation in that Place; but they removed afterwards, and went into the Forest of the Nymph *Egeria*.

X. *Aringhus* [m] thought, that this ancient Habitation of the Jews was upon Mount *Janiculus*; for which he had two Reasons; one taken from the Tradition of the Aged Jews, who had dwelt at *Rome* a long time, and had learnt from their Ancestors, that the Nation had its abode there; the other, that we at present see there the Church of *S. Salvador de la Corte*, which took its Name from the Jews, who were called *Curti*, because they cut off the *Præputium*. Indeed *Horace* [n] gives 'em this Title:

Curtis Judæis *oppedere.*

Nevertheless there is nothing weaker than the Tra-

[g] Solomon Ben Virgæ Tribus Juda. p. 1, 2. [h] Suet t. 2. c. 39. p. 48 Cas. Not. p. 176. [i] Spanheim Orb. Roman. p. 142.
[k] Martial L. 6. Ep. p. 48. Juvenal. Sat. 14. c. 23. p. 236. t. 1. [l] Vossius de Magnit. Rom. veter. c. 4. p. 1506. [m] Aringh. Rom. Subt. l. 2. [n] Hor. Sat. l. 1. Sat 9.

dition of the Elders of the Synagogues; for how could these Old Men know from the Tradition of other Old Men of Fourscore, that the Jews dwelt in a certain Place of *Rome* fifteen Hundred Years before? The Etymology of St. *Salvador della Corté*, is still more ridiculous; for *Horace* might make use of this singular word [o] in a Satyr, which he also used for a Mule that had lost his Tail:

Nunc mihi curto
Ire licet mulo.

To conclude, because the Jews were called *Curti*, that this Name was given to a part of *Rome*; and that a Church built in this Part took its Name from hence of *Salvador de la Corté*, is to impose upon one's self. For [p] we know, that this word, which is very common at the decay of the *Latin* Tongue, did not respect the Jews, but signified the Tent, the Palace, or the Court of the Prince. *Anastasius*, speaking of *Crammus*, that famous King of the *Bulgarians*, says, they burnt his *Court Curtis*. This Term was taken up by the *Greeks*; for *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* make use of it; and *Constantine Porphyroganetus* [q] observes, that is was one Subject of the Emperor *Michael*'s Displeasure against *Bardas*, to see, that his *Tapsteries and Curtains* were plac'd higher than his own. Thus *Allatius* has Translated it; but he is mistaken; for we must understand by it the Emperor's Tent, which this Author expresses by the word *Corté*, which he had borrowed from the *Latins*. Moreover we may understand by it a Court of Justice, upon whose Ruins a Church was built, call'd on that account *Salvador della Corté*. This Conjecture is the better grounded, because there was a Tribunal beyond the *Tyber*, for the Inhabitants of *Janiculus*. *Pomponius* says, that five Persons were chosen to execute the Magistracy by Night on both the sides the *Tyber*. As this was done for the conveniency of the Magistrates, and the Security of the City, some one of them must have liv'd beyond the River to provide for urgent Occasions. Those who admit the Acts of *Martha*, and her Associates, can't doubt of it, since they were committed to Prison upon the *Janiculus*. There was therefore a Court and a Prison upon this Mountain; and hence came the Name of *Corté*, by which they distinguish St. *Salvador*'s Church, which is in this part of *Rome*.

XI. Not to dwell upon uncertain Conjectures, we observe, that the Jews possess'd three different Precincts at *Rome*. The first was the *Vatican*, where at present is the Pope's Palace; for they inhabited beyond the *Tyber* and *Pont* St. *Angelo*, which was called *Pont Elius*, because *Adrian* [r] had built it. This Prince dying at *Baiæ Antoninus*, who succeeded him, ordered his Body to be carried to *Rome*; and as it could not be placed in *Augustus*'s Tomb, it was laid [s] beyond the *Tyber*, in a place appointed for his Sepulture, called *Molles Adriani*; and to pass thither, a little Bridge was laid over the *Tyber*, near which the Jews had a long time dwelt. They were there before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and kept this Post for a great many Ages. First, It can't be contested, that the Jews, who were made free by *Augustus*, were sent to inhabit beyond the *Tyber*; and 'tis not probable they had a Place assigned them on the *Janiculus*, which in *Augustus*'s time, was almost as well Peopled as the rest of the City; whereas the *Vatican* was much less, because People feared Nastiness and bad Smells, which made it look'd upon by *Tacitus*, as an infamous Place, *Infamia Vaticani loca*. 2. Here it was, that *Fuscus Aristius*, the Jewish Poet, and Friend of *Horace*, [t] went to celebrate the Sabbath. For if he was to go to the *Janiculus*, he would have kept *Horace* Company, who was also going that way, *beyond the Tyber*, towards *Cæsar*'s Gardens. But this Friend left him abruptly near *Vesta*'s Temple; because he was to take another Road, and keep on the Right to the *Vatican*, whilst *Horace* went on the Left to the *Janiculus*. 3. 'Twas on the *Vatican*, that *Nero* put a great many Christians to Death, who were then confounded with the Jews, and came most of 'em out of the Synagogue. They were condemned upon the places, where they were taken, and lived. And they were Executed beyond the *Tyber* during *Nero*'s Persecution of the Church, as we have observed. 4. Here it was, that a great many Sepulchres were found, which *Heliogabulus* caused to be levelled, because their Elevation hindered the march of his Elephants. These Sepulchers of the *Vatican* belonged rather to the Jews, who buried their Dead, and had lived there a long time, than to the *Romans*, who burnt their dead Bodies, or to the Christians, who were very thin at that time, and were rarely permitted the Exercise of their Religion. 5. 'Tis pretended, that these Tombs were those of Martyrs, because the Bodies of St. *Victor*, and his Wife, and Seventy other Persons of the same Family, *Palmatius* the Consul, with Forty of his Domesticks, or Relations; *Calepodius*, and abundance of other Saints, were taken out from thence. But how is it known that these were all Martyrs, and that they were buried in the *Vatican*? Even St. *Peter*'s Monument upon this Mountain, may reasonably be disputed, and is contested [u] by the *Roman* Catholicks themselves. For the Tomb of St. *Peter*, and a great number of Martyrs, is exactly found in the same Place, where formerly was *Nero*'s Circus. But can it be imagined that this Prince repented of his Cruelty; and that after he had put to Death the Chief of the Apostles and his Followers in this glorious Combat, he demolished his Circus, and gave it up to the Christians to give their Dead an honourable Funeral? If the Heathens Circus became the Catecombe of the Christians, what a Confusion was this! There were some Martyrs buried in the *Vatican* under *Nero*; but they were not placed in his Circus. They conceal'd their Sepulchres instead of giving them a distinguishing Eminence; and those that *Heliogabalus* overthrew, belonged to the Jews, who had inhabited this Mountain for two or three Centuries. 6. Here it was that *Benjamin* of *Tudela* found his Brethren in the Twelfth Century, and thought that he had discovered the Tombs of ten *Righteous Men of his Nation*. 7. 'Tis here, that a Writer of the Thirteenth Century, who can't be suspected, has plac'd them; for this Author, who lived in 1220, a little after *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, says, that the *Ælian* or *Adrian* Bridge before mentioned, and which is at present the Bridge of St. *Angelo*, was called the *Bridge of the Jews, because they dwelt there*. Thus you see Jews inhabiting the *Vatican* beyond the Bridge of St. *Angelo*, where they had their Residence for Twelve or Thirteen Hundred Years.

XII. It will be said perhaps, that this Work

[o] Sat. l. 1. Sat. 6. p. 76. [p] Du Cange. *See* Cortis. [q] Constant. Porphyrogen. in Basil. Maced. c. 15. In Allatii συμμικτοῖς t. 2. p. 33. Τῆς βασιλέως Αὐλαίας ἤτοι κόρτης, *imperatoria Aulæa, seu cortinæ.* [r] Spartianus in Adriano. [s] Nardini Roma vetus, l. 8. c 3. [t] Horat. Sat. 9. l. 1. [u] Famiani Nardini Roma vetus, l. VII. c. 13. pag. 1420.

lately

lately discovered by a Learned Benedictine, [x] is stuffed with Fables; for he tells, that *Romulus* erected a Golden Statue with this Inscription, *It shall not fall till a Virgin shall bring forth*; and he adds, that the Statue fell at the Birth of the Son of God. He says, "That there were at *Rome* Marble Horses without Saddle, with naked Men, and "before them a Woman holding a Shell, because "*Praxiteles* and *Phidias*, being at *Rome*, presented "themselves *stark naked* to *Tiberius*, to inform him "that *every thing was naked* to their Eyes, not excepting the Emperor's Thoughts. They gues'd "what *Tiberius* had thought upon in the Night. "The Emperor being surprized at it, was resolved "to recompence them. They desired to have their "Statues erected; and they added to 'em those of "Horses pawing the Ground. They meant thereby to insinuate to this Prince, that a Potent King "should come, who should strike the Ground; "that is, should rule over the Nations of the "World; and the Woman was the Image of the "Church, in which we are saved, when we are "united to it; but first we must receive Baptism, "of which the Shell was a Symbol. He says something worse; for he affirms, that every Conquer'd "Nation had its Statue in the Capitol, with a Bell "fastned to its Neck, which sounded the very Moment that the Nation Rebell'd." I don't deny, but this Author in his short Piece has vented a great many Extravagancies. But, 1. 'Tis not for People that tell us greater Absurdities, and charge 'em upon the Saints to reproach this Author for what he says to the advantage of the Christian Religion. 2. 'Tis still true, that his Testimony ruins the Tradition of the old Men, whom *Aringhus* has quoted as his principal Evidence; for if this Man, who lived in the Thirteenth Century, saw the Jews inhabiting the *Vatican*, their Tradition is evidently false; unless to excuse them from the falshood, it be acknowledged, that they have confounded the *Vatican* with the *Janiculus*, as is sometimes done; for *Martial*, who could not but know the difference of these two Mountains, places *Tullius Martial*'s *Vineyard* upon the *Janiculus*, tho' it was upon the *Vatican* towards *Milvius* Bridge.

Tulli [y] *jugera pauca Martialis*
Longo Janiculi jugo recumbunt.

3. Lastly, Tho' this Author was too credulous, yet we can't dispute his Ability to reckon the Bridges of *Rome*, and being certain of the Names they bore; that of *Adrian* was called the *Jews Bridge*. This was no new thing: And since we know they always lived beyond the *Tyber*, we are to seek for 'em there, rather than on Mount *Janiculus*.

XIII. The Jews also were settled in the best Part of *Rome*, in the *Valley Egeria*, called at present *Caffarello*. A little Rivulet called *Almon* runs into this Valley; in which the ancient Gaulish Priests annually washed the Statue of *Cybele*.

Et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybelem.

'Tis still called [z] *Acqua Santa*, the *Holy-water*, because it is a Mineral, and useful to cure Beasts and Men. Here was the Cave of the Goddess *Egeria*, where *Numa* pretended to have secret Conferences with this Nymph. Here was the *Wood of the Muses*, and whether or no this Wood was neglected, it was let out to the Jews, which drew 'em into this Place with a great number of Beggars of the same Nation, that flock'd thither to beg. *Juvenal* speaks so positively of it, that the thing can't be disputed.

Sed [a] *dum tota domus Rhedâ componitur unâ,*
Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam.
Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ,
Nunc sacri fontis nemus, & delubra locantur
Judæis, *quorum cophini fœnumque supellex;*
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, & ejectis mendicat sylva Camœnis
In vallem Egeriæ descendimus & speluncas.

'Tis pretended, that this change of Habitation happen'd after the ruin of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, because the Jews were in much greater Honour at *Rome*, whilst their Religion was in force; but the number of Captives and miserable People brought by *Titus* into the Capital of the Empire, made 'em contemptible; and they were sent to beg out of the Capene Gate, which was at a great distance from the *Vatican*, and they Farm'd the Wood that was there to try to get a Livelihood. This Conjecture is most likely. Nevertheless we must observe, that the Jews did not quit the *Vatican* to go and dwell at *Caffarello*; for those who lived beyond the *Tyber*, and were rich and considerable, had no need to change their Habitation to turn Wood-cutters. The ruin of *Jerusalem* did not destroy their Privileges, nor the Settlements which they had made before And therefore *Juvenal*, who places 'em without the Gate *Capena*, speaks also of those that dwelt beyond the *Tyber*. Therefore they were only Beggars and Wood-cleavers, that rented the Wood, and went to possess that part of the City; the other being too small and too full to receive all the Refugees from *Judæa*, that came or were brought thither after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

This observation is very perplexing to the Relick-Hunters; for here we have Jews, precisely seated in the two Places, that abounds most with Relicks. No Body is ignorant how they are found in heaps in the *Appian way*. Here it was [b] that *Jesus Christ* appeared to St. *Peter* to oblige him to return to *Rome*. Here we find those famous Catacombes full of Bodies and Martyrs. Whereas if the Jews buried their Dead in these *Grotto*'s, from whence Sand had been dug, how are we to distinguish 'em at this Day? To say that the Jews carried their Bodies to the *Vatican* is to make 'em cross the whole City at their Funerals without Necessity, and against all probability; for since these Mendicants and Wood-cutters found subterraneous Places, where they might deposite their Dead without trouble and charge, how can we imagine that they were at a great Expence to go far for a Burying-place, which they had at their very Door? We must not wonder if there be such a prodigious quantity of Bones and Bodies in this Place, since the Jews, who buried there their Dead, inhabited there so long; and 'tis their Carcasses heaped one upon another that have been taken from the *Appian* Way. There let us leave the dead Bodies of the Jews; 'tis however true, that they dwelt at *Caffarello* as well as on the *Vatican*.

XIV. Lastly, The Jews liv'd in the Isle of the *Tyber*, near the *Fabritian* Bridge. This Island was made, as is pretended, by the heaps of Sheafs of Wheat

[x] Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, apud Montfaucon Diar. Ital. 284, 289, 297. &c. [y] Martial. Ep l. 1. [z] Nardini Roma vetus, l. 2. c. 3. p. 578. Olai Borrichii Antiqua Urbis Romanæ facies, c. 3. In Thesauro Antiquit. Roman. Grævii, t. IV. p. 1531, & 1532. [a] Juvenal. Sat. 3. [b] V. Aringhus Rom. Subt. l. 2. c. 21, 22.

which were thrown into the *Tyber*, out of ſpite to *Tarquin* the Proud, who was expell'd. It was at firſt Conſecrated to *Eſculapius*, becauſe his Statue had been brought thither; but afterwards a Temple to *Jupiter* was built on it. *Ovid* has deſcribed it in his Verſes.

Scinditur [c] *in geminas partes circumfluus amnis,*
Inſula nomen habet, laterumque à parte duorum
Porrigit æquales mediâ tellure lacertos.
Quod [d] *tamen ex ipſis licuit mihi dicere Faſtis,*
Sacravere patres hæc duo Templa die.
Accepit Phœbo Nymphâque coronide natum
Inſula dividua, quam proruit amnis, aqua
Jupiter in parte eſt. Cœpit locus unus utrumque,
Junctaque ſunt magno Templa nepotis avo.

To join this Iſland to the City, a Bridge was made and called *Fabricius*:

Atque [e] *à Fabricio non triſtem ponte reverti.*

The Jews [f] at preſent inhabit this Iſle of the *Tyber* near the *Fabrician Bridge*, which they call the *Four-headed Bridge*, becauſe of ſome Statue of *Janus*. But this removal did not happen till they were driven from the *Vatican*, which became a Holy Place by the Preference which the Popes gave it before other Parts of the City. If any one will have 'em to have a fourth Allotment in the *Janiculus* where is the *Field of the Jews*, I have nothing to ſay againſt it; but it muſt be owned, that they have liv'd there but a little time, and in the latter Ages; and we have no proof of it, ſince there is nothing more uncertain and falſe than the old Mens Traditions.

XV. They were ſettled in the reſt of *Italy* in *Auguſtus*'s time; for *Cicero* obſerves, that they ſent their Tributes to *Jeruſalem*, not only from *Rome*, but alſo from the other Cities of *Italy*. They were generally Poor. *Martial* makes them dealers in Matches; which they did not ſell for Money, but traffick'd for broken Glaſſes.

Urbanus [g] *tibi Cæcili, videris*
Non es, crede mihi, quid ergo? Vernaes,
Hoc quod Tranſtyberinus ambulator
Qui pallentia Sulphurata fractis
Permutat vitreis.

It can't be doubted, but theſe Glaſſes relate to the Jews, tho' they are not named, ſince this Poet repeats the ſame thing, in reproaching their Mothers with accuſtoming their Children betimes, to hold out their Hand and beg.

A matre doctus nec rogare Judæus
Nec ſulphuratæ lippus inſitor mercis.

Juvenal [h] makes 'em ſtill more ſordid. He ſeems at leaſt to make them Well-cleanſers, and Gold-finders, as if they had practiſed this Trade from the time of their Captivity in *Egypt*, and had appropriated it ever ſince. But 'tis more probable, that this Poet only taxes them with being Beggers and Miſerable. They lay upon Hay, and ſerv'd in carraying Earth, and cutting the Wood of the Goddeſs *Egeria* they had rented.

Cum dedit ille locum Cophino [i] *fœnoq; relicto*
Arcanæ Judæa tremens.

XVI. *Tiberius* declar'd himſelf an Enemy to the Jews at *Rome*, and deſigning to aboliſh their Religion in the Capital of the Empire, he ordered four Thouſand of theſe young Freed-Men to be carried into the Iſland of *Sardinia*, whoſe bad Air incommoded all the Colonies, that were ſent thither. *Tiberius* argued thus; *Either theſe Wretches will die, which will be no great loſs; or elſe they'll repreſs the Robbers that follow that practice in this Iſland.* This Reflection proves, that there were then a great many Jews at *Rome*, ſince four Thouſand of theſe Freed-Men were then found there that were able to bear Arms. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* ſay, that this Tranſportation was not ordered, till *Tiberius* had cauſed their Religion, and the *Egyptians* to be examined. *Joſephus* attributes this Exile to a Cauſe that is more ſcandalous to his Nation; for he relates, that a Rogue, who came from *Judæa*, and boaſted to be an Interpreter of the Law, and read Lectures in it, with three Aſſociates of the ſame Character, procured a conſiderable ſum of Money from *Fulvia*, a Jewiſh Proſelyte under pretence of ſending it to *Jeruſalem*; but they put this *Roman* Ladies Charity into their own Pockets. The Roguery being diſcovered, complaints were brought to *Tiberius*, who revenged the knavery of four Raſcals upon the Nation. On the contrary, *Philo* charges the diſgrace of this Colony upon *Sejanus*'s Calumnies. This Favourite perhaps uſed all the Reaſons we have alledged to render the Jews odious to his Maſter. But if one of theſe Hiſtorians is to be prefer'd before the other, it is the ſureſt way to follow *Philo*; becauſe *Tiberius* having recalled the Jews after *Sejanus*'s Death, 'tis evident, that this firſt Miniſter had a great hand in their Exile.

XVII. *Caligula* was as much againſt 'em as *Tiberius*. They had been the firſt to offer Sacrifices at *Jeruſalem* for his Proſperity, when they had the News of his Elevation; but this unhappy Prince reſolving to have Altars and Statues of his own, that he might have Sacrifices offered to him, and be ador'd as a God, he found no greater Enemies in all the Empire than the Jews, who only Worſhipped the Supream God, and paid no Religious Reſpect to any Creature. Some Heathens, who dwelt at *Jamnia*, having built an Altar of Brick in honour to this Prince, the Jews enraged at this Innovation, pull'd it down. Complaints were brought to *Capito*, the Receiver of the City and of all *Judæa*, who was cautious of offending *Caligula* in a thing which he laid ſo much to Heart. He ſupported thoſe that had built the Altar, and gave the Emperor an ill Character of the Jews, which he did not love before. One Circumſtance aggravated their Miſery. The Prince's two Favourites at that time were *Helicon* and *Apelles*; the firſt was a Slave that came from *Egypt*, and the ſecond who was born at *Aſcalon*, had been a Comedian; and both of 'em had brought from their Country a mortal hatred againſt the Jews. 'Tis no wonder that they gave him bad Councels, and that a Prince, already provoked, liſten'd to them with pleaſure. He order'd, that to repair the Fault they had committed, in pulling down the Brick Altar at *Jamnia*, a City where the Jews pretend that the *Sanhedrim* was already tranſlated, they ſhould place [k] in the Sanctuary of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, a Statue as high as a Coloſſus, cloath'd in Gold. *Petronius* the Governour of *Syria*, being charged with this Commiſſion, foreſaw that he could not execute it but by force. Where-

[c] Ovid. [d] Marliani Urbis Romæ Topograph. l. 5. c. 16, & 17. p. 183 Theſaur. Ant. Græv. t. 111. [e] Horat. [f] V. Famiani Nardini. Roma vetus, l. 8. c. 3. Ibid t. IV. p. 1443. Montfaucon. Diar. Italicum. [g] Martial. Ep. l. 1. Ep. 42. l. XII. 46. [h] Juven. Sat. III. & VI. [i] Cophinuis *is a Basket.* [k] An. 40.

fore

fore he came to *Ptolemais* with his Troops. The People, the Women and Children came to meet him, rending the Air with their Cries, and plucking the Hair from their Heads, and representing to *Petronius*, that without any design of taken Arms, it was impossible they should obey the Emperor, since their Religion could not dispence with it. *Petronius* wrote about it to *Caligula*, and a Deputation was sent to him; he suffered himself to be moved, especially at the Intreaty of *Agrippa*, whom he loved; but this suspension of his Anger did not last long, for the same Year he commanded a Statue to be made at *Rome* of gilt Brass, which he designed to have carried and placed in the Temple, when he went to *Jerusalem*. He wrote also to *Petronius* to inflict upon himself the Punishment that a Man deserved, that disobeyed his Master; but *Caligula* was kill'd before *Petronius* received his Letter. He had also given an ill reception to the Deputies of the Jews of *Alexandria*, who came to *Rome* to preserve their privilege of Denization, which they had long possessed in that great City; and to excuse themselves from setting up the Emperors Statues in all their *Oratories*. He imagined for a little time, that these People were more unfortunate than wicked, in not believing him *to be a God*. The Condition of the Jews at *Rome* was very deplorable, whilst these Deputies of their Nation came thither from all Parts, and the Emperor sometimes disgracefully dismiss'd 'em from his Court.

XVIII. *Dion*, [l] who must have known the Emperor *Claudius*, and the chief Events of his Reign, since he had studied them, says, that this Prince was *content to shut up the Synagogues of the Jews at Rome*, and durst not expell 'em tho' he design'd it; because he understood that it could not be done without danger, their numbers being grown considerable, notwithstanding *Caligula*'s Persecution. *Suetonius* [m] affirms on the contrary, that *Claudius* had *banished the Jews* from *Rome*, because their Leader *Chrestus* caused frequent Seditions there; and *Suetonius*'s Testimony agrees with the History of the *Acts*, [n] from which we learn, that St. *Paul* found *Priscilla* and *Aquila* who were fled to *Corinth*, because *Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome*.

'Tis easie to reconcile these two Historians by distinguishing the time, for *Claudius* contented himself the first Year of his Reign with depriving the Jews of the Exercise of their Religion at *Rome*, and shutting up their Synagogue. But they committed two Faults: 1. They would not obey him, but assembled in secret. 2. Christianity having penetrated into *Rome*, they had fervent Disputes among them about the *Messiah*; and *Claudius*, who did not love 'em, having born with these Commotions caused by the difference of Religions for six or seven Years, expell'd the People that only liv'd there by Toleration.

XIX. *Baronius* [o] could not bear, that *Suetonius* should accuse *Jesus Christ* of raising the Tumult at *Rome*, and causing the Jews there to be banished, He says, that the Historian attributes these Commotions to *Chrestus*, because his Disciples boasted of his Resurrection, and that the numerous Conversions which St. *Peter* made then at *Rome* by his Preaching, provoked the Fury of the Jews. He thinks too, that St. *Peter* was obliged to leave *Rome* in obedience to *Claudius*'s Edict; and that it was then that he passed into *Africa*, where he founded the Churches of *Carthage* and *Alexandria*. The Criticks thinking these Reflections of *Baronius* not solid, have found out in Medals, a Jew called *Chrestus*, who raised these Seditions at *Rome* in *Claudius*'s Reign.

They are all mistaken, because they will not be at the pains of explaining what *Suetonius* says of the Banishment of the Jews. The Jews fell into Divisions, when *Jesus Christ Crucified was preached* to them. Some looking upon him as the *Messiah*, and others rejecting him as an Impostor, who abolish'd the Law of *Moses*; the Disputes grew hot in the *Romish* Synagogues, as they had done before in those of *Judæa*. 'Twas not the victorious Preaching of St. *Peter*, that caused these Commotions in the *Italian* Synagogues; for he came not to *Rome* till *Nero*'s Reign; and the Voyages ascribed to this Apostle upon *Metaphrastes*'s Authority, to establish the Churches of *Carthage* and *Alexandria* are imaginary. For we confront with *Metaphrastes*, *Tertulian*, who owned, that the Churches of *Africa* were not founded by the Apostles. Nor was it a Jew, called *Chrestus*, who was Author of the Sedition; for 'tis in vain to produce a great number of Medals with the Name of *Chrestus*, not one of 'em speaks of a Jew, that bore it, living in *Claudius*'s Reign, and causing any disturbance at *Rome*. But *Suetonius* [p] a Heathen Writer, little acquainted with the Jewish Religion, and yet less with the Christian, thought that *Jesus Christ*, who was the occasion of the Dispute to be still alive. *Jesus Christ* died in *Judæa* a few Years before, far from the place where the Controversie began. 'Twas natural for a Heathen to be ignorant of the Circumstances of the Fact, and to believe that this *Christ* was an Incendiary among the Jews, since his Doctrine and his Apostles caused some Commotions. This was the Dispute, which occasioned the Emperor *Claudius* to banish People that could not agree, and that made a disturbance at *Rome* by Disputes about Religion.

XX. For an absolute justification of the Christians, *Josephus* is consulted for the occasion of this Banishment. He asserts, that a *Samaritan* inform'd *Quadratus*, that the Jews would rebel at the instigation of one *Dortus*, who designed to head 'em; and the Governour having punished the Guilty, sent two High-Priests Prisoners to *Rome*, to answer for their Conduct to the Emperor. Here you have a Commotion of the Jews, that *Claudius* might punish. But the Difficulty arising from *Suetonius*'s Testimony still remains; for he accuses the Christians of having a hand in it, and says their Master was the cause of the Tumult. Besides, 'tis inconceivable how a seditious Design, that was punish'd and prevented in *Judæa* could have occasioned the general Banishment of the Jews at *Rome*; so that ours seems to be a more natural and sound Conjecture.

XXI. *Orosius* [q] has been sufficiently censured, who too exactly copying *Eusebius*'s Chronicle has been guilty of several Faults about *Claudius*'s Reign, and has said that the Jews were banished in the Ninth Year of this Emperor, which is the XLIX. of the Christian *Æra*; for this event must have happen'd two Years later [r]. The Mathematicians were also expell'd out of all *Italy* at the same time by order of the Senate, whereas the Edict for Banishing the Jews, was given only by the Emperor himself, which facilitated their return.

[l] Dio. Cass. lib. 60. p. 768. [m] Suet. in Claud. l. 5. c. 25. p. 120. [n] Act. 18. [o] Baron. An. 51. p. 378. [p] Impulsore Christo Suet. p. 120. [q] V. Pearson. Ann. Paulini. p. 11. [r] An. 51.

For

For indeed they resettled themselves quickly after in this great City, and in *Nero*'s Reign enjoyed a full liberty of Conscience, and even some Authority; for St. *Paul* [t] arriving at that time to prosecute his *Appeal to Cæsar*, summoned the principal Persons of the Nation, to whom he would account for his Conduct, which proves, that there were not only Jews there, but a kind of a Council. We know also, that their Devotions were publick, and that they illuminated their Houses on Festival Days.

Herodis venere dies, unctâque fenestrâ
Dispositæ pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ.

Lastly, in the common Commerce of Life, they dealt with the *Romans*, but deceived 'em even in their Oaths, as thinking themselves not obliged to perform the Promises they had made in the Name of the Heathen Gods: And therefore *Martial* who knew their Artifice, cried; *Jura, verpe, per Anchialum.*

XXII. 'Tis not probable, that *Martial* makes the Jews swear by a Statue of *Sardanapalus*, that was set up at *Anchialus*, a City of *Cilicia*; but this Oath was common with the Jews, who called to witness the *Living God*. For these two words are precisely found in the Oath, that *Martial* requires היא chi Æl, *God lives*. The first Syllable, which causes the difficulty, Ana, אנא was in use, to express a lively and pressing Sentiment, or an Exclamation, as in the 118 *Psalm* [u]; *O God deliver us!* For so 'tis Translated in the *Syriack* Version, and ought to be Translated. This Oath is natural, Oh! *as God is living*, I will do such a thing. God himself swore often by his Life: 'Tis no wonder then, that *Martial*, who would be secure of the Fidelity of his Man, required this solemn Oath of him.

A Critick [x] of very copious Learning has thought, that *Martial* would make him swear by *Agialon*, which is a *Greek* word, by which he meant a God, *that loves the Banks*, and he gave this Epithete to the true God, because the Jews often performed their Devotions by the side of the Sea or River. He had made before another Conjecture, in which *Martial* opposed the Temple of God [y], to that of *Jupiter* the Thunderer, but he forsook it, tho' it was more probable than the other; or rather he suffered himself to be dazled by a new Thought, as if it might be said, that God loves the Shores, because *Tertullian* calls Prayers *Orationes littarales*, and that this Title was a Character of distinction from the false Heathen Gods; and that this Oath, of which we can find no instance, was so customary among the Jews, as to be known by a Heathen Poet. There is no doubt but this word signifies, *God lives*; and since it was the Oath of the Jews, we ought not to seek for other Conjectures. *Martial* desired of the Jews, who were numerous at *Rome* in *Titus* and *Domitian*'s Reign, that instead of swearing by *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which they afterwards laugh'd at, they would introduce the sacred Name of the God they Worshipp'd. *Ah! God is living: Jura verpe per Anchialum.*

XXIII. We shall pursue their History at *Rome*, when we shall have finished the general view of the Dispersions in the West, and shall here only observe two Things; one that the Synagogue of the Jews at *Rome* has some kind of Superiority over the rest. We find an Example of it in the last Century [z]; for *R. Nathaniel Tribotti* having advanced in his Treatise concerning the *Baths of Women*, some Propositions, that provoked the *Rabbins* to write against him, the Synagogue and Academy of *Rome* quieted the Storm by their decision, tho' it was in favour of *Tribotti*. I don't say this Superiority was founded upon any Right. It rose only from the Superiority of the City, and that in all Churches the most powerful is respected. 'Twas by this means, that the great Bishopricks have subjected the less, and that Christian *Rome* has raised it self above the other Seas.

We shall also observe, that *Rome* was a Nursery of the Jews, from whence they were transplanted into the rest of *Italy*; and from hence they spread into the Neighbouring Places. They sent their Alms to *Jerusalem*; not only from *Rome*, but also from the other Cities of *Italy*. They had therefore noted Establishments; and we shall see in the Sequel, that they have been very considerable at *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Bolonia* and *Ferrara*, and in all the Ecclesiastical Territories.

[t] Act. 28. [u] Pers. Sat. 5. [x] Ps. 118. 25. אנא יהוה הושיעה *and* David *repeats the same thing*, אנא יהוה *O God save! O God send Prosperity!* [y] Lemoyne Var Sacr. t. 2. p. 85. היכל יה Heical Jah. *Templum est Juramentum per Templum Dei.* [z] An. 1644.

CHAP. VII.

The Antiquity of the Jews in Spain, Germany, France, *&c.*

I. Marsham's *Conjecture about the Jews passing into the West, confuted.* II. Adoniram's *Epitaph. An Officer of* Solomon *found in* Spain. III. *Whether this Prince sent his Fleets thither.* IV. *These Conjectures refuted.* V. *Whether* Nebuchadnezar *Conquered* Spain. Obadiah's *Prophecy.* VI. *This Prophecy only respects the return to the Holy Land. Errors concerning the Name of* Sepharad. VII. *A Fiction concerning the Conquest of* Spain. VIII. Nebuchadnezar *only conquered the Asiatick* Iberea. IX. *The Arguments of the* Spanish *Jews confuted.* X. *Whether* Titus *transported only the Tribe of* Judah *into* Spain. XI. *The* Spaniards *Pretensions against the other Jews confuted. Their Settlement in this Country.* XII. *The Letter of the Jews of* Ulm *spurious.* XIII. *Another Letter of those of* Worms *concerning their Antiquity.* XIV. *Their Settlement at* Triers *and* Cologne *very ancient.* XV. *They were little known for many Ages.* XVI. *Their Passage into* Poland. XVII. *Into* France.

I. THE famous *Marsham* went too far when he maintained that the Jews first began to be talked of in *Europe*, when they were expell'd out of the East in 1040, and that they pass'd from thence into *France*, and the Neighbouring Countries; for not to speak of the Laws of *Constantine*, which relate to the Jews of *Triers* and *Cologne*, the Councils of *Elvira* and *Toledo* made a great many Ordinances against the Jews of *Spain*. They were numerous and formidable there, and had famous Doctors long before the Eleventh Century. The *Spanish Rabbins* run into another Extream, in

in pretending to be in this Country, which they call *Sepharad*, a great many Ages before the Destruction of *Jeruſalem*; which thing we ſhall examine.

II. Firſt they produce monumental Inſcriptions, proving that *Spain*, which was ſubject to *Solomon*, paid him Tribute, and that this Prince ſent Officers every Year to gather it. One would think that they ſhould not have thought of engraving Fables upon Stones and Tombs. But yet in the Year 1480, a Body was diſcovered at *Sagunto* of an extraordinary ſize, and upon the Stone that covered it were engraven theſe Hebrew Characters [a]:

זהואבבר ארונירם עבר המלר חשלמו שבא
לגבת את המס ונפטר יוס

This is the Tomb of Adoniram, *an Officer of King* Solomon, *who came to raiſe the Tribute, and died the Day* .....

Upon ſearch after this Monument it could not be produced; but 'tis no wonder it ſhould be broken in a Hundred and Fifty Years time. Nevertheleſs they have preſerved many Manuſcripts in *Spain* relating to this Event, and the *Hebrew* Inſcription is Tranſlated in theſe words [b]:

De Adoniram la foſſa es eſta, que vigne Salomo del Reſervent dia, y mori Tribut lo Pera Rebre.... falta la piedra, that is, *the Stone is wanting.*

Here is nothing repugnant to Scripture; for we find in *Salomon*'s Hiſtory, one *Adoniram* a Commiſſioner in the receipt of Cuſtoms. And therefore *Villalpand* concludes from hence, that the Jews in *Solomon*'s Time were ſpread over *Spain* and the whole World; and that from thence came the Preſents and Treaſures, he employed in the building of the Temple. He confirms this by another Jewiſh Monument found in the ſame City of *Sagunto*, and ſtill ſhewn in his time, the Epitaph whereof in *Hebrew* Characters ran thus: *This is the Sepulchre of* Oran Naban, *the Governour, who rebelled againſt his Maſter. God ſupported him, and his Glory laſted till the Reign of* Amaziah.

III. Some Criticks pretend, that *Solomon* ſent his Fleets to *Spain*, and ſo there would be no difficulty in it; for the Jews who were in this Fleet muſt needs have conſiderable Settlements in *Andaluſia*. An ancient *Greek* Author affirms, that there was ſuch prodigious Wealth in *Spain*, that they made uſe of *Silver Mangers and Casks*. *Caſaubon*, who could not believe it, changed the Mangers into *Floors*. But this change is not ſufficient: He ſhould alſo have ſtruck out the Account of Silver *Casks*, which are no leſs ſurprizing than the *Mangers*; or rather he ſhould have made uſe of *Strabo*'s Obſervation, who gives us to underſtand, that *Poſidonius* [c] who ſays it, was ſubject to great Hyberboles. Nevertheleſs 'tis true, that *Spain* contained Mettals enough to furniſh *Solomon* with that abundance he had occaſion for in building the Temple:

After [d] *avarus*
Viſceribus laceræ telluris mergitur imis,
Et redit infœlix effoſſo concolor auro.

There was in the Streights near *Hercules*'s Pillars, a City called *Tarſis*; and this *Spaniſh* City built by the *Phenicians*, was doubtleſs known in *Solomon*'s time, as well as in *Jehoſaphat*'s Reign. Laſtly, The Three Years time that was ſpent in the Navigation, ought not to ſurprize us; for as they were not well experienced, they coaſted along the Shores inſtead of venturing into the open Sea.

IV. This evidently countenances the Jews Antiquity in *Spain*; but for all this, it has no good Foundation. For tho' *Adoniram*'s Tomb ſhould be preſerved entire, yet it would ſtill be falſe, that *Solomon* had made *Spain* pay Tribute to him; and the Inference we make from it, is, that we ought not raſhly to believe theſe Monuments, which Impoſtors have taken pleaſure to bury to impoſe upon the Ignorant. The ſending Fleets into *Spain* has much more probability. But Mr. *Bochart* has demonſtrated, that theſe Ships did not ſet out from the *Mediterranean*, but from the *Perſian* Gulf. From thence they went to the *Indies*, and could not paſs into *Spain*. We muſt therefore give up this Jewiſh Colony ſent into this Country in *Solomon*'s Time, and reject the pretended Monuments that the Biſhop [e] of *Mantua* has produced to prove it. The ſecond Monument found in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, runs thus; *Lament bitterly the great Captain, that God has taken from* Amaziah. *Villalpand* relates it otherwiſe; *This is the Sepulchre of Oran Nabat, Lieutenant* [f], *who revolted againſt his Prince; God ſupported him, and his Glory laſted till the* ..... *of* Amaziah. But theſe Monuments are very uncertain or falſe.

V. From *Solomon* they came down to *Nebuchadnezar*, who having carried his *Conqueſts into Spain*, brought the Jews along with him, and accompliſh'd *Obadiah*'s Prophecy, [g] by whoſe Mouth God promiſed, *That the Captivity of the Hoſt of the Children of Iſrael ſhould poſſeſs that of the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath, and the Captivity of Jeruſalem ſhould poſſeſs that which is in Sepharad.* The *Canaanites* are *Germany*, *Zarephath*, *France* and *Sepharad* [h], *Spain*. If you ask why the Jews call *Spain Sepharad*, they will tell you, that *Sepharad* and *Spain* are conſider'd as the Extremity of the World. And indeed it was not believed poſſible to go beyond *Hercules*'s Pillars; here the Sun quenched its Flames in the Sea, and the World ended.

In [i] *extremos aciem mittebat Iberos.*

St. *Jerom* [k] had learnt from a *Rabbin*, that it was the *Boſphorus*, and pretended, that *Adrian* had conveyed a great many Jews thither, who ſhould one Day return to poſſeſs the Lands *of the South*, in the Neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*. In the mean time theſe two Countries were at a very great diſtance, and in all appearance, the Prophet meant neither one nor the other.

VI. For indeed when we examine this Prophecy, without Prejudice and Intereſt, we find, that God here promiſed his People to reſtore 'em to the *Holy Land*; in which are all the Places noted by the Prophet. Here [l] we find the Territory *of Ephraim*, *that of Samaria*, *and the Country of Gilead*. Here we find the *Canaanites*, that could not be driven out of the Lands of *Sidon* and *Zarephath*, ſince they were ſtill there in our Saviour's time. There is no need therefore of ſubſtituting the *Germans* for the *Canaanites*, and *France* for the little City *Sarepta*. There only remains the Name of *Sepharad* unknown: But the LXX. remove the Difficulty, by Tranſlating

[a] Villalpand, t. 2. p. 544. [b] Villalpand Explan. in Ezech. l. v. Diſp. 3. c. 58 t. 2. p. 544. [c] *Φαλναις he underſtands Φαλαιμαλα.* Poſidon apud Strabonem, l. 3. p. 155. [d] Sil. Ital. l. 1. v. 228. [e] Gonzago apud Villalp. [f] Hottinger de Cyppis Hebraicis. Nicolai de Sep. Hebræor Villalp. in Ezech. c. 20. 4. ibid. [g] Obadiah v. 20. [h] *Tis in* Obadiah בספרד *Biſepharad in Sepharad. The Jew has made one word of it, which he calls the* Boſphorus. [i] Claudian. [k] Jerom in Obad. v. 20. p. 222. [l] V. 19.

it

it *Ephrata*; which Interpreters being more ancient than the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt, and *Aquila*, having ſo read it in their Copies, which might have been alter'd ſince, we ought to follow them. 1. We can't ſee how *Spain* can be found in the midſt of all the Cities of *Judæa*. On the other hand, why muſt we quit the *Holy Land*, whereof the Prophet ſpeaks, to to go in queſt of a *Sepharad* in the *Streights*, which is known only by the Modern Jews? 2. 'Twas an Error of the Ancients, to think *Spain* the end of the World; but tho' it ſhould be true, it can't be hence concluded that *Sepharad* was this Country. 3. The Prophecy was accompliſhed at the return of the Captivity under *Cyrus*; for the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* took the Cities of the South, and the other Tribes, ſome part of which return'd, re-peopled the places noted by the Prophet, and they were all thus ſettled under *Herod* the Great, and in our Saviour's time.

VII. The ſecond Suppoſition, that *Nebuchadnezzar* conquer'd *Spain*, is ſomewhat better grounded than the foregoing, becauſe [m] *Megaſthenes* affirms, that *This Prince who was eſteemed by the Orientals, had penetrated as far as* Hercules *Pillars*. He [n] ſaid alſo, that *Nebuchadnezzar had Conquered* Africa *and* Iberia, *and had carried their Inhabitants into* Pontus. The Jewiſh Hiſtorians boldly relate, that *Nebuchadnezzar* Beſieged *Jeruſalem* with a great many Allies, that lent him their Troops: One of the chief of 'em was *Hiſpanus*, who gave the Name to *Spain*, who march'd with his Son in Law *Pyrrhus* King of the *Greeks*. The City being taken, there was no difficulty in dividing the Booty and the Priſoners, becauſe the City was ſeparated by three Walls. *Nebuchadnezzar*, for his ſhare, took the Workmen, *&c.* that inhabited the ſecond Wall, and gave *Pyrrhus* all thoſe that dwelt between the ſecond and the third Wall of the City. That was exactly [o] the reſidence of the Houſe of *David* and the Prieſts. *Pyrrhus* brought this multitude of Royal and Sacerdotal Priſoners to *Andaluſia*, and from thence to *Toledo*. The Poſterity of *David* removed to *Sevil*, and to the Kingdom of *Granada*.

VIII. But not to obſerve, that *Megaſthenes* a fabulous Hiſtorian, in the ſame place, makes *Nebuchandezar* a Prophet, and relates the pretended Oracle he ſpoke concerning the Birth of a Mule [p], who was to overthrow the *Perſian* Monarchy; 'tis very probable he took the *European Iberia* for the *Aſiatick*, or *Spain* for *Georgia*, which went by the ſame Name. And thus the Jews committing the ſame Fault, ſay *Thubal Peopled Sepharad* or *Spain*; but according to *Joſephus*, the Poſterity of this Patriarch were the *Iberians* ſeated near the *Caſpian Sea*. This Conqueſt ſuited better with *Nebuchadnezzar*, than that of *Spain*, which was too remote for his Expedition; and tho' he ſhould have conquer'd it, yet it does not appear from any Paſſage of Sacred or Prophane Hiſtory, that he carried the Jews thither, and their Hiſtory of *Hiſpanus* is a Romance.

IX. Nevertheleſs they affirm, that the *Gothick* Kings acknowledged this Truth, even when they made Laws againſt 'em; for they order'd them to be written in the ancient Language of *Spain*, which was grown out of uſe in their Reign, that the Jews, who had been a long time there, and ſpoke it ſtill, might underſtand them, and might not ſhelter their Diſobedience under the pretence of invincible Ignorance. As they were apprehenſive, that *Ferdinand* the Catholick and his Clergy would revenge upon them their Anceſtors Cruelty to *Jeſus Chriſt*, they produced an ancient Monument of the City *Toledo*, which they ſaid had been erected by order of a Biſhop, importing, that the Jews, the ancient Inhabitants of this City, had never left it, whilſt the ſecond Temple ſtood, which is a Confirmation, that they retired thither upon the ruin of the firſt, and in *Nebuchadnezzar*'s time.

But theſe ancient and publick Monuments, which ſeem to afford a manifeſt proof are nevertheleſs deceitful. Thoſe, that ſee 'em laid, can't forbear laughing; and when the Air has fretted and defaced 'em, they begin to be reverenc'd, and conſider'd as demonſtrative Proofs of the truth of an Event. 'Tis with theſe Monuments, as with Faſhions, Titles, uſurped by upſtart Nobles, or ſuch as Fortune exalts above the Condition of their Birth. People ridicule the vanity of the Uſurpers. In the mean time old Age comes on, and a Generation paſſes over, and People forget what they have often ſeen; the Matter falls into the dark, and a ridiculous Title in its Birth, grows afterwards the Glory of a Houſe, and no Body dares diſpute it. 'Tis no wonder, that the Jews produce this Monument of *Toledo*, ſince many Chriſtians have been miſled by it, and yield to the Jews their boaſted Antiquity. They even call in the Sacred Writers to their aſſiſtance, and maintain that St. *Luke* relating that *Jews of every Nation* were ſeen at *Jeruſalem* on the Day of Pentecoſt, meant thoſe that had *dwelt in Spain* a long time before. In the mean time the Jews, who were devoted to the Promiſed Land, ſeldom left it to ſettle themſelves, and plant Colonies in other places. Thoſe that were carried to *Babylon* continu'd there, or returned to their Country after the Captivity; and at leaſt 'tis ridiculous to bring 'em in Multitudes out of *Chaldea* into *Spain*.

X. We muſt come down as low as *Titus* or *Adrian*, who having driven moſt of the Inhabitants from *Judæa*, obliged 'em to find new Countries. Their Chronicle ſays, that *Veſpaſian* carried many Families into *Sepharad*, which is *Spain*. *Abravanel* makes their number to amount to *Fifty Thouſand* amongſt which were two of the Houſe of *David*, which always reigned over the reſt. *Abravanel*, thought he proceeded from one of theſe Families. And therefore *R. Menaſſeh*, that was ſo famous in the laſt Century, and had Married in this Family, ſtrenuouſly attempted to prove its Empire over the Nation both in *Spain* and *France*. In King *Alphonſo*'s Conference, *Thomas* the Advocate of the Synagogue, purſuant to this Prejudice, maintain'd that the *Roman* Emperor, who deſtroy'd *Jeruſalem*, ſent Forty Thouſand Families of the Tribe of *Judah*, and Ten Thouſand of that of *Benjamin* into *Spain*. Here you have *Abravanel*'s Fifty Thouſand Families. But he adds, that thoſe of the Tribe of *Benjamin* went into *France*; ſo that all the *Spaniſh* Jews are of the Royal Race, and of the Tribe of *Judah*, Laſtly, We are told that the *Gothick* Kings deſcended from *Gad*, one of the Sons of *Jacob*; one of his Poſterity having gone to *Rome*, where he had been Conſul, and his Family being ſettled in the North. But 'tis eaſie to overthrow all theſe Prejudices of the *Spaniſh* Jews, who have borrowed the vain-glorious Genius of the Country where they flouriſh'd; and who pretend to deſcend from the Blood Royal, or from the firſt Tribe, tho' they have no diſtinguiſhing Character to raiſe 'em above their Brethren.

XI. Indeed but one of theſe four Things can be ſaid, 1. That many of *Herod*'s Retinue who died in *Spain*, whither he was baniſhed, continued there after his Death; and that this was the firſt Original of the Jews of this Country. It would be more

[m] Apud Strabonem, l. 3. [n] Apud Euſeb. Chron. Græc. l. 1. p. 41. [o] Solomon Ben. Virgæ, p. 41. [p] Cyrus.

conſiderable

conſiderable, were it true, that *Herod* made himſelf Maſter of all *Spain*, and drove out the King of it, who was guilty of Inceſt with his Siſter-in-Law. But could a Baniſhed King become a Conqueror in the *Roman* Empire? Beſides all the Courtiers, who had a kindneſs for this Tetrarch of *Galilee*, were not of the Tribes of *Benjamin* or *Judah*, or of the Race of *David:* They were rather *Galileans*, who followed their Prince, and whom the great Diſtance and Troubles that began to ariſe, hindered from returning Home. 2. When *Jeruſalem* was taken 'twas full of Strangers intermixed with the Citizens. Some came from all the Parts of *Judæa*, and others were *Parthians*, *Elamites*, *Medes*; in a word, they were the diſperſed of all the Nations, who came to celebrate the Paſſover at *Jeruſalem*. Did *Titus* then diſtinguiſh theſe diſperſed from the two Tribes of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, leſt the Families ſhould be confounded? This was the leaſt of his Thoughts. *Joſephus* affirms, that this Prince ſold the Jews like Beaſts in a Market. So that he not only made no diſtinction of the Tribes, to convey ſome into *Spain* and others elſewhere, but he confounded the Priſoners, who had the Fate of Beaſts brought to a Fair, which Dealers from Different Parts that buy 'em, ſeparate and carry away without diſtinction. Laſtly, Would a Colony of Fifty Thouſand Families ſettled in one and the ſame Place, have eſcaped *Joſephus*'s diligence? The Heathen Hiſtorians have mentioned, that which *Tiberius* ſent into the Iſle of *Sardinia*, which was but of Four Thouſand Jews; and could *Joſephus* who was zealous for his Nation's Glory, have forgotten a Colony of above Three Hundred Thouſand Perſons, ſent by *Titus* in a Body into one Place! He had better have recorded this Event in his Hiſtory, than a general Sale, that involves the Nation into Shame and Confuſion. 3. The Tribes were totally confounded in *Adrian*'s Time. At *Jeruſalem* there were left only ſome miſerable Remains of the Tribe of *Judah*. They were Families of all the Tribes, that returned to ſettle there to ſerve the *Roman* Garriſon, and took advantage of ſome Intervals of Reſt. This Prince did not muſter up Forty Thouſand Families of *Judah*, and Ten Thouſand of *Benjamin*, to make a National Body, and aſſign 'em a part of *Spain*; and he muſt be ignorant of this Prince's manner of treating the Jews, who talks thus. 4. Since there was no Colony ſent by order of *Titus* or *Adrian*, there remains but one Option to make, which is the only true one, in confeſſing that ſome Jews, that had weather'd the Storm, finding no receſs nor ſecurity in *Judæa*, went into *Spain*, as to other Places of the *Roman* Empire, where they could get their Bread; or elſe they were conveyed thither by the Maſters that bought 'em, and gave 'em their Liberty. But then it muſt be owned, that the *Spaniſh* Jews have no other advantage above the reſt, but that of being Richer, and more Powerful. And the Empire of the *Abravanels* is diſputed in the Nation as well as that of the other Branch, that goes by the Name of the *Children of David*; and ſome Doctors affirm this Family was extinct in *Spain* in the Twelfth Century.

One thing is certain, that the Jews had Settlements in *Spain* ſoon after the Birth of Chriſtianity, ſince the Council [q] of *Elvira*, one of the moſt ancient that was held, was obliged to make many Acts againſt them.

XII. The *Germans* boaſt as well as the *Spaniards* of having come into *Germany* before the ruin of their Temple, and in the Year 1348, was found at *Ulm* the Original of the Letter, that was written to 'em from *Jeruſalem*, to acquaint them with the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which was this; *To the Jews, that are at* Ulm, *in* Suabia, *Greeting.* "We have reaſon to return Thanks to God, who has delivered us from a great Affliction; for we acquaint you, that *Jeſus* the *Nazarene*, the Son of *Joſeph*, is Dead. We could no longer bear his Blaſphemies; we impeached him to the *Roman Prætor*, who received our Accuſation, and cauſed him to be Scourged and Crucified according to his Merits. He has alſo put his Diſciples to flight; God have you in his keeping". This Letter is fictitious: The Impoſtor took care not to write it in *Hebrew* Characters, ſince his deſign was to precipitate the ruin of the Jews at *Ulm*, by making them odious. It was uſeleſs in a ſtrange Language, which neither the Prieſts nor People underſtood.

XIII. But thoſe of *Worms* pretend to have given good Proofs to the Emperor, and the States of the Empire, that they had no hand in our Saviour's Crucifixion, and that from time immemorial [r] they have been ſettled in this City, which is the reaſon they have been granted Privileges, which others are deprived of. 'Twas with this view they have inſerted in the *Toldos Jeſchu* [s] the Extract of a Letter, which the Sanhedrim of *Worms* writ to the King of *Judæa*, to diſſuade him from putting *Jeſus Chriſt* to Death. *Let alone this Jeſus; and don't kill him; let him be fed till he contracts ſome ſtain, and defile himſelf.* Mr. *Huldrich*, who has publiſhed this Treatiſe, and illuſtrated it with very learned Notes, obſerves, that the Expreſſion is taken from Animals, that were offered in Sacrifice to God, and about which they had any doubt or ſuſpicion of Impurity. It was not lawful to kill this Animal, nor to eat it. It was carefully fed, till ſome ſtain of defilement was obſerved in it. The Jews of *Worms* were for having *Jeſus Chriſt* left to deſtroy himſelf, and to incur Death by ſome Crime or other: But he adds, that the Author has inſerted this Extract to render the Inhabitants of *Worms* odious to his Nation.

On the contrary I am perſuaded, that the Author of this Book, which is full of Blaſphemies, was a Member of the Synagogue of *Worms*, whoſe Prejudices he has ſeconded to ingratiate it more and more to the Emperor's Protection. For if the Synagogue boaſted of its protecting *Jeſus Chriſt*, that it might be leſs odious, the Writer muſt have had the ſame view: If this Account brought 'em under the diſpleaſure of the other Jews, it was ſufficiently recompenc'd by the Protection of Chriſtian Princes, which they pretended to procure by it.

The inſtance produced of a Rabbaniſt, who makes the Karaites ſay, that *Jeſus approved their Doctrine, that he would oblige his Diſciples to receive their Rites, and that he was killed through Malice to the Law of* Moſes, is very different, becauſe it attributes to the *Karaites* and *Jeſus Chriſt* the ſame Opinions, and makes but a very little difference betwixt 'em, concerning the manner of the Reſurrection; whereas the *Rabbin* of *Worms* aſcribes only to his Anceſtors the wiſe Counſel of *Gamaliel* on a like occaſion: *Let 'em alone, for if this Work be of Men it will come to nought.*

It ſignifies little to gueſs at the intention of this Writer. 'Tis enough to obſerve the prejudice of the Jews of *Worms*, who pretend to have been in this Country before the Deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, and to have had a Council there ſo venerable, as to be conſulted by the King of the Jews, about Affairs of Importance, which is evidently falſe. They have ſuch another pretence of Antiquity in the Dioceſs of *Mersbourg*; for they ſay; that they were

[q] Concil. Illiber. Can. 49, 50, 78. [r] Wagenſ. Lipman. Confut. t. 2. p. 215. [s] Huldric. Toldos Jeſchu Hiſt. Jeſu, p. 82.

were ſettled there immediately after the taking of *Jeruſalem*; but they produce no proof of it.

XIV. We only know, that they were at *Triers* and *Cologne* in *Adrian*'s time; and made ſuch a conſiderable Figure there in *Conſtantine*'s Reign, that the Emperor put out an Edict [t], by which he permitted the Magiſtrates of *Cologne* to take the Jews into the Exerciſe of the Magiſtracy, and to make 'em *Decurions*. This Edict the Interpreters of the Laws have thought [u] very ambiguous. It ſeems to be a Confirmation of that of *Alexander Severus*, who to gratifie the Jews, gave 'em liberty to enter into Civil Offices, without practiſing any ſuperſtition, that wounded their Conſciences. As *Severus*'s Edict was irrevocable, and People look upon it as an Honour to come into Offices, it has been thought, that *Conſtantine*'s Edict ratified that of *Severus*, and that it was favourable to the Jews, ſince he gave 'em leave to be *Decurions*. But this Prince had a quite different meaning. There are Seaſons in which Offices are burthenſome; and ſuch were the *Decurions* at *Cologne* and *Triers*, and over all the Empire. The Teſtimony [x] of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who taxes *Julian* with aboliſhing the Privileges of thoſe that thought themſelves exempt from this Office, is an undeniable Proof of it. 'Twas at the requeſt of the Magiſtrates of theſe two Cities, who complained that the Inhabitants were oppreſs'd, and the Jews exempted from the burthen of being *Decurions*, that *Conſtantine* declar'd, they might be made *Decurions*; which Conjecture is ſo true, that *Conſtantine* does not grant it as a favour, but permits and authorizes the Magiſtrates to chooſe ſome Perſons of the Synagogue to bear Offices, and deprives the Jews of the liberty of refuſing them. Beſides he made other Laws, by which he exempted the Jews, who were in Office in the Synagogue from accepting thoſe in the State; a manifeſt Argument, that he looked upon the neceſſity of accepting Offices as a burthen, and the liberty of refuſing them as an advantageous Privilege. *Conſtantine* therefore voided the *irrevocable Edict* of *Severus*, and ſubjected the *German* Jews to the neceſſities of the State, which ſhews they were numerous and powerful in this Country in *Severus* and *Conſtantine*'s Reign.

XV. 'Tis true, the Jews in the following Ages made ſo little a Figure in *Germany*, as hardly to be known. Which is no wonder; for theſe ſpacious and vaſt Countries being Peopled with barbarous Nations, were ſcarce fit for the Commerce of Strangers. However it is manifeſt, they maintain'd themſelves at *Triers* and *Cologne*, where they had ſettled betimes. From thence they ſpread into other Places, proportionably as the Nations grew civiliz'd. They were already ſo numerous in *Bohemia*, in the Tenth Century, as to do a conſiderable Service to the old Inhabitants, by joining with 'em in the Expulſion of the Robbers; and 'twas by way of Gratitude for this remarkable piece of Service, that they had granted them the liberty of a Synagogue at *Prague*.

XVI. The diſperſion [y], that happened in the Eaſt in the following Century, contributed to their Multiplication in this Country and the Neighbouring Kingdoms, as *Hungary* and *Poland*. *Villalpand* [z] makes 'em much ancienter in the latter; becauſe he had learnt from the Poliſh Embaſſador at *Naples*, that they had opened a Tomb, wherein they found a Body of ſuch a prodigious bulk, that the Ring on his Finger might ſerve for a Bracelet, and come upon the Arm of another Man. This Tomb was that of a Jew, who repoſed there ever ſince the happy and flouriſhing times of the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*; for a great many Sheckels were found of Silver, as generally the Jews are; and ſince *Agrippa aſſerted, that this Nation had penetrated far into* Pontus, *it ought not to be doubted but it had paſſed into* Poland, long before the Birth of Chriſtianity; theſe Arguments are ſo feeble, that 'tis ſtrange that any Man of ſenſe ſhould offer 'em.

XVII. The Jews muſt alſo be very ancient among the *Gauls* ſince *Xiphilin* ſpeaks of a Jewiſh Orator, who haranguing *Tiberius* in the Name of his Nation, put him into ſuch a Paſſion, that he cauſed him to be thrown into the *Tyber*. This Orator was a *Gaul* by Birth. However, they did not appear ſo ſoon in *France*, unleſs we will comprehend in its limits *Triers* and *Cologne*, which were part of *Belgick-Gaul*. I don't know whether leaving *Judæa*, they came thither by *Marſeilles*, but they were not much known before the Affair of *Cæſarius*. They went ſtill later into *England*. However, they have had in theſe Places Synagogues and Academies, and Men of Fame, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the following Hiſtory.

[t] An. 312. An. 321. An. 331. [u] Cod. Theod. l. 16. t. 118. l. 2, 3, 4. p. 220. [x] Ammian. l. 25. c. 5. p. 463. [y] An. 597. Ganz. Tſemach. David. l. 2. p. 181. [z] Villalpand in Ezech. t. 2. c. 58. p. 543.

The End of the Firſt Part of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

The Second PART of the Sixth BOOK.

Containing the particular Hiſtory of the Diſperſion in the Eaſt, and in the Weſt.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hiſtory of the Jews from the taking of Jeruſalem, *till the Rebellion under* Adrian.

I. *Whether there were Sixty ſix Millions of Inhabitants in* Judæa. II. *The faults of this Calculation.* III, *Its true State after the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem. IV. *Tribute demanded by* Domitian. V. *They paid Tribute under* Herod. VI. *The Capitation odious in* Judæa. VII. *Whether there was a particular Coin for the Tributes. This Notion confuted.* VIII. *The Sum that was paid in* Judæa. IX. *An Aggravation by* Titus *and* Domitian. X. *The Jews comprized with the Chriſtians in the Perſecution.* XI. Nerva *abates the Extortions.* XII. *The beginning of the Patriarchs.* XIII. Eliezer *the Great, his Sentences and his Life.* XIV. R. Joſhua *in great Credit with* Trajan. XV. Simeon Jochaides, *and* Eliezer Haggalili *Cabbaliſts.* XVI. *The Poet* Ezekiel *a Jew.* XVII. *The Twelve Patriarchs Will compoſed at that time.* XVIII. *The Author was a Jewiſh Proſelyte.* XIX. *The Rebellion under* Trajan. XX. Euſebius's *Contradiction.* XXI. *The Fables of the Jews.* XXII. Imrah *the Daughter of* Trajan. XXIII. *New Troubles in* Meſopotamia. XXIV. *A Maſſacre in the Iſle of* Cyprus.

I. WE have already obſerved, that the ſtate of *Judæa* muſt be very miſerable after the ruin of its Capital in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*. Indeed, if we follow the Accounts of ſome Authors, who reckon 66240000 Inhabitants in this Province, it would not have been diſpeopled by the loſs of thirteen or fourteen Hundred thouſand Souls that periſhed in the War. But theſe extravagant Reckonings are ſuſpected, and only one falſe Suppoſition makes ſo great an Addition, that a Man ought always to be cautious. *Villalpand* [a] for Example affirms, that in *Jehoſaphat*'s Time, there was in the City of *Jeruſalem* Eleven Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Men, able to bear Arms. Upon this Suppoſition, he finds the infinite number of Inhabitants we have remark'd. Whereas the Sacred Hiſtorian does not ſpeak only of the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*; he reckons all the Men, that *Jehoſaphat* could bring of all *Judæa* into the Field. He finds Eleven Hundred and Sixty Thouſand of 'em, beſides the Garriſons of ſtrong Places. This one Obſervation makes a prodigious difference in the Sum Total. *Joſephus* commending the fruitfulneſs of *Galilee*, obſerves, there was not a piece of Ground but what was cultivated. Large Towns [b] appeared every where, the leaſt whereof contain'd Fifteen Thouſand Inhabitants. Hence 'tis concluded, that each Wall'd City contain'd Ninety Thouſand Perſons. By giving each Tribe Sixty Cities of this force, you find Five Millions, Five Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Perſons, which being multiplied by twelve Repartitions, makes 66240000 Perſons. If their Numbers had been ſo prodigious in *Joſephus*'s Time, the *Holy Land* would not have been much depopulated by the Maſſacre that was made in it, ſince it would have left near Sixty Five Millions of Inhabitants.

II. 'Tis eaſie to ſhew, that this Calculation is faulty; Firſt, It implicitely follows that of *Joſephus*, who has determined without any exactneſs, that the leaſt Town contained Fifteen Thouſand Inhabitants; which is inconceivable; and by rules of Addition, it gives all the Cities a number equally exceſſive; for there are a very few Places that have Ninety Thouſand Citizens. 2. A Concluſion is drawn from *Galilee* to all the other Tribes. Whereas *Joſephus* only mentions its fertility, to give it a Preheminence above all the other Parts of *Judæa*, in which there were Deſarts, and whereof all the Tribes were not equally large, nor Peopled. There were

[a] Villalpand de Ezech. Viſione Explanat. t. 2. Pars. 2. l. v. Diſp. 3. c. 52. p. 539. 2 Chron. 17. 15. [b] Villalp. ibid.

many Millions of Inhabitants in *Judæa*. But 'tis impossible to fix their number, and that of *Villalpand* is extreamly Hyperbolical.

III. We continue to observe a just Medium; and as we have asserted, that *Jerusalem* did not grow absolutely desolate after its Destruction, so for a stronger Reason, we maintain that there were in the rest of *Judæa*, a small number of Inhabitants, that liv'd there after the Destruction of their Country. The multitude of the dead of the Prisoners that were sold, and of the Fugitives, that fled into other Places, had depopulated it, and therefore Colonies were sent into it. But on the other hand there were still some natural Jews enough to re-establish themselves in a little time, since sixty Years after the Ruin of the Temple they rais'd again Forces. They fortify'd fifty Castles, in which they defended themselves against *Adrian*, without reckoning the City of *Bitter*, that sustained a long Siege.

IV. To pretend [c] that the *Sanhedrim* was remov'd to *Jamnia*, and from thence to *Tiberias*, where it subsisted till after the death of *Judas* the Saint, that Academies were established in many Cities, and that the Nation continued to be govern'd by a Patriarch, is to run into an illusion, which we have confuted in several places of this History.

There remained no Shadow of Power and Authority to this wretched People in the Country, that God had given them. *Domitian* covetous even to excess, help'd to sink it by his Taxes. It has been thought that this Oppression respected only the Jews of *Rome*, who having been expell'd out of this Imperial City, could not return again, without paying a certain Tax; but 'tis a mistake. The Tribute demanded by *Domitian*, related to all the Jews, and was not a new one. To prove it, we'll resume the Matter a little higher.

V. *Pompey* having subjected *Judæa* to the *Romans*, made it Tributary according to Custom. *Julius Cæsar* granted *Hircanus*, and even the Jewish People, some Exemptions. Nevertheless *Josephus* [d] adds, that they were obliged to carry their Tribute every two Years to *Sidon*. The Privilege then consited in having no Intendant nor Collectors, who in those times ruined Nations. They were also exempted from Winter-Quarters and the Entertainment of Soldiers. Lastly, They paid nothing in the Sabbatick Year, because the Lands lay Fallow. *Alexander* the Great had granted the same Privilege before. *Herod* being made King, and a Friend of the *Roman* People, 'tis imagined [e] that he was discharg'd from Tribute; but the *Romans*, says *Tacitus*, [f] continued to the Princes the Title of Kings, and at the same time made 'em sensible of their Slavery, by forcing 'em to pay Taxes. *Cicero* would have *Jerusalem* return Thanks to the Immortal Gods, that it had not been raz'd as *Carthage*, and that it had been *rented out*, *Quod servata, quod elocata nobis debet*. *Appian* [g] speaking of the Kings, that *Mark Antony* had made Tributary, names *Herod* with those of *Pontus* and *Pisidia*, and excepts only from this general Law the Princes of the Upper *Armenia*. That which might have misguided the Learned, is their not seeing any Intendant, or Receivers in this Province, till after *Herod*'s and *Archelaus*'s Death. 'Twas indeed a Shadow of Liberty left to this People, to suffer 'em to collect their Taxes by their own Receivers, as *Josephus* has observed; but it can't be hence concluded that they were not Tributary, and that this Kingdom was the only Exception to the General Law. It can't be doubted but this Tribute was regularly paid during our Saviour's Life time, since the Pharisees tempted him by it, and *Jesus Christ* discovering *Cæsar*'s Image upon the *Denarion*, that was paid for the Poll, answered, *They should render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's*.

VI. The truth is, they paid two sorts of Taxes, one was a Subsidy laid upon the Lands, of which they paid the hundreth Penny. But besides this, *Appian* [h] observes, that there was a Capitation more *intolerable to the Jews, than all the other Tributes*. And therefore *Judæa* petitioned *Tiberius* to be exempted [i] *from the Imposts with which it was overlaid, as well as Syria*.

This Capitation did not seem to be great, since they only paid one *Denarion*; that is about seven Pence half Penny *per* Head. But it was equal for the Poor as well as the Rich. As the *Didrachm* was paid equally to God, so the Tribute which *Cæsar* exacted, was one and the same to all the Inhabitants without any distinction. There were two Reasons that aggravated this Yoke in *Judæa*, one, that this People priding it self in its Alliance with God, and thinking it self perfectly free, could not brook the Empire of the Infidels, especially since the *Macchabees* had shook it off, and the Capitation made 'em feel their Slavery. And therefore [k] *Judas* of *Galilee* rebelled, when *Augustus* sent to have *Judæa* enroll'd. There was another Reason, that render'd this Yoke insupportable; for the Money that was to be brought to the *Roman* Treasure, was stamp'd with the Prince's Image, and the Jew over scrupulously addicted to the Law, which only condemns the Worship of Images, could not see the Emperor's Figure upon the Money, he was obliged to pay without a Mortification:

Decicus aut Scripto radiet Germanicus auro.

VII. 'Tis said indeed that the Jews coin'd Money, having a Man's Head upon it, radiated with a *Glory*, and on the reverse was *a Rose* [l]. For a proof of which, they produce one of the pieces of Silver that *Judas* received from the College of Priests, having this Figure and word upon it. They have reason for keeping these sorts of Coins at *Paris* and *Rome*, because some Travellers are so easie, as to be deceiv'd by 'em; but these are rather proofs of humane Credulity than Tracks of ancient Custom. We are told also, that there were particular Coins for the Tribute, impress'd with the victorious Consuls, who had subdued a Province, which was represented in Slavery. Indeed *Freherus* [m] produces one of *Plautius*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenant in *Asia*, who having defeated one *Bacchius* a Jew, who had set up a Kingdom in a Corner of *Arabia*, had stamp'd upon the Tribute Money, this Prince upon his Knees, having his Hand upon a Camil's Loins, and holding in the other an Olive Branch supplicating for Peace, with these two words:

BACCHIUS JUDÆUS.
Bacchius the Jew.

But these were rather Medals design'd for a Monument of the Conquest, than Money of the Republick imployed to pay the Tribute with. It would have been doubling the Jews Affliction, to have seen the Marks of their Slavery engraven upon every Penny they were to pay. But we must also distinguish betwixt Medals and Coins, and each Province had not a particular piece of Money for its Tribute;

[c] Lightfoot Oper Posth, p. 70. [d] Joseph. Ant. l. 13. c. 17. p. 486. [e] Noris Epocha Syr. Pagi App. ad Crit. B. Lamy App ad Harmon. [f] Tacitus in Agricola. [g] Appian de Bello Civ. p. 151. [h] Appian in Syriac. [i] Tacit. l. 2. [k] Joseph. Ant. l. 18. c. 1. [l] Procop. V. Anton August. Dial. 2. n. 1. [m] Freherus Dissert. de Numismate Census, p. 3936.

but

but it was paid in the currant Coin, which after *Cæsar*, bore the Impress of the Reigning Prince.

Tiberius was so jealous of this Impression, that it was Treason to carry a piece of his Money in those Parts, which for Modesties sake are nameless, and a Master who had beaten his Servant, whilst he held a *Denarion* of *Tiberius*, was condemn'd as guilty of High Treason. All this aggravated the Yoke of the Jews. The *Pharisees* alluded to this severity of the Emperor, when they told our Lord; as they ask'd him whether they were to pay Tribute, *Thou carest not for any Man, neither regardest the Person of Men*; that is, thou bravest a Prince, that is infinitely jealous of his Tribute. But our Saviour acquainted them, that the payment of Taxes ought not to be confounded with our Services to God, and that Obedience to Kings ought to be distinguish'd from Religion; *Render*, says he, *to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*, Pope *Constantine*, instead of paying the Emperor his dues, was for having his Image struck out of the Coin, because he had anathematiz'd him as a Heretick. He imitated *Judas* the *Galilean*, instead of following the Laws and Example of his Master.

VIII. Hitherto *Judæa* paid but one Tax upon Lands and the Capitation, which brought [n] Three Hundred Seventy Thousand, Eight Hundred and Thirty Three Pounds, Six Shillings and Eight Pence, into the Emperor's Exchequer; but after the taking of *Jerusalem*, *Titus* ordered the *Didrachm* which was paid annually to the Temple, to be confiscated; and *Cicero* observes, that they sent it from *Rome*, and the other Cities of *Italy* to *Jerusalem*, because they look'd upon it as a Tribute which they paid to God as his Subjects. But the Emperor usurp'd the place of God, whom they had forsaken, and appropriated this Tribute to himself. Each *Didrachm* was worth sixteen Pence, and so the Sum demanded of 'em was very considerable. But this third Tax was the more Disgraceful, because they were obliged to purchase the liberty of their Religion by it, and *Domitian* exacted it with the utmost severity.

IX. First *Xiphilin* [o] relates, that *Titus* after the Conquest of *Judæa*, *ordered all the Jews, that would preserve their Religion, to pay the Didrachm annually to* Jupiter Capitolinus. Secondly, The *Romans* made them purchase Liberty of Conscience by it. *Tertullian* complains bitterly, that they had rank'd the Christians among Prostitutes and Rogues, who paid a Tribute, to be suffered at *Rome*. The Jewish Religion therefore being grown infinitely odious after the Rebellion, its Professors were obliged to pay an annual Sum for their Toleration. Lastly, *Suetonius* [p] speaks of *Domitian*'s injurious treatment, in demanding the Payment. They strip'd a Man to inform themselves of his Extract and Religion by Circumcision. Neither the Quality of Persons, nor the Age, nor the Oaths of such as chose rather to pretend to be Heathens, than to furnish the Sums demanded, were respected. A Man of Ninety Years of Age was forced to this scandalous Inquest, under pretence of which were committed a thousand Impieties.

X. *Domitian*'s hatred [q] stop'd not there, and the Jews were comprized in the same Persecution with the Christians. We can't doubt of it; for not to observe that both of 'em were in the Opinion of the *Romans*, equally guilty of *Impiety*, since they Worshipped only one God, and rejected the Idols, which was reckoned an Atheism, and implied as a pretence to torment People: *Dion* affirms, that *many Persons who had embraced the Jewish Religion, were condemned for the Crime of Impiety, and that some were punished with Death, and others only with Sequestration.* This Persecution began in the Ninety fifth Year of the Christian *Æra*. I don't wonder that *Baronius* [r] is of another Opinion, and makes it last six Years. His meer fondness to rank Pope *Cletus* in the List of Martyrs, was sufficient to make him disturb the History of the Emperors. But 'tis strange, to hear a Man impeach the Testimony of *Brutius*, an ancient Heathen Author, who makes it begin in the fifteenth of *Domitian*; and this perfectly agrees with the account of *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*, who assert it was very short: For indeed it continued but a Year. This time was thought insufficient to give *Evocatus* orders, to arrest the Relations of our Saviour, and to send 'em from *Judæa* to *Rome* to be examined; but [s] besides that *Domitian* might have had some State-Jealousie and Mistrust, before he began the Persecution, since these two things are very different, one Year was sufficient for the making the Voyage we speak of.

Dodwell [t], whose Chronology we here follow, affirms, that *Domitian* being content with banishing those he Persecuted, spared their Lives. But this is evidently false; for without insisting upon *Tertullian*'s Expression, who compared *Domitian* to *Nero*, because this Father might be charged with over-straining things according to his Custom and Genius, Death was the Punishment appointed of those that were accused of Impiety and Judaism. Indeed *Dion* asserts, that part of those who had embraced the Jewish Rites were punished with Death, and we ought to make the same Inference for the *Impious*, that is, the Christians. 'Twas [u] under this pretence that the Consul *Clemens*, Cousin *German* to the Emperor, was sentenced to Death. I know not why ancient Martyrologers don't speak of him; and having adopted so many Chimerical Saints, should reject him who was a true Martyr, and whose cruel Death is attested by a Heathen. We must also place *Glabrion* in the same rank, unless we'll restore him to the Jews; for Impiety was one of the Crimes he was charged with.

XI. In fine, *Nerva*, *Domitian*'s Successor, did three things to the advantage of this Nation: 1. He absolved those who were accused of Impiety, and recall'd the Exiles; which shews, that if *Domitian* had that design, he was not able to execute it, being prevented by his Assassinators. 2. He forbad for the future the Subjects of the Empire to be tormented for the sake of Religion, of *Impiety* or *Judaism*. 3. He discharged the Jews of the Imposts, wherewith *Domitian* had oppressed them. We are taught this from a Medal [x], on which we read these words:

CALUMNIA. FISCI. JUDAICI SUBLATA.

Some [y] stretch this Inscription too far, by maintaining, that the annual Tax for the *Didrachm* was repeal'd; for *Origin* so positively asserts, that it was paid in his time, that there is no room to doubt of it. The Medal only says, that *Calumny* was abolish'd; that is, that the Jews were no longer impos'd great Fines upon false Pretences, as had been done in *Domitian*'s Reign.

XII. We have placed the first of all the Patriarchs of *Judæa* in this Prince's Reign. 1. Because he was more favourable to the Jews. 2. Because there is no Probability that they could so suddenly have re-settled themselves after an almost General

[n] 890 *Talents of Silver*; *for the Tribute was always paid in Silver.* [o] Xiphil in Vespas. 217. [p] Suet. l. 8. p. 187. [q] Xiphil. in Domit. p 236. [r] Baron An. [s] Apud Euseb. l. 3. c. 18. p. 89. [t] Dodw. Diss. in. Cypr. 11. p. 60. [u] Xiphil. p. 236. [x] Petit. Var. Lect. p 2569. [y] Orig. ad Afric. p. 243.

Dispersion

Diſperſion, and that they could have begun to create him under *Domitian*, who by his Avarice and Cruelty gave 'em no Reſt. According to this Account *Gamaliel* II. was then the *Head of the Fathers*, which the *Greeks* call Patriarch. We have already ſpoken of the Controverſies, which he had with one *Joſhua*, which caus'd him to be depoſed. "They "found it difficult to give him a Succeſſor, becauſe "he was a formidable Man. *Joſhua* could not be "elected, becauſe he was his Antagoniſt. They "caſt their Eyes naturally upon *Akiba*; but as he "was not of a noble Birth, 'twas feared *Gamaliel* "would bewitch him with his Looks. They next "pitch'd upon [z] *Eleazar*, the Son of *Azarias*, who "was of a good Family, and able to pay conſide-"rable Sums to the Emperor, if he was tax'd. His "Wife, whoſe Advice he deſired before he accep-"ted the Place, was afraid of his being depoſed: "but he removed her Apprehenſions by ſaying a "*Man ought to accept of a Glaſs, tho' he knew it* "*would be broken the next day.* They will deſpiſe "you, ſaid his Wife, *becauſe your Beard is not as* "*yet grey.* This was a great Perplexity, for *Elea-*"*zer*, who was but Eighteen Years of Age, had as "yet no Beard at all: but God made up this "Defect; for in an inſtant, ſprung out upon his "Cheeks Eighteen Rows of White Hairs. His Wife "yielded upon Sight of the Miracle. He immedi-"ately opened the Door of the Academy, and expell'd "the Porter that ſhut it againſt the Scholars, which "*Gamaliel* thought unworthy; which multiplied "their Number.". *Joſhua* was elected *Father of the Senate*, *Eleazer* was reconciled with *Gamaliel*, and they enjoy'd their Dignity together [a]. Hiſtorians ſay, that *Eleazer* preſided two *Saturdays*, and *Gamaliel* one, which ſhews that this Office eſpecially related to Religion, and the Divine Service.

XIII. The *Jews* endeavour to raiſe the Glory of their deſolate Nation, by making a great many Learned Men, (on whom they father many fictitious Works) ſurvive the Ruin of the Temple, and live in the Beginning of the Second Century.

Eliezer the Great lived at that time [b]. They make him the Son of a Perſon of Quality call'd *Hircanus*, who had ſo neglected his Education, that at twenty eight Years of Age, he was ignorant of the Law. He bewailed his Ignorance for many days; but at laſt the Prophet *Elias* told him of a Maſter. He made a Journey to *John* (the Son of *Zechai*) who taught at *Jeruſalem*, by whom he was inſtructed in his Prayers and ſome Points of the Law. *Eliezer* wept and faſted till he had learnt them, and Eight Days paſs'd over before he eat. His Father came to *Jeruſalem* to diſinherit him; but was raviſhed with the Learning and Modeſty he found in him: he would not ſit down before him: and inſtead of diſinheriting him, he gave him his Brothers Portions, who had put him upon this Deſign. *Eliezer* ſaid to his Maſter, that *a Man could not draw more Water from a Well, than had been put into it; but he might from a Fountain that had a conſtant Spring*; Signifying that he could teach nothing beyond what he had learnt, but that his Maſter was a Fountain flowing with more Precepts, than God had given on Mount *Sinai*. This Doctor owned as he was dying, that he had the Art of tranſplanting the harveſts from one Place to another.

Atque ſatas alio vidi traducere meſſes.

For walking one Day with *Akiba*, he ſhewed him in an inſtant a Field full of Cucumbers; and commanded them afterwards to change place and collect themſelves in a heap, which they did. The *Thalmudiſts* [c] repreſent him as a Man full of his Merits, who asked on his Death-bed, [d] *Is there any Precept of the Law which I have not accompliſhed: Akiba* confounded his Pride with this Reply, *Maſter, thou haſt always taught us, that there was not a juſt and ſinleſs man upon earth.*

XIV. The [e] R. *Joſhua (Jehoſhua)* was *Eliezer*'s Aſſociate, whoſe Reputation was ſo great, that he is quoted in the *Miſnah* without any Epithet, or Character of Diſtinction. He did what he pleas'd at the Court of *Trajan* the Emperor, of whom he obtained Liberty to re-build the *Houſe of the Sanctuary*. He was ſo ugly and meager, that the Emperor's Daughter asked him one Day, how ſo great Wiſdom could be included, in ſo filthy a Veſſel. The Princeſs commended his Wit, at the ſame time ſhe inſulted his Deformity. Nevertheleſs he was affronted at her, and ask'd the Princeſs, why ſhe ſuffer'd Wine to be put in Earthen Veſſels, and adviſed her to put it into Silver. The Princeſs believed him: The Wine grew ſowre. *Trajan* was angry, that his Wine was ſpoilt. He ſent for the Author of the Advice, who inſtead of anſwering that he deſigned to ſhew, that Treaſures were poſſeſs'd in Earthen Veſſels; repreſented to the Emperor, that his Daughter firſt inſulted him upon his Uglineſs. They ſay, this Man had the Art of flying in the Air by Virtue of the Ineffable Name.

XV. We have ſpoken [f] ſufficiently of *Simeon Jochaides*, to whom they attribute the Cabbaliſtick Book intituled the *Zohar*. To whom we will join *Eliezer Haggalili*, or the *Galilean*, the Son of *Joſes*, another Cabbaliſtick and Cotemporary Doctor. He wrote the *Thirty-two Properties* [g] of the Law, with reſpect to the Thirty-two ways of Wiſdom. The Doctors admoniſh, that when a Man finds any one of theſe Myſtical Explications, he muſt ſtudiouſly retain it. There was alſo another *Eliezer*, the Son of *James*, whoſe Cloak had been burnt in the Temple, as a Puniſhment for his falling aſleep there. They make this the Third *Eliezer*, the Author of a Tract concerning *the* [h] *Meaſures of the Temple*; and *Bartoloco* thinks, that as this Man was extreamly ingenious, and had ſeen the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, the Doctors that ſucceeded him at a great diſtance, have taken their Knowledge from him; but this is giving a great Antiquity to Works that perhaps have but very little of it. For indeed none of theſe Doctors nor their Books are otherwiſe known, than by the Teſtimony of the *Rabbins*, that lived a long time after them. We alſo find evident Marks of Impoſture in them, ſince they quote Facts and Authors, that were many Ages later.

XVI. At that Time lived the Poet [i] *Ezekiel*, who Compoſed the *Departure from Egypt*, in *Greek* Verſe. He was a Jew, and probably meant to ſing a miraculous Deliverance to comfort his Nation dejected by the *Romans*, in giving it an Idea of a Redeemer like *Moſes*. He lived after *Joſephus*, who did not know him, and before *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who has quoted him. We muſt therefore place him at the End of the firſt, or rather at the Beginning of the ſecond Century.

XVII. We muſt alſo place at the ſame time the

[z] In Barachot. fol. 27. *The* Thalmudiſts *call the Day in which* Eleazar *was choſen* the Day *by way of Excellence; and always where we read theſe two Words,* בו ביום *we muſt underſtand* the Day of *Eleazer*'s Election. Wagenſeil in Sota Miſnah. t. v. p. 247. [a] Ganz. Tſemach. [b] פרקי רבי אליעזר Pirke Rabbi Eliezer *Chapters or Sentences of* R. Eliezer. [c] Ex Gemar. Sanhedr. c. 7. Cocc. duo Tit. p. 280. [d] Saphedr. c. 11. Cocc. duo Tit. p 410. [e] Ganz. Tſemach. David. Ætas poſt excidium ann. 833. p. 97. [f] L. III. c. x. [g] לב מרות Middoth. 32. Proprietates. Bartoloc. B. R. t. 4. p. 255. [h] מדות in Taanit. fol. 7. Wagenſeil. p. 311. [i] Ezekielis ἀναγωγὴ. *There is a Fragment of 'em among* Stephanus's Greek *Poets.* Le Moyne Var. Sacr. t. 2. p. 356.

Author

Author of the Will of the Twelve Patriarchs. This Man has diſguiſed his Religion, and ſpeaks ſo often like a Jew, that [k] a Learned Man, who was the firſt Publiſher of this Work in *Greek*, which was known before, only by a bad [l] Verſion of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and ſome Fragments, maintains that the Original was in *Hebrew*, Compoſed by a Doctor of that Nation ſome time before the Manifeſtation of our Lord, ſince the Author has followed the common Prejudices of the Doctors of that time, who expected a General of an Army famous for his Battels, rather than a Spiritual Teacher. It ſeems the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had the ſame Thought, ſince he made miſerable Complaints of the Jealouſie of the Jews, who had ſo long concealed this Work from the Chriſtians, for fear they ſhould make uſe of the Prophecies relating to the *Meſſiah*.

XVIII. But the Twelve Patriarchs Will was Compoſed in the time we are upon; for the Author ſpeaks of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and ſeveral Actions of the *Meſſiah*, and even of the Writings of the Evangeliſts, like a Prophet who had ſeen the Things. On the other hand *Origen* [m] had ſeen this Book, wherein he found *ſome good Senſe, tho' the Jews had not put it in their Canon.* I dare not ſay whether *Tertullian* made Alluſion to *Benjamin*'s Will, not only becauſe he was an *African*, and had not much Commerce with the *Greeks*; but becauſe his Notion is very different, and ſeems borrowed from *Jacob*'s Benediction. *Benjamin*, ſaid he, *ſhall ravine as a Wolf; in the Morning he ſhall devour the Prey, and at Night he ſhall divide the Spoil.* *Tertullian* applied theſe Words to St. *Paul*, who was at firſt a Perſecutor, and afterwards the Maſter and Doctor of the Nations. There was no need of reading *Benjamin*'s Will to have this Notion, who foretold [n] his Children there ſhould ariſe from amongſt them *a Man acceptable to God, who ſhould raviſh their Knowledge from 'em like a Wolf, and diſtribute it to the Ten Nations.*

Whether *Tertullian* had or had not known this ſpurious Piece, it remains equally true, that it is very ancient, ſince *Origen* quotes it; but I can't ſay it was written in *Hebrew*, for it was never ſeen in that Language; and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who diſcovered it in the Thirteenth Century, had it only in *Greek*. Examine the Book, and you'll find no *Hebrew* Idioms, nor thoſe ways of ſpeaking, that were foreign to the *Greeks*, which Tranſlators can't conceal without deſtroying the Senſe. We read [o] in a Manuſcript, that the Writer *has followed the Verſion of St. John Chryſoſtome in Greek.* But not to enquire whether this Father underſtood *Hebrew* enough to tranſlate it, which does not appear by any of his Works, would it be poſſible, that if the Original *Hebrew* had been preſerved to the Fifth Century, and known by the *Greek* Fathers, as the Genuine Work of a Jew? They would not have drawn a hundred Arguments againſt 'em from the Prophecies interſperſed in every Page of it, and which are of an undeniable Evidence. The Author might be a Jewiſh Inhabitant of *Egypt*, where *Origen* found his Book; but having forſaken his Religion, and turned Chriſtian, he diſguiſed himſelf under the Venerable Name of the Twelve Patriarchs, to vent in form of a Prophecy, the principal Circumſtances of our Saviour's Life and Death; and the better to conceal himſelf, he ſcattered among his Prophecies ſome Tracks of his ancient Judaiſm, which were not yet perfectly obliterated. We ought neither to Father this Book on the Jews, nor draw Conſequences from it againſt 'em. We have ſaid enough of the Learned Men whom they make to live in this ancient Time.

XIX. The miſerable are more mutinous and reſtleſs than other People. There is a Spirit of Sedition [p] imputed to certain Religions, and to the Tempers and Inclinations of certain Nations. But this is only a Fancy; for all Men naturally love Peace and Quiet, leave 'em the Liberty of Conſcience, and the publick Enjoyment, or Increaſe of their Eſtates, and you'll ſee few Rebellions in States. The Hatred of Parties, Perſecution, and the Harſhneſs of Government are the common Springs of Tumults and Seditions; and Men do not ſwerve from their Natural State, except when they are forced by Deſpair or Violence. We muſt not wonder then, if the Jews, notwithſtanding their Miſeries, have ſo frequently an Inclination to rebel. 'Tis Miſery that puts Men in Agitation, and makes 'em turn on all Sides to be eaſie, and commonly, inſtead of compaſſing their Deſires, they add freſh Weight to their Burthen. The Jews miſ-timed their Attempts in *Trajan*'s Reign. I know not what could make 'em ſo venturous as to brave the Power of ſo great a Prince. Being provoked and ſowred by their preceding Misfortunes, they carried, in their turn, Cruelty and Barbarity to a deteſtable Exceſs, beginning at *Cyrene*, a City of *Lybia*, where they had been ſettled and potent for many Ages. They had at firſt ſome Advantages over the *Greeks*; for ſo they called the *Egyptians:* but the Fugitives eſcaping to *Alexandria*, and carrying Conſternation and a Thirſt of Revenge into this great City, they murdered all the Jews that remained there. Thoſe of *Cyrene* inraged with a Reprizal they had juſtly deſerved, fell into the greateſt Fury; and being headed by one *Andrew*, they ravaged the Plain Country under his Conduct, and maſſacred Two Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Inhabitants in *Lybia*. The *Romans* returned into the Field, under *Martius Turbo* their General, whom *Trajan* had Commiſſion'd to quell theſe Diſorders. He did it, but could not defeat the Rebels, without long and violent Battels, and the Loſs of a great deal of Blood and Men; and *Lybia* remained ſo depopulate by the Maſſacre the Jews had made in the Beginning of the War, that the Emperor *Adrian* was obliged to ſend a Colony to inhabit it [q].

XX. *Euſebius* has run into a manifeſt Contradiction, as to this Rebellion of the Jews; for he affirms in his Hiſtory that it *happened in the Beginning of the Eighteenth Year of* Trajan's *Reign:* and he places it a Year ſooner in his Chronicle. The Hiſtory being exacter than the Chronicle, we ought to give it the Preference, and place this Event in the Beginning of the Second Century, and in the Hundred and Fifteenth Year of *Jeſus Chriſt*. The Jewiſh Hiſtorians ſay, that the War was cauſed by the Ambition of the Refugees, who were retired to *Alexandria* after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and had built a Temple there. Some would fain lord it over the reſt, and the weaker Party called in *Trajan* to their Aſſiſtance, who kill'd Five Hundred Thouſand of 'em. But their Temple at *Alexandria* was imaginary; that of *Onias* being the only one they built.

XXI. The *Thalmudiſts*, who are always ignorant in Hiſtory, vary in a much groſſer manner. Some

[k] Grabe Spicileg. Patrum t. 1. Sæc. 1. [l] *Utrum autem iſte liber ex Typographia Græca nobis incompertum.* Nourry Apparatus ad Bibl. Pat 240. fol. *Mean time Mr.* Grabe's *Work came out four or five Years before.* [m] Origen in Joſ. 1 705. [n] Teſtam. XII. Benjamin. S. 12. p. 252. [o] Apud. Grabe ibid. p. 143. [p] An. ch. 115. Traj. [q] Ganz. Tſemach. David. Chronol. p. 104. Salomon fil. Virgæ Tribus Judæ. p. 67.

ſay,

ſay, 'twas *Adrian*, that killed twice as many Jews in *Egypt*, as *Moſes* had conducted out of it. Others place this Event in *Trajan*'s Reign. As we read, that 'twas *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, that made this Execution, they are hard put to it, to ſalve the Contradiction: One aſſerts, that the Title *Macedonian* ought to be expunged; and another maintains it is not neceſſary, becauſe the General of *Nero*'s Troops, who might alſo have commanded thoſe of *Trajan* or *Adrian*, was called *Alexander*, and was of *Macedonia*. But by Misfortune, the General, that made War upon the Jews, was not named *Alexander*, but *Martius Turbo*. So that this is a new Blunder, that they make here. Here follows another.

XXII. *Voſſius* has been cenſured for making R. *Ganz* [r] ſay, that *Imrah*, the Emperor *Trajan*'s Daughter was ſo in Love with R. *Joſhua*, the Son of *Chananiah*; that to expreſs her Paſſion for him, ſhe ſometimes put on a ſordid Dreſs, and kept not Wine in Gold or Silver, but in Glaſſen Veſſels. 'Tis evident, that theſe laſt Words, are not far from Nonſence; the rather becauſe the Young Ladies at *Rome* ſeldom drank Wine. It would be better tranſlated, that *Imrah* upbraided *Joſhua* with containing a great deal of Wiſdom in a filthy Veſſel, becauſe he was commonly ill-dreſs'd and ugly; and that to juſtifie himſelf he anſwered, that Wine was kept in Earthen Pots, and not put in Veſſels of Gold or Silver. But ſtill it remains true, that this Chronologiſt makes *Trajan* the Father of a Daughter called *Imrah*, which he never had; that ſhe is made the Diſciple of a Jew to be inſtructed in the Law; and this Jew is made ſuch a Favourite of *Trajan*, as to procure Liberty from this Prince of building the *Houſe of the Sanctuary*, whereas *Trajan* was ſo far from favouring the Jews, that he was one of the greateſt Enemies of the Nation, and made continual War upon it.

XXIII. For indeed the Diſorder did not ſtop there. [s] The News came of new Inſurrections in *Meſopotamia*. The Fate of *Egypt* threw the Inhabitants of this Government into a Conſternation, who ſaw themſelves menaced with the ſame Misfortune: but *Trajan* ſent a *Moor* thither, called *Luſius Quietus*, the greateſt General the Empire then had, or has had ever ſince; who in Execution of his Commiſſion, withſtood the Seditious, and by killing a vaſt number of Jews, intimidated the reſt. Nevertheleſs, as his Preſence was thought neceſſary to retain 'em in their Duty, and there was reaſon to fear, they would take up Arms again the very Moment they ſaw the Conqueror's Backſide; the Emperor made him Governour of *Paleſtine*, to keep a ſtrict Eye upon their Motions.

XXIV. A new Storm aroſe in the Iſland of *Cyprus*. The Jews in this Iſland began with the Maſſacre of Two Hundred and Forty Thouſand Inhabitants. Their own Hiſtorians don't diſſemble this Action, but ſwell the Number of the dead inſtead of abating it; for they tell you, that the Noiſe of the Inſurrections elſewhere, arriving at [t] *Gophri*, that is to ſay *Cyprus*; the Jews, who were very numerous in this Country, fell upon all the Heathens, and made ſuch a general Maſſacre, that *not one of 'em remained*. "Which obliged "*Trajan* to ſend *Adrian*, the General of his Forces, "againſt 'em, who ſubdued 'em; and afterwards "the *Romans* Publiſhed an Edict, abſolutely pro- "hibiting the Jews Acceſs to this Iſland.

I know not why Criticks trouble their Heads with correcting theſe Hiſtorians. Sometimes they would have *Egypt* meant here, inſtead of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and fancy this Conjecture to be well-grounded, becauſe 'tis but changing a Letter in the Word [u] *Giphri*. They tell you alſo, that we are to underſtand by it a Caſtle built by *Herod the Great* above *Jericho*, which was called *Cyprus*, in Memory of his Mother of that Name. People give themſelves all this Pain to bring forth theſe Conjectures only to give Career to their Fancy; for I ſee nothing more inſignificant. We know that the Jews were conſiderable in the Iſland of *Cyprus* long before *Trajan*'s Time; from whence came St. *Barnabas*, the Companion of St. *Paul*'s Travels. Beſides all the Heathen, Jewiſh and Chriſtian Hiſtorians agree about this Event. *Dion*, who was a Heathen, ſays in expreſs terms, that the Jews of *Cyprus*, having put *Artemion at their head, kill'd Two Hundred and Forty Thouſand Inhabitants of this Iſland; for which reaſon, no Jew was ſuffer'd any more to enter there, and thoſe that were driven thither by Tempeſt were kill'd.* We have already quoted the Jewiſh Hiſtorians, who ſay the ſame thing, tho' it be to the Infamy of their Nation. Laſtly *Euſebius* relates, that the Jews had ruined *Salamis* becauſe they had maſſacred all its Inhabitants. The Chriſtian Hiſtorian reduces the Maſſacre to the City *Salamin*; but this is impoſſible ſince they reckoned Two Hundred and Forty Thouſand of the Dead, beſides the Murderers, who muſt have made a greater Number, for this Multitude of Inhabitants muſt have been diſperſed all over the Iſland.

Some ſay, there was no need of ſending Forces to revenge the Maſſacre, becauſe thoſe who had eſcaped the Fury of the Aſſaſſins, took up Arms, and made a reciprocal Slaughter upon the Jews. But they muſt multiply the Number of the Heathen Iſlanders prodigiouſly to imagine they could form a new Army after ſo much Blood ſpilt. The Jews Account in bringing over *Adrian* with an Army, who kill'd the Murderers, and made a new Law againſt the Jews for the future is more probable; which rigorous Order being put in Execution, few Jews were found in after-times in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, of which they had been Maſters before. They ought not to complain of being cruelly treated, when they begun themſelves.

[r] Ganz. Chronol. p. 97. Otho Hiſt. Doctor. Miſnic. p. 126. [s] Euſeb in Chron. Id. Hiſt. iv. Xiphil. ex Dionis lib. 68. Auctor de locis Actuum Apoſtolic. apud Hieronymum. Oroſius l. vii. c. 12. [t] בגיפרי *Begiphri*. Zachutus in Juchaſim. Ganz. in Chronol. p. 102. [u] *They change* R *into* D. *This Change is eaſie, becauſe of the likeneſs of the Letters* ר Reſh, ד Daleth.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The History of the Jews Rebellion under Adrian, *of* Barchochebas *and* Akibas, *till the Hundred and Thirty Eighth Year of the Christian* Æra.

I. *The Jews reduced to be* Fortune-tellers. II. *A Project falsely attributed to the Emperor* Adrian. III. *An imaginary Cause of the War related by the Jews.* IV. *Another Cause produced by St.* Chrysostome. V. *The Three true Motives of the War. Reflections upon the Prohibition of Circumcision.* VI. *A Colony sent to* Jerusalem *before the War.* VII. *Impostors, that had preceded* Barchochebas. *The Difference concerning the Order they are placed in by St.* Luke. *St.* Gamaliel *invok'd.* VIII. *The defeat of* Judas. IX. *Two* Simons, *Magicians.* X. Barchochebas *and his Children.* XI. *His Genealogy, and the duration of his pretended Reign.* XII. *How he called himself the Messiah.* XIII. *The Elogies the Jews give* Akiba, *his Fore-runner.* XIV. *He is President of the* Sanhedrim. *A difficulty about his Age.* XV. *The Description of* Bither, *the Capital of King* Barchochebas. XVI. *The time in which the War began according to the Jews.* XVII. *St.* Jerome's *Errour.* XVIII. *Father* Page's *Conjecture.* XIX. *New Reflections more certain.* XX. *The beginnings of the War adantagious to* Barchochebas. XXI. *Whether he only kill'd the Christians.* Justin Martyr *confuted.* Ganz's *fault.* XXII. Akiba's *Conference with* Tinnius Rufus. XXIII. Severus *succeeds him.* XXIV. *The Siege and taking of* Bither. *The Death of* Barchochebas. XXV. *Of* Akiba *and many Martyrs.* XXVI. *A terrible Massacre in this War.* XXVII. Ælia *built.* XXVIII. *How it was made odious to the Jews.* XXIX. *Whether any of 'em remained in the Holy Land.* XXX. Adrian's *Medal ill-explained by* Tristan. XXXI. *The Fate of the Jews of* Asia *during the War.* XXXII. *Whether they bought the Liberty of* Adrian *to read the Scripture in Hebrew.* XXXIII. *This Notion confuted.*

I. THIS was only a beginning of Sorrows, *Adrian* compleated their Destruction. This Prince reduced 'em to such a wretched Poverty, that they were obliged to get their Bread by interpreting Dreams, and telling Fortunes. *Juvenal*, who had known 'em at *Rome* and in *Egypt*, where he was sent [x] during his Disgrace, and who must have lived till the Twelfth Year of *Adrian*, represents them as practising the Art of Trembling Soothsayers, and begging Alms in the Streets.

[y] *Cophino fœnoque relicto*
Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem
Interpres Legum Solymarum, & magna Sacerdos
Arboris ac Summi fida internuncia Cœli
Implet & illa manum, sed parcius ære minuto
Qualiacunque voles Judæi somnia vendunt.

We need no other Evidence, than that of the Emperor *Adrian* himself, why says, he saw not one Jew in *Egypt*, but what was a Mathematician; which Name at present so Honourable, for the happy and strange Discoveries, as well as for the Birth and Merit of those who apply to this Study, was at that time odious, because the Mathematicians were generally so many Fortune-tellers.

II. The *Thalmudists* [z] relate, that *Adrian* dilibetated about expelling them all out of the Empire. He advised with his Council, whether a Man was obliged to preserve all his Life a stinking and rotten part of his Body, or whether it was not more prudent to cut it off. The Jews were this tainted part he designed to dismember. A Counsellor of State answered, that the thing was impossible, because God had foretold, *that he would disperse them to the four Winds*; that is, that it was as impossible, the World should subsist without Jews, as the Wind should cease absolutely to blow; and that if he attempted to expel the Jews out of his Empire, he would be look'd upon as a Tyrant. The Prince enraged with this so free Advice, condemn'd the Author of it to Death. A *Roman* Lady, who saw him put into the Hands of the Executioner, cried out, *Woe to the Ship that departs from the Harbour, without having its compleat Loading.* Meaning, that this Privy Counsellor would have but a small Portion in the other Life, because tho' he had the Glory to die for the Jewish Nation, he was neither a Jew nor Circumcised. The Man surpriz'd, tore off his *Præputium*, declaring that he died a Jew, and made *Akiba* his Heir. The *Thalmudists* don't name the Emperor, who treated his Minister so severely; but since *Akiba* lived under *Adrian*, 'tis more natural to apply to him this Thalmudical Romance, than to any other. But *Adrian* resolv'd to treat the Jews ill, only because they rebell'd against him.

III. The cause of this Rebellion is differently related. They say, that 'twas the Custom in their Country to plant a Cedar at the Door of the Houses where a Son was Born, and to set a Pine Tree upon the Birth of a Daughter. These Trees grew till the time of Marriage, and then they cut 'em down, to make a Bed for the Married Couple. The Princess, *Adrian*'s Daughter, travelling in *Judæa*, her Chariot broke, and her Officers had the insolence to cut down one of these Trees planted before a House, wherewith they mended the Chariot. But the Relations and Neighbours provoked by this Action, mutined, and Massacred the Princess's Retinue, who being enrag'd, oblig'd the Emperor to take Arms, and subdue so fierce a Nation. We see by this, that the Jews love to over-turn History, and to imagine Facts and Adventures, which are not to their Honour; for if a Rebellion, which had such fatal Consequences to a Nation, began upon so slight a Motive, they deserved a part of what befel 'em: Let us see what the Christians say of it.

IV. St. *Chrysostome* [a] asserts, that the Jews, who always resist the Holy Ghost, have thrice attempted to re-build the Temple, and that their first Effort to restore their Republick, was under *Adrian*; that they Rebelled against him, without reflecting that they made War against God, and that 'twas impossible to conquer the Almighty; that this Prince having subdued 'em, placed his Statue where *Jerusalem* was; and knowing that this Monument of his Victory would not last for ever, he ordered that the City should bear his Name, which was still observ'd, since in his time it was called *Ælia*. St. *Chrysostome* has treated this Event like an Orator, that pretends to no exactness; for if he believed that the Jews designed to restore their Temple under *Adrian*, he is deceived, since they made no motion towards it; and the first of the attempts ascrib'd to 'em is evidently false. The same must be said of the second, if he thought the Jews went to re-establish their *Re-*

[x] An. 134. [y] Juven. Sat. vi. [z] Thalm. Tract. Abhodah. Zarah. c. 1. [a] Chrysost. in Judæos Or 3. t. 1. p. 434.

publick. 'Tis not even true, that they attempted to re-build *Jeruſalem*. Moreover, *Ælia* had been built before the Rebellion. Laſtly, *Jeruſalem* did not ſtill go by the Name of *Adrian*; for it was ſo called at the Council of *Nice*; but *Conſtantine* having built Temples in this City, and Chriſtianity being grown Triphant there, it reſum'd its ancient Name of *Jeruſalem*. *Euſebius*, who had called it *Ælia* in his Hiſtory, always ſtiles it *Jeruſalem* in the Life of *Conſtantine*, when he ſpeaks of the Edifices, that this Prince had rais'd there. *Gregory Nazianzen* gives it the ſame Name, and *Cyrill* ſubſcribed in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, as Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

V. There were three Cauſes of the great Rebellion under *Adrian*. 1. This Prince had forbidden 'em, like *Domitian* and *Nerva*, to be Circumcis'd. *Spartian* ſays it, and I know not how the expreſs Teſtimony of an Author, can be conteſted, who liv'd under *Dioclesian*. *Modeſtinus* obſerves alſo, that the Jews addreſſing themſelves to *Antoninus*, *he permitted them to Circumciſe only their Children*, and forbad doing it to any Perſon of another Religion under heavy Penalties. Laſtly, There is a Law [b] forbidding all the *Roman* Citizens to be Circumciſed like the Jews, or to cauſe their Slaves to be Circumcis'd upon pain of Baniſhment, and Death to the Phyſicians that ſhould do it. It alſo Baniſhes and Condemns ſometimes to Death the Jews that *cut the Children* of another Religion. Did the Jews attempt to Circumciſe Strangers, in order to increaſe their numbers, whereby to go on afterwards more effectually in the Reſtoration of their Commonwealth, as St. *Chryſoſtome* has ſaid? Some great Men have ſaid it [c] after him. But it is not probable they believed, that the Converted *Roman* Citizens, or their Slaves could make up a conſiderable Army to reſtore their State. The *Roman* Proſelytes were never ſo numerous to poſſeſs them with this Conceit. Theſe Edicts were given only to prevent any changes of Religion, which now and then happened at *Rome*, and ſcandaliz'd the Heathens. Beſides, *Antoninus* licenſed them to Circumciſe themſelves after his War with them. This Prince being weary of their Rebellion, and ſeeing, that the denying them this Sacrament exaſperated them, yielded ſomething to pacifie 'em: But they were not then in a condition of Proſelyting ſufficient numbers to form Armies, and reſtore their Commonwealth. *Adrian* [d], who had forbidden them Circumciſion, offended the Jews in one of the principal Acts of their Religion. 'Twas robbing 'em of the Seal of the Covenant; the Mark that diſtinguiſh'd 'em from Heathens, and the Grace of God, which they thought annexed to this Sacrament. And therefore 'tis no ſurprizing thing that they ſhould mutiny, when they found themſelves deprived of this Ceremony.

VI. This Prince alſo had ſent a Colony to *Jeruſalem*, and built a City upon its Ruins, to which he gave his own Name, and conſecrated it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. This ſecond cauſe of the War is as much diſputed as the firſt, ſince *Euſebius* [e] ſays, that the Colony was not ſent to *Jeruſalem*, till after the taking of *Bither*. But *Dion* ſays, this Colony was the cauſe of the Rebellion, becauſe they could not bear to have Strangers come and live *in their City*, and worſhip ſtrange Gods there; ſo that we can't doubt of the Truth of the Fact. However, [f] to reconcile *Euſebius* and *Dion*, we will ſay, that the Emperor's firſt Deſign was croſs'd by the Jews Rebellion before it was fully executed, becauſe the Jews had expell'd the new Inhabitants; but the Emperor accompliſh'd it, when he had ſubdued them. So that he had ſent the Colony before the War, as *Dion* affirms, and he compleated his Project, when the Rebellion was quell'd, as *Euſebius* ſays.

Laſtly, *Barchochebas*'s Ambition who knew how to make his advantage of the Diſturbance which theſe two Circumſtances created in the Minds of the People, fully determined the Nation to the War. But ſince we are beginning to ſpeak of the falſe *Meſſiah*'s that have deceiv'd their Nation, 'tis not amiſs to take the matter a little higher.

VII. The time was come, in which the Impoſtors appear'd with full aſſurance. *Gamaliel* had ſeen two of 'em periſh, and he was ſo moved with the ill Succeſs of their Enterprize, that he would not have the progreſs of Chriſtianity oppoſed, being perſuaded that Providence would bring the Deſign to nought, if it was not from Heaven [g]: *Theudas*, ſaid he, *before theſe Days roſe up, who was ſlain, and all as many as obeyed him were ſcatter'd and brought to nought. After this Man roſe up* Judas *of* Galilee, *in the days of the Taxing, and he alſo periſhed: And now I ſay unto you, if this Counſel be of Men it will come to nought*. The Chriſtians have been ſo thankful for this moderate Advice, that they have Sainted him with his Son and Grandſon. Their Relicks are ſhewn at *Piſa*, and Travellers are admoniſhed to invoke them, with the hopes of being ſaved by their Merit.

Sanctus Gamaliël, Abybas & Nicodemus
In ſimul ipſi pater, filius atque nepos
Hoc epigramma legens, horum ſuffragia quære,
Teque recommendans poſce ſalutis opem.

St. *Luke* placing *Theudas* before *Judas*, has perplex'd the Interpreters, becauſe *Joſephus* has placed *Judas* [h] in the Tenth Year of our Lord, and made *Theudas* live a long time after. *Euſebius* [i] has followed *Joſephus* in ſpeaking of *Theudas* in *Claudius*'s Reign. On which ſide can the Fault lay? Has *Joſephus* overſet the order of Events? How came *Euſebius* to follow him rather than St. *Luke*, whom he believed a Sacred Author? Has St. *Luke* erred after *Gamaliel*, in ſuppoſing this Jewiſh Doctor could not be ignorant of his own Hiſtory, and of an Event he had been an Eye-witneſs of? *Valeſius*, according to the Genius of Commentators, who think it their Duty to cover the Faults of the Hiſtorians they interpret, takes *Euſebius*'s Part, and to ſhelter himſelf from St. *Luke*'s Authority, he pretends this Sacred Hiſtorian began his Narration with the laſt of theſe Incendiaries, or elſe that he has inſerted into *Gamaliel*'s Narrative the Example of *Theudas*, tho' it did not happen till Ten Years after this Council of the Jews was held. St. *Luke* added this Example to the other which *Gamaliel* had quoted alone, becauſe it made a Proof of the ſame Nature, juſt as *Virgil* does, who makes *Æneas* adviſed to enter into a Port, which was not known in his time.

Portus que require Velinos.

What was *Valeſius*'s Head to parallel St. *Luke* with *Virgil*? A divinely inſpired Writer with a Poet, who did not ſcruple to mix Falſhood with Truth, to embeliſh his Narration? *Virgil* is not pardoned for makig *Dido* live at the ſame time with *Æneas*, or for ſpeaking of the Port *de Piediluco*, *Portuſque Velinos*, which was not as yet made, St. *Luke* could not, without incurring Cenſure, anticipate an Event Twelve or Fifteen Years, nor make *Gamaliel* quite an Example, which as yet had no Being; and an Action that arrived not till he was Dead. The Commentator, who only took this ſide to juſtifie *Euſebius*, might do it another way, by diſtinguiſhing

[b] Jul. Paul. Recept. Sent. l. 5. Tit. 22. [c] Spencer in Orig. cont. Celſ. p. 35. [d] Spartianus in Adr. p. 7. Modeſtinus apud Caſaub. Not. in Spart. p. 27. [e] Euſeb. H. l. 4. c. 6. Dem. Ev. l. 6. c. 18. [f] Xiphilin. in Adriano, p. 263. [g] Acts 5. 37. [h] Joſeph. l. xviii. c. 2. p. 618. l. xx. c. 2. p. 690. [i] Euſeb. l. 11. c. 9. p. 49.

two

two *Theudas*'s, one whereof liv'd under *Claudius*, as he affirms, and the other had rebell'd before *Judas* of *Galilee*, as St. *Luke* ſays, after *Gamaliel*. 'Tis no ſtrange thing, there ſhould be in the ſame Age two Men of the ſame Name, that enterpriz'd the ſame thing. There were in thoſe times two *Simon*'s both Co-temporary, and both Magicians; the one a *Samaritan*, and the other of the Iſle of *Cyprus*. St. *Luke* has ſpoken of the firſt, and *Joſephus* of the ſecond. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the two *Theudas*'s, one of which preceded, and the other followed *Judas*.

VIII. The *Romans* ſent ſome Forces againſt *Judas*, and he miſerably periſh'd. *Alexander*, *Fadus*'s Succeſſor, perſecuted his Children, and cauſed them to be Murder'd. His Followers maintain'd their Maſter's Doctrine with an unſhaken Conſtancy, in the midſt of the moſt cruel Tortures. They ſubſiſted even notwithſtanding the violence that was offer'd them after the taking of *Jeruſalem* in the Caſtle of *Maſſada*, where they were ſhut up; and the Fugitives carried this Doctrine into *Egypt*, where it occaſioned new Maſſacres.

IX. *Origin* has alſo placed *Simon Magus*, and *Doſitheus* in the liſt of falſe *Meſſiahs*. Theſe two Men were *Samaritans*: *Doſitheus* was the Maſter, and *Simon* the Diſciple. The firſt, if we believe *Origen*, poſitively ſaid, that he was the *Meſſiah* ſignified by the Prophets, and the better to fill the Character, his Diſciples maintain'd, that he was raiſed from the Dead; and that if he did not appear to the Eyes of the World, 'twas becauſe he was to lie conceal'd for ſome Years in a Cave.

Simon aſſerted, that he was *the great Power of God*, who had given the Law upon *Sinai*, who had aſſum'd the Appearances and Figure of the Son under *Tiberius*'s Reign, and who afterwards deſcended upon the Heads of the Apoſtles in fiery Tongues. It muſt be confeſs'd, that *Simon* pretended to be the *Meſſiah*, only in an indirect manner; but as he was the Head of a Sect, and there are great Chronological Difficulties about the time when *Doſitheus* liv'd, we'll ſpeak more at large of 'em in another place.

X. The firſt, or at leaſt he that made the greateſt Figure in Perſonating the *Meſſiah*, was *Coziba* or *Barchochebas*. He was a Robber, like the reſt, who hop'd to inrich himſelf with Plunder, and acquire ſome Authority in his Nation by his Out-rages againſt the *Romans*. 'Tis pretended that there were two Impoſtors of this Name, the Grandfather and Grandſon; and their Hiſtory is thus related by the Jews. *Coziba* I. was Elected King by the Jews, two Years after the ruin of the firſt Temple, and died at *Bither*, a City in the Neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, which was the Capital of his Empire. His Son the *Red* ſucceeded him; and afterwards reign'd his Grandſon *Romulus*, who was called *Coziba*. The Jews aſſembled about him, acknowledged him for the *Meſſiah*. The Emperor *Adrian* having notice of it, came with a numerous Army, took *Bither*, and deſtroy'd a multitude of Jews in the Seventy Third Year of the ruin of the Temple [k]. Hence it is concluded, that the Reign of the Three *Cozibas*'s laſted One and Twenty Years. Some [l] are obliged to extend it much farther, ſince they make the firſt *Coziba* Reign under *Domitian*. The ancient Chronicle of the Jews on the Contrary, aſſigns but two Years and a half to *Cozibas*'s Reign. But it only ſpeaks of the Grandſon, who was kill'd by his own People in the City of *Bither*, becauſe he had not the Character of the *Meſſiah*, which was to know a Man to be guilty by the Smell; and we read the ſame thing in the *Thalmud* [m].

XI. Here are as many Blunders as Words, and 'tis ſtrange that ingenious Chriſtian Criticks [n] have attempted to defend ſo ill-contriv'd a Narration. 1. 'Tis abſurdly ſuppoſed, there have been two *Coziba*'s or *Barchochebas*'s. Moſt of the Jews acknowledge but one, and they are in the right. 2. He that induced the Jews to Rebellion towards the end of *Trajan*'s Reign, was not call'd *Barchochebas* but *Andrew*. Neither [o] did he call himſelf the *Meſſiah*, and this Rebellion was in *Egypt*, whereas that of *Barchochebas* happen'd in *Judæa*. 3. They have not known *Trajan*'s Genealogy, ſince they ſay, that he ſent *Adrian* his Siſter's Son, againſt the Jews in *Egypt*; for *Ulpia Adrian*'s Grandmother, was *Trajan*'s Aunt, and theſe two Princes were only Couſins. 4. They are miſtaken in making the War with *Coziba* laſt ſo long, and giving him and his Heirs and Succeſſors a Reign of One and Twenty Years; for his Race ended with him, and the War was terminated in a little time, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel. 5. They make him periſh in the Seventy Third Year of the ruin of the Temple. *Adrian* was alread dead, in the Year 141, and the City *Bither*, by which the War was concluded, had been taken in the Eighteenth of *Adrian*. This Chronological Error ſuffices to ſhew the vanity of the reſt. The Author of the Chronicle of the Jews is more exact than his Commentators; for he makes *Coziba* to Reign but two Years and a half, and ſpeaks but of one Impoſtor. 6. Laſtly, They tell us a Fable, which perfectly ſavours of the Rabbinical Spirit, in pretending that they tried *Coziba* by making him ſmell out the guilty, and that they judged of his Character of *Meſſiah* by his Smell. We muſt therefore acknowledge but one *Coziba*, who took the Title of *Barchochebas*, lived in *Adrian*'s Reign, and was the Source of infinite Miſchiefs to this Nation.

XII. This Man having undertaken to perſuade the Jews, that he was the *Meſſiah*, did three things that facilitated the ſucceſs of his Enterprize. 1. He changed his Name, and took that of the *Son of the Star* or *Barchochebas*, in order to have it believed, that he was the *Star* that *Balaam had ſeen afar off*. He maintained, that he was one of the Stars of Heaven ſent to ſuccour the People, and retrieve 'em from the Oppreſſion under which they groan'd. 2. 'Twas perhaps to confirm this Notion, that he caſt out Fire and Flame from his Mouth when he ſpoke. At leaſt St. *Jerome* has ſaid, that he had Art of deceiving the People by means of ſome lighted Tow, by which he ſeems to vomit Fire. 3. He made choice of a Fore-runner of the ſame Character with himſelf, who was very aſſiſtant to him in theſe Deſigns.

XIII. This Man [p] was *Akiba*, when they make to deſcend from *Siſera* General of the Army of *Jabin*, King of *Tyre*, and from a Jewiſh Mother. He had ſpent forty Years upon the Plains, in looking to the Flocks of a rich Citizen at *Jeruſalem*, call'd *Calba Chuva*. His Maſters [q] Daughter being in Love with him, and unwilling to marry a Shepherd, adviſed him to apply himſelf to Study. They made a Clandeſtine Marriage, after which *Akiba* went and ſpent Twelve Years in the Academy, and brought back with him Twelve Thouſand Scholars. His Wife adviſed him to return again. He continued ſtill twelve Years more, and brought with him Twenty four Thouſand Diſciples. His Wife came to meet him with her Cloaths rent, becauſe her Father provoked with her Marriage, had diſinherited her, but no ſooner had he ſeen *Akiba*, but he fell at his Feet, revok'd his Oath, and gave him a great part of his Eſtate.

[k] Rabbi Abraham Cabbala Hiſtorica apud Petit. Obſ. Sac. l. 3. c. 4. p. 310. David. Ganz. ad An. 388. Jud. p. 102. [l] Seder Olam. c. 31. [m] Ex Gemara Tit. Sanhed. c. 11. Coch. duo Tit. Thalm. p. 401. [n] Petit ibid. [o] Ganz. lib. 2. p. 180. [p] Ganz. Tſemach David, p. 99. [q] Ex Cetubot fol. 62. Wagenſeil in סדטה pag. 312.

We are not told where this Academy was ſeated, from whence *Akiba* brought this prodigious and ſurprizing number of Diſciples; but 'tis a greater Aſtoniſhment to find theſe Twenty Four Thouſand Diſciples, died all betwixt the Paſſover and Pentecoſt, becauſe they had not reſpected one another, and were all buried near *Tiberas*, at the Foot of a hill, with *Akiba*, and his firſt Wife [r]. He continued teaching and writing Books, one whereof [s] is Cabbaliſtical, and is called *Jetſirah* [t]; but it muſt be diſtinguiſhed from that which is aſcribed to the Patriarch *Abraham*, and bears the ſame Name. He was ſo Learned, as to give an Account of the leaſt Letter of the Law; and 'tis boldly ſaid, that *God revealed to him what he had concealed from Moſes.* We find in the *Miſnah* and the *Thalmud* a Thouſand Sentences aſcribed to him, and which are look'd upon, as ſo many Judicious Deciſions. God had permitted him to enter Paradiſe, as well as Doctor *Aſai*, to whom he was to marry his Siſter, *An entire Volume would not contain the remarkable things he has ſaid and done.* Theſe are the Commendations they give this Doctor, who cauſed the Deſolation of his Country, and ſupported the Fraud of an Impoſtor, who call'd himſelf the *Meſſiah*.

XIV. *Lightfoot* [x] makes him a Preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, whilſt this Supreme Council reſided ſtill at *Japhne Iſle*, pretends, that he began his Authority in the Second Year of *Domitian*, after *Jochanan*'s Death, whom he ſucceeded; and that he held this Dignity for Forty Years, till the Ruin of *Bither*, and his Death. We muſt not oppoſe againſt *Lightfoot*, what we have already ſaid of the Tranſlation of the *Sanhedrim* to *Japhne*, which is all Fancy; but the Doctors he follows are miſtaken, ſince they make *Akiba* die in the fifty-ſecond, or fifty-fifth Year after the Ruin of the Temple, which fell upon the hundred twenty-fifth Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*. *Bither* was not taken till 138. ſo that *Akiba*'s Life muſt be lengthen'd to the Age of 133 Years, to reconcile theſe Chronological Calculations. No great Weight therefore can be laid upon what the Jews relate concerning the Birth and Death of *Akiba*, ſince they are ſo perfectly ignorant of the time.

XV. *Barchochebas* appearing at the time that *Akiba*'s Fame was at the height, and that he was head of the *Sanhedrim*, this Doctor cry'd out, *Behold the Star that was to come out of Jacob*, and made himſelf his Squire, or rather his Fore-runner, as *John Baptiſt* had been of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Theſe two Men ſtruck in with the Prejudice of the People, who were for a conquering *Meſſiah*, who ſhould deliver 'em from the *Roman* Yoke, which the laſt War, and *Adrian*'s Perſecution daily made more inſupportable. *Barchochebas*, who found People diſpoſed to follow him, muſter'd up an Army of two hundred thouſand Men, whoſe Strength and Courage they heighten by ſaying there was not one of 'em *but could pluck up a Cedar of Libanus, as they run on Horſe-back.* *Bither* was choſen for his Reſidence, and Capital of his Kingdom. The Jews call it *the Houſe of Spies*, ביתר *Bethtar*, becauſe after the ruin of *Jeruſalem*, Centinels were placed there to ſpie thoſe that went to *Jeruſalem*, who were accuſed of courting the *Romans* Favour, and deſiring Offices, or of ſelling their Eſtates, of which they ſtripp'd 'em, by virtue of theſe Calumnies. They even ſometimes impeached 'em to the *Romans* under other Pretences. *Euſebius* places this City in the Neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*; but there were two Cities of this Name, one twelve, and the other fifty-two Miles diſtant from the Holy City.

St. *Jerom* has called theſe two Cities *Bethoron*, and maintains they were built by *Solomon*, and ruined by the War. *Bethoron* was given by *Pharaoh* for a Portion to his Daughter, when ſhe Married *Solomon*, who reſtored it to the *Levites*, in whoſe Partition it lay. But if we believe the *Jetes*, this is not the true *Bither*, ſince one ſignifies *a Houſe of Spies*, and the other *a Houſe of Liberty*. *Barchochebas* choſe this Place to receive the Royal Unction, and afterwards cauſed Money to be Coined, declaring himſelf at the ſame time the *Meſſiah* and Prince of the Nation. He waited to declare War, when the Emperor *Adrian* had left *Egypt*; but it burſt out in the Year One hundred thirty-four, in the Seventeenth of *Adrian*'s Reign. This is what we are to prove, ſince the World is not agreed upon it.

XVI. St. *Jerom* [y] has ſpoke very variouſly of the time when the War began. He relates the Opinion of the Jews of his Time, who thus calculated *Daniel*'s Weeks. Sixty-nine of theſe Weeks were paſs'd when *Veſpaſian* reduced *Judæa*, to a ſevere Extremity. Seven Weeks, that is forty-nine Years after this Prince appeared *Adrian*, who built *Ælia*, upon the Ruins of *Jeruſalem*, defeated the *Jews* by *Tinnius Rufus*, and then the *Sacrifice ceaſed*. There is a Tenth Week, which ought to be divided betwixt theſe two Princes; for *Veſpaſian*'s War laſted three Years and an half, and *Adrian*'s as long. Thus the Prophet's Seventy Weeks were accompliſhed. St. *Jerom* judiciouſly obſerves, that there were from the time of the Prophecy till *Adrian*, Ninety-nine Weeks and an half, and Six hundred and Ninety-ſix Years. So that the Calculation of the Jews is not exact. Beſides if we reckon the Seven Weeks from the *Death of Veſpaſian*, which happened in the Seventy-ninth Year, the War of the Jews under *Adrian* muſt have commenced in the Hundred twenty-ſeventh Year of our Lord; and if they begin it after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, the Error will be ſtill more manifeſt, ſince the Ruin of the Jews would have happen'd in the Year One hundred and nineteen, and we ſhall ſee that, that is impoſſible.

XVII. However St. *Jerom* [z] has followed this Account; for he ſays that in the Year 119 *Adrian conquered the Jews who had rebell'd againſt him a ſecond time*. But not to examine how this can be reckoned the ſecond Rebellion, ſince they had already revolted twice under *Veſpaſian* and *Trajan*; nor to determine whether *Scaliger* had reaſon to ſay, that he calls it a ſecond War in oppoſition to that of *Veſpaſian*, which was the firſt, ſince a freſher had been ſeen under *Trajan*. St. *Jerom* is not conſiſtent with himſelf; for he ſays in the Sequel "that the "Jews rebelled in the Year One hundred thirty-"three, and that *Adrian* ſent Troops to *Tinnius* "*Rufus*, Governour of the Province, to ſuppreſs "them. *Cochebas* appeared the Year following, and "laſtly [a] in the Year 135 the War concluded with "the abſolute Deſtruction of the Jews, who were "denied ſo much as the Liberty of going to *Jeru*-"*ſalem*." Here you have Opinions quite different. *Scaliger* endeavours to ſoften 'em by ſaying, there was a Commotion in the Year One hundred nineteen, and a more open War Fourteen Years after; but he hazards his Conjecture without any Authority. We muſt therefore ſeek for another Foundation to fix an Event that accompliſhed the ruin of *Judæa*.

[r] Ganz. Tſemach. p. 99. [s] *The firſt work was called* מכילתא Mechilta *or* Mechiltin. [t] ספר יצירה Sepher Jetſirah. *'Tis loſt; but* Rittangelius *hath Printed that which is attributed to* Abraham. [u] Zachutus in Juchaſin p. 62. לא יביל ספר להגיד דכריו [x] Lightfoot Chronica Temporum Op. t. 2. p. 143. Seder olam Zuta p. 43. Ganz. Tſemach. p. 99. [y] Hieron in Daniel c. 9. p. 1074. &c. [z] Hieron. in Chronic. p. 166. [a] Ibid. p. 167.

XVIII. *Dion*

XVIII. *Dion* asserts, that *Adrian* having sent a Colony to *Jerusalem*, and placed a Statue of *Jupiter* where the *Temple of God* stood, this foreign Worship violently affected the Jews. "However [b] *Adrian*'s "Presence, who was then in *Egypt*, and who went "from thence to *Syria*, stopp'd 'em for some time. "They contented themselves during this time with "making bad Arms, and selling 'em to the *Romans*, "that they might not employ them against them-"selves; but they revolted, when the Emperor was "gone." We must therefore know at what time *Adrian* went into *Egypt* and *Syria* to know the time of the War. *Pagi* affirms, that the Emperor made this Voyage in the Year One hundred twenty-eight, and he makes this Conjecture from the great Number of Medals that the Cities of *Syria* and *Egypt* then struck in Honour of this Prince. It can't be denied, that this Conjecture has some Probability; for 'tis likely that the Emperor's Presence excited the Peoples Liberality. However it can't be certainly concluded, that the thing was so. We have even a Proof to the contrary, since *Adrian* was still at *Rome* the Year following.

XIX. *Phlegon*, *Adrian*'s Secretary, has preserved a Letter of his Master address'd to *Servian* the Consul. He gives him an Account of what he had seen in *Egypt*, and of the turbulent Inclination of its Inhabitants, and makes him a Present of some [c] Vessels which *he had designed for him and his Sister*; which he desires him to make use of at Meals; and 'tis easier to know the time of the Jewish War from this Letter, than from the Medals of the Cities of *Syria*; for it must have been written, when the Emperor left *Egypt* or *Syria*. *Servian*, to whom this Letter was written was his Brother in Law, since he made him a Present in common to his *Sister and himself*. This *Servian* is call'd Consul, which Dignity he had not under *Adrian* till 134. We must conclude then that the Emperor left not *Egypt* and *Syria* till the Beginning of that Year, and that his Absence the same Year gave a Handle to the Jews Rebellion. Another Heathen Historian quoted by *Eusebius*, asserts, *that the War was in its whole Vigour*; that *Bither*, which the Rebels had fortified, was taken [d] the Tenth of *August*, in the Eighteenth Year of *Adrian*. The War therefore began the preceding Year, since it was in its Vigour, and near its Conclusion. The Emperor gave his Name to the City he had built upon the Ruins of *Jerusalem* in the Year 136, in which he celebrated his *Vicenalia*. So that the War began in the Year 134, and ended two Years after. Lastly *Buonarotti* [e] produces a Medal struck by this Prince in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, for having obtained a great Victory over the Rebels, and driven the Jews from *Jerusalem*. To this nothing can be objected, but the Authority of the Jews quoted by St. *Jerom*, who say the War lasted three Years and an half. But is it not plain that they have made this Calculation only to accomodate the Event to their false Interpretation of *Daniel*'s Prophecy? Being obliged to divide a Week of Years betwixt *Vespasian* and *Adrian*, they have given three Years and an half to each of these Princes for their making War, and are not concern'd whether the thing be true or not. They have committed a more manifest Blunder in reckoning but 490 Years from the Captivity to the Destruction of the Temple.

XX. The *Romans* despised the Beginnings of this Rebellion, and were persuaded doubtless, that the Jews weaken'd by *Trajan*'s Wars, the Remembrance whereof was hardly worn out, would difficultly support their Temerity. But when they saw the Numbers of the Seditious encrease, and that they fought with a Valour, that seem'd rais'd upon Despair, that all the Robbers of the Neighbouring Provinces join'd them in hopes of Plunder; and that not only *Judæa*, but *all the World was in Motion* [f], they were obliged to change their Measures. Some fancy that the Emperor march'd in Person against the Rebels, because they observe, that this Prince writing to the Senate, had not ventur'd to preface his Letters, with the ordinary Form; *If you and your children are in good health, I am glad, I and my Army are in a good condition:* because of the great Losses he had sustain'd in this War. Whereas *Adrian* only made War *by his Generals*. An Historian [g] says it in express terms. To imagine two Wars under *Adrian*, one managed by himself, and the other by his Generals, is allowing too much to Conjectures void of Proof. The Emperor therefore was in some Neigbouring Province, from whence he gave orders, and wrote to the Senate. Besides they attribute to him a View which he could not have; for 'tis not the Character of a General publickly to profess his Losses, especially after having conquered the Rebels, punished their Leaders, and taken their Strong Holds.

XXI. *Barchochebas*, who was superiour in Troops, at first committed great Disorders. *Justin Martyr* complain'd that he only attack'd and massacred the Christians, because they would not abjure their Religion. The *Thalmudists* don't deny, that *Barchochebas* obliged a great many Persons to be *circumcised a second time*, and to return to their deserted *Judaism*. His Hatred against these Deserters of his Religion, and Despair of making the Christians embark in his violent Measures, who had the same Interest as himself to declare against the *Romans*, might redouble his Cruelty. But can it be imagined that the Heathens against whom he declared War, and the Colony which *Adrian* had begun to send to *Jerusalem* were more humanely treated by this Usurper than the Christians? This Impostor only favoured his own Nation, and treated with the utmost Barbarity all others that fell into his hands. The Jewish Historian [h] has been guilty of a more manifest Error than *Justin*, in accusing *Barchochebas* of a horrible Massacre at *Alexandria*, in *Egypt*, and the Island of *Cyprus*, till *Trajan* sent *Adrian* thither. He has confounded two Events; one that happened in *Trajan*'s Reign with *Barchochebas*'s Insurrection against *Adrian*.

XXII. *Tinnius Rufus*, who had sometime before been the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Syria*, was there in *Judæa*. 'Tis said [i] that *Akiba* enter'd into a Conference with him, and his Wife also came to visit the Doctor, and attempted to raise in him an impure Passion: but as he saw her, *he spat, he laugh'd, he wept*. [k] He *spat*, because he remember'd, that she proceeded from a drop of impure Water; he *laugh'd*, because she foresaw he would turn Jewess, and he should marry her: Lastly he *wept*, because so great a Beauty must decay. He went afterwards to convert *Rufus*, by proving to him the Observation of the Sabbath, *because the Smoke proceeded not that day from his Father's Tomb:* but *Turnus Rufus* sent him back again. As it would be surprizing, that *Akiba*, who was then a Hundred and nineteen Years old, should think of marrying the *Roman* General's Wife; the Interpreters say that he had this Conference with *Turnus Rufus*, when he drew the Plough over the Ruins of the Temple, because *Akiba* was then but forty-seven Years old. The Fact to me

[b] Xiphil. p. 262. [c] Vopiscus in Saturnino, p. 245. [d] An. Chr. 135. [e] Buonarotti Observat. sopra alcuni Medaglionni Adrian. [f] Xiphil. p 263. [g] Dodwel Diss. in Iren. [h] Ganz. Tsemach. p. 101. [i] V. Bux. Sin. p. 916. [k] Ex Gemara c. 7. Cocch. duo Tract. Thalmud. p. 275, & 276.

seems

ſeems ſo fabulous, that 'tis needleſs to examine, at what time it happen'd. Beſides, tho' they all agree to ſpeak of *Tyrannus Rufus* as a [l] wicked Man, who ſpoke publickly againſt the Law, and who was often convinced by *Akiba*; yet they give ſuch different and uncertain Characters to know him by, that the great *Scaliger* thought they ſpoke of *Veſpaſian*.

XXIII. We find by *Euſebius* and *Syncellus*, who has copied him, that the General, who commanded the Army in *Judæa* againſt *Barchochebas*, was call'd *Tinnius Rufus*. *Adrian*, who was not acquainted with the whole importance of the War, ſent him at firſt a great Reinforcement, but this General being often beaten, he ſent for *Julius Severus*, one of the greateſt Captains of his Age, from *England*. This able Commander durſt not give Battle to the over-numerous Jews; but he attack'd 'em in Parties, he ſtraitned 'em in their Camp, he cut off their Proviſions, and by that means growing ſuperior, he laid Siege to *Bither*, which they made their retreat.

XXIV. The *Rabbins* ſay, that there were in that City four Hundred Colleges, in each College four Hundred Profeſſors, and that each Profeſſor had four Hundred Scholars, who being muſter'd up, made a great Army. They ſuſtain'd the firſt Efforts of the Siege, tho' they were only arm'd with Pencils which they uſed to write with. [m] *Barchochebas* encourag'd all his Subjects, and Executed *Tryphon* a famous *Rabbin*, who talk'd of ſurrendring. Nevertheleſs the City was taken, and *Barchochebas* was kill'd. *Adrian*, *to whom they had brought his Head, was deſirous to ſee his Body, but when they attempted to carry it, they found a Serpent about his Neck, which frighted the Bearers, and the Prince acknowledged that God alone could kill that Man.* However, they have ſince own'd the Impoſture of this Man, whom they have afterwards call'd *the Son of a Lye*. The Scholars, who had ſo well defended the Place, were bound with their Books and thrown into the Fire. They add, that the ſlaughter was ſo great, that more People died in this War, than came out of *Egypt*. Upon one ſingle Stone, were found the Skulls of Three Hundred Children. The Torrents of Blood were ſo great, as to roll Stones of four Pound weight to the Sea, which was four Miles diſtant. Laſtly, The Inhabitants of theſe Places did not dung their Ground for ſeven Years together, being ſufficiently fatned by the Carkaſſes. And therefore they have inſerted in their Liturgy a Hymn appointed for the Faſt celebrated the eighteenth of the Month of *Ab*, which anſwers to the Month of *July* and *Auguſt*, in which they call *Adrian* a ſecond *Nebuchadnezar*, and pray God *to remember this cruel Prince, who deſtroy'd* 480 *Synagogues*.

XXV. *Akiba* was taken with his Son *Pappus*, whom ſome Chriſtians ridiculouſly Marry with the Sinner *Mary Magdalene*. They ſay, that *Akiba* was ſo Religious in his Priſon, that he waſhed with the Water that was given him to drink, chooſing rather to die with Thirſt, than not to waſh. But I queſtion whether he was left long enough in Priſon to run that hazard. *Adrian* cauſed *his Skin to be torn off with an Iron Comb*, and with him *the honour of the Law vaniſh'd* [n].

I know not how *Lightfoot*, who was ſo well vers'd in theſe Matters could ſay [o], that *Akiba was the only conſiderable Perſon* that periſhed in this Maſſacre; for ſince he generally implicitely followed the Jewiſh Hiſtorians, he ſhould have reckon'd in that Liſt of Martyrs *Iſchbab* one of the Scribes, who was kill'd at the Hour of Prayer [p]; his Carkaſs remained unburied, expoſed to the Dogs and wild Beaſts. Nor ſhould he have forgot *Ananias* or *Chanina*, the Son of *Thardion*, who was condemned to be Burnt, and the Book of the Law was caſt into the Pile and burnt with him, becauſe he had dar'd to read and explain it in contradiction to the Emperor. And therefore they celebrate his Feaſts the 27 of *Sivan*. *Juda* the Son of *Bava* [q], upheld the tottering *Sanhedrim*; for the Emperor had prohibited the Creation of new Senators, and the Senate was like to be ruin'd by it; but he plac'd himſelf betwixt the two Cities *Uſcia* and *Sciaphara*, where the *Sanhedrim* had been ſometimes Tranſlated, and there he gave Impoſition of Hands to five Doctors, one of which was the great *Meir*; and by this means, notwithſtanding the Emperor's Severity, the vacancies of the *Sanhedrim* were fill'd up. The Doctors he had laid his Hands upon fled; but *Juda* ſtirr'd no more than a Stone, he ſteadily waited the Soldiers, who pierc'd him three Hundred times with Lances, and left his Body like a Sieve. They [r] reckon farther in the Catalogue of Martyrs at that time, the Son of *Suma*, who was an admirable Man; for he was one of thoſe to whom God had opened Paradiſe. He [s] ſaw once Thouſands of Spirits upon the Mountain where the Temple had been built; and, inſtead of being frighten'd, he cried, *Bleſſed be God, who has created all theſe Spirits to ſerve me.* Others poſtpone his Martyrdom ſome Years; becauſe they ſay he was Preceptor to *Juda* the Saint, who came into the World the ſame day, that *Akiba* went out of it; *for one Sun roſe when another ſet*. Laſtly, [t] The *R. Joſes Setham*, ſo famous in the *Miſnah*, was baniſhed by *Adrian* to *Tſippori*, tho' he had not meddled in the Rebellion, and his only Crime was his being ſilent, whilſt the *Romans* were praiſed; which denotes a great ſeverity.

XXVI. Indeed *Dion* repreſents this War, as one of the cruelleſt that ever was. The *Romans* were frequently beaten, and loſt abundance of good Troops. The Jews, who had at that time a profound Veneration for *Solomon*'s Tomb, ſaw it fall, and at once the wild Beaſts enter'd *Jeruſalem*, which was an Omen of the following Slaughter. The Preſage was not inſignificant; for [u] *Five Hundred and Eighty Thouſand Perſons were killed in the Battles, and the numbers that periſhed by Famine, Miſery, or Fire, can't be reckon'd.* After the taking of *Bither*, the Jews had ſtill Fifty fortify'd Caſtles, and Troops to defend 'em. It ſeems alſo from a Medal that the Emperor ſtruck the Year following, that he had obtain'd a Victory over 'em that Year; but in reality the reſiſtance was not long, and the Leaders being taken off, the reſt more eaſily ſubmitted.

XXVII. *Adrian* finiſhed the Building of *Ælia*, and the Jews of St. *Jerom*'s time ridiculouſly aſcribe this Work to *Ælius Titus* their Deſtroyer. St. *Epiphanius* [x] ſays, that he gave *Aquila* his Brother-in-Law the care of theſe Buildings. But this Proſelyte, who turned Jew, after he had embraced Chriſtianity, had no Conſanguinity with this Prince; nor do we find, that he was intruſted with the Inſpection of theſe Buildings. The Circumference of the new City was ſomewhat different from the old; ſeveral Places being included in it, that were formerly without the Gates; but in the main they made uſe of the Foundations of the firſt City. *Valeſius* denies it, and for a reaſon alledges, that *Adrian* would be far from Re-building a City implacable to the *Romans*; and favouring the Jews, who had brought upon him ſuch a wretched War. But this Prince did not do it in favour to the Jews, he gave it to other Inhabitants. And therefore Hiſtorians obſerve, that they

[l] *They call him* טירנוס רופוס הרשע *Turanus Rufus the Wicked.* [m] V. Lent. de Judæor. Pſendo. Meſſ. p. 17, *&c.* [n] Miſnah in Sota 515. p. 303. [o] Lightfoot Chronica temp. 5, 6. p. 144. t. 2. [p] Ganz. Tſemach, p 103. [q] Ex Gemara tit. Sanhedr. c. 1. Sect. 14. Coch. duo tit. Thalm. p. 161. [r] Thalmud. Cod. Sanhedr. Bartol. t. 2. p. 276. [s] Wagenſeil in Sota. [t] Bartol. ibid. p. 291. [u] In Adriano, p. 263. Hier. in Chr. p. 168. [x] Epiph. de Menſ. c. 14. p. 160.

began

began to ſettle a Biſhop there, who came of Heathen Race: The Deſign was to mortifie the old Inhabitants, by excluding them for ever from their Primitive Habitation.

XXVIII. The Truth is, *Adrian* prohibited their return for ever; and to make the City odious, if it were poſſible, he changed the uſe of the remaining Monuments of old *Jeruſalem*; for he employ'd the Stones that had been uſed in the building of the Temple to make a Theatre, and he erected Statues of falſe Gods in the Places, where the Temple ſtood, or *Jeſus Chriſt* had been Crucified and Buried. This laſt particular related to the Chriſtians more than the Jews. Laſtly, St. *Jerome* ſays [y], that he cauſed the Image of a Hog to be placed over the Gate that led to *Bethlehem*, to ſhew that the Jews were ſubject to the Power of the *Romans:* But he is miſtaken; the Swine was not placed there to indicate the Jews Slavery, but to make 'em abhor entring into *Jeruſalem*, becauſe they hated this Animal, the uſe of which was forbidden by the Law, and they thought the Gate was defiled and profan'd by this Figure.

Adrian more effectually to evacuate the City of its old Inhabitants, cauſed a great part of 'em to be ſold at the Fair of *Terebinth*. *Hegeſippus* ſays, that the *Terebinth* was a Tree, that had continued from the Creation of the World, under which they met to Traffick: But 'was the place where *Abraham* had pitch'd his Tent, and receiv'd the Angels, which made it Venerable. The Jews were expoſed to Sale there at the price of Horſes; and thoſe that could not be ſold were carried to another Fair, which was kept at *Gaza*. In St. *Jerome*'s time, they applied to this Miſery, theſe words; *A cry was heard in Ramah, Rachel weeping for her Children*; becauſe their Miſery and Affliction were exceſſive. This Father alſo applied to the Miſeries that happen'd under *Adrian* this Prophecy of *Zachariah* [z], *I will feed the Flock of ſlaughter*; becauſe that he had learnt from the *Tradition and ancient Hiſtory* of the Jews, that this Prince had put a great number to Death without being puniſh'd by God, and that afterwards he ſold them at *Terebinth*, or carried 'em into *Egypt*. This Father acquaints us with three things; 1. That he had read the Traditions and Hiſtory of the Jews concering their Calamities; and therefore there muſt have been ſuch at that time. 2. That *Terebinth* Fair ſtill continued; but that the Jews were aſham'd to be preſent at it, becauſe they remember'd the uſage of their Fathers. He adds in another place, [a] that the Jews aſſembled, and came in his time to buy of the Soldiers the Liberty of ſeeing *Jeruſalem*. They could not weep without paying for it; and thoſe who had bought the Blood of our Saviour, purchaſed their very Tears. The Women and Old Men, loaden with Tatters and Years, were ſeen with Tears in their Eyes to repair to the Mount of *Olives*, and bewail the Deſtruction of the Temple. The Soldiers made a long advantage of the Jews Veneration for the Rubbiſh of the Holy City, and of *Adrian*'s ſeverity of forbidding their Entrance for ever; for they ſold 'em at a dear rate, the ſight of this Place, and the liberty of ſtrewing Perfumes upon a Stone there. Laſtly, St. *Jerome* aſſures us, that *Adrian* convey'd part of theſe Priſoners to *Egypt*, where their number was conſiderably augmented.

XXIX. It muſt however be obſerv'd, that this Father has over-ſtrain'd *Adrian*'s Edict; he affirms, that this Prince baniſh'd the Jews all *Judæa* for ever, and he grounds upon *Tertullian*'s Authority, who had ſaid the ſame thing before him. 'Tis eaſie to conceive, that very few remain'd after a loſs of ſix or ſeven Hundred Thouſand Men, who had been deſtroy'd by War and Famine; but nevertheleſs ſome ſtill remain'd in the Country, tho' Poor and Miſerable. 'Tis ſtrange that St. *Jerome* ſhould be ignorant or forgetful of the Patriarchs of the Jews, that reſided in this Country, or of the Schools of *Tiberias* which grew ſo famous, or laſtly, of the Doctors, that *Origen* had ſeen and conſulted in *Judæa*. People ſometimes ſay things without conſidering, and thus *Athanaſius* declared, That *by a juſt Judgment of God Jeruſalem was no more.*

XXX. *Adrian* having ſucceſsfully concluded the War in *Judæa*, ſtamp'd another Medal, on which was ſeen a Woman holding two naked Children, and Sacrificing upon an Altar with theſe words:

ADVENTUS AUG. JUDÆÆ.
The arrival of the Emperor in Judæa.

Triſtan [b] thought, that the Woman who Sacrifices, repreſents this ſubdued Province, which conſents to become Heathen, and to Sacrifice to the falſe Gods; and that ſhe brings to the Altar two *naked Children*, to ſhew, that ſhe renounced Circumciſion. 'Tis too ſubtile to find the want of Circumciſion in theſe naked Children. The Emperor meant rather to ſignifie by the Altar and the Sacrifice, that the old Religion was aboliſhed in this Province, which he had Colonied with new Inhabitants. We ſee another Medal [c] of this ſame Prince, where JUDÆA is repreſented as a Woman on her Knees, giving her Hand to the Emperor, and Three Children imploring Mercy. One of theſe Children is naked. Will it be ſaid, that the deſign of it was to ſhew his not being Circumciſed? The Medaliſt's intention was to impreſs a Monument, repreſenting the Submiſſion and deſperate Miſery of *Judæa*, after *Barchochebas*'s defeat.

XXXI. Thoſe that dwelt in the Eaſt were much more fortunate. *Trajan* had carried the War againſt 'em as far as *Meſopotamia*. But *Adrian* upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, having prefer'd 'em Inglorious Peace to a doubtful War, conſented that the *Euphrates* ſhould be made the Boundary of the *Roman* Empire. So that the Jews of this Country, had no ſhare in this Princes War againſt their Nation. *Dion* inſinuates the Contrary; for he ſays, that *the Jews roſe in all Parts to do miſchief to the Romans, and that all the Earth was in motion.*

'Tis true, the Confederacy was form'd of three ſorts of Perſons. Some Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Provinces animated with the hopes of Plunder, and the firſt advantagious Succeſſes, join'd their ancient Enemies, to fight the *Romans*. Many Jews of other Provinces of the Empire, who ſtill breathed after their Liberty, and ſought an opportunity of recovering it, laid hold on this. Perhaps too, ſome came from the remoteſt Parts, and from beyond *Euphrates* to the ſuccour of their Brethren, and therefore the number of the Dead amounted to above ſix Hundred Thouſand, which number could not have been found in *Judæa* alone, after what it had ſuffer'd under *Trajan*. Nevertheleſs it can't be ſaid, that *Adrian* himſelf carried the War into the Eaſt, and paſs'd the *Euphrates*; for he went into his retreat of *Tivoly*, where he render'd himſelf compleatly odious, by the exerciſe of his Cruelties.

XXXIII. Some Criticks affirm, that this Prince added a new degree of Miſery to the Jews, by impoſing on them a Tribute for the Liberty of reading the Bible in *Hebrew*, and that this Tribute was ſtill paid in *Tertullian*'s time, whoſe Authority they go upon; for he ſays in his Apology, [d] That the *Jews every Saturday purchaſed the liberty of reading publickly by*

[y] Chron. p. 168. an. 137. [z] Zachr. 11. 7. Hier. in Zachar. p. 506. [a] In Sophon. 1. p. 396. [b] Triſtan Comment. Hiſtor. Adrian, p. 363. [c] Apud Freherum de Numiſm. cenſus, p. 3648. [d] Tertul. Apol. c. xviii. p. 57. p. 2575. Petit. Var. Lect. c. 18. p. 2569.

a Tax

a Tax they paid. They say that the Jews, that had highly esteem'd the *Septuagint* Version, began to abhor it, when they perceiv'd it was more favourable to the Christians than the *Hebrew*. But *Adrian* commanded 'em only to use this Version; so that they were forced to pay Money to read the *Hebrew* in the Synagogues on the Sabbath.

XXXIII. Criticks are commonly bold in framing imaginary Systems. 'Tis true, the Christians found the *Septuagint* the more advantageous to 'em, because there were few that understood *Hebrew*, whereas the *Greek* Tongue was spread over all the Empire, and this made it odious to the Jews. The same motive induced 'em in *Justinian*'s Reign to prosecute those, who read this Version in their Synagogues; and 'tis easily conceived, that this Prince, who was concern'd to countenance the Progress of Christianity, maintain'd the Privileges of those that read the Scripture in *Greek*. But 'tis not conceivable that *Adrian* had any such Motive: It was equally indifferent to him, whether they read the *Greek* or *Hebrew* in their Synagogues or Houses. On the contrary the latter Language being barbarous to most of the *Latins* and *Greeks* of the Empire made Judaism the less dangerous. Besides this Impost levied by *Adrian* upon the Jews has never been spoken of. Whereas it must have been much better known, if it had been paid from the beginning of the Second Century, to *Tertullian*'s time. But *Tertullian* neither speaks of *Adrian*, nor of the reading of the Bible in *Hebrew* rather than in *Greek*; he only signifies the Liberty of Conscience, and the *publick* exercise of Religion, which was bought by some Tribute. *Tertullian* designed to prove the Scripture to be ancient, and having shewn that *Menedemus* and *Aristæas* testifie it, he adds a Proof from publick Custom; for the *Jews still read it publickly, and they have every Sabbath made use of the liberty they have obtained by a Tax.* This Tax is rather, that of the *Didrachms*, which the Emperors still exacted in *Origen* and *Tertullian*'s time. This Reflection accords with the History of the Jews; for they say, that *Judas* the Son of *Sciammia*, *Meir*'s Disciple caused the Emperor's Edict to be abridg'd, who forbad *Sacrificing on the Sabbath, reading the Law, and Circumcising Children.* [c] The Jews weeping and crying before the Gate of a *Roman* Lady; *We are the Children of one and the same Father by* Isaac, *and of one and the same Mother by* Rebecca, *why do you use us so severely?* Obtained their Desires.

[c] Rosch. Haschiana c. 1. Bart. B. R. t. 2. p. 276.

CHAP. X.

Of the Disciples of Akiba, *and of the other Learned Men, who lived at that time.*

I. Juda *never sins. A great* Preacher. *He favours the* Romans. II. Chanina, *his Application to Study.* III. Jochanan, *Author of the Prayers repeated at this Day,* IV. Meir, *the Light of the Age.* V. *Why his Wife is prefer'd before him.* VI. *This Woman's Answers. Why she hanged her self.* VII. Meir's *Death. The time he lived in, ill fix'd.* VIII. Dositheus, *several Doctors of this Name.* IX. Somechus, *his Subtilty and Reasoning.* X. Rabbi Joses *a Currier, whether he is the Author of the* Seder Olam Rabba. XI. Scimon *a Wonder-working Saint.* XII. Scimon *the Son of* Eleazar, *his Pride corrected.* XIII. Juda *the Saint.*

I. WE are told, that *Akiba* left a great many Disciples, who all distinguished themselves by their Learning and Virtue. The Moderns, who are infatuated with them, make the Glory of their Nation depend on 'em. And therefore they preserve their Names, and all that the Tradition of the *Thalmudists* has brought down to them.

Juda, the Son of *Elai*, [f] *never sinned in his whole Life.* Hence it is, that when any good Action is spoken of without naming the Author, they Father it upon him. He was reckoned in his Nation the *Prince of Orators.* He obtained the Favour of the *Romans* by praising them for *Adorning publick Places, and restoring the Bridges and Baths. Simeon Dochaides*, who could not bear these Encomiums, cried to him: "The *Romans* adorn publick Places to entertain Prostitutes; they repair Bridges more easily to gather Taxes and Baths to wash with Pleasure. This was reported by a Traitor, and the angry *Romans* condemned *Simeon* to Death. The Jews banished *Joses Tsippori*, because he had given Consent by his silence; and they openly protected "their Panegyrist *Juda*." He became Head of an Academy [g]. He Composed a Commentary [h] upon *Leviticus*, which they call the *Books* by way of Excellency. Some think this Commentary is preserv'd, because there is a very ancient one upon this *Sacerdotal Book.* He fasted almost all the Year, living on Beets, and drinking no Wine but on Festivals. He died with the Reputation of a Saint, and therefore the Jews still visit his Tomb, which they have plac'd upon a Mountain cover'd with Olive Trees, near a little City of *Galilee*, call'd *Enun Zaithun.*

II. There was a *Chanina*, the Son of *Chachini*, whom they reckon among the five Judges, who had their Court at *Japhne.* "He Married young; but he left "his Wife to study the Law; and so violent was his "Application to it, that being returned Home, he "neither knew his House nor his Wife [i]." *Eleazar Chisma* another Disciple of *Akiba*, was so great an Arithmetician, as to count the *Drops of Water in the Sea.* It has been said [k] of him, that he descended before the Ark; that is, that he instituted a Custom practised by Votaries at this Day of prostrating themselves before the Chest where the Law is kept, and saying their Prayers there, thinking hereby to accomplish the saying of *David*, *I have called upon the deep places*,

III. *Jochanan Hassandalar*, who lived also in *Adrian*'s Reign, said, That *every Assembly that was made in the Name of God remained, and that the others disperse*; because Vertue is the Soul of Societies, and the Knot that ties 'em close, but Vice ruins and destroys them. We should not speak of *Eleazar* the Son of *Simeon Jochaides*, who was pursued by the *Romans*, and concealed a long time with his Father, were not some Prayers ascribed to him, which the *Italian* and *German* Jews make use of. We have reason however to doubt of 'em, since they contain the

[f] *We often read these words* מעשה כרסיד אחר Opus alicui pio. *And they must be understood of* Juda Bar Elai, *or of* Juda Ben Baba, *of whom we have spoken.* [g] Ganz Tsemach, p. 105. *We know not what they say, that he was declared so by the Emperor's Order.* [h] ספרא Siphra. *It is also called* תורה כהנים The Law of Priests. [i] Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 3. p. 271. [k] Ibid. t. 1. p. 222.

Names

Names of Angels, which are wholly barbarous and unknown to the ancient Doctors of this Nation.

IV. But the most famous of all *Akiba*'s Pupils, was the Illustrious *Meir*. They give him this Name, because he was the *Light* [l] of the Learned, and open'd the Eyes of his Disciples. They said of him, *Meir* had for his Preceptor *Akiba*, the *Light of the World*. He became the *Light of the Age*, and left behind him the *Light of the World*. *Juda* the Saint, who was his Disciple. They make him the Son or Grandson of the Emperor *Nero*, and a Proselyte of Justice, as was his Master *Akiba*. *Vorstius* also makes him the *genuine Son of* Juda *the Saint*: But the Historian [m] that he Translated, never meant to say so great an Absurdity. He only affirms, that this Doctor *liv'd so long, as to assist at the Wedding of* Juda *the Saint's Son*. He Married a Learned Woman, whose decisions the Thalmudists receive with greater Reverence than those of her Husband, notwithstanding all their Veneration for him.

V. For they remark, that *Meir* in explaining the Law, advanced the Opinions of another. This other was his Master *Eliscia* [n], whose Name he conceal'd, because being entered into Paradise, and surprised with the Glory of the Angel *Metatron*, he fell into the Error of the two Principles. The Thalmudists, who were afraid, that *Meir* vented his Master's Sentiments, and were ashamed to derive their Doctrine from an heretical Hand, do follow not *Meir*'s Opinions, but when they are found consistent with the Decisions of other Doctors; but for his Wife, they list her among the *Tanaites*. She has left Three Hundred Traditions, which she learnt from Thirty Masters. Some [o] also reckon Three Hundred Doctors, that the number of Masters may exactly answer that of her Decisions.

VI. There were in her Neighbourhood wicked Wretches, that disturb'd her Husband, who said to God as *David* [p], *Let the Sinners be consumed out of the Earth, and let the wicked be no more*. *Beruna* disturb'd at this Interpretation, represented to her Husband, that he did not understand the words of the Psalm, since the Prophet only beg'd of God, that *Sins might be destroy'd*, after which, *the wicked would be no more*. *David* did not desire the Destruction of Sinners, but of Sin, which is much more Charitable.

A Heathen asking her one day the Explication of these words of *Isaiah* [q], *Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear*; she answered, that the Jewish Church was this barren Woman, whose Happiness the Prophet admired, because she did not bring forth Infidels to be damn'd. Nevertheless this so learned a Woman made an ill End. She suffer'd her self to be seduc'd by one of *Meir*'s Scholars, who acted in concert with his Master, and gave him his place at the Assignation she had assign'd. She hang'd her self in Despair, and her Husband who had deceived her, was so asham'd of this misfortune, that he left the *Holy Land* and went to *Babylon*. There he Married a second Wife, not so Learned as the other, and return'd to *Judæa*.

VII. He is said to die in the Year 130 of our Lord; but this is impossible, if he was at the Marriage of *Juda* the Saint's Son. This latter was not Born till the Year 135, or 136. Nevertheless *Meir* was his Preceptor. How then could he die six Years before: He don't pretend to censure *Bartolocci*'s Reflection [r], as a fault; nor precisely fix the time, in which all the Doctors we speak of taught. We only know it from the Jews, whose Chronology is very uncertain. They are evidently out concerning *Akiba*'s Rebellion, and the taking of *Bither*, which they anticipate many Years. It suffices, that all the Doctors we here give the Character of, lived in the Second Century.

Meir had heard a Voice crying, *Cease to employ thy self in Commerce, Study the Law. If thou interrupt'st that Study, thou shalt suffer much, but God shall abundantly recompence thy application to it*. He took the Advice, which he thought came from Heaven. He knew *Three Hundred Parables about Foxes*. He had the Art to maintain *Pro* and *Con*, the Affirmative and the Negative. He one Day prov'd that a thing was unclean, and the next Day he prov'd the contrary, by Arguments that startled his Auditors. Had he not reason after this to boast, there was not *a more Learned Man in the World* than himself, and to call God to witness it?

VIII. *Dosithay* or *Dositheus*, was one of *Meir*'s Disciples, we must not confound him with one *Dositheus* a Priest, sent by *Esarhaddon* to the *Cuthæans to teach 'em the Law*, that they might not be devoured by Lions. 'Tis true, these two Men had not only the same Name, but the same Father [f]. But we ought to separate them by the space of Six or Seven Hundred Years, or rather the first is imaginary. There was also another *Dositheus*, who was the Son of *Janni*, who could not have studied under *Meir*, since his Father lived not till the end of the Second Century. This is a fresh Instance of the Confusion found in the Jewish Chronology; for 'tis not likely, there were three *Dositheus*'s Doctors of the Law, and that the Fathers of the two first had the same Name. This Man determin'd [t], that it was no Crime to forget some Portion of the Law, except when it was done voluntarily, and this forgetfulness became innocent, when Application to Study was the cause of it. The Decision is not very curious; but yet it has admitted *Dositheus* into the Rank of *Tanaites* and Fathers; whose Sentences are Religiously preserv'd. He was ask'd one Day concerning the difference of Mens and Womens Voices, because the Spouse says in the *Canticles*, *Thy Voice is sweet*. To explain this Passage, he consider'd the Man and the Woman, and the Place of their Birth. The Woman was taken from the Side, and the Bones rubbing against one another, made an agreeable sound, whereas the Earth of which the Man was formed, has no Voice nor grateful sound at all.

IX. *Somechus* the Son of *Joses*, was another of *Meir*'s Scholars; so ingenious as to give Forty Eight Reasons upon every Question that was proposed to him. This is the Elogy they give him. But is this commending a Doctor to the best advantage? 'Tis very difficult for all Reasons to be good, when they are numerous: The Multiplication weakens them. The Imagination is pleased with the number, and the quickness of the Author, but good Sense requires Weight instead of Number, and one that is solid ought to be prefer'd before Forty Eight that are dazling and transparent. By this they would extol the subtilty of *Somechus*, who had been imitated by the School-Divines.

X. *Chelpeta*, a Citizen of *Tsippori*, had two Sons that studied under *Meir*. *Joses* grew the most famous. The Emperor *Adrian* banished him from *Tiberias*, and sent him to live in his Native Country, where the Learned were not honour'd as in an Academy. Here he took to the Trade of a Currier. The Jews, who find most part of the Doctors to be only Mechanicks, have turned their Reproach into Glory, by

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[l] *He was before called* Meischa; *but the Name of* Meir *was given him from* אורה *Orah Lux*. Ganz. Tsemach, p. 105. [m] Wagenseil in Sota S. 15. p. 39. [n] *For this reason he was called* אחר *Acher. We have spoken of his Error, his Damnation and his Salvation procured by* Meir. [o] Ganz. Tsemach. Wagenseil 300 ex Pesachim, fol. 62. [p] *'Tis in Psalm.* 104. 35. יתמו חטאים *Let the Sinners be consumed, but she understood it of Sins.* [q] Isa. 54. 1. [r] Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 3. Meir. [t] *They are both called* R. Dostai, Ben R. Jannai. [t] Pirke Abbot c. 3. a. 8. p. 33. *He grounded upon the words of* Deuteronomy 4. 9.

making a Law, commanding all the *Rabbins* to learn a Trade. Some [u] Chriſtians imagine this was done in emulation of the Apoſtles and Diſciples, who labour'd with their own Hands. But this Reaſoning is unjuſt; for if the Handicraft of the Apoſtles was a ſubject of Jealouſie, the Council of *Trent* ought not to have deſtroy'd this Glory, and changed it into a Reproach, by forbidding the conferring of Orders, on a Man that had not a Benefice or a Patrimony ſufficient to maintain him. Beſides it was better to get a Livelihood by honeſt Labour like St. *Paul*, than to Authorize ſuch a begging Lazineſs, as that of the Monks. Without engaging here in any Diſcuſion, it muſt be owned, that the Chriſtian and Jewiſh Doctors laboured at that time out of pure Neceſſity. *Joſes* was obliged to be a Currier, becauſe his Inheritance that was ruin'd by *Adrian*, could not give him Bread. For indeed 'tis obſerv'd, that there were neither Olive-trees nor Olives at that time, becauſe the *Romans* had pluck'd them up. Notwithſtanding his Poverty, he Compoſed a Chronicle [x] that begins with the World and ends at *Adrian*'s Reign. At laſt the Jewiſh Hiſtorians [y] make him the Author of this Work, which has been lately Re-printed with Notes. *Bartolocci* thinks alſo, that he has diſcover'd a new Proof, that this Book is truly his, becauſe his Name is at the end of it. But we have already ſhewn this Piece to be ſpurious, and wanting the Antiquity that is given to it.

XI. His younger Brother *Scimon*, who liv'd under *Antoninus*, and the following Emperors with *Juda* the Saint was a Man that work'd Miracles. "For "he met [z] a hungry Lion, who would have torn "him to pieces, had not God rain'd down Bread, "which the Lion prefer'd before this Doctor's Body. "He was ſo poor as not to have wherewithal to ce-"lebrate the Sabbath. He expreſſed his Grief to "God, who dropt from Heaven a Precious Stone in-"to his Hands. He preſently mortgaged it to a "Jeweller, and made a Treat for his Friends. His "Wife did not approve her Husband's Conduct, but "ordered him to reſtore the Stone to God. Thus he "returned to the place where he had received it, "and preſented it to God, who reſum'd it by a "ſecond Miracle greater than the firſt.

XII. The ſame time produced another *Scimon*, the Son of *Eleazar*, to whom an adventure happened, that diſcover'd his Pride and taught him Humility. As he returned from his Maſter's School, mounted upon an Aſs, a Man of prodigious Deformity accoſted him, and had a mind to diſcourſe with him. *Scimon* imagined him to be a Fool, and contemptuouſly asked him, whether all the Children of *his City were as ugly as himſelf? I don't know*, ſays the Paſſenger, but come hither, and ask him that made me, why he has *made a Veſſel ſo filthy and contemptible?* The Doctor acknowleged his Fault, alighted from his Aſs, and asked Pardon; but the other would not grant it him, unleſs he would follow him into the City, to ſee whether all the Inhabitants were as ugly as he. As they arrived [a] all the People ran to meet *Scimon* to ſalute him, *Rabbi, Maſter, Lord, who brings you hither? Peace be unto you.* The Paſſenger told the Story, repreſented the Pride of the Doctor, and pardon'd him on Condition, he would not be guilty of the like Fault. Indeed *Scimon* profited by his Adventure, and laid it down for his Maxim, that a Doctor ought not to be as hard as Cedar, but as ſoft as a Reed, becauſe we cut the Reeds as we pleaſe. They ſerve to write the Law. By this he cenſured his Moroſeneſs for the natural Defect of an unknown Perſon, and would have People accommodate themſelves to the Genius and Imperfections of thoſe they meet with on the Road.

XIII. Laſtly, *Meir* had the Glory to teach *Juda the Saint*, the Author of the *Miſnah*, and Patriarch of the Nation. But we have ſpoken of him, and what we have now ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew the Genius of the Doctors of that time, and their Panegyriſts, and perhaps we ſhall be thought to have been too tedious on this Subject.

[u] Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 3. p. 749. [x] 'Tis intituled סדר עולם רבא Seder Gnolam Rabba. *The great Order of times to diſtinguiſh it from another Chronicle called* The Litle. [y] Ganz. Tſemach. Bartol. B. R. t. 3. p. 795. יוסי אומר Rabbi Joſe *ſays it.* [z] In ארבע מיתות V. Bartol. ibid. p. 330. [a] Bartolocci ex Juchaſin ibid. 324.

CHAP. XI.

The Hiſtory of the Jews from the Year 138. *to* Severus's *Reign.*

I. Antoninus, *a Jewiſh Emperor, and Circumciſed.* II. *His ſecret Correſpondence with* Judah *the Saint.* III. *A Son of* Antoninus *imagined by the Jews.* IV. *The Lectures he received and gave to* Judah. V. Antoninus's *Wars with the Jews.* VI. *The* Samaritans *excepted. Of the Liberty he grants 'em.* Origen's *falſe Reaſonings.* VII. *Of the Rabbin* Tarphon. VIII. *Whether the ſame with* Tryphon *the Jew.* IX. *The time of* Juſtin Martyr's *Conference with* Tryphon. X. *A new Reflection upon this time.* XI. *A Judgment upon this Conference.* XII. Marcus Aurelius's *War with the Jews.* XIII. *Their Confederacy with* Caſſius *puniſh'd.* XIV. *A Jewiſh Proſelyte Baptized with Sand.* XV. *Falſehoods in* Nicephorus's *Narration.* XVI. Hegeſippus *converted. An Apology for his Doctrine.* XVII. *What he ſays of Traditions.* XVIII. *The different Sects among the Jews at that time.* XIX. *Of the* Masbotheans: *Their Opinion.* XX. *Other Sects of the Jews noted by* Juſtin Martyr. *The* Meriſts. XXI. *The* Helleniſts. Scaliger *confuted about the Antiquity of this Sect.* XXII. *Proofs that the Scripture was always read in Greek in the Synagogue. Several Extreams about this Subject.* XXIII. *The time when the Diviſion happened about it. The Diſputes of Chriſtians the Cauſe of it.* XXIV. *St.* Jerome's *Faults about the Sects of the Jews.* XXV. *Three Greek Verſions of the Scripture. What Reaſons induced the Jews to make 'em.*

I. ANtoninus *Pius*, who was adopted by *Adrian* was originally of *Niſmes*, from whence his Family came to *Rome*, and was raiſed to Dignities. He was good-natured, liberal, conſtant in Adverſity. The Jews [b] have a great Eſteem for him, not only *becauſe they lived happily in his Reign, and that of his two next Succeſſors, whilſt they perſecuted the Chriſtians*, but alſo becauſe he *had received Circumciſion.* They tell, that *Adrian* having forbidden the Circumciſion of Infants, *Juda* the Saint was exchanged with *Antoninus*, and preſented to the Emperor with his *Præputium*, who was not a-ware, that a Preſent was made him of a Child of his own Family. In the mean time *Antoninus* by ſucking Jewiſh Milk, during this Journey, became happy in this Life, and in the other; for he was made a Diſciple of *Judah* the Saint, and learnt the Law of him. He

[b] Ganz. Tſemach David, p. 107.

Circumciſed

Circumciſed himſelf with his own Hands, that he might be qualified to eat the Paſchal Lamb. He always diſſembled his Religion; and tho' he profeſs'd Judaiſm, which he was perfectly acquainted with, yet he appeared devoted to the Service of Idols. But he conſtantly [c] favoured the Jews, and ſo ſtrenuouſly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law and Tradition, that he joined with his Maſter *Judah* in the Compoſition of the *Miſnah*. We have already obſerved the Hiſtorian's Fault about *Judah*'s exchange with *Antoninus*, who was Forty Three Years Old when this Rabbin was born, and could not then paſs for a ſucking Child. Another Hiſtorian [d] of the ſame Nation conteſſes, that *Judah* was but Thirty Years Old at the end of *Antoninus*'s Reign, and he muſt have been young, ſince he died in *Commodus*'s Reign.

II. If the Fable be not manifeſt enough, we may add what they ſay concerning *Antoninus* going daily through a ſubterranean Walk from his Palace to *Judah*'s Houſe to ſtudy with him. He planted two Centinels, one at the Palace Gate, and another at the Rabbins, to hinder his goings and comings to the Jew from being perceived; and the better to conceal the ſecret, he conſtantly kill'd them at his return; and thus this ſecret Commerce daily coſt the Lives of two of his Guards. One Day the Emperor found *Chanina*. There have been ſuch a number of *Amoraites* that have had this Name, that it is a very hard matter to diſtinguiſh them. Nevertheleſs there is one, to whom it is given by way of Preheminence. The Emperor was going to kill this Stranger, leſt he ſhould reveal the Secret, but *Chanina* told him, he was not a Man but an Angel. *Antoninus* that was ſomewhat incredulous, ſent him to the Gate to raiſe the Sentinel he had kill'd; which he perform'd. *Antoninus* being more convinced than ever of the truth of this Religion retain'd it to his dying Day.

III. The Jews heap up the meaſure, by maintaining that *Antoninus* had a Son call'd *Aſſuerus*, to whom he had deſigned the Empire, and that if he be not found in the Liſt of Emperors, 'twas becauſe this young Prince died too early to do any thing conſiderable. This is but a wretched knowledge of the Genealogy of this Prince, from which they bring their Heroes; for *Antoninus* never had a Son called *Aſſuerus*. The two Sons that came from his Marriage with *Fauſtina*, *M. Aurelius*'s Aunt, were *M. Aurelius Fulvius Antoninus*, and *M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus* of their Father's Name. They died ſo young [e] that Hiſtory does not ſpeak of 'em; and 'tis certain that neither of 'em was alive when *Antoninus* was made Emperor, ſo far was he from being capable of deſigning the Empire for them.

IV. They not only relate *Antoninus*'s frequent Conferences with *Judah*; but own that this Rabbin taught him many things. The Emperor maintain'd, that the Body and Soul might equally make their Apology before God. The Body may ſay, that 'twas the Soul that ſinn'd, ſince it has remain'd unactive from the time ſhe left it: The Soul may ſay, 'twas the Body that was culpable, ſince ſhe has been free ever ſince her ſeparation. *Judah* ſolved the Difficulty by the Parable of a Maſter, who had intruſted the Cuſtody of his Garden to a blind M n and a Cripple. The blind Man took the Cripple on his Shoulders; and ſo the Fruit was eaten. They excuſed themſelves to their Maſter by their Impotence; but he diſcovering the Artifice, puniſh'd them both, becauſe they were Aſſociates in the Theft.

Antoninus asked why the Sun after Riſing in the Eaſt, went to Bed in the Weſt. He is obliged reply'd *Judah*, to abaſe himſelf, becauſe it is written, that the Armies of Heaven worſhip him. By this he pays his Homages, which he defers till the Evening, for the convenience of Labourers and Travellers.

Hitherto *Judah* was *Antoninus*'s Inſtructer; but this Prince deſigning to know the time of Union of the Soul and Body, and *Judah* anſwering that 'twas at the moment of the Formation, the Emperor perſuaded him that this Union ought to be allowed a much earlier date, becauſe a *piece of Fleſh could not remain three Days without being ſalted*. *Judah* entering into the Princes Opinion, who placed the Soul at the moment of the Viſitation, proved it by a Paſſage of *Job*. They do [f] *Antoninus* a great Honour to make him more Learned than the greateſt Maſter of *Iſrael*; but this is invented.

V. The truth is, *Antoninus* inſtead of countenancing the Jews, continually made War againſt 'em, becauſe they had rebell'd againſt him. *Adrian*'s Prohibition of Circumciſion was ſtill in force. They had obey'd an Emperor, who forc'd 'em to it by the Torrent of his Conqueſts, and Power of his Arms. But they could not long brook their being depriv'd of this Sacramental ſign of their Religion. They roſe the firſt opportunity, and were reſolved with Sword in Hand to oblige *Antoninus* to give 'em this liberty. *Capitolinus* in intimating this War, has concluded all *Antoninus*'s Victories in the compaſs of five or ſix Lines, and by his Brevity has occaſioned *Baronius* to believe, that the Inſurrection of the Jews happened in the firſt Years of his Reign. But the Jews, who were diſperſed, and extreamly debilitated by *Adrian*, had need of ſome Years to gather up a Body, and capacitate themſelves to make head againſt a potent Prince. Beſides *Capitolinus*'s Account is a Compendium of this Prince's noble Actions, which ought to be diſtinguiſhed, as having been exploited at different times. The Jews were unſucceſsful and defeated by *Antoninus*; but when he had beaten them, he reſtored them the privilege of Circumciſion.

VI. This Law contained three things: 1. It only related to the Jews; but the *Samaritans*, who profeſs'd the ſame Religion, had not the benefit of it. *Celſus* makes *Origen* [g] an Objection againſt our Martyrs, taken from the Patience wherewith the *Samaritans* ſuffered this Misfortune. *Origen* anſwered, that theſe were not *Martyrs for their Religion, but Aſſaſſins, Sicarii*, guilty of Diſobedience towards the Magiſtrate, and *Circumciſion alone manifeſted their Crime*. I confeſs it; but at the ſame time, it proved alſo that they ſuffered for their Religion, ſince it was one of their Sacraments as a Chriſtian, who ſhould be condemned to Death by the Magiſtrate for receiving Baptiſm and the Euchariſt would be a Martyr to his Religion. *Origin*'s Argument therefore was falſe. 2. Proſelytes were alſo excluded, and none of 'em were ſuffered to be made. 3. 'Tis added, that the Law forbad Caſtration; to which they apply [h] the requeſt of a young *Egyptian*, who deſired to be made an Eunuch, in order to juſtifie the Chriſtian Church from the ſcandals that were thrown upon it of polluting it ſelf with horrible Inceſts in nocturnal Aſſemblies. The Surgeons he ſent for refuſed to perform the Operation unleſs he obtained leave of the *Roman* Governor at *Alexandria*, who denied it, and afterwards the Chriſtian came to himſelf. *Antoninus*'s Law only prohibited Phyſicians upon pain of Death the *Circumciſing Children like the Jews*. But they concluded, that if this Prince prohibited the Circumciſing of Strangers, under ſo great Penalties, they would be much more Criminal, if they Caſtrated a Chriſtian. And therefore they diſmiſs'd him to the Governour for the Explication of the Prince's Law.

[c] Ghedalia Schialſchelet Hakkabbalà. [d] Ganz. [e] Ganz. Chronol. l. 2. p. 18. [f] Ex Gemara Tit. Sanh. c. xi. § 5, 6, 7. Coch. duo Tit. Thalm. p. 311. [g] Orig. cont. Celſ. l. 2. p. 68. [h] Juſtin Martyr Apol. 11. p. 71.

Justin Martyr [i] observ'd, that this Privilege of the Emperor was prejudicial to the Circumcised, because this Character of Distinction promoted only the burning of their Estates, and hinder'd them from settling at *Jerusalem*. This reasoning is not just, for the Jews prefered their Sacrament to the pleasure of returning to *Jerusalem*. But this Father's Observation teaches us, that notwithstanding this Condescension of *Antoninus*, they were still treated severely, *by having their Cities, their Towns and Harvests burnt, and their return to the Holy City hinder'd.*

VII. *Justin Martyr* had at that time a Conference with *Tryphon*. The Jews speak of a famous Rabbin who was Preceptor or Collegue with *Akiba*, called *Tarphon*; and *Lightfoot* [k] thinks, 'twas he that *Justin Martyr* disputed with. He was not only Rich but Charitable; for we are told that *Akiba* being employed to take care of the Poor, he gave him Four Thousand Gold Crowns, which he distributed in one Day. Tho' he was a Disciple of *Schammy*'s School, yet he has been esteem'd, and many Sentences of his are preserved, and inserted in the *Maxims of the Fathers*. He [l] sollicites Men to hasten their Sanctification, because *Ars longa sed vita brevis*. God demands it, and the recompence will be considerable. Nevertheless he teaches, "That Man is not obliged "to the performance of the whole Law; and pro- "vided he do his endeavour to know but one part "of it, yet he shall receive a great Reward." So that this Doctor had a loose and easie Morality.

We are taught also from him, [m] that the Name of twelve Letters ceased to be pronounced at that time. The Name of *Jehova* is ineffable, because it expresses the Essence of God [n] without Ambiguity, whereas the others only make him known by his Attributes, There was moreover a dispute among the Doctors about the manner of pronouncing it. Lastly, The prophane who increased their Numbers after the Death of *Simeon* the Just, abused it: And therefore they left off pronouncing it. Instead of this Ineffable Name was substituted one of *Twelve Letters*, which the Priest uttered in giving the Blessing to the People. But *Tarphon* affirms, that one day coming near the Priest to hear him pronounce his Benediction, he perceived that he did not articulate the Twelve Letters; but that he only mutter'd whilst the Brethren sang; and the reason of this change proceeded from the number of the Prophane, which was increased. They highly commend the Wisdom of this *Tarphon*, and his knowledge in the Law.

VIII. We are told, [o] that *Tarphon* having fled into *Greece* after *Akiba*'s defeat, engaged in a Conference with *Justin*. But besides [p], that the Jews are little acquainted with their *Tarphon*, of whom they only relate some Sentences; he that had the Conference with *Justin Martyr*, does not appear to have had the Title, or knowledge of a Doctor. He disputes weakly, and hardly gives any answer to the Prophecies urged to him; so that this Jew was rather a private Person whom the *Desolation of his Country* had obliged to fly from place to place to *Corinth*, and afterwards to *Ephesus*, where *Justin* [q] met with him.

IX. The Criticks are divided about the time when this Conference happened. But not to examine their different Opinions, we will advance one, which tho' new, will perhaps be never the less certain. 'Tis *uncontroverted*, that *Justin* had not this dispute with *Tryphon*, till after he had presented his Apology; since he quoted it, in saying, that he does not even spare the *Samaritans* his Countryman, and that he has accus'd 'em to the Emperor, because they suffer'd themselves to be drawn into the Sect of *Simon Magus*. This we find in both [r] the Apologies of *Justin*; one whereof was presented to *Antoninus* about the the Year 150. of our Lord, since it mentions *Marcion*; and the other to *Marcus Aurelius*, as is prov'd by *Pagi* against *Valesius*. It signifies little to determine, which of these Apologies *Justin* has quoted. I take the Side that is most to my disadvantage, and believe it was that which was presented to *Antoninus Pius*, because he there expresses himself more clearly concerning the misfortune of the *Samaritans*.

There is another Character which indicates the time wherein this Dialogue was written; namely, that *Tryphon* [s] was retired to *Greece* by reason of *the War which had been lately made against them.* 'Tis reasonable to say, that this can't be applied to the War of *Adrian*, if the Apology was not presented till Twelve Years after; for *Justin*'s Expression will not allow us to carry that Event so far. Besides, *Tryphon*'s Friends retired to discourse of this War: It must therefore have lately happened; for People are neither curious nor impatient to talk of an Event Twelve Years after; and this doubtless obliged Father *Pagi* to place it almost Ten Years sooner. But all these Difficulties are removed by saying, that the Jew speaks of the late War, of *Antoninus* against them.

X. I confirm this Conjecture by a third Character which can't be disputed [t] *Tryphon* was Circumcised; which he made no secret of; but confess'd it to *Justin* at the beginning of their Conference. And therefore *Adrian*'s Inhibition of Circumcision must have been taken off by *Antoninus*, when *Justin* had this Conference with *Tryphon*, who urged the absolute necessity of Circumcision, and wore it as a Seal of the Covenant.

Now to fill up these Three Circumstances, we must necessarily say, that the Dialogue with *Tryphon* happen'd in the Year 155, or thereabouts; for when *Justin* had presented his Apology for the Christians, *Antoninus had suppressed the Jewish Rebels*; and in order to quiet them, he had restor'd them the liberty of Circumcision, as we have proved.

XI. I shall not ingage in a Discussion of this Dialogue, which the most scrupulous Criticks ascribe to *Justin*, as the only Work that remains of him, and which another in the farthermost North boldly rejects as a spurious Piece. I only will observe, that as *Justin* had very exactly read the Writings of the Prophets, he has made his Excellence consist in heaping them one upon another, without much Art, and perhaps without much Choice; and the Jew might have justly told him oftener than he does, that these Quotations don't prove what he designs. The Yards and Masts of a Ship, and the extended Arms of *Moses*, are but feeble Arguments for the Cross of *Christ*; tho' there are Christians at this day, who disdain not to quote them after so many others. Let us rather observe what relates to the Jewish History we treat of. *Justin* represents [u] to the Jew, that their Cities were burnt, the Country inhabited by Strangers, and that they could no more go to *Jerusalem*; a sign that the Prohibition of going to *Jerusalem* was still religiously observed; and the flight of *Tryphon* and his Friends is a sufficient Demonstration that there was but little security for 'em in *Judæa*.

He [x] objects to 'em, that in spight of the Misery, that overwhelm'd them, they ceased not in their Synagogues to curse to Hell all that believed in *Jesus*

[i] Id. Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 234. [k] Lightfoot Chron. Temporum Sect. 5. p. 144. t. 2. [l] Pirke Abbot, c. 2. § 15, 16. p 21. [m] Maimonid. More Nevochim, P. 1. c. 62. p. 110. [n] *This Name is called* Schem Hammephoraſh, nomen expositum, *because it explains the Essence of God.* [o] Lightfoot ubi supra; & Bartolocci. Bibl. Rabb. t. 1. p. 863. [p] Ganz. Tsemach, p. 99. [q] Just. Dial. p. 217. [r] Apol. 2. p. 69. Apol. 1. p. 52. [s] Τον νῦν γενόμενον, p. 217. [t] Dial. p. 217, 227, 236. [u] Ibid. p. 234. [x] Ibid.

Christ

Christ. Since they could not persecute 'em nor put 'em to Death, they branded 'em as Atheists and Impious Men.

He taxes [y] the *Rabbins* of being poor Divines from the time that the *Misnah* was Composed, running after Trifles, and subtile Explications, as they have done since; and they had reason to forbid their *Disciples ingaging in Conferences with the Christians*, who were more ingenious.

Tryphon [z], who found himself hard press'd, was vex'd; but the Conference had no other effect, each continued in their Opinion; and the Disputants reciprocally prayed to God for their Conversion and Prosperity. The Emperor *Marcus* [a] *Antoninus* died some time after.

XII. Tho' *Marcus Aurelius* was naturally of a mild Temper, yet this exempted not the Jews from a great deal of Misery in his Reign. This Prince had so bad an Opinion of them, that as he once passed through *Judæa* in his way to *Egypt*, he cried out, that he had found People as *wicked as the* Marcomans *and* Sarmatians. Those barbarous Nations, that made continual War, and ravaged a great part of his Empire in his Reign.

Qua [b] *modo Marcomades post horrida bella vagosque Sauromatas.*

And besides, there were two Circumstances very prejudicial to 'em. *Vologesus* King of *Parthia* was making War-like Preparations at the time that *Antonius* died; and he commenc'd the War a little after his Death by violent Incursions. *Severian* the Governour of *Cappadocia* attempting to oppose him, perished with his whole Army. Marching afterwards into *Syria*, the *Parthians* made terrible Destruction. The Eastern Jews, who were Subjects to the *Parthians*, and Enemies to the *Romans*, join'd them and encreased the number of their Troops. *Marcus Aurelius* sent *Lucius Verus* his Colegue with the best Officers of the Empire; but he stop'd at *Antioch* to debauch, and left the War to the management of his Generals. *Cassius*, who commanded, beat *Vologesus*, and pursued him to his Capital *Ctesiphon*, which he took, and ruined the Palace of the Kings. *Babylon*, which still made some Figure, *Mesopotamia*, and the Lands of the *Medes*, where there were a great number of Jews, were laid waste. *Seleucia*, upon the Banks of the *Tigris*, voluntarily surrendered: But the *Romans* violating the Capitulation, kill'd Four or Five Hundred Thousand Persons. Lastly, By a Treaty of Peace concluded four Years after the beginning of the War, *Mesopotamia* and *Osroene* remain'd subject to the *Romans*. And thus the Jews of this Country were reduced once more under their Obedience.

XIII. [c] *Cassius*, who left the East to go and vanquish the *Sarmatians*, flush'd with so many Exploits and Victories, which raised him to the Rank of Heroes, incouraged, as is said [d], by *Faustina*, *Marcus Aurelius*'s Wife, who was for making an Emperor, that she might Marry him after her Husband's Death, whom she thought a dying, assum'd the Title of Emperor in *Syria*, where he was Governor, having first spread a report, that the Throne was vacant by *Marcus Aurelius*'s Death. His Reign was but a Dream, for it lasted but three Months and six Days. However the Jews, who only waited for an Opportunity to rise, seeing the Fire kindled in the Neighbourhood, added Fuel to the Flames, by joining with the Rebels. *Marcus Aurelius* pardoned the Children of *Cassius*, whose Head had been brought to him, and spar'd the Blood of the Senators, who had engaged in the Conspiracy. He even caused his Letters to be burnt, that they might not be known. But he could not bear the Insult which the Jews had offer'd him, and to punish them, he renew'd *Adrian*'s Laws against 'em. But yet whether these Laws were ill executed, particularly in *Asia*, where the Jews were numerous and very remote from the Capital; or that they bought the liberty of mischieving the Christians, they signalized themselves in this Country by their hatred. *Justin Martyr* had before charged upon 'em the Consequences of this Passion, which frequently broke out. But they manifested it at *Smyrna* at *Polycarp*'s Martyrdom; for they not only join'd their Voices with the Heathens, in crying in the Theatre, *He is an Atheist*, but they were also the most vehement round his Pile. They persecuted this great Man after his Death, by soliciting the Judge to deny his Body to the Christians under the false pretence that they would Worship it, and forsake *Jesus Christ* for him. At last the Captain of the Guards seeing the *bitter Rage of the Jews* against the dead Body, caused it to be reduc'd to Ashes.

We will not here examine at what time this Event happen'd. *Pearson* and *Dodwel* those Learned *Englishmen*, place it in the Year 147. under *Antoninus*. But Cardinal *Noris* [e] observes, that he died in the Year 166, the Twenty Second of *February*, which was a *great Sabbath*.

These Commotions might be made by a mutinous Rabble, and tolerated by reason of the hatred to the Christians: but yet 'tis certainly true, that the Jews enjoyed great liberty of Conscience at *Smyrna*; since they were present at the Theatre, and distinguished themselves from the Heathens. Moreover we find some Footsteps of their Authority in *Phrygia* by the answers, that an Orthodox Person made to the Montanists, who accused us of being *Murderers of the Prophets*. "Is there one of them that from the Origin of their Sect has been persecuted by the "Jews, or kill'd by the Impious? Is there any Woman who has been whip'd in the Synagogues or "Stoned? This Author attributes to the Jews the Persecution of the Christians, and the Branches that divided Christianity. He adds there the power of *Scourging in the Synagogues*, as was done in our Saviour's time. [f] The uncontroll'd and numerous Rabble in *Asia*, in *Marcus Aurelius*'s time, pursued the Christians in the Streets *with Stones*, and sometimes *Crucified* them. 'Tis even very probable, that *Thraseas* Bishop of *Eumenia*, or of *Emalbisar* in *Phrygia Pacatiana*, was Martyr'd in this manner. Lastly, The Circumcised must have been numerous in this part of the World, since *Montanus* indeavoured to allure 'em, by giving the Name of *Jerusalem* to two little Cities of *Phrygia*, which he look'd upon as the principal Seats of his Sect.

XIV. This time produced the Conversion and unusual Baptism of a Jew. A Man of this Nation travelling in the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius* with Christians in a Desart, was taken with such a violent Thirst, that it was thought he was going to die. He demanded Baptism with an impatience, which made the Christians uneasie, as being utterly destitute of Water. One of 'em supplied the defect, by taking Sand, which he threw upon the *Catechumen*'s Body, pronouncing the Sacramental Form, *I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. The Jew recover'd by this new Baptism, and march'd on to the City of *Alexandria*. *Dionysius*, who was then Bishop there, being informed of the Fact, ordered the Jew to be Re-baptized with Water. *Nicephorus* adds [g], that such another Instance happened under *Athanasius*,

[y] Ibid. p. 257 & 59. [z] An. 155. [a] An. 160. [b] Silius Ital. [c] An. 175. [d] Vulcatii Cassius. p. 40. [e] Noris Epocha Syro-Maced. Diss. p. 30. [f] Euseb. H. l. 5. c. 16. p. 18. &c. Dodwel Diss. singularis ad. Op. Posth. Pearf. c. xv. p. 207. [g] Nicephor. l. 3. c. 37. p. 276.

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and he has annexed a third Example, that fell out in his time at *Constantinople*. Some Children were bathing on the Sea-shore, and it came in their Head to Baptize a little Jew that was with them. After the Baptism they made him a sort of Head-piece with the lappet of his Coat, and put a Stick in his Hand instead of a Wax Taper; they conducted him in Pomp to the Church singing as they went: They enter'd in, and received the Blessed Bread, or the *Holy Gifts*, and the Jew took 'em like the rest. This Affair made a noise, the Jews were in an Uproar; and the Bishop of *Constantinople* was inform'd of it. The Child was cited, who appeared notwithstanding the indeavours of his Parents. What was defective in his Baptism, was supply'd, and he was made a Priest, when he had attained to fit Years to enter into Orders.

XV. There is a great defect in this relation of *Nicephorus*; for he makes *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* live in *Marcus Aurelius*'s Reign; whereas this Prince was dead before *Dionysius* was born. It might be imagin'd, that he was mistaken in the Name of the Bishoprick, and meant *Dionysius* of *Corinth*; but there is no Desart near *Corinth* that could be made the Scene of this extraordinary Event. Which makes us believe, that this Historian has copied *Moschus*, who [h] tells a Story perfectly like it, and makes *Dionysius* Bishop of *Ascalon*, determine the Question concerning Sand-Baptism. Indeed it is not probable, that the same thing should happen twice. *Moschus*'s story would have somewhat more Authority than *Nicephorus*'s, because he affirms he had it from the Mouth of an Eye-witness; but that we know this Legendary made no scruple to vent a great many Fables as certain Truths.

'Tis no wonder that Children should Baptize with Sand, or play the Fool upon the Sea-shore, in imitating the Actions of Priests administring the Sacraments. But it would be very strange for Ecclesiasticks to approve these Childish Plays, and such prophane Sacraments. 'Tis true, two Popes have allowed Baptizing with Wine, when Water is wanting, and the Criticks, who maintain, that these decrees are forged, are evidently mistaken. But there is a great difference betwixt Wine and Sand, betwixt a Priest Baptizing seriously and Children doing it in jest. 'Tis hard therefore to conceive, that this was approved. But if the Facts related by these Historians are true, we must refer the first to the Seventh Century, and the second to *Nicephorus*'s time: Which Periods are far enough asunder. But these three Baptisms are so extraordinary, that we have not been willing to divide 'em, and it must be confessed, they don't do much Honour to the Christian Religion.

XVI. The Conversion of *Hegesippus*, who liv'd at that time, seems also dubious to a great many. 'Tis agreed that he was a Jew, and that he embraced Christanity; but the Anti-Trinitarians challenge him as a Man, that went but half way, and that not being able to give up the Principle of the Unity of God, which he had suck'd in with his Milk, he remained in the Sect of the *Ebionites*, who denied the Divinity of the Son. Hence he was called [i], the *Jewish Christian*. He only made use of the *Hebrew* Gospel, which was particular to the *Ebionites*. 'Tis acknowledged that his Works are lost, since they abounded with Errors against the Divinity of the Son.

Tho' the Truth would not be weaken'd by the loss of its Defenders, and by the Judgment we make at this Day of his Doctrine, yet we can't forbear saying, that the Arguments produced against him are very weak. That taken from the Gospel of the *Nazarenes* is false; for *Eusebius* [k] only says, that he had published several things drawn from the *Hebrew and Syriack Gospel, and the unwritten Traditions of the Jews*. It should therefore be concluded, that he continued a Jew, because he used the unwritten Traditions of the Synagogue; as 'tis concluded he was an *Ebionite*, because he has sometimes quoted the *Hebrew* Gospel. Nevertheless no Body denies that he embraced Christianity. *Valesius* who suspects his Works of Errors, is not positive, that they respected the Divinity of the *Messiah*, nor can it be said without rashness. Indeed *Hegesippus* says, that he went to *Corinth*; where the Church *continued constant in the Purity of the Faith*, and that *Primus*, who was then *Bishop* of it, gave him great comfort by *the Discourses they had concerning the Truth*. From thence he went to *Rome*, and maintained constant Communion with the Bishops who had the See. The Church of *Corinth* was neither *Arrian* nor *Ebionite*. *Hegesippus* attributes to it the Profession of a true Faith. He united with this Bishop, and conversed with him about this *pure Faith*, 'tis therefore indisputable, that *Hegesippus* was of the same Religion with the Bishop and the Church, whose Purity of Faith he commends, and that he held the Doctrine received at *Corinth* and *Rome*.

XVII. 'Tis not *Hegesippus*'s Conversion, that chiefly engages us to speak of him; but he informs us; 1. That there were Traditions among the Jews, and that they were not written in his time. We have had reason therefore to say, that *Judah* the Saint did not Compose the *Misnah*, till *Commodus*'s Reign [l], towards the end of the Second Century, since they were not yet published in *Hegesippus*'s time, who lived under *Marcus Antoninus*. *Eusebius* had first placed him under *Adrian*; but it seems that he discovered his Fault and corrected it. 2. This *Hegesippus* speaks of Seven Sects among the Jews, and *Thebutis*, who was one of 'em, was the *first that dishonoured the Church by sowing Errors in it, in spite for not being made a Bishop*.

XVIII. *Hegesippus* speaks of Four famous Sects among the Jews; the *Samaritans*, the *Pharisees*, the *Sadduces*, and the *Essenes*; to which he adds the *Galileeans*. These were the Followers of that famous *Judas*, who rose *in the Days of the taxing* made by *Augustus*, and who would not have the Emperors acknowledged for their Lords, nor Tribute paid to 'em. This Spirit of Sedition was still in being, and these Sectaries were those who had caused the terrible Rebellions, which compleated the ruin of the Nation. The *Hemero-baptists* are charged by St. *Epiphanius* of having incorporated all the Errors of the *Pharisees* and *Sadauces*; but I don't see what reason there is for this Accusation; for their Name only denotes their care to wash themselves every Day, or many times in a Day. 'Twas a Branch of the *Pharisees*, that *Jesus Christ* taxed with fondness for Washings, and who afterwards separated from the Body of the Sect to make a particular one, and perhaps a more rigid one in point of Washings.

XIX. Lastly, *Hegesippus* reckons the *Masbothæans* amongst the Jewish Sects. This Sect arose after our Saviour; for they are not known by the Gospel, nor by any more ancient Author. We discover their true Opinion in the [m] Apostolical Constitutions: They denied a Providence, and believed that every thing happen'd by chance: And they also rejected the Immortality of the Soul. So that the *Masbothæans*

[h] Moschus Prat. Spirit. c. 176. B. P. t. 13. p. 1132. [i] Judaico-Christianus. [k] Euseb. l. iv. p 142. [l] An. 180. [m] Const. l. 6. c. 6. 333. *They are there called* Μοβασμέθοι. *In other places they are called* Marbonei, Morbonei, Marbonenses. *But they are the same Sectaries whose Names have been corrupted.*

were

were a Branch of the *Sadduces*; as the *Hemerobaptists* proceeded from the *Pharisees*. I don't know why it has been thought, that their Name was borrowed from the Sabbath, which they observed more religiously than others; for there is no Analogy betwixt the Terms *Masbotheans* and *Sabbatarians*. We find in their Name the Name of GOD, and it might be said, that they introduced it there, because they denied his Providence. *Masbo* or *Basmo* might be a barbarous Term, which signified some such thing. 'Twas the Character of the Hereticks of that time to confound Languages, and to coin unknown Words from 'em. There were other *Masbotheans*, Disciples to *Simon Magus*, which *Theodoret* [n] has distinguish'd from the Jewish Sectaries; and with reason; for they derived that Pedigree from one *Masbotheus* their Founder, and may be rank'd among Christian Hereticks.

XX. *Justin Martyr* [o] gave *Tryphon* a very different account of the Sects, that divided the Jews of his Age, tho' he was Cotemporary to *Hegesippus*. For 1. He passes over the *Essenes* in silence, as if they were vanished; and I could easily believe, that *Hegesippus* only mention'd 'em, because they had formerly made a considerable Schism in the Nation. 2. *Justin Martyr* supplies three Sects, the *Genists*, the *Merists*, and the *Hellenists*. 'Tis said, the *Genists* derived their Glory from being the Descendants of *Abraham* the Father of the Faithful. The *Merists* divided the Scripture, and did not receive all *the Prophets, because they were animated by different Spirits*. These *Merists* might be those mentioned by *Benjamin* of *Tudela*. He found a Schism at *Cairo*, because the Jews of *Babylon* and of the *Irack divided* the Scripture differently from those of *Syria*. The former so partition'd it, as to read it all in one Year, the others multiplying the Sections read it but in three Years. *Scaliger* [p] imagined that the Schism was between the *Greeks* and *Babylonians*, because he had read in *Benjamin* the word *Igrikim*, which he Translated the *Greeks*. But *Constantine* the Emperor, who Published and Translated his Travels, read it עירחקיין *irræakiin*. The Jews of the *Irack* were perhaps *Hegesippus*'s *Merists*, who began to seperate about the manner of reading and dividing the Scripture.

XXI. The *Hellenists* began also to set up a new Sect, of which it will not be amiss to trace the Original. After the Conquests of *Alexander* the Great, a distinction was made of the *Hellenist* Jews, which is expressed in great Characters in the Gospel. This Name was given them, because they were mingled with the *Greeks*, spoke their Language and read the Holy Scriptures in it, after it was Translated. We observe this only difference between them and the other Jews, with whom otherwise they partaked in the same Religion, Sacrifices and Ceremonies.

Scaliger imagined, that the Jealousie and Hatred were of very long standing betwixt these two Parts of the Nation, and that they had always made a kind of Schism. They reproached the *Hellenists* with reading [q] *the Scripture in the Egyptian way*, from the Left to the Right, and this was a kind of an affront. From Reproaches they came to Blows; and whilst the second Temple stood, *Eleazar*, the Son of *Tsadoc*, entring the Synagogue of the *Alexandrians* at *Jerusalem*, said all the most provoking things, his Rage could suggest to him. *Scaliger* found Footsteps of this Schism, as low as the Twelfth Century.

If *Scaliger* was in the right, the Sect of the *Hellenists* would be much ancienter than we make it. But tho' there was some jealousie betwixt the *Hellenists* and the Jews of *Palestine*; yet it proceeded not to Seperation or Schism. The *Hellenists* were even permitted to build a great many Synagogues at *Jerusalem* for their use, where they performed their Devotions, whilst *Josephus* has related no Dispute upon this Matter, nor *Philo* complained, that his Country-men were ill used.

XXII. Whence then came the Division, what was the cause of it, and at what time was it formed? The Learned are divided, and run into Extreams, as is usual. Some, as *Salmasius*, make the Epitaph of the *Hellenist* Tongue, and think they have proved, that the Bible was never read in *Greek*, because it is not read in *Arabick*, which is more common, and better known by the Jews than the *Greek* could be. Another joins together both *Hellenists* and Jews into one Synagogue at *Jerusalem*; and he fancies that he finds a proof of it [r] in the History of the Acts, where the Jews and *Greeks* were divided about the Creation of *Deaconesses*; *which could not have happened, had they not been both in the same Synagogue*, as if the Question there was not about the converted *Greeks* and Jews, who made but one Body in the Christian Church, where they could not continue long without dividing.

Others [s] conceited with the *Septuagint* Version, find it every where, and exalt it far above the Original. The safest way is to embrace a due *Medium*. Necessity required, that the *Hellenists* who understood not *Hebrew*, should read the Law in *Greek* in their Synagogues. Tho' it were true, that *Philo*, and some other of the Learned, understood the *Syriack*, there would be still the same necessity of the *Greek* Version for that great number of *Hellenists* that were in *Egypt*, and in all the great Cities of *Asia* under the *Roman* Jurisdiction. The Jews of *Jerusalem* could not condemn this Practice, since they had such another in using the *Chaldee* Paraphrases; and when there were no written Paraphrases, they fill'd up this Defect by an Explication of each Verse, which Custom being as ancient as *Ezra* Authorized that of the *Greek* Versions in all the Places, where the *Chaldee* was not the Language of the Country. What we say is so natural, that *Simeon* the Son of *Gamaliel*, who lived at the time of *Titus*'s War, determined, that *the Law might be read and written in Greek*. We shall see hereafter why [t] the *Gemara* has limited this Decision to the Five Books of *Moses*. We may add, that *R. Levi*, coming to *Cæsarea*, where there were many *Greeks*, was surprized to hear the words שמע *Hear O Israel* pronounced in *Greek*. But *R. Joses* asked him, whether those that understood not *Hebrew* never read the Law, and added, without waiting for an Answer, *That whoever reads in a Language he knows or understands, does his Duty*. *Lightfoot*, who could not deny but that there were *Greek* Copies in the Synagogues, imagined that they were placed there by way of precaution, that when the Heathens came in to cry down their Religion, they might be convinced by their own Eyes, that it was not bad. But this is not consistent with the Decisions which we have been quoting, nor with good Sense. Would the Jews, who were extreamly poor, have been at the charge of having in all their Synagogues *Greek* Copies, lest by chance some Heathens should come to dispute there, which was very rare?

To own that there were *Greek* Copies in the Synagogues, is to confess that the Law was read in this Language, and the *Hebrews* hindred not a Custom

[n] Theodoret. Hær. Fab. c. 1. p. 193. Hegef. ibid. p. 142. [o] Justin Dial. cum Tryph. [p] Scaliger in Euseb. Chron. p. 124. [q] *'Tis said,* הקורא נפתיח reading the Egyptian way, *or* קריאה למפרע lectio retrorsa, *to read backwards. The* Rabbins *say, that as it is impossible the Suns should go backwards, it is not lawful to read backwards. We must read from the Right to the Left, as he goes from the East to the West.* [r] Crotius Obs. in N. T. p. 238. [s] *See* Morin. Exercit. Bibl. Voss. de LXX. Int. [t] Ex Gemara Babyl. Tract. Megilla, c. 1. 558.

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that was universally received in the Land of the *Roman* Empire. Nevertheless, they both of 'em considered the Original as sacred and preferable as well to the Versions, as to *Chaldee* Paraphrases, because 'twas God that had made choice of this Tongue.

XXIII. Christianity disturb'd this Harmony of the Jews. The Christians disputing with 'em always used the Version of the LXX, which not only was better known, but more advantagious to them. *Justin Martyr* produces Proofs out of it; for he taxes the *Hebrews* with having lately struck out these words of *Jeremy*, *I am like a Lamb that is led to the slaughter*, which were found in the Seventy's Version. He carried his Proofs farther, in quoting a Passage of *Esdras*, which is no where to be found, and which he is accused of having put into the *Greek*, tho' it be more than probable, that this fraud was more ancient than he that made use of it. These Reproaches well or ill grounded began to disgust the Jews with the *Greek* Version, and to give 'em less esteem for those who were obliged to use it. The Originals were cried up above the Version; which was rejected, and found pernicious; they flew into an excess, and this Dispute produced Four effects. 1. The Name of *Hellenists* became odious, and those that wore it finding themselves abused with bitter Reproaches, set up the Sect mentioned by *Justin Martyr*. Here then you have the Origin of the Sect we seek for. 2. They laboured upon new Versions, of which we shall give an account. 3. The *Gemarists* not being able to prohibit the reading of the *Greek* Books confined it to the *Pentateuch*; because these five Books contained less disputed Prophecies than those of the other Prophets. 4. As the hatred to the *Hellenists* continually increased, those fabulous Prodigies were invented, said to be wrought at the time that the LXX Version was Composed, and they talk'd of a Fast that was celebrated on the account of this Version, of which no mention is made in the *Thalmud*. Thus it is we disintangle the History of the *Hellenists*, and not only extricate it with probability, but our Conjectures are bottom'd upon many irrefragable Testimonies. These new Sectaries appear'd therefore a little before *Justin Martyr*, or rather the Name of *Hellenists*, which was hardly odious before, grew so then, and became the Title of a Sect.

XXIV. That we may finish here what relates to the Sects, which were multiplied after *Jesus Christ*, let us observe, that the Author of a Catalogue, said to be St. *Jerome*'s, and which multiplies 'em to the number Ten, has committed a gross Fault; for he makes most of these Sects say, that *Christ* had taught 'em. The *Essenes*, that were more ancient than the Christian Church, said, that *Christ* had "*Commanded* "*them the Abstinence they observed.* The *Galileans* "maintained, that *Christ was come, and had taught* "*them not to acknowledge the Empire of* Cæsar, *nor* "*to make use of his Money.* The *Marbonneans* gave "out, that *Jesus Christ* had taught 'em to Sabbatize "in all things; tho' the *Pharisees* denied the *Mes-*"*siah* was come." We must remove all these Sects out of the Synagogue, and place them in the Bosom of the Church, or acknowledge, that they did not own *Jesus Christ* for their Master, nor shelter themselves under his Authority. However it be, we learn from *Hegesippus*, and *Justin Martyr*, that the Jews instead of being sensible of the effect of their Miseries which ought to have re-united them, continued dividing themselves into different Parties.

XXV. They fell to work upon several Translations of the Scripture, and this sort of business became much in fashion among the Jews: Whether the *Hellenists* we have been speaking of, desired it; or that they became more necessary to dispute against the Christians dispersed over all the *Roman* Empire. *Aquila* was the first that engaged in it; whose Version was received with a general Applause of the *Hellenists*. *Origin* affirms [u], *That all the Jews who did not understand the Hebrew, were accustomed to this Version, which they looked upon to be the best of all.* *Philastrius* not only says the same thing, but adds, that some Hereticks followed it. In the mean time the *Thalmudists* [x] full of that Jealousie that had for some time prevailed against the *Hellenists* made their Efforts to disgust the People with it; and reduce them to the *Hebrew* Bible. We find in their Writings several strokes of Censure against the *Greek* one. The Christians complained of it, because it came from a suspected Hand, and which had robb'd 'em of many places of Scripture; but however they sometimes made use of it; and St. *Jerome*, who had condemned it, praised afterwards the Exactness of the Author. *Theodotion* made another of 'em [y]. The Jews carried off this Conquest from the Church; for *Theodotion*, who was born a Heathen, had embrac'd Christianity; but having tasted of these two Religions, he was Circumcised. He was a Native of *Pontus*, where he had known *Marcion* his Countryman, and had enter'd into his Sect. But from thence he went to *Ephesus*, where the Jews were numerons and considerable; and he lifted into the Synagogue. It seems that this was an Invasion upon *Antoninus*'s Law, who forbad the Jews the making of Proselytes, and Circumcising them. But we have already observed, that these Laws were ill executed in *Asia*, and perhaps *Marcus Aurelius* had revoked them; for *Theodotion* made no Mystery of his Circumcision, and the Christians knew it well enough. He learnt of his new Masters *Hebrew* enough to translate the Scripture, or rather to Copy the LXX; for he followed 'em so close, that *Origen* made use of his Version to fill up the Chasms and Vacuities, that were found in the *Septuagint*. 'Tis said, that he publish'd it the first Year of *Commodus*'s Reign, [z] according to the Custom of that time; for the Learned took a Pride to Publish their Works in the *Decennalia* or *Vicennalia*, and at the Birth of Princes, or when they came to the Throne. But not to dispute about this Custom, did a Jew make a sufficient Figure in the Empire to honour *Commodus*'s Coronation by a Version of the Holy Scripture? As odious as his Person must have been, the Christians reap'd some advantage by his Work, and to read publickly his Translation of the Prophet *Daniel*, because that of the LXX. was full of Faults; or rather because this Version was by a Hand that was much inferiour to those that had work'd upon the *Pentateuch*. Also the *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes* prefer'd it before all the others. *Symmachus* Composed a Third Translation in *Severus*'s Reign. It appear'd much clearer, and more useful than the preceding ones; because this Author had more respect to the Sense, than to the signification of Words. The Christians made use of all these Translations, tho' they were only made to their Prejudice, and by Doctors that infinitely hated them. However the Version of the LXX. still raised its Head above all these new-born Pieces. In the mean time it must be owned, that they were only undertaken to weaken its Authority, to hinder its being used in the Synagogues, as it hitherto had been, and to prevent the Christians, who disputed with the Jews from drawing Objections out of it. For indeed these last Interpreters had robb'd us of *Isaiah*'s Oracle; *A Virgin shall bring forth.*

[u] Philast. Hær 90. [x] V. Lightfoot, &c. in Thalmud. & 1 Cor. 9. [y] An. 175. [z] Dodwel Diss. in Irenæum, Diss. iv. p 329.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The History of the Jews in the Roman *Empire, from* Severus's *Reign till the End of the Third Century.*

I. *A Civil War betwixt the* Samaritans *and Jews.* II. Severus's *War against the* Parthians, *and in the* Adiabene. III. *The Emperor does not except the Jews.* IV. *He carries the War into* Judæa, *and triumphs for it.* V. *The Privileges he grants the Jews.* VI. *The Explication of a Law admitting them into Offices.* VII. *Consequences drawn from these Laws.* VIII. *Their Insolence against the Christians at* Carthage. *The Celebration of a Jubilee.* IX. Caracalla *weeps in seeing a Jew whip'd.* X. *Whether* Judah *laboured upon a Collection of* Greek *Traditions.* XI. *There were Traditions peculiar to the* Helleniſts, *and others to the Jews.* XII. Judah *makes a Collection of the latter.* XIII. *The Beauty of* Jochanan *Diſciple of* Judah. XIV. Bartolocci's *Opinion about the time when he wrote the* Gemara. XV. *Inconquerable Difficulties in the Jewiſh Chronology.* XVI. Juda's *Life prolong'd.* St. Jerome's *fault.* XVII. *Proofs that* Judah *enter'd into the Third Century, taken from Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.* XVIII. *The true time when* Jocanan *taught.* XIX. *His Diſciples.* XX. Heliogabalus *Circumciſed. His deſign of tormenting the* Samaritans *and Jews. Conjectures about the Divinity he cauſed to be Worſhipp'd.* XXI. Alexander Severus, *Head of the Synagogue of* Syria. XXII. *An Imitator of the Jews.* XXIII. Valerian's *Perſecution excited by an* Archi-Synagogue *of* Egypt. *This word explained.* XXIV. Sceſciath's *Diſpute againſt the Chriſtians advantageous to the Jew.*

I. A *Bulpharages* [a] relates, that *Severus* becoming Maſter of the Empire after *Commodus*'s Death, a Civil War aroſe betwixt the *Samaritans* and Jews in the firſt Year of his Reign. *They fought a bloody Battle, after which a great many Dead were counted on both ſides.* We can't conjecture where this *Arabian* Hiſtorian has detected an Event unknown to the Heathens. 'Tis a queſtion too, whether the *Samaritans* and Jews notwithſtanding the hatred that ſtill reigned betwixt theſe two parts of one and the ſame Nation, were in a Condition to make War with one another. The preceding Loſſes muſt have made 'em wiſer, and they were too much weaken'd to engage in War. We only know, that there was at that time a Captain of Robbers, called *Claudius*, who ſcowred the Country with a Troop of Armed Men. He even ſurprized the Emperor, and ſaluted him as if he had been one of the Tribunes of his Army, and afterwards fled ſo as not to be diſcovered. If *Claudius*'s Soldiers were Jews as himſelf, 'tis very probable they plundered the *Samaritans* and their Lands with greater violence, who attempted to ſtop his Incurſions, and this is what *Abulpharages* took for a Civil War.

II. *Peſcennius Niger* being [b] proclaimed Emperor in *Syria*, endeavoured to make *Judæa*, which was adjacent declare for him; and finding this People of an unſhaken Fidelity for *Severus*, he did 'em all the miſchief that the ſhortneſs of his Reign could permit him. *Severus* was not ſo ſenſible at firſt as he ought to have been of this piece of Service. Princes think every thing is due to 'em. Beſides he was taken up with more important Affairs; being obliged to carry the War into the Eaſt [c] againſt *Vologeſus*, King of *Parthia*. The Jews, who were numerous betwixt the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, ſuffer'd much from this War. *Adiabene*, whoſe Kings had profeſſed Judaiſm at the end of the laſt Century, and the begining of this was ravaged. *Babylon* and *Seleucia* were taken. The Siege of *Cteſiphon* laſted long, becauſe the *Romans* were reduced to the feeding on Herbs and Roots; but this City being carried by Storm, part of its Inhabitants were put to the Sword, and a Hundred Thouſand Priſoners carried out of it.

III. We are told, that *Severus* being apprehenſive, that the Jews diſperſed in the Eaſt would declare for *Vologeſus*, ſoftened them by many Edicts. But it does not appear, that they were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Subjects of the *Parthian* Empire, and the favourable Edicts were not given till after the War.

IV. On the contrary, *Severus* at his return march'd into *Judæa*, and I don't know whether he found any Crouds in Arms, or whether *Claudius*'s Robberies, who haraſſed the Country with a band of Wretches of his Nation ſufficed to decree a Triumph for his Son. But *Euſebius* [d] ſays poſitively, that *Severus made War with the* Samaritans *and Jews.* Beſides the Senate confounding what the Father had done in *Syria*, and the Son in *Judæa* decreed [e] a *Jewiſh Triumph*. The Emperor in the ſame Journey made ſeveral Laws relating to *Palaſtine*, one of which prohibited *the turning Jew.* He left this Nation liberty to Circumciſe their Children; but hindered the receiving Proſelytes and initiating Strangers by this Sacrament. Laſtly, *Tertullian* [f] upbraided them, that they *Had neither Man nor God for their King, that they were Wanderers and Vagabonds in all the Univerſe. It was not permitted 'em to ſalute their Country, nor to enter into it in quality of Strangers nor Travellers.* They had an Abode and ſome Settlements in *Galilee*; but the Inhibition of living at *Jeruſalem* was ſtill in force in *Severus*'s Reign. It can't then be doubted, but *Severus* declar'd againſt this Nation in the firſt Years of his Reign.

V. But he grew favourable to 'em afterwards. The reaſon which *Tertullian* aſſigns for it is, that the Prince found there were very conſiderable Perſons in this Nation. But two others may be added, one, that they repreſented their Fidelity in the Competition of *Peſcennius Niger*; which was ſo much the nicer, becauſe this General was an ingenious Man, and in great Eſteem at *Rome*; the Prince might reflect upon this Fidelity, when he was more at leiſure. 2. *Severus* being infinitely covetous, the *conſiderable Perſons* of the Nation eaſily bought his Protection and Favour preferably to the Chriſtians. This is not a bare Conjecture; for the Hiſtorians acknowledge, that this Prince *Did no prejudice to their Religion, and permitted 'em to enter into Offices.* He raiſed *great Taxes upon them, and laid heavy Burthens upon them.*

VI. There was another Law, made in the ſame Prince's Reign, importing, that *The Privileges of the Jews extending only to things, that might prejudice their Religion; they ſhould be called to the Tutelage of the Heathens like the reſt.* Guardianſhip was burthenſome in all Ages. Nevertheleſs Strangers were

[a] Abulph. Dyn. p. 79. [b] An. 194. [c] An. 195. [d] Euſeb. in Chron. An. 198. p. 172. [e] Spartianus in Severo, p. 70. [f] Tertul. Apol. c. 21.

excluded from it at *Rome*; and a Man could not exercise it without being a Denizen of this great City. Some Criticks have imagined, that these two Laws respected also the Christians, admitted to Offices by *Severus*. *Baddæus* was of this Opinion; and perhaps this famous Lawyer has drawn others into it. Nevertheless this Prince persecuted the Christians instead of promoting them to Dignities. *Ulpian*, who hated them, and was the Author of the Persecution, easily distinguished the Jews in an Age, wherein these two Religions were sufficiently known.

VII. These Laws therefore shew, 1. That the Jews were look'd upon as *Roman* Citizens, since they were charg'd with the Guardianship not only of Children of their own Nation, but with that of Idolatrous Strangers. 2. That they were capable of Offices and diverse Imploys; and this *irrevocable* Edict was observed for a great many Years; but at last *Leo* abolished it. There was a Clause in the Law of *Severus*, which rendered it doubly advantageous; for by giving the Jews the enjoyment of all the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, they were left the liberty of refusing *Offices of Court, and being made Decurions*; because if there was any degree of Honour in these Posts, yet they were too burdensome. They were shun'd instead of being canvassed for; and those that were call'd to 'em, were forc'd to an acceptance. The Emperors shew'd a favour to such as they exempted from 'em; and the Eunuchs of *Constantius* made a Trade of these Immunities which they sold. His Successor *Julian* [g] has been highly commended for cancelling all these Exemptions, and for his being so rigorous on that respect, that he scarce granted it to those who endeavoured to discharge themselves for never so good reasons. *Severus* therefore shew'd a great Favour to the Jews in giving 'em these Exemptions.

VIII. This Protection raised their prostrate hopes; and their Doctors [h] applied to *Marcus Aurelius* and *Severus*, *Daniel*'s Prophecy, which *Praphyry* explain'd of the Victory which *Mathatias* had obtained over the Town of *Modin*, and the following Doctors attributed to *Julian* the Apostate, who favoured the Jews. This Oracle of *Daniel* was indeed ambiguous enough to be fixed to different Subjects, since the Prophet barely says, *When they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help.* As they found themselves protected by *Severus* after so many Disasters, they thought *Daniel* had pointed out such a favourable Circumstance. These advantages render'd 'em insolent to the Christians, whom the Emperor Persecuted. *Tertullian* [i] who wrote his Apology at that time, was strangely offended to see a Man of this Nation walking the Streets of *Carthage* carrying the Picture of a Man, who had Asses Ears, and a long Garment, and holding in his Hands a Book with these words, *The God of the Christians.* This proves, 1. That the Jews had passed from *Egypt* into the heart of *Africa*, and had then a Settlement in the Capital City *Carthage*. 2. That they lived very peaceably whilst the Church was Persecuted; for a Man seldom turns Buffoon to insult the Persecuted, when he is Persecuted himself. 3. However *Tertullian* should have let this Mockery pass in the Streets of *Carthage*, without introducing it into his Apology. The Jews have born a great many of these Affronts from the Christians: These Insults upon the miserable proceed from a sordid Soul; but the Vulgar take their turn to be abusive in proporrion to their Prosperity; and this is not called Persecution. Nor was the Invention new; for *Tacitus* had represented the God of the Jews much after the same manner.

St. *Jerome* [k] says, that in the Twelfth Year of *Severus*, a Jubilee was Celebrated. This Term is peculiar to the Jews; but *Scaliger* has remark'd, that whatsoever way we reckon the Years, the Jewish Jubilee could not happen in this. The Christians had borrowed this word from the Synagogue. But yet it was not a Jubilee of the Church, and those that should refer the Origine of that celebrated at *Rome*, to this, would be grosly mistaken; but *Severus* causing the secular Games to be celebrated in the Empire, the Christians, who partaked in the Feast, called it a Jubilee.

IX. 'Tis believed, that *Caracalla* followed his Fathers Steps: It can't be doubted but that he loved the Jews from his Childhood, since one of 'em at Court was his Play-fellow; which young Child being whipp'd by the Emperor's Order [l], *Caracalla* fell a crying, and was so afflicted, that he would not see his Father for several Days. *Caracalla* was in all probability the Son of *Julia*, *Severus*'s second Wife: And so these Tears were shed [m] in the 195 Year of the Christian *Æra*; for he must have been then about Seven Years Old. This Prince afterwards totally changed his Temper, and you could no longer discover that Child, you had seen affectionate and liberal in his tenderest Years. Nevertheless as we don't find that he acted any thing against the Jews, we have reason to believe, that they took the advantage of a long train of peaceable Years, to make their Collection of Traditions.

X. We have already shewn, that *Judah* the Saint, who was born the same Day that *Akiba* died, could not flourish under *Antoninus*, and that he must be placed under *Marcus Aurelius*, and the following Reigns, as is done by one of the ablest [n] Chronologers of the Age. He adds, "That this great Man "did not work upon the Collection of Traditions, "that were scattered among the *Greeks*, 1. Be"cause there were at that time a great number of "these Traditionists, as the false *Ezra*; *Theodotion*, "who published the Additions to *Daniel*, the Hi"storians of *Tobias* and *Judith*; the Authors of the "Book of *Enoch*; of the Prayer of *Joseph*, of the "Assumption of *Moses*; of the Prophecies of *Eldad* "and *Medad*, who were not known by the *Rabbins*, "and have no place in their Compilation. 2. Be"cause the *Misnaioth* are Posteriour to *Judah* the "Saint, since he is not only quoted there, but use "is made of the Testimony of his Children, and "of those that succeeded him.

XI. This Discovery is new: But may it not be rectified by saying, there were two sorts of Traditions; some that were peculiar to the *Hellenists*, of which we have spoken in the preceding Chapter, and others received by the *Hebrews* of the *Holy Land* descended from the *Pharisees*? The former Traditions vented by the fore-cited Authors, were actually unknown and rejected by the *Tiberian* Doctors, whose Contempt and Hatred of the *Greeks* increased daily.

XII. As the *Hellenists* wrote Traditions, and successively published Books that were full of 'em, the *Hebrews* would have a like Collection, either to apply to upon occasion, or to oppose the Traditions dispersed by the Sectaries. "'Tis true [o], these Tra"ditions were neither ancient, nor taken from the "Books of the Doctors; for *Akiba* and *Simon Jo*"*chaides*, who are reckoned the Fathers of 'em "lived under *Adrian*." It has also been reasonably said, that this Collection must have been made later, since *Judah* the Saint is quoted in it. However we may follow the common Notion, 1. Because the

[g] Liban. Or. p. 296. Ammianus *blames him for it*, p. 366. [h] Hieron. in Daniel 11. 34. t. 3. p. 1088. [i] Tertul. Apol. ad Scapul. [k] Hieron. in Chron. ad An. 205 p. 272. [l] Spartian. in Caracalla. [m] Dodw. Diss. in Iren. [n] Dodwel de Cyclis Diss. IX. p. 428. [o] Dodwel ibid.

Reigns

Reigns of *Marcus Aurelius*, *Severus* and *Caracalla* left the Jews more at liberty to apply themselves to Study. 2. That was the time when the Academy of *Tiberias*, where *Judah* the Saint wrote, grew famous. An *Arabian* Author [p] has thought it much ancienter, since he makes the LXX Interpreters *To depart from* Tiberias *with the Copy of the Law written in Characters of Gold for King* Ptolemy. 3. Lastly, The Consent of all the Jews Ancient and Modern, who owned *Judah* the Saint for the Author of the *Misnah*, has always stagger'd me; and 'tis no wonder, that he himself is quoted in his own Work, because very considerable Additions were made to it after his Death, and his own and his Childrens particular Traditions were inserted, as he had made a Collection of the Decisions of the preceding Doctors.

XIII. We have spoken sufficiently of the *Misnah*, *Jochanan* [q], the Head of the *Amoraïm* made a Commentary to supply in part what was defective in his Master's Work. This Man was of so extraordinary Beauty, that he was made to stand at the entrance of the Baths, that the Women coming out being struck with his Figure, and retaining his Idea, might have Children as handsome as he.

XIV. *Bartolocci* [r] spends time in censuring the Character given to *Jochanan*, because the want of a Beard was sufficient to ruin this so celebrated Beauty, and because the desires he possessed the Women with, are condemned by the Word of God. But he observes at the same time the exorbitant Faults of the Jewish and Christian Chronologers, who say, "That *Jochanan* Published not his Work till Three "Hundred Years after the ruin of the Temple. In "Correcting these Faults he alledges, that *Judah* "the Saint died in the Year 194 of the Christian "*Æra*. *Chanina*, whom he had nominated to his "Place in the Academy, possess'd it but Five Years "of the Ten that are [s] given him. *Jochanan*, who "was born in the Year 184, was then but Fifteen "Years Old. Nevertheless they have put him at "the Head of the Academy, because there was a "deficiency of able Doctors; and if this Honour "was confer'd on R. *Asche* in the Academies of the "East, tho' he was but Fourteen Years Old, it "ought for a stronger reason to be done in *Judæa*, "where great Men were more scarce. He Publish'd "not his Book till Fifteen Years after his Installation. Wherefore those that maintain, that he was "assisted by *Samuel* the Lunatick, and by *Rau*, are "mistaken; for they were gone to *Babylon* long before.

XV. It seems to be a labour sufficiently vain to criticize the Faults of the Jewish Chronology; for we find no solid Ground whereon to fix our Foot. After a harsh and ungrateful Task a Man is often obliged to perplex his Calculations. *Bartolocci* is forced to build like the rest upon Suppositions, or Testimonies, as uncertain as those which he confutes. We must take in some foreign Principles, would we unravel the perplexity of the Fact we are examining. We pretend not to force the Reader by the strength of our Arguments, but only to offer something that carries some probability.

XVI. First it is a matter uncontested by the Jews, that *Judah* the Saint was born the Day that *Akiba* died, in the Year 135. He could not therefore Compose his Collection of Traditions under *Antoninus*, but rather in the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, *Severus*, or *Caracalla*. St. *Jerome*, who makes *Akiba* and *Aquila* the Depositors of these Traditions, to live before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, is more out of the way than the Moderns.

Secondly, We have had reason to prolong *Judah*'s Life to the beginning of the Third Century. *Bartolocci* will have him die in the Year 194, upon the Testimony of some Authors, who have said that he liv'd under Three Emperors, whereas he would have liv'd under more of 'em, if he had enter'd into the Third Century. This reason is not only infirm, but built upon a Supposition manifestly false, that *Judah* was one of the Favourites of *Antoninus*.

XVII. Our more certain Chronology is founded upon the History of the Christian Church. For *Hillel* II. was known by *Origen*, and he embraced Christianity in the Reign of *Constantine*. We have given an account of this Conversion, attested by St. *Epiphanius* and *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*. By making *Judah* the Saint to die in the Year 194, we must give a *prodigious* long Life to his Son, who was already of Age to be Head of the Nation when *Judah* died. We must also prolong that of *Hillel* II. vastly, in order to fix his Conversion in the beginning of the Fourth Century, about the Year 315, whereas, according to our Calculation, we find no Chasm in the History of the Jewish Patriarchs, which requires to be fill'd up, by ascribing an excessive number of Years to one of the three. *Judah* the Saint born in the Year 135, lived Eighty Years, to the Year 210, or 215. His Son *Gamaliel* was Prince till the Year 230. *Judah* his Successor died about 250. *Hillel* II. whom *Origen* knew might easily reach to the beginning of the Fourth Century, and *Constantine*'s Reign, which can't be said if we make *Judah* die in the Year 194.

This Chronology appears the more certain, as being founded upon two fixed Points: One is the Birth of *Judah*, at the taking of *Bither* by the Emperor, sufficiently known in prophane History. The other is the Conversion of his great Grandson in the beginning of *Constantine*'s Reign. Besides, it removes all the Difficulties in the Genealogy of the Patriarchs, which would be otherwise invincible. Lastly, It discovers *Jochanan*'s Age, and the time when he might have written.

XVIII. Indeed *Bartolocci* makes him President of the Academy at Fifteen Years of Age, which is repugnant to Decorum. To which purpose he supposes that the great Men were more rare in *Judea* than at *Babylon*, which is false; for according to the Tradition of the *Rabbins*, the Doctors not finding Employ in *Judæa*, went to set up Academies at *Babylon*; and so great was the Reputation of that of *Tiberias*, and its Professors, that *Nathan* the Son of the Prince, and many others came from the East, to study under them, and consult them. In fine, 'tis shocking probability to affirm, that a Youth of Fifteen Years had made such Proficiency under his Master *Judah*, as to be able to Compose the *Thalmud* of *Jerusalem*. Let *Sixtus Senensis*'s Opinion be rejected as much as you please [t], who affirms, that the *Jerusalem Thalmud* was made Three Hundred Years after the Ruin of *Jerusalem*, and who adds, that That of *Babylon* was written at *Grand Cairo*. This may be said to be *exorbitant*: But it must be likewise owned, that *Jochanan*, who was born in 184, could not be Director of the Academy Fifteen Years after. His Master was still alive. *Chanina*, whom he had named his Successor, possessed the Place Ten Years, as the Jewish Chronologer affirms. *Jochanan* enter'd not upon the exercise of his Office, till about the Year 225, being near Forty Years of Age. He had had time to study under *Judah*, to perfect himself under *Chanina*, and to begin his Work with the assistance of *Rau*, and *Samuel*, who were in *Judæa* [u], as we have

[p] Præfat. in Pentat. Arabici bina exemplaria inter MSS. Laudina ad calcem Aristeæ de LXX. p. 131. [q] *Or* John *the Son of* Eliezer Ganz *calls him* John, p. 111. [r] Bart. Bibl. Rabb. t. 3. p. 549, 550, & 683. [s] Ganz. [t] Sixtus Sen. Bibl. l. 2. p. 120. *See also* Galatin. de Arcanis Cath. Ver. l. 1. c. 5. p. 13. [u] Ganz *makes 'em not go to* Babylon *till the Year* 879. *that is, the Year* 221 *of the Christian* Æra.

intimated, in ſpeaking of the ſecond Order of the Jewiſh Doctors.

XIX. He is made to live 95 Years. He left two famous Diſciples, of which the moſt Learned was called *R. Aſe*; and the ſecond, which was *R. Ame* boaſted he had written Four Hundred Books. He had not Compoſed them, nor ſo much as Tranſcrib'd them; for it ſuffices to write one Verſe of *Deuteronomy* [x], which contains ſeven words to make a Ligitimate boaſt of having written theſe Books; and by this method *Jochanan*'s Diſciple arrived to the number of 400. Both theſe Scholare had received Impoſition of Hands [y] whilſt their Maſter liv'd, and were Heads of the Academy of *Tiberias* after his Death; more fortunate than one of their Collegiates, *who wept miſerably, that the ſame Dignity had not been confer'd on him* [z].

XX. They very narrowly eſcaped a terrible Perſecution in *Heliogabalus*'s Reign. This Prince had been [a] Circumciſed, and abſtain'd from Swines Fleſh out of Devotion; and that he might more purely ſerve the Gods. He might have borrowed this from the Jews, in whoſe Neighbourhood he was born, and with whom [b] his Family had much Correſpondence; but this eſpouſal of their Rites would not have ſecur'd them from his violence, had not Death prevented it. When he left *Syria* he carried his God to *Rome*, whoſe barbarous Name frighted the Senate. He call'd him *Eliogabalus*. I know not how ſome Hiſtorians and the Criticks after 'em could doubt whether this God was the *Sun*, or *Jupiter*; for the *Greek* Name manifeſts it to be the *Sun*. The Inſcriptions where the Emperor is call'd

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put it beyond all queſtion. Laſtly, *Herodian* relates, [c] that *Heliogabalus* deſigning to Marry this God, (whoſe Name he had taken, from being his Prieſt) at firſt order'd the Statue of *Pallas* to be brought, which had never been ſtir'd ſince it was convey'd from *Phrygia*, but Correcting his Error, he took this War-like Wife from his Deity, and ſent for *Urania*'s Statue to *Carthage*, and endow'd her with all the Riches of his Temple; and this *Urania*, whom the *Africans* adored with ſo much Devotion, was the Moon, who was Married with the Sun.

There is greater difficulty in finding the Origine of the barbarous Name of this *new* God. *Caſaubon* [d] has found in it two *Syriack* words ſignifying the *God of the Mountain*, אלה גבל *Alah Gabal*. This Name was given him, becauſe his Temple was ſituate upon a Mountain, as they called the *God Carmel*, who was Worſhipp'd in the Prophet *Elias* retreat: So that his true Name was *Algabal*. *Scaliger* [e] found in it the Tutelar God of the *Gabalites*, as thinking the Emperor came from *Gibel*, a ſuffragan City of *Antioch*.

Qualis Latinus Gabalus iſte fuit.

But he is miſtaken in this Princes Country and Genealogy; for he was not born at *Gibel*, but at *Emeſa*, which gave his Grandmother her Name *Maſa*, who artfully procured the Empire for *Alexander*, who was alſo her Grandſon by *Mammæa*. From hence it was that his Family came, and even his Mother's Name was *Syriack*; for *Euſebius* ſays, that this Prince was kill'd with his Mother *Simia* of *Syria* [f]. Laſtly, *Ammianus* & *Marcellinus* ſpeaking of the unexpected Exaltation of ſome Perſons, quotes that of *Heliogabalus Antoninus*, *who came from* Emeſa, when *Macrinas* was at *Antioch*. 'Tis not therefore the Tutelary God of *Gibel*, but of *Emeſa* we are to ſeek for, and 'tis own'd, that they Worſhipped the Sun upon a Neighbouring Mountain of the City, and which the Inhabitants ſaid had fallen from Heaven as well as the Image of their God. But muſt we ſay, that the *Sun-Mountain* was this Divinity? I know not why we ſhould ſeek for a Mountain here, or that the Name of the Divinity muſt be taken from *Ælah*, which ſignifies GOD; for it appears evident to me, that this word is compounded of two Languages: The firſt word is the Sun, [g] הלא. There is another well enough known, which is *Baal* [h]. The *Orientals* were accuſtomed to give this Title to the Gods they Worſhipped, and particularly to the Sun. The *Bahalins* were unknown at *Rome*; and therefore both the Name, and the manner of Worſhipping this Deity ſeem'd barbarous. Laſtly, There is a third *Hebrew* word, גאה *Gah*, which ſignifies *High*, *Exalted*, *Excellent*. From whence the Doctors have derived [i] one of their Orders, which they called *Gaons*, *Excellents*. This Title ſuited with the Sun, by reaſon of his Elevation, and with reſpect to the exalted Place on which he was Worſhipped, *Deus in Excelſis*, as the Jews commonly ſaid, or elſe they ſignified hereby the Excellence of this Luminary, *Heliogabalus* therefore was the *Sun*, *God*, *Excellent*, or *Exalted* above all. They praiſed the Divinity by that mixture of Terms, which is no unuſual thing. For 'twas the Cuſtom of that time to aſſociate two Languages, and to coin barbarous Words from 'em, as the Example of the *Gnoſticks* ſufficiently proves. This muſt have been more common in *Syria*, where they equally ſpoke *Greek* and *Syriack*. If you'll have the word to be entirely *Syriack*, you'll find in it the *High and Potent* [k] *God*, which is more natural than the *God of the Mountain*, and this would accord with ſome Inſcription where he is called HELAGABAL. Nevertheleſs our firſt Conjecture is more probable, becauſe the Queſtion is about the Worſhip, which the City *Emeſa* and the Emperor paid the Sun. Let us ſee at preſent what ſhare the Jews, who were ſettled in the *Roman* Empire, might have in *Heliogabalus*'s dotage for his God.

Lampridius relates, that this Prince having built a ſtately Temple to the Honour of *Heliogabalus*, order'd the *Palladium* the Veſtal Fire, the Mother of the Gods, and whatſoever was held moſt ſacred by the *Romans*, to be convey'd thither, being reſolv'd that *Heliogabalus* ſhould be the *only God to be Worſhipped*. To render this Union of Worſhip more compleat, he formed the deſign of introducing the *Samaritans and Jews Religion*, who were well known to him. The Lives and Fortunes of the Jews depended upon the Execution of this Deſign, for they would never have conſented to have Worſhipped the Sun in the Emperor's Temple, with that heap of Ceremonies his Religion conſiſted of; and they could expect nothing but Death, and the moſt cruel Tortures from a Prince, whom the Hiſtorians compare to the *Nero*'s and other Monſters, that have govern'd the Empire. The unexpected Death of this Prince, who was Aſſaſſinated by his Soldiers, ſecur'd 'em from this impending danger. Indeed he only ſays, it was a deſign of the Emperor's, and that he *talk'd of doing it*. Beſides, tho' *Heliogabalus* had ſent the Image of his God, and had order'd it to be plac'd in the Senate above Victory, even before his entrance into *Rome*; and tho' the Hiſtorians relate the Extravagancies he

[x] Deuteron. 33. 4. Moſes commanded a Law, even the Inheritance of the Congregation of Jacob. *There are but ſeven words in the Hebrew.* משה מורשה קהלת יעקב תורה צוה לנו Bartol. Bibl. Rab. t. 3. p. 673. [y] An. 279. [z] *He was called* Sceman Bar Abba: *He was a Prieſt and Married the Siſter of* Samuel *the Lunatick.* [a] Excerpta ex Dione Cocceiano Valeſ. p. 762. [b] Mammæa *his Aunt.* [c] Herod. l. 5. p. 121. [d] Caſaub in Lamprid. p 143. [e] Scalig. in Euſeb. p. 112. [f] *She was call'd* Soëmia Syra, שחמיא סיהרא. [g] Ammian. l. 26 p 503. [h] בעל Baal. [i] Buxt. Lex. Thalm p. 373. [k] אלה גאה כעל Æla Gah Baal, *the High and Potent God.*

committed

committed to honour this Divinity, yet it required time to build the Temple, in which all Religions were to be combined. *Euſebias* ſays, it was not raiſed till the Year of his Death, and ſo God thereby preſerved 'em, as well as the Chriſtians, from a Scourge that was like to deſtroy them.

XXI. The Clemency of *Alexander Severus* contributed doubtleſs to the flouriſhing State of the Jews; for indeed this Prince openly favoured the Nation. The Wits of that time called him an *Archi-Synagogue of Syria*; for he came from that Province [k]. But why was he call'd Head of the Synagogue, ſince there was no ſuch thing among the Chriſtians or Heathens? The former had aſſumed the Title of *Biſhop*, and the latter had in *Syria*, their *Syriarch*, as thoſe of *Aſia* had their *Aſiarch*. There was alſo an *Alitarch*, or *High-Prieſt* of *Antioch*. *Afranius* [l] was in the Third Century; and 'twas he that reſtored the Olympick Games. There was no Head of the Synagogue in *Syria* except among the Jews. And from hence *Alexander Severus* was called *Archi-Synagogue*, becauſe he favoured the Jews, correſponded with 'em, and was inſtructed in their Religion, of which he had received ſome Tincture from his Mother *Mammæa*. Indeed this Prince had a medly of Religions in his Head. He never abandoned the Gods of his Fathers, nor the Heathen Idolatry, which ſtill prevail'd. But he liſted among theſe Gods, *Abraham* the Father of the Faithful, and the great Patriarch of the Jews. He meant alſo to admit *Jeſus Chriſt* among 'em, the Founder of the Chriſtians. It ſeems as if he only did it to rectifie the Deſign *Heliogabalus* had form'd of Writing [m] the Samaritan, Jew and Chriſtian with the Heathens in the ſame Temple; but he did it with gentleneſs for himſelf, and tormented no Body elſe.

XXII. *Alexander Severus* was for having the Names of the Officers he ſent into the Provinces proclaim'd. and the People licenſed to accuſe them; becauſe as the Jews and Chriſtians proclaim'd their Prieſts that they might be known, 'twas fit the ſame thing ſhould be done in point of Governors, who were intruſted with the Lives and Fortunes of the People. In fine, he often repeated this Maxim, which he had learnt from the Jew and Chriſtian: *Do not to others what ye would not have them do unto you.*

XXIII. The following Emperors continued the Tranquility which this Nation enjoy'd. *Philip* who was born in *Arabia*, where the Jews had ſo great a Commerce, gave 'em countenance. *Decius*, who perſecuted the Chriſtian Church in hatred to the Protection *Philip* had granted it, might have confounded them with it. But beſides that, the difference of theſe two Religions was well known, it does not appear that they had any ſhare in the ſhort and violent Perſecutions this Prince brought upon the Church. Nor muſt they be admitted into *Valerian*'s Perſecution, nor conſider'd as the Authors of it: Tho' *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* ſays, this Prince was compell'd to it by an *Archi-Synagogue* of *Egypt*. 'Tis true, this Term was peculiar to the Jews, as we have already obſerv'd: But whether the *Egyptians*, who were confounded with 'em, had borrowed this word, which ſo puzzled *Valeſius*, that Learned Interpreter; or whether the Magicians of this Country had places of Aſſemblies and Heads, to whom they would not give the Style that was conſecrated to the Temples and Heathen Prieſts; or that *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* applied this Expreſſion particular to him, to the Preſidents of the Magicians, in hatred to the Jews, it is ſtill true, that an *Egyptian* Magician corrupted *Valerian*, and that the Circumciſed had no hand in the Perſecution, which was made by this Princes Orders.

XXIV. We will relate in the following Chapter what ſhare they had in *Aurelian*'s Expedition into *Armenia*. At preſent we'll only obſerve, that they place the Doctor *Sceſciath* at the end of the Third Century [n]. He was blind [o]; but nevertheleſs became very learned. He had alſo a Diſpute with the Chriſtians, in which he had ſome reaſon. It was their Cuſtom to turn to the Eaſt, in praying to God. St. *Baſil* [p] ſays, this was a Myſtery few People underſtood, and that they were taught by this, to breath *after their ancient Country, the Garden of* Eden, *which God had placed in the Eaſt*. The more ſubtile Moderns ſay, they had reſpect to *Jeſus Chriſt, The Eaſt from above, and the Son of Righteouſneſs who brings healing in his Wings*. This is far-fetch'd, and improper to excite Devotion. What ſignified it in St. *Baſil*'s time to wiſh for a return to the Terreſtrial Paradice, poſſeſſed by the *Perſians*, eſpecially if thoſe that prayed towards the Eaſt, were ignorant of the reaſon why they did it? *Sceſciath* had reaſon to exclaim againſt this Superſtitious or trifling Worſhip, and to ſay, that when a Man Prayed, he might *turn himſelf towards all the parts of the World, becauſe God is every where*. He added, that a Man ought not to *turn towards the Eaſt by reaſon of the Hereticks*; that is, the Chriſtians who did it. By which he fell into another Extream. Two Works are aſcribed to him; one upon the *Cabbala*, which was an Explication of the *Splendors* [q], the Manuſcript of which was in the *Heidelberg* Library; the other was a *Targum*, or a *Chaldee* Paraphraſe upon the Scripture.

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[k] Baſſian *was of* Phenicia, *and had two Daughters, one named* Julia, *Married to* Severus, *from whom came* Caracalla, *who alſo retained the Name of his Grandfather* Baſſianus. *His ſecond Daughter was called* Mœſa, *from the Name of the City* Emeſa. *She was Married to a Man of Conſular Dignity, called* Julius, *by whom ſhe had two Daughters,* Soema *and* Mammea. Somea's *Son was* Heliogabalus, *of whom we have been ſpeaking. His Father was called* Varilus, *whoſe Name he retained.*

Mammæa *had* Alexander Severus *to her Son, who being preſerved from the Ambuſcades of his Couſin German, by the management of his Grandmother* Mœſa, *was inſtructed in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Religion by his Mother. His Father is not known, who probably was an obſcure Man: But his Grandfather's Name was* Alexius, *from whence he derived his own Name* Alexander.

[l] An. 260. [m] An. 230. [n] Sceſciath. [o] *Sagbi Nabor.* Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 4. [p] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27. p. 354. [q] Sephiroth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The particular State of the Jews at Babylon, *from* Severus's *Reign to the end of the Third Century, with a Catalogue of the Princes of the Captivity.*

I. *The Succession of the Princes of the Captivity.* II. *The Difficulties we find in this Succession, and the Faults observed in the little Chronicle of the Jews.* III. *The Office of Prince unknown in the Second Century.* IV. Nathan *was never Prince at* Babylon. V. *The time when he came into* Judæa. VI. *Frequent Troubles at his return.* VII. Huna *the first Prince of the Captivity. The time of his Election.* VIII. Caracalla's *War in the East.* IX. *The Ruin of the* Parthian *Monarchy. The restoration of the* Persian. X. Artaxerxes *Esteem for the Jewish Doctors.* XI. *The Academy of* Nahardea *flourishing under* Samuel *and* Ada. XII. Jehudah *the Son of* Eliezer *supports it.* XIII. Rau *erects the Academy of* Sora. XIV. Huna *teaches there, and takes the Title of* Prince of the Academy. XV. *A Controversie handled by* Sapor *with two Rabbins.* XVI. *This Prince's Persecution of the Jews doubtful.* XVII. *A Hebrew Monument set up in the East to the Honour of* Gordian. XVIII. Odenat's *War with* Sapor. XIX. Zenobia, Odenat's *Wife, a Jewess. Her Conquests upon the* Romans. XX. *Her Defeat and Imprisonment.* XXI. *There was really such a Man as* Vaballat. Casaubon *Confuted.* XXII. *Doctors that flourished in the East.* XXIII. Jeremy *Master of the Disputes and* Kattina. XXIV. *A Conference of the Jews with* Manes. XXV. *The Jews Ralleries upon* Diocletian.

I. AN ancient Jewish [r] Author observes, "That "a Hundred and Seventy Years after the "ruin of the Temple, the *Persians* fell upon the *Romans*, at which time *Sechanias* died, who "left his Son *Ezechias* his Successor, who ordered "himself to be buried in a City of the *Holy Land*, "call'd *Arbeel*, which was executed after his Death. This City was probably that of *Hebron*, known in the Scripture by the Name of *Kariath Arba*; and which, according to some Interpreters, was so called from *Four great Men, who were buried there*, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob. It was made a Point of Devotion, to have their Bones convey'd thither to those of the Patriarchs.

Nathan was Born after *Ezechias* died. He went into the *Holy Land*, where he had some Imploys, and left his Son *Huna*, whom we consider as the first Head of the Captivity of *Babylon*; but as this contains some difficulty, and the *Little Chronicle* of the Jews makes the Persons before-mentioned Princes and Heads, 'tis necessary to offer here some Illustration.

II. The Confusion is great, because if we follow the number of Years noted in the *Little Chronicle*, we must reject the *Persian* War with the *Romans* to the Year 236 of Christianity, under the Empire of *Alexander Severus*. Indeed this Prince made War with the *Persians*, who began to re-establish themselves after they had ruined the *Parthian* Empire. But at the same time we must place very far into the Fourth Century, the Doctors *R. Huna*, and *Samuel* mention'd by this same Chronicle, tho' they lived in the middle of the Third.

If we go by the Catalogue of the Heads of the Captivity, and the Doctors named in the *Little Chronicle*, we must place the *Persians* War with the *Romans* under the Reign of *Trajan*, who actually took the Title *Parthicus* during his Sixth Consulship, and then there will be a false Chronology of 130 Years. There is another fault in this same Chronicle, which shews the Author not a Learned Man; for he makes *Agrippa* succeed *Herod* the Great, who had, says he, reign'd a long time. After *Agrippa*'s Death, his Son *Monabaz* succeeded, which is two evidently false to be criticised. Besides, he founds upon the Tradition of the Wise Men, a succession of the Heads of the Captivity, who were of the House of *David*. *Obadiah* died in *Herod*'s Reign, and was succeeded by his Son, as *some Wise Men relate*. *Sechanias* follow'd, and not only saw *Jerusalem* taken by *Vespasian*; but *Bither* ruin'd by *Adrian*; in a word, he liv'd 166 Years after the ruin of *Jerusalem*, and 'twas during the War of the *Persians* with the *Romans*, that *Ezechias his Son succeeded him.* So that this Tradition is not only uncertain but false, and we are not oblig'd to follow it.

III. We have already shewn, that the Princes of the Captivity are not of such Antiquity. *Josephus*, who wrote under *Trajan*, did not know them. When *Justin Martyr* objected to *Tryphon*, that his Nation had neither King nor Head, and that under *Herod*, who was a Stranger, they preserv'd the liberty of observing the Ceremonies of their Religion, of which they were depriv'd. *Tryphon* left his Adversary to triumph by his silence. Would not he have cried up the Title of Prince, and the Succession of these *Princes* from *Jechonias*, if that Dignity had been a known and real one?

IV. We only find in the *Little Chronicle* the Names of these pretended Heads of the Captivity, and we know 'em no other way, excepting *Nathan*, who came from *Babylon* to *Judæa*, whilst *Simeon* the Father of *Judah* the Saint was Patriarch. This Man is famous among the Jews; not only because he became *Father of the House of Judgment* at *Tiberias*, but because he Composed a Collection of Sentences [t] of the Fathers, which were afterwards inserted in the *Thalmud* of *Babylon*. *Buxtorf* has judiciously concluded, that this Author lived in the Year 230, but he has confounded his Work with a Book of the same Name, tho' different [t].

V. This Man could not be Prince of the Captivity, and quit a Dignity, that set him over the Nation, to go and be Father of the House of Judgment in such a little City as *Tiberias*. He could not go into the *Holy Land*, except in a time when it was laid waste by the ruin of the Temple, and by the avarice of *Domitian*, and perhaps too when *Adrian*'s War had given the finishing stroke to its Desolation. 'Tis improbable that a Man, who had been Prince of the Captivity, would have gone and beg'd Imploys in a strange Land. 'Tis true, that *Simeon*, who was Patriarch, saw him arrive with *jealous Eyes*, because he ought to have contented himself with the Honours he had in his Country, without coming and taking the Bread from the Children of the Houshold. The Honours he enjoyed at *Babylon*, could not be the Command of the Nation, since he would not have quited it for a Post much inferiour to his own. We only know that his Father had been very rich; that he was eminent for his Furniture and Vessels of Silver; that his Treasures had render'd him considerable at the *Parthian* Court; and this doubtless made him pass for a Prince, as in *Italy*, a rich Jewish Merchant has been

[r] Seder Olam Zutà. [s] *In* Thalmud. Babylon. ex edit. Amst. *There is* מסכת אבות דרבי נתן *Massecheth Avoth de Rabbi Nathan.* Bart. Bibl. Rabb. t. 3. p. 770. [t] *This latter is called* פרקי אבות *Pirke Avoth. the Sentences of the Fathers. They are also in the Thalmud.* Fagius Drusius, *and Mr.* Leusden *have Printed them a-part; the latter at* Utrecht, 1665, *in* 4.

been called *The Duke of the Hebrews, Il Duca de gli Hebrei*. *Nathan* not contented with his Riches, came in queſt of Learning and Employs at *Tiberias*; but he was not a Head of the Captivity. Let it be farther obſerved, that he lived very long, ſince they rank him among the Thalmudiſt Writers, who appear'd not till after the *Miſnah*, Compoſed by *Judah* the Saint; and this perſuades me, that he came not to ſee the Patriarch *Simeon* till after *Adrian*'s War, and under *Antoninus*'s Empire.

VI. He returned home after a long ſtay in the *Holy Land*; and as he had ſeen a Patriarch Head of his Nation, tho' Poor and Miſerable, he had doubtleſs the deſire and deſign of the ſetting up the like at *Babylon*. But the Wars of the *Romans* with the *Parthians*, in the Reigns of *Marcus Aurelius* and *Severus*, gave no opportunity for a change of this Nature. It could not be made till after the Conqueſts of *Severus*, who had reduced the *Parthians* to a very miſerable Condition at the end of the Second Century.

VII. We have had reaſon therefore to ſay, that *Huna*, *Judah* the Saint's Cotemporary, was the firſt Head of the Captivity at *Babylon*, ſince the Succeſſion given of 'em by the Author of the *Little Chronicle*, is evidently falſe and fictious[u]. We have placed *Huna*'s Creation in the Year 220, having removed it the ſpace of ſome Years, becauſe the Revolution that happen'd in the Kingdom of *Parthia*, gave them a favourable opportunity to make this new Eſtabliſhment. But we may, without fixing it preciſely, ſince 'tis only done upon Conjecture, place it in the beginning of the Third Century, and then eſtabliſh a Prince of the Captivity at *Babylon*, as there was a Patriarch at *Tiberias*. Their Authority was not great, ſince they groaned under the ſlavery of the *Parthians* and *Romans*, or of a new Uſurper: And the faſtuous Titles of *Prince* and *King*, which they often aſſumed, related rather to the Merit and Knowledge than the Power of theſe Maſters. 'Tis the common Stile of the *Thalmudiſts* to call thoſe Kings *Melachim*, who are raiſed above others, and themſelves by their Vertue; for *they are more Kings than the Kings themſelves*. And thus the Doctors reduce the extravagant Elogies given *Solomon* to a miſtical ſenſe, who is made the King of all the Earth, of Plants and Animals, and of all the Kings of the World, becauſe they related to his Knowledge and Vertue. In brief, we have already obſerved, that the Heads of the Synagogues of *Germany*, or of ſome Provinces of *Italy*, ſtiled themſelves Dukes and Princes of the Jews, and no Body ſhould be miſled by theſe pompous Names, as if the Supreme Authority was annex'd to 'em; for commonly Poor and Miſerable Doctors take 'em. But however *Huna* the Cotemporary of *Judah* the Saint was the firſt of theſe Heads in the beginning of the Third Century, and 'twas at the ſame time, that the Academies of *Babylon*, which grew ſo famous, were erected. But we muſt explain this Event a little more at large.

VIII. The *Parthians* had for a long time rul'd in this Country. *Artabanes* had carried the Crown from his Brothers after the Death of their Father *Vologeſus*. *Caracalla*, meaning to take advantage of this Diviſion, and having no pretence of making War, ſent to demand his Daughter in Marriage, being perſuaded ſhe would be refuſed upon the difference of Manners, and that upon this refuſal, he might declare War. The thing happened as he had projected. The *Parthians*, who were not prepared, were obliged to retire before the *Roman* Army, which ran over *Meſopotamia*. *Caracalla* being kill'd[x], whilſt the *Parthians* were muſtering up their Troops, *Macrinus*, his Succeſſor, was minded to ſignalize himſelf by a Victory, which might procure him the Title of *Parthicus*. He advanc'd as far as *Niſibis*. *Herodian*[y] ſays, that they fought two whole Days together, and that on the third, a Wall of dead Bodies ſeparated the Combatants: But *Dion* affirms[z], that the *Roman* Troops, which were uſed to live effeminately, were twice beaten, and that *Macrinus* purchaſed Peace with a Bribe of Nine Millions to *Artabanes*'s Miniſters.

IX. This Prince was fully intent upon the Reeſtabliſhment of his Kingdom, impoveriſh'd by the War, when a new Accident diſturbed his quiet. *Artaxerxes* was the Son of a Shooe-maker, call'd *Pabec*, or of a Soldier, call'd *Saſan*; for his Birth remains very uncertain: But yet we may determine in favour

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[u] *The Succeſſion of 40 Heads of the Captivity from the ruin of the firſt Temple, taken from the little Chronicle of the Jews, intituled,* Seder Olam Zuta.

1. *Jechonias*, carried away by *Nebuchadnezar*.
2. *Salathiel*, his Son, under *Belſhazzar*.
3. *Zorobabel*, his Son, who brought back the People under *Cyrus*.
4. *Meſhullam*, his Son, under whom Prophecy ceaſed. He died in the Reign of *Alexander* the Great.
5. *Hananias* in the Reign of *Salmon*, *Alaſcan* and *Mapparis* Kings of the *Greeks*, Succeſſors of *Alexander*. *Salmon* is *Ptolomey*, the Son of *Lagus*, *Alaskan* is *Seleucus*, and *Mapparis Caſſander*. He died in the Year 140 of the *Greeks*, or of the *Seleucides*.
6. *Barachias* his Son, under *Ptolomey*, who cauſed the Law to be Tranſlated into *Greek*; and under *Antiochus*, who built *Antioch*. He died in the Year 170 of the *Greeks*.
7. *Haſadias*, his Son, in the Year 175. The Jews ill uſed by *Nicanor*, rebel and kill him and all his Army. *Simeon Maccabeus* lived at that time.
8. *Iſaiah*, his Son.
9. *Obadiah*, his Son, who died under *Herod* the Great.
10. *Samaias*, his Son, who makes the Tenth Generation of the Houſe of *David* after the Captivity.
11. *Sechanias*, his Son, who died in the Year 166. of the Ruin of the Temple, or 236 of the Chriſtian *Æra*.
12. *Ezechias*, his Son, who was buried at *Arbéel*.
13. *Nathan* Poſthumus.
14. *Huna*, his Son.
15. *Akob*, his Son.
16. *Mahum*, his Son.
17. *Jochanan*, his Son.

  } Theſe Four Heads had but one Maſter or Preſident of the Academy, call'd *Nabaneel*.

18. *Saphat*, his Son.
19. *Anam*, or *Honà*, his Son. *Samuel* the Lunatick was his Council. *Nahardea* was taken in his time. He cauſed himſelf to be buried in *Judæa* near *Chaia*.
20. *Nathan*, his Son, with *Ezechiel* his Council. The *Perſians* reſolved to Perſecute the Jews in the Year 245. of the Ruin of the Temple.
21. *Nathan*, his Son, with the Doctor *Sarbi*.
22. *Achabias*, his Son, with the *Rab. Ada*. He was buried in *Judæa*. The King of *Perſia* ſubdued *Syria*.
23. *Mar Hona*, his Brother, with the Doctors *Abai* and *Joſeph* the Son of *Hama*. *Sapor* took *Niſibes*.
24. *Ocha*, his Brother with the Doctor *A. Henanel*.
25. *Aba*, his Nephew, with *Rabbà* and *Rabbenà*. *The World was without King* in the Year 416. of the ruin of *Jeruſalem*.
26. *Cahanà*, his Brother.
27. *Saphira*, his Brother, with *Atta Marpotens*.
28. *Cahana*, his Son, with *Rabbenà*.
29. *Hona*, his Nephew.
30. *Hona*, Uncle to the preceding. He Married the Daughter of *Hanina* Head of the Academy.
31. His Son was the ruin of the Houſe of *David*; for having ill uſed *Hanina*, the Plague conſumed all the Family excepting
32. *Zutra* Poſthumus. *Iſaac* the Head of the Academy was kill'd in his Reign. *Mir* the Great appear'd. He ſaw a Pillar of Fire, he rebell'd againſt the *Perſians*, acted as King for Seven Years, was kill'd. *Zutra* alſo was Hang'd.
33. *Zutra*, his Son, was obliged to retire to *Judæa*, and to deſire the Preſidentſhip of ſome School. He was was made Preſident of the Senate 452 Years after the ruin of *Jeruſalem*, 522 of the Chriſtian *Æra*.
34. *Guria*, his Son.
35. *Zutra*, his Son.
36. *Jacob*, his Son.
37. *Migas*, his Son.
38. *Nehemiah*, his Son.
39. *Abdim*, his Son, who made 87 Generations.
40. *Jacob Phineas* his Son, Maſter of *Haſſub*.
41. *Azariah*, his Brother, who made the Eighty Ninth Generation.

[x] An. 227. [y] Herod. l. 4. [z] Xiphil. in Carac. p. 356.

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of the latter, since *Abulpharages* [a] calls all the Kings of *Persia Sasanides*. This Man of so mean an Extraction endeavour'd to restore the *Persian* Monarchy, and to overthrow the *Parthian*, five hundred and fifty-five Years after *Alexander*'s Defeat of *Darius*. We know not what could contribute to this Design, or the happy Success that follow'd it. But this bold Man won [b] Three Battles over the *Parthians*, kill'd *Artabanes*, and became Master of all the Kingdoms he possess'd. He push'd his Conquests even into *Media*; and hereupon he wore a double Crown: And, in order to restore the Monarchy in all its Splendor, he undertook to drive the *Romans* out of *Asia*. *Alexander Severus* [c] raised a prodigious Army to oppose him, having separated it into three Bodies the more conveniently to subsist it; but not venturing to advance with that, which he commanded, the two others were often beaten, and his own suffered very much. 'Tis said likewise that he was obliged to fly; but other Historians affirm on the contrary 'twas *Artaxerxes* that deserted his Standards upon seeing Ten Thousand of his Troopers arm'd Cap-a-pe fall. 'Tis certain that *Alexander* Triumphed for this Conquest; that he brought off abundance of *Persians* who were sold for Slaves, and that *Artaxerxes* was oblig'd to ransom them to avoid the Shame and Reproaches of the Nation. He died in the Year 244. and left his Kingdom to his Son *Sapor*, a Name that grew very common to the Kings of *Persia*, under whose Dominion the Jews came in again.

X. This Revolution was advantageous to 'em. For indeed these Two first Kings of the *Persians* had such Esteem for the *Rabbins*, that one of 'em bore the Name of these Princes. For they say [d] that *Samuel* Sirnamed the *Lunatick*, on the Account of his Skill in the Motions of the Stars, and whose Astronomical Tables are pretended to be [e] in the *Vatican* Library, was also called *Antiochus*, or *Artaxerxes*, because his Counsels had the same Authority as Royal Edicts. After *Artaxerxes* Death, they gave him the Name of his Son *Sapor*. He was Ingenious and Learned in the Law. He presided in the Academy of *Nahardea*, where he had a great multitude of Scholars.

XI. If we believe *Agathias*, the Usurper *Artaxerxes*, whom this Historian [f] calls *Artaxares*, brought the *Magi* again in Reputation. They had been thitherto very much despised: but under his and the following Reigns, they had so great an Authority, that the State was governed by their Advice. They were consulted in private and publick Affairs, and nothing seem'd right, but what was supported by their Suffrage. The *Greek* Historian talks almost like a Jew, who says that *Samuel* was called by the King's Name, because *his Counsels pass'd for so many Orders of the Sovereign*. Moreover the *Magi* were Men of Letters among the *Persians*; it would be no wonder then, that the Jews, who were able Physicians and Astronomers, being confounded with the *Magi* had great Interest at the Court. And indeed this was the time that their Academies at *Babylon* were erected and grew famous.

Samuel the Lunatick, or the Astronomer, had left *Judæa* to go into the East. He settled at *Nahardea*, which he render'd very famous by his Astronomical Lectures. He found out the Method of fixing the four [g] Revolutions of the Year, or the *Solstices*. He was Counsellor to *Hona*, Prince of the Captivity. He is said to die in the Year 250 of the Christian *Æra*. His Glory was eclips'd by that of *Ada*, who was born at *Babylon*, and had an exacter knowledge of the Course of the Sun than his Predecessor. We shall not repeat what we have said [h] of him in another Place. We'll only observe that the Jewish Historians make him live 170 Years, because they confound two Doctors of the same Name. We must not take literally what they say, that a Jewish Merchant, a Friend of his at *Babylon*, the Son of *Bonias* was so rich, that he had a Thousand Ships upon the Sea, and as many Cities upon Land. They only mean, that there were at that time very considerable Men of their Nation at *Babylon*, as well as Learned Men in their Academies.

XII. The Honour of this Academy was supported by two great Men, who lived in the same Century: one [i] was *Jehudah* the Son of *Eliezer*. He is absurdly placed at *Pundebita*, which Academy was not yet erected. He raised himself by his Learning much above the Professor of *Sora*, who could not stand against him, but by his Alliance with the Prince of the Captivity. We find in the *Babylonian Thalmud* abundance of his Decisions. His Hatred of the Heathens, which he compares to Asses, manifestly appears there. But this Aversion to Strangers has generally raised the Glory of the Doctors instead of depressing it. *Nachman* also possess'd this Chair, and kept up the Succession of Eminent Doctors. This was the State of one of their Eastern Academies in the Third Century. Let us pass on to that of *Sora*, which is no less noted.

XIII. *Abba Aricha*, who is intituled [k] *Rau* by way of Excellence, and known only by that Name, had gone into *Judæa*, to study under *Judah* the Saint, with *Samuel* the Astronomer. But after his Master's Death he return'd to *Babylon* to teach there. He refused to settle at *Nahardea* to avoid Competition: but he erected his Academy at *Sora*, where he remain'd 'till his [l] Death. *One of the Princes of* Babylon *call'd* Adarchan, *was so fond of him, that he went to hear his Lectures*, and was Circumcised. They make him [m] the Author of a Commentary upon *Ruth*, and some other Books. But as the Number of Authors was very great at that time, their Works are hard to be distinguish'd. *Rau* determin'd that the Synagogues ought to be raised above all the Houses of a City. *The City where it is not so shall perish*, said he [n], for *God hath extended mercy unto us to set up his house*. He never went to Sea with an Infidel, lest God should exercise his Judgment at that time. He imagined the *Romans* were to become Masters of all the World, Nine Months after the Coming of the *Messiah* the Son of *David*.

XIV. *Huna*, a Relation to the Prince of the Captivity, and of the same Name, succeeded him in this Academy. This Man pluming himself upon this Alliance, or being full of Vanity, was the first that took the Title of *Prince of the Academy* [o]. He had a Hundred and Sixty Volumes of the Law; but *one was found illegitimate* [p], *because it was as long as broad*. This suffices to give us a guess at the Character of these *Princes* of the Academy, and what Taste they had of Learning.

Let us add another Learned Man call'd *Cohana*. He had left his Country like the rest, to go study in *Judæa*; which was the Travels all in fashion. A Man was not thought to be learned, unless he had seen the Academy of *Tiberias*. Having heard *Jochanan*, and seen the Patriarch *Samuel*, he returned to *Babylon*, where he officiated as a Priest. Some doubt of it, yet he affirms he was of the House of *Ely*.

All the Learned that sought a Retreat in the *Per-*

[a] Abulph. Dyn. p. 80. [b] An. 226. [c] An. 234. [d] Ganz. Tsemach David. p. 113. [e] Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. iv. p. 388. [f] Agath. l. 2. c. 11. [g] Tekupha. [h] L. III. [i] Ganz. Tsemach. [k] *He was called* אבא ארכא Abba Aricha. *He was call'd afterwards barely* Rau רב [l] An. 243. [m] V. Bart. Bibl. Rab. t. 3. p. 692. & t. 1. p. 361. [n] Esdras 9. 9 [o] ראש ישיבה Rosh Jeschubah, *Prince of the Academy*. [p] פסול Passul, illegitime.

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ſian Empire, and erected Academies there, demonſtrate, that *Artaxerxes* treated them with a great deal of Clemency.

XV. *Sapor*'s Reign [q] is ſomewhat more ambiguous than that of his Father. It appears that he correſponded with the *Rabbins*, and diſputed with them. As it was not the Cuſtom of the *Perſians* to bury their dead, he wonder'd that the Jews ſhould do it. He ſent for *Chaſda*, one of the Learned of that time, who was afterwards Preſident of the Academy of *Sorah*, and *who reckon'd twelve thouſand Scholars*. He ask'd the Reaſon of this Cuſtom, and would have him prove it by an expreſs Paſſage of the Law. The Doctor was reduced to Silence; but another that was more ſubtile, turn'd off the Objection; and inſtead of a Precept produced Examples. *Sapor* likewiſe quoted the Example of *Moſes*, who was not buried. The Doctors ſtill evaded the Difficulty by ſaying, that the People *wept for him*.

XVI. This Prince from Controverſy came to Perſecution: at leaſt a Jewiſh Hiſtorian had read in the *Annals of* Perſia, *which had been ſent to the King of* Spain [r], that the People of his Nation had till then been very happy under the Dominion of the *Perſians*, becauſe their *Rabbins* had a *Learning and Integrity equalling that of the Doctors who lived before the fall of the Temple*. But the People provoked by the Eſteem they were held in, obliged the King to perſecute 'em. He reſiſted ſome time; but fearing the People would mutiny, and the rather becauſe the *Arabians* threaten'd him with a War, he impriſon'd againſt his Will Three of the Principal Jews [s] of his Dominions, and would force them by whipping to renounce their Religion; but they bore it with Conſtancy. Being vexed with this unſucceſsful Attempt, he made all the *Princes of the Jews* Priſoners, and tortur'd 'em ſo cruelly as to leave nothing but Skin upon their Bones. But God aveng'd them; for the *Perſians* were no longer ſo happy as they were before. The *Arabians* made War againſt 'em, and *bound all the Perſian Kings with Cords*. The King of the *Arabians*, a more equitable Man, *as the Kings of this Country always are*, ſent Officers with Promiſes to the Jews, that if they would retire into his Territories, they ſhould enjoy a full Liberty of Conſcience, becauſe a Religion embrac'd by Conſtraint becomes uſeleſs. The *Perſians* perceiving that the Violence they had exerciſed, drew theſe Chaſtiſements upon them, permitted the Jews the Profeſſion of their Religion. There are ſo many obſcure things heap'd together in this Story, that 'tis hard to believe theſe Annals of *Perſia*, that were ſent into *Spain*. But if any one will follow 'em, he muſt underſtand by the *Arabians* the *Palmyrenians* upon the borders of this Country, and the *Saracens* commanded by *Odenat*, who actually reduced *Sapor* to very hard terms.

XVII. The *Perſians* had again taken up Arms againſt the *Romans*, and beſieg'd *Antioch*, which was forced to ſurrender. I don't know why it is conteſted; for *Capitolinus* who is quoted as an Evidence, ſays [t] that the *Perſians held it*, when *Gordian* came to the Aſſiſtance of the Subjects of the Empire. This Prince obtain'd many Advantages by means of *Miſitheus* his Father in Law, and his Prefect of the *Prætorium*, who took *Carræ Niſibis*, and drove *Sapor* to his Capital. *Gordian* march'd to the Extremities of *Perſia*, where he was kill'd by *Philip*. The Soldiers in honour to their Commander's Memory, ſet up a Tomb: *To* Gordian *Conqueror of the* Perſians, *of the* Goths *and* Sarmatians; *to him that appeas'd the Seditions of the* Romans, *who conquer'd the* Germans, *and could not conquer the* Philippi [u]. The *Latin* Word is equivocal, and may ſignifie that he could not conquer, or keep the Field of Battel at *Philippi*, becauſe he had been beaten there by the *Alanes*, or elſe he had been conquer'd by the *Philips*, who had caus'd him to be kill'd [x]. This Inſcription [y] was *engraven in* Perſian *and* Jewiſh *Characters*, that every body might read it. This is a farther Confirmation that there were at that time abundance of Jews in the *Perſian* Dominions; and that they ſpoke *Hebrew*, becauſe theſe Characters were us'd to communicate to them the Encomiums beſtow'd on *Gordian*.

XVIII. They had a new Occaſion of glorying from *Zenobia* the *Queen of the Eaſt*. *Theodoret* [z] is groſsly miſtaken concerning her, in ſaying that the *Romans* had entruſted her with the Government of *Syria* and *Phenicia:* for this Woman, who became ſo famous, had married *Odenat* King of *Palmyrene*, and Commander of the *Saracens* of that Country, which was but a Day's March from the *Euphrates*. This Prince ſeeing every thing ſtoop before *Sapor* ſent him Preſents, and wrote to him in Teſtimony of his Submiſſion. This Conqueror, who had penetrated already into *Cappadocia*, and taken *Cæſarea*, tore *Odena*'s Letter, and ordered his Preſents to be thrown into the River. Being exaſperated of himſelf, and by *Zenobia*, as haughty a Princeſs as ever was, he made an Alliance with the *Romans*, declared War with *Sapor*, gave him a great many Battels which he always won; obliged this *Victor* of ſo many Provinces to give up all the Treaſures he had amaſs'd in *Syria* in the Garriſon of *Edeſſa*, to purchaſe his Retreat. *Odenat* purſued him, ravaged *Meſopotamia*, beat the Nobility of the Kingdom ſeveral times, who were aſſembled upon the Neceſſities of State; and twice beſieg'd his Enemy in *Cteſiphon*. But after abundance of Conqueſts, and being declared *Auguſtus*, *Zenobia* his Wife, who would reign alone, cauſed him to be killed [a] with a Son he had by a former Wife. *Vopiſcus* [b] aſſerts that ſhe took Poſſeſſion of the Empire with her Sons, and govern'd in their Names. But we ſee a Medal of hers, on which ſhe is alone with the Title of *Auguſta*.

Septimia Zenobia Auguſta.

And *Hope* holding a *Cornucopia* is on the Reverſe [c]. She alſo took the Title of *Queen of the Eaſt*, and made her ſelf Miſtreſs of *Syria* and *Phenicia*. So that *Theodoret* ought not to ſay, that the *Romans* had deputed her to the Government of theſe Provinces: for ſhe commanded as a Sovereign, and afterwards aſſociated her Children with her in the Empire.

XIX. This Queen was a *Jeweſs*. *Abulpharages* [d] ought to have read in *Euſebius*'s Chronicle, that this Princeſs, being a Votary to her Religion, underſtanding that *Paulus Samoſatenus* look'd upon *Jeſus Chriſt* only as a Man, approv'd this Opinion, which came nearer to that of the Synagogue; and that this was the reaſon that obliged her to give him the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*. This is not in *Euſebius*. But however [e] *Theodoret* owns that *Paul* of *Samoſata* thought to pleaſe this Princeſs, *who was a Jeweſs*, by reviving *Artemon*'s Religion. St. *Athanaſius* [f] propoſes her for an Example, becauſe tho' a Jew, ſhe gave not the Chriſtians Temples to be turn'd into Synagogues by the People of her Religion; and he concludes from thence, that the *Arrian* Princes were more unjuſt than ſhe. But this Father of the

[q] *He is made to Reign from the Year* 241. *to the Year* 272. [r] Ex Gemara tit. Sanh. Coch. duo Tractat. Thalmud. p. 25. Salomon fil. Virgæ Shelet, &c. [s] *He calls them* Amimar Murica, *and* Amarſia, *unknown People*. [t] Capitol. in Gord. p. 165. [u] Et non Victori Philipporum. [x] An. 232. [y] Capit. ibid. [z] Theodoret. de Hæret. Fab. t. 2. p. 222. [a] An. 267. [b] Vopiſc. in Aurel. p. 216. [c] Spanh. de Præſt. Numiſm. Diſſ. 7. p 673. [d] Abulph. p. 81. [e] Theodoret. de Hæret Fab. p. 227. [f] Athanaſ. ad ſolit. vit. t. 2. p. 857.

Church was inconſiderate; for ſhe at leaſt gave the Temples and the fineſt of all the Chriſtian Churches to a Man more Heretical than the *Arrians*; and reſerv'd to her ſelf the Power to build Synagogues for the Jews. Indeed it can't be doubted but they made great Uſe of her Protection, and became then very potent [g] in the Eaſt under *Odenat* her Husband, who carried every thing before him: and when ſhe came to the Throne, ſhe added *Egypt* to her firſt Conqueſts; extended her Arms into *Aſia Minor*, as far as *Tyana* and *Ancyra*; paſs'd into *Bythinia* where ſhe took *Chalcedon*, at leaſt if *Vopiſcus*'s Teſtimony who affirms it, is to be preferr'd before that of *Zozimus*, who denies it.

XX. Indeed here it was that *Aurelian* began to reſtore the Affairs of the Empire, which *Zenobia* had ruined. He enter'd into *Bithynia*, which reſum'd its former Maſter without Reſiſtance. From thence he went on to *Cappadocia*, and the Gates of *Tyana* being ſhut againſt him, he ſwore he would not leave a Dog alive in it; but afterwards relenting, and deſiring to ſave his Oath, he permitted the Soldiers to kill all the Dogs. *Zenobia* was at *Antioch*, from whence ſhe advanced her Troops as far as *Immes*, which was not far from it. The Battel was fought near the River *Orontes*. *Aurelian*'s Troops retreated, that they might put the Queen's Horſemen, who were heavily arm'd, out of Breath: falling afterwards upon them, they put 'em to flight. *Zabdas*, who commanded for the Princeſs, foreſeeing that *Antioch* would ſhut her Gates againſt him, if they had notice there of his Defeat, dreſs'd up a Man, and calling him *Aurelian*, he gave out that he carried the Emperor Priſoner. The Stratagem was quickly diſcover'd. He ſtaid no longer at *Antioch*, than to take *Zenobia* along with him and make the beſt of his Way with her. A Second Battel was fought, in which *Aurelian*'s Cavalry was broken: but whilſt the *Palmyrenians* purſued it, they fell upon the Infantry which was cut in pieces. *Zenobia* had no other Option to make, than to ſhut her ſelf up in *Palmyra*, whoſe Situation was advantagious. The *Perſians*, *Saracens* and Eaſtern Nations ſtill devoted to this Princeſs, notwithſtanding her Misfortunes, in vain attempted to ſuccour her. The *Perſians* were beaten, and the *Saracens* obliged to liſt in *Aurelian*'s Army. *Zenobia* ſecretly departed out of the City to ſeek for Succour among the *Perſians*. But as ſhe was going to paſs the *Euphrates*, *Aurelian*'s Couriers, who purſued her, took her Priſoner. *Palmyra* ſurrender'd. *Zenobia* was led in Triumph with her Son. She was loaded with ſuch ponderous Chains of Gold, as required many Officers to ſupport them. She was adorn'd with Jewels, and mounted upon a ſtately Chariot, on which ſhe had hoped to make a Triumphant Entry into *Rome*, whereas ſhe enter'd like a Slave. *Odenat* her Husband's Chariot was alſo one of the Ornaments of *Aurelian*'s Triumph, who expoſed to View whatever was moſt rich and precious in the Eaſt, which by his preſent Victories he had re-united to the Empire. *Zenobia* lived at *Rome*, or rather at *Tivoli*, where ſhe had a Country-houſe. 'Tis even very probable that ſhe Married again, ſince many Hiſtorians affirm it. St. *Jerom* ſays there was ſtill in his Time a Family at *Rome*, which bore *Zenobia*'s Name, and was deſcended from this Princeſs. 'Twas not the Cuſtom for Husbands to take their Wives Names; but there might be an Exception in Favour of a haughty Queen, who had render'd hers too Illuſtrious to ſuffer it to periſh.

XXI. This Glimpſe of Proſperity and Authority of the Jewiſh Nation vaniſh'd, unleſs we will ſay that *Vaballat* her Son, to whom *Aurelian* gave ſome Sovereignty in *Armenia*, had embraced his Mother's Religion, and favour'd the Jews as ſhe had done; which is very uncertain. *Caſaubon* [h] has even thought the Man himſelf to be imaginary, and that the *Latins* hearing the *Syrians* ſpeak often of their *Bagnallat* [i], that is to ſay their *Queen*, thought it to be a *Man*, whom they raiſed to a Hero. He *knows* not, whence *Vopiſcus* took this Third Son of *Zenobia*, unknown, ſays he, to all Antiquity. He has been ſupported by other Criticks [k], who diſpute him his Birth, and affirm that he was the Son of *Herodian of Athens*, and *Odenat*'s Grandſon. Laſtly they rob him of his Crown; and read in his Medals the Name of *Hermias*, common among the *Greeks* for that of *Armenia*. *Caſaubon*'s Fault is from henceforth too manifeſt, and his Conjecture overthrown by *Vaballat*'s Medals, which ſuffer us not to doubt that there was a Prince of this Name. He was Son of *Zenobia*; and *Vopiſcus*'s Authority, who affirms it, ought to prevail above *Triſtan*'s weak Conjecture. His Mother aſſociated him with her in the Empire, and he follow'd her in the Reverſe of her Fortune; for he was carried in Triumph with her. But afterwards *Aurelian*, who had deſtroy'd the Two other Children of *Zenobia*, with a great Number of Nobility, repented of his Cruelty. *We have kill'd*, ſaid he to himſelf, *Palmyrenians enough, we have put to the Sword their Peaſants, murder'd their old Men, maſſacred their Children, we have not ſpared their Women; to whom then ſhall we leave the Cities and Country, that are already deſolate, unleſs we pardon thoſe that remain?* He pardon'd 'em in reality, and gave ſome Part of a Kingdom to *Vaballat* in *Armenia*: for we ſee ſome Medals, in which he takes this Title, *Vaballat of Armenia*; with *Aurelian*'s Face, from whom he held the Crown. There are others on which the Years of his Reign are noted. But however kind *Zenobia*'s Son's Fortune might be to the Jews, they had a great Loſs in the Fall of this Princeſs. Tho' the Son had protected them, this Protection could not extend very far.

XXII. Moſt retired into the Cities of *Perſia*, where their Doctors continued in ſome repute. They boaſted highly at that time of one *Chiia*, the Son of *Aſcè*, who not being able to maſter the Motions of Concupiſcence, threw himſelf into a *ſmoaking Bake-houſe*. We can't eaſily conceive, what Effect the Smoak of an Oven could have upon Concupiſcence, unleſs he meant to mortify himſelf by the Smoak, and to atone for ſome Fault by it. He renew'd the Cuſtom cenſur'd by our Saviour in the Goſpel, of *waſhing his hands up to the elbow*; for he order'd thoſe, that waſh'd before they ſat down to Meat, to hold their Fingers cloſe and contiguous, that the Water thrown upon 'em might run along the Arm. He urg'd, that the Soldiers themſelves were not diſpens'd with waſhing after Meals [l]. The Reaſon he alledg'd for this Cuſtom is Comical enough. 'Tis believed there is in the Salt ſomething of the Sulphur and Salt of *Sodom*; 'tis feared that ſomething of it may ſtick to the hands, and that afterwards by rubbing the eyes, a Man may loſe his Sight. Wherefore there is an indiſpenſible Obligation of waſhing after Meat.

XXIII. There was moreover at that time a famous

[g] An. 260. An. 272. [h] Caſaub. in Vopiſc. p. 232. [i] *They applied to Princes and Princeſſes, as well as to Doctors, the Title of* Baal, *ſo odious for the ill uſe ancient Idolaters have put it to. The* Palmyrenians *call'd* Zenobia בעלה Bagnalah, *Queen.* [k] Triſtan. Spanheim. de Præſt. Numiſm. Diſſ. 7 pag. 298. [l] *They ſuperſtitiouſly diſtinguiſh three Waters, or three times wherein they waſh: one before the Meal is call'd* מים ראשונים *the firſt Waters: the ſecond is call'd the ſecond Waters* מים שניים *Laſtly there is the laſt Water* מים האחרונים aquæ poſteriores.

[m] Diſputant,

[m] Diſputant, who not only gave no reſt to the *Babylonian* Doctors, but to ſhame 'em the more, he made [n] his Wife diſpute againſt 'em. He was call'd *Jeremy*, and the Maſter of the Queſtions.[o] Laſtly, Other Doctors were ſeen at *Sora*, where they flock'd together, becauſe the Academy of *Nahardea* was fallen with the City, which was taken and plunder'd. *Zirà*, ſirnamed [p] *Kattinà*, was ſtill there. He at firſt left his Country to go and ſtudy at *Tiberias*, where he had alſo received the Impoſition of Hands; but the Authority and Friendſhip of *Huna* had recall'd him to his Academy, where he liv'd till the Year 300. when deſiring to lay his Bones in *Judæa*, he choſe rather to carry his living Body thither himſelf, than to make it travel after his Death. So that tho' the Jews of *Babylon* had a great Eſteem for themſelves, yet that hinder'd not their going to ſtudy in *Judæa*, and commonly to return thither before they died.

XXIV. *Manes* appear'd towards the end of the Third Century [q]. The Religion of the Jews, and even their God was not to his liking; and the Sacred Hiſtory with all the Miracles it is fraught with, ſcandalized him, inſtead of ſubduing his Reaſon and his Wit. He could not bear a *God of Battles*; who cauſed all the Nations to be extirpated, that were found in the Road of his People. He doubted not, but a Divinity, that lov'd Vengeance, Murder and the Deſtruction of the Creatures, was an *evil Principle*, an Enemy to Mankind, and ſtill a greater Enemy to God that made them. The Goſpel ſuted ſomething better with his Taſte, becauſe it manifeſts more Mercy, and leſs Juſtice, more Grace, and leſs Chaſtiſement. Nevertheleſs he had great Conferences with the Jews of *Perſia*, where he had much Correſpondence, whether he deſigned to be fully inſtructed in the Law, or rather deſired to recover 'em from what he call'd their Infatuation. The Modern Jews are not agreed about their Anceſtors Conference with *Manes*, and in their Kalendar they fix the Origine of his Seat towards the end of *Conſtantine*'s Reign.

XXV. Laſtly, [r] *Diocleſian*'s Perſecution happen'd ſome time after. But the Savage and cruel Princes, who govern'd the Empire at the end of the Third Century, ſpar'd the Circumciſion and the Synagogues at the ſame time, that they fell foul upon the Temples and Profeſſors of Chriſtianity. *Diocleſian* did not think 'em perhaps worthy of his Anger; and their number being extreamly leſſened in the *Roman* Empire, it was not thought neceſſary to employ Force and Conſtraint againſt a Religion, whoſe Poverty and ſmall numbers gave Heatheniſm no jealouſie. But yet they tell, that this Prince had a deſign to Perſecute 'em, being induced to it by the ſharp Ralleries of *Judah the Saint*'s Diſciples, who laugh'd at him for his having kept Hogs; that they eluded his Wrath by telling him, *That if they had deſpiſed the Swine-herd, they reſpected the Emperor.* This Fable perhaps is a miſtaken Commentary of the Prediction that had been made to *Diocleſian*, that *He ſhould be Emperor, when he had kill'd a wild Boar*, which engag'd him to go frequently a hunting of theſe Animals. But this Boar was *Aper*, Prefect of the *Prætorium*, whoſe Death open'd his way to the Empire. For tho' *Diocleſian* was of a mean Birth, yet it is not true, that he had been a Swine-herd. Were *Judah* the Saint's Diſciples in *Dalmatia*, his Birth-place, to reproach him thus; or durſt they do it, when he went into *Syria*, being already extreamly formidable? This is ſo much the worſe imagin'd, that they make *Judah* the Saint to live in the time of *Antoninus*.

[m] Bart. Bibl. Rab. t. 3. [n] An. 290. [o] *'Twas in this Age of Proſperity they invented or multiplied Titles.* Jeremy *was called* בעל Baal, *Maſter. They took that of* מר Mar, *or* Mor, *Lord.* רב Rau *was affected by the Doctors of* Babylon, *as well as that of* ראש Head, Chief Prince *of the Academy, or of the Captivity. They alſo made uſe of the word* Abba, or Abbas, אבא *as of a Title of Honour and Dignity. The Rabbins are often called* Abbé, *Monſieur* l'Abbé *the Son of* Cohana, *lived in the middle of the Third Century, when* Jochanan *Compoſed the* Jeruſalem *Thalmud, and at the beginning of the Fourth another* Abbé *was Profeſſor at* Sora. [p] *The* Little, *he was Originally called* זעירא Parvus; *but they retrenched a Letter* ע *from his Name and made it* זירא Zirà. [q] Abulphar. p. 82. [r] Id. t. 1. p. 8.

CHAP. XIV.

The Hiſtory of the Jews during the Fourth Century of the Chriſtian Church.

I. *The State of the Jews under the Chriſtian Emperors.* II. *Their Conference with Pope* Silveſter *falſe.* III. *Whether they had their Ears cut off under* Conſtantine, *or under* Adrian. IV. *The Jews conſiderable at* Tiberias. *The Converſion of* Joſeph. V. *Their Violences reſtrain'd by an Edict.* VI. *Several Laws of* Conſtantine. VII. *Their Society forbidden by the Council of* Illiberis. VIII. *A Decree of the ſame Council. The Bleſſings of the Jews explain'd.* IX. Ravena Nachmanides *baniſh'd by* Sapor. X. *The Croſs found by* Judas. XI. *Fables of the Chriſtians. The Wood of the Croſs very ancient.* Alatius *confuted.* XII. *A Perſecution in* Perſia *raiſed by the Jews.* XIII. *They join with* Gregory *of* Alexandria *againſt St.* Athanaſius. *They plunder the Churches.* XIV. *A Rebellion at* Diocæſarea *againſt* Conſtantius. XV. *This Emperor's Edicts againſt the Jews.* XVI. *The Converſion of St.* Epiphanius. XVII. Julian *grants 'em his Protection.* XVIII. *Permiſſion to rebuild the Temple.* XIX. *The Miracles wrought there examin'd.* XX. *A City inhabited by the Ten Tribes in the Eaſt.* XXI. Jovian's *Conduct. Their Liberty reſtored by* Valens. XXII. Maximus *flatters them.* XXIII. *An account of a Synagogue pull'd down under* Theodoſius. XXIV. Zonoras *and* Cedrenus *confuted.* XXV. *A violent Letter of St.* Ambroſe *upon this Subject.* XXVI. *The Jews Juriſdiction under* Theodoſius. *Their particular Judge in Stanor.* XXVII. *Their Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrates Authoriſed by a Law.* XXVIII. *St.* Jerom's *Pains and Fatigues to learn Hebrew.* XXIX. *Who were his Maſters.* XXX. Barrabanus, Ruffinus *his quibble upon this word; and that of the Jews upon the Son comes.* XXXI. *The extravagant Praiſes given St.* Jerome *for his Learning.*

I. THE Jews were not much happier under the Chriſtian Emperors, than they had been under the Reign of Idolaters. Their Fate varied according to the Genius of Princes. The Chriſtians were ſo ill handled by the Perſecutions they had ſuffered, that they could not ſo ſuddenly reſolve upon a change of Maxims. *Conſtantine* contented himſelf with making ſome Laws, that confined the Jews Liberty to narrower Bounds, tho' they were the Objects of his hatred; but by degrees way was given to the bent of Nature, which tends to the Puniſhing and Perſecuting thoſe that contradict us in Point of Religion. The Councils themſelves, that ought to have been more equitable, were of this Temper, and became Incendiaries, that inflam'd

Princes againſt the remains of a miſerable Nation. We often boaſt of Humanity, and fancy the Inſtincts of Nature ſufficient to make us compaſſionate to other Men: But we don't well conſider this matter. For Pride is another Principle in Man, which has far the Aſcedant over Humanity; which riſes upon ſeeing thoſe conſiderable Parts of Mankind, who think differently from us, and aſſume the privilege of conteſting the Truths we believe our ſelves poſſeſſed of. Humanity ſpeaks firſt, and ſuggeſts motions of Lenity; but Pride quickly impoſes its ſilence, and inflames the Heart, and deaffens the Mind to the Dictates of Juſtice and Equity. And as all Men are obnoxious to this Paſſion, 'tis no wonder to find Perſecutions in all Religions. Thoſe that handle the Myſteries, are more cruel than the reſt, becauſe beſides that, they are puffed up by Religion, which raiſes 'em above the level of Men of equal Birth, they fancy the Oppoſition made againſt the Myſteries of which they are the Defenders and Miniſters, to be a Perſonal Affront upon themſelves. So that Councils commonly Authorize and begin the Perſecutions, which Kings afterwards carry to the utmoſt exceſs.

II. The firſt Event we find in the Life of *Conſtantine* concerning the Jews, is related by *Zonaras*. This Hiſtorian ſays [f], they had a Conference at *Rome* with *Helena* this Emperor's Mother, who was yet unconverted. They repreſented to this Princeſs, that tho' her Son had reaſon to aboliſh Heatheniſm and its Idols, yet he had made no great progreſs towards his Salvation, ſince inſtead of the Heroes of ancient Heatheniſm, he Worſhipped a Man who had been Crucified but a few Ages before. *Helena*, who was devout and reſtleſs for her Son's Salvation, oblig'd the Doctors to a Conference with Pope *Sylveſter*, who quickly triumphed over the Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion. But as they were ſtill diſputing, one *Zambres* a Magician, whom the *Rabbins* had brought with 'em, cauſed an Oxe to fall down dead at *Silveſter*'s Feet. He was not ſurpriz'd at the Miracle; for he raiſed the Oxe again; whereupon all the Aſſiſtants acknowledging the Pope's Power to be ſuperiour to the Magicians, required Baptiſm; and *Helena* alſo deſired Inſtruction. This is a Monk's Story. But yet as there are Underſtandings of all ſorts and ſizes in the World, if there be any one credulous enough to digeſt this Conference and Miracle, and ſudden Converſion attending it, he may ground upon the Authority of an *Arabian* Hiſtorian, who [g] aſſerts there were Twelve Thouſand Jews and Heathens, without reckoning Women and Children, who were Baptized at *Rome* in *Conſtantine*'s Reign. *Abulpharages* does not mention the Miracle, but by tacking the *Arabian* Story to the *Greek* Monks; the latter Event may be conſidered as the Conſequence of the former; and the Converſion of ſuch a Multitude as the Proof and Effect of the Oxe's Reſurrection.

III. 'Tis ſaid likewiſe, that *Conſtantine* perſecuted the Circumciſed; for St. *Chryſoſtome* [u] affirms, that upon their aſſembling once to re-build *Jeruſalem*, this Prince diſguſted with their raſh attempt, ſurpriſing them, cauſed their *Ears to be cut off*, and afterwards diſperſed 'em into all the Territories of his Empire, as ſo many Fugitive Slaves. *Eutychius* adds [x], that *Conſtantine* oblig'd 'em all to be Baptiz'd, and to eat Swines Fleſh on a Paſſover Day. Perſecution can't be carried farther; but I queſtion the Truth of theſe Particulars. St. *Chryſoſtome* has great Authority in the Church; but it is not always ſafe to believe him in telling of Stories: For the Jews ſay themſelves, and are back'd by *Abulpharages* [y], that 'twas the Emperor *Adrian*, who cauſed their *Ears to be cut off*, like the Slaves which he ſold at the Fairs of the Empire. Beſides, *Jeruſalem* had been re-built under *Conſtantine*'s Empire; its Biſhop had aſſiſted at the Council of *Nice*, and the Emperor had raiſed ſuch ſtately new Buildings it in, that *Euſebius* told him, in a prophane manner [z], that 'twas the *New* Jeruſalem, *foretold him by the Prophets, which he had built*. How then could the Jews mutiny and rendevous to do a thing which was done before? Laſtly, Tho' the *Theodoſian* Code contains many Laws againſt the Jews under *Conſtantine*'s Name, yet there is not one condemning them *to the loſs of their Ears, to be Baptized, or to eat Swines Fleſh.*

IV. But this Prince Publiſhed ſeveral Edicts, which acquaint us with the Condition and reſtleſs Humour of the Jews under his Reign. The firſt is one of the moſt important: It was iſſued, if I miſtake not, upon occaſion [a] of *Joſeph*, who had abandon'd the Synagogue to embrace Chriſtianity. The Jews incenſed by his Converſion, went to inſult him in his Houſe, and finding that he read the Goſpel, they forc'd his Book from him, loaded him with Abuſes and Blows, hall'd him to the Synagogue, where they unmercifully ſcourg'd him. But not content with this firſt Outrage, they puſh'd him into the River *Cydnus*, whoſe Current carried him far enough to give 'em the joyful Hopes that he was drown'd. But God preſerv'd him. He receiv'd Baptiſm, made himſelf known at Court, and obtained the Emperor's Leave to build Temples in ſeveral Places, where none had been before. The Jews were re-ſettled at *Diocæſarea*, *Tiberias*, *Nazareth* and *Capernaum*, and had ſo appropriated theſe Cities to themſelves, as not to admit any Strangers, without excepting the *Samaritans*, who profeſſed the ſame Religion. *Joſeph* undertook to introduce the Chriſtian Religion in all theſe Cities, and to that effect built Churches in 'em. At *Tiberias*, he met with a reſiſtance, that drew down Miracles from Heaven. There was in that City, where the *Miſnah* was written, and the Academy ſtood, a great Edifice, which had been deſign'd for a Temple to the Emperor *Adrian*, whoſe Name it bore. Indeed there is a Medal, which perfectly explains what St. *Epiphanius* ſays [b]; on it we find a Temple, in which the Emperor is ſeated with this Legend; Τιβερ. Κλαυδ. ετ Αρ. that is, that they were the People of *Tiberias*. who had ſtruck it in the Year 101. of their [c] *Epoch*, which began under *Tiberias*. The Emperor, that appears in the Temple of *Tiberias*, is *Adrian*. Nevertheleſs, as this Edifice was never compleated, it was deſigned to the uſe of Bagnio's. *Joſeph* deſign'd to Conſecrate it to God. He wanted Lime to finiſh it, and to this purpoſe he erected Kilns without the City. The Jews enraged at his Deſign, had recourſe to Magick, as *Epiphanius* ſays; which Art was ſo ſucceſsful as to hinder the Fire from kindling, and the Lime from being made. *Joſeph* being vex'd at ſo unexpected an Accident, went out of the City at the head of a Multitude of People, curious to ſee what he was going to do. When he came to the Place, he made the ſign of the Croſs, invok'd the Name of *Jeſus* over the Water which he had brought in a great Veſſel, and hereby communicated to it the vertue of diſſipating the Magical Spell, and rekindling the Fire. And at once throwing the Water into all the Kilns, the Wood immediately was ſeen to kindle, and the Flame to come out. This Miracle converted a multitude of Jews: But yet the reſt continued to op-

[f] Zonar, t. 3. p. 6. [g] Abulph. Dyn. 7. p. 85. [u] Chryſoſt. in Jud. Or. 3. t. 1. p. 435. [x] Eutych Ann. t. 1. p. 466. [y] Abulph. Dyn. 7. p. 77. [z] Euſeb. de vita Conſt. l. 3. c. 33. p. 501. [a] An. 315. [b] Epiph. Hær. 30. p. 137. [c] V. Noris Epoch. Syro. Maced. p. 56.

poſe

poſe the Conſtruction of the Temple, of which they could only build one part, wherein they erected a little Church.

St. *Epiphanius* ſeems poſitive of the Truth of the Miracle. For our part we will only obſerve, that the Jews were ſtill powerful in *Judæa* under *Conſtantine*'s Empire, ſince they alone poſſeſs'd four Cities, one of which was *Nazareth*, where our Lord was Educated. Their numbers rendered them inſolent, ſince they ill uſed thoſe that were turn'd Chriſtians, and ſo publickly oppoſed the Execution of the Princes Orders for the building of Temples.

V. This doubtleſs oblig'd *Conſtantine* to publiſh the Edict before-mentioned. *He taxes them with ſtoning, or burning whoever had a mind to renounce their Religion*; and he condemn'd them to the ſame Puniſhment, with all their Accomplices. Herein we ſtill ſee the Footſteps of that furious *Zeal*, which they thought Authoriz'd them to kill thoſe who were taken in a notorious Crime. They imagined theſe were the Precepts of the Oral Law; and ſaid, that *Phineas* had executed the verbal Order of *Moſes*. They produced another Example under the *Macchabees*, when *Mattathias* kill'd a Jew, who was practiſing Heathen Ceremonies. The Doctors Authoriz'd this Practice; for *Philo* doubted not but God had eſtabliſhed it. The *Eſſenes* thoſe auſtere Votaries order'd, that if any Man had blaſphemed againſt *Moſes*, he ſhould be kill'd. *Joſephus* ſays [d], that they *puniſhed him with Death*. The Interpreter has ill Tranſlated it; they *condemn'd him to Death*. For as this Sect had no power of Life and Death, it puniſhed Blaſphemers by a *motion of Zeal*. Notwithſtanding the terrible Diſorders, and the Torrents of Blood that the Zealots had cauſed to flow at *Jeruſalem*, yet this dangerous Maxim was ſtill preſerv'd; and the *Miſnah* teaches, that if any one *renounces the Foundation*; that is, the Articles of Faith, he ought to be kill'd, and purſuant to this Principle, they ſton'd, burnt and drown'd thoſe that deſerted them in *Conſtantine*'s Reign. This oblig'd him to repreſs that violence, and as they did not obey the firſt Law, he was forc'd to make a ſecond.

VI. He [e] alſo forbad the Chriſtians to turn Jews upon pain of an Arbitary Puniſhment. There was more danger in point of Slaves, who might be brought over by their Maſters: And therefore this Prince Publiſhed a Law ſix Months before his Death, prohibiting the Jews to Circumciſe thoſe in their Service; and giving liberty to all who accuſed their Maſter of having Circumciſed them, or that embraced Chriſtianity. *Euſebius*, who muſt have known this Law, [f] gives it a greater extent; for he ſays, that the Jews were not allowed to *buy Chriſtian Slaves*, and keep 'em in their Houſes; aſſigning for a reaſon of it, that it was not juſt, that *thoſe who were ranſomed by the Blood of* Jeſus Chriſt, *ſhould be ſubject to the Murderers of the Prophets of the Son of God.*

Laſtly, *Conſtantine* ordered that the Jews might be made *Decurians*, becauſe 'twas fit that they ſhould have their ſhare in the publick Burthens; but he exempted [g] *the Patriarchs, the Prieſts, and thoſe* that had conſiderable Employs in the Synagogues, becauſe being taken up by their Functions, they could not attend on the Duties theſe Offices laid on them. For indeed the Poſt of *Decurion* was not an Honour, but a Servitude. Every one endeavoured to be diſcharged from it, by taking other Imploys in the Army and Government. They endeavoured to exempt themſelves by ſome Privilege which they beg'd of the Emperor. *Conſtantine* and his Children granted ſo many of 'em, that there was no body left to fill theſe Poſts in *Julian*'s time [h]; which obliged him to revoke 'em all without exception, and this raiſed Murmers againſt him, even after his Death, whilſt others commended him for it. No wonder then, that *Conſtantine*, who did not love the Jews, made *Decurions* of 'em. Such was the Condition of the Jews under the firſt Chriſtian Prince.

VII. 'Tis under his Reign that they place the Council of *Illiberis* [i], which made two degrees againſt the Jews of *Spain*; in which Country they had great Correſpondence with the Chriſtians. They eat and lived ſociably together: But the Council forbad this Table Society upon pain of Excommunication to thoſe that eat with a Jew. The Puniſhment was terrible, and abſurdly afflicted, ſince eating together is an Action purely civil, and Excommunication ought not be iſſued except for Eccleſiaſtical Crimes. The learned Commentator of the Council of *Illiberis* pretends, that the Council of *Nicæa* ordered the ſame thing in *one of its Decrees, which had been dictated by* Oſius, *who was Preſident of it*, and who was for having the Diſcipline receiv'd in the *Spaniſh* Churches, admitted into all others. *Mendoza* is miſtaken; for the Canon he quotes was never made by the Council of *Nicæa*. He took it from the *Arabians*, who have falſly father'd upon this Council a great many Canons it never made. 'Tis a Fiction, that the ſame *Oſius*, who had cauſed this Law to be paſſed at *Illiberis*, went afterwards to infuſe the ſame Notion into the *Nicene* Fathers, that it might be executed over all the Church. Neither do we know what the *Arabians* mean by quoting the *Apoſtles in their Decree*; for St. *Paul* was ſo far from condemning the Commerce of civil Society, that he made himſelf *all things to all Men, a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks*. And if we have recourſe to the Cannons that bear the Names of theſe Holy Men, we ſhall only find, that they condemn'd Uſury without forbidding eating and Society with the Jews. *Recardoe*, who renewed the Decree of the *Illiberan* Council, and ſupported it with his Royal Authority grounded alſo upon the Authority of St. *Paul*, who ſays, that *All things are impure to the defiled and unbelieving*. From whence he concluded, that the Jews being impure, their Meats muſt be ſo too: But this is a weak Argument, and we ſhall ſpeak of it again in another place.

VIII. The Council of *Illiberis* [k] by another Decree forbad "the Poſſeſſors of Lands to ſuffer their "Fruits to be bleſſed by the Jews, becauſe their Be-"nediction fruſtrated that of the Chriſtians, and it "threatned abſolutely to caſt out of the Church ſuch "as ſhould not obey it." This Decree is obſcure. The Commentator obſerves two things; one, that Pope *Eutychianus* had commanded to go and bleſs in Private Perſons Houſes the Fruits which could not be offered upon the Altar, that the People might make uſe of 'em after the Benediction. He adds another Law, permitting the Prieſts to go into Fields and Houſes to bleſs whatever the private Poſſeſſors deſired. He obſerves in the ſecond place, that *Tertullian* had rejected as a kind of Idolatry the Benediction of the Heathens, who, when any one gave Alms, pray'd the God of their Colony, or their Art, to bleſs their Benefactor, as the Mendicant prays at this Day the Bleſſed Virgin, and Mr. St. *Chriſtopher*, or Mr. St. *George*, to re-pay the Alms he receives; and the Council of *Laodicea* alſo rejected the Bleſſings of Hereticks, *becauſe they were Curſes rather than Bleſſings*. Theſe two Obſervations don't ſufficiently illuſtrate the matter.

Firſt, we can't apply *Tertullian*'s Nicety to this

[d] Joſeph. l. 11. c. 12. de Bello κολάζεσαι θανατῷ. [e] Cod. Theodoſ. l. 15. tit. 9. l. 1. p. 247. [f] Euſeb. de vita Conſt. l. 4. c. 27. p. 538. [g] Cod. Theod. l. 16. t. 8 l. 2. p. 219. [h] Ammian. Marcell. l. 25. c. 5. p. 463. [i] Conc. Elib. C. 50. Mendoza. l. 3. c. 27. p. 1274. [k] Concil. Elib. C. 47. Mendoza ibid. p. 1273.

Decree

Decree, who refuſed to give a Man Alms, that bleſſed him in the Name of his falſe Gods; for not to examine whether he was in the right, there is a a great difference betwixt the Heathen and the Jew, ſince the one bleſſes in the Name of the true God, and the other does it by Idols. Beſides, it is true, that the Fruits were ordered to be carried to the Altar, and were bleſſed there. *Dom Luke d'Achery* relating the Cuſtoms of the Monks of *Clugny*, ſays, that they commonly bleſſed the Grapes at the Feaſt of St. *Sixtus*. If the Seaſon was not enough advanced, they waited till they ripned. Then they were preſented to the Prieſt, who bleſſed them, and afterwards they were [l] *diſtributed in the Refectory in the place of the Hoſts. They bleſſed three other things in the Refectory, new Beans, new Bread, and new Wine.* The manner of doing it is expreſſed in the ancient Rituals, and particularly in the Sacramentary of the Queen of *Sweden*; *Lord bleſs theſe Creatures with Water, Milk and Honey; make them drink of that eternal Fountain, which is the Spirit of Truth. Nouriſh them with Milk and Honey; for thou haſt promiſed to our Fathers*, Abraham, Iſaac *and* Jacob, *that thou wilt introduce them into a* Land, *flowing with Milk and Honey. Unite, O God, thy Servants by a Spirit of Charity and of Bread, as this Milk and this Honey are united in* Jeſus Chriſt, *our Lord, by whom thou created'ſt all things.* So that the Cuſtom related by *Mendoza*, is very certain. But there are three Defects in his Proof; for he quotes the Decree of Pope *Euticianus*, which is falſe and ſpurious, as being full of Quotations of St. *Hilary* and Pope *Leo*. *D'Achery*, who adds *Damaſus*'s Pontifical, where this Decree is attributed to the Pope, is no better grounded; for the Pontificial is another Forgery, upon which we can lay no ſtreſs. Beſides, this Cuſtom of Bleſſing the Fruits is not ſo ancient: They only bleſs'd at the Altar, the *Oblations*, which the People preſented for the Maintenance of the Clergy. Laſtly, This does not acquaint us of what kind the Jews Benediction was; 'tis in vain to prove that the Church bleſſed the Fruits, ſince the queſtion is not concerning its Benediction, which was approved; but that of the Jews which was rejected. Neither were they the Bleſſings given in the Streets to charitable People, like that mention'd by *Tertullian*. Nor is it likely, that the Chriſtians invited the Jews to come and bleſs their Crops in the Fields, or that they carried their firſt Fruits to the Synagogues, to ſanctifie 'em by the Benediction of the *Chief* there. If it were ſo, they had Judaiz'd in *Spain*. 'Tis better, in my Opinion, to ſay, that the Jews in this Country were Tenants to the Chriſtians. They improved their Lands, and carried the firſt Fruits of their Harveſts to the Synagogue, or rather they implor'd the Divine Bleſſing upon their Fruits by publick Prayers. The *Spaniſh* Jews have ſtill in their Ritual, a Benediction, "which they pronounce for *Almonds, Apricocks, Cyder* and *Acorns*. They beſeech God to "Water the Earth with his Showers; that the Dew "may flow upon it; that there may be abundance "of good things; that he would bleſs all ſorts *of* "*Herbs, and Greens, and Seeds.*" *Salva* [m] *Ruego, y ſalva agora, Dio Ruego, Llama agora hartura, con Lluvias de los cielos, y Bendize todas maneras de verduras, y ſembradas.* Theſe are the Benedictions which the Council of *Elvira* has condemned. It forbad *Proprietors* to ſuffer their Farmers to make them, becauſe this Jewiſh Bleſſing would render the Chriſtian uſeleſs: As if the Prayers addreſſed to the ſame God ſhould impugn one another, and the Infidel ſhould prevail over the Believer, and his Petition ſhould ſhed upon the others noxious Influences, fruſtrating its effect. What a Whimſie is this for a Council of the pureſt Ages! Nevertheleſs Excommunication was the penalty of violating this Decree.

IX. The Nation [n] at that time underwent a croſs turn of Fortune in the Eaſt, in the Perſon of one of its Grandees. 'Twas the famous *Ravena*, or *Rabba Nachmanides*, Head of the Academy of *Sora*. They talk of Two famous Men, one *Ancient* [o], and the other more Modern. The latter lived in the Year 474; but the other died before the Council of *Nicæa*, in 322. He was ſo eſteemed, that they reckon Twelve Thouſand Diſciples in his Academy. He was commonly called the *Remover of Mountains* [p]. Not that he had Faith enough to work Miracles, and convey Mountains into the midſt of the Sea, but ſo profound was his Knowledge, as to plane and level the greateſt Difficulties. He wrote a Book, that was in great Eſteem, whilſt he liv'd, and after his Death. 'Twas a Commentary upon the Firſt Book of *Moſes*, containing the Hiſtory of the *Holy Land*; the litteral and myſtical Senſe. The Title of it was *Bereſchit Rabba*. It muſt not be confounded with another Work of the ſame Name, which is a Commentary upon the *Miſnah* of *Judah* the Saint, Compoſed by one of his Diſciples [q].

Ravena, having long taught in the Academies of *Babylon*, was accuſed of diverſe Crimes by the King of *Perſia*. The fear of being taken and condemn'd to Death, obliged him to fly, and conceal himſelf. He died in his retreat. Some ſay he was committed Priſoner, and that *Sapor* was going to Condemn him, but that the Empreſs, his Mother, ſent to tell him, that *He ſhould have nothing to do with that Jew, becauſe ſhe had ſuffered much on his account.* I know not whether the Thalmudiſts [r] have Copied the Goſpel, or have invented the Story. But the Empreſs *Dowager*'s Dream had a greater effect than that of *Pilate*'s Wife, who from a Divine Dream oppoſed our Saviour's Condemnation; for *Sapor* only baniſh'd *Ravena Nachmanides*, and he died in his Exile. However this Perſecution was not general; for the Academies flouriſhed at *Babylon*, and the Neighbouring Parts.

Ravena [s] left a Nephew, whom he ſtiled *Avii*, אבי for two Reaſons; one was, that he meant to ſignifie, that he had been an *Orphan*, and that he had entertain'd him out of Charity; the other was, that he would not have him go by the Name of his Grandfather *Nachman*, leſt afterwards the Nephew ſhould be confounded with the Uncle, and the Diſciple with the Maſter. He made ſuch proficiency by *Ravena*'s Lectures, as to become Head of the Academy of *Pundebita*, in the Year 325, which he govern'd till 339. At the latter end of his Life he Married a Widow, by whom he had a Son, who is well enough known by the Name of *Rau bibi*. Some Hiſtorians place *Avii* at the end of the Fifth Century; but by ſo doing they confound his Genealogy; for he could not be Nephew to *Ravena Nachmanides* the Ancient, and dye in the Year 489.

There was alſo [t] a Profeſſor in the Academy of *Sora*, called *Joſeph of Great Light*, or *Saghi Nahor*. He was blind; nevertheleſs his Soul was full of Knowledge. He was alſo Sirnamed *Sinai*, becauſe he knew in perfection all the Traditions that had been given *Moſes* upon *Sinai*. He is believed to be the Author of the *Chaldee* Paraphraſes upon ſome of the Holy Penmen, the *Pſalms*, the *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Ruth* and *Eſther*. This Paraphraſe is highly eſteemed, if

[l] Conſuet. Clun. c. 35. Spicil. Dach. t. 4. p. 89. Præf. p. 7. Bon. Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 14. p. 650. t. 3. [m] Orden de las Oraciones Hoſſaana Raba, pag. 473. [n] In Juchaſin. V. Bartol. Bibl. Rab. t. 3. & t. 4. [o] *The firſt is called* חקדמון Hacadmon, *the Ancient, and the other* האחרון Haccaron, *the latter.* [p] עוקר חרים Oker Harim. [q] *This Diſciple was called* Oſchiangià. [r] Lightfoot Horæ Thalmud. in Matth. 27. [s] V. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. iv. p. 670. [t] Ganz. Tſemach David. ad An. 113. *or* 353.

We

we judge of it by the number of its particular Editions, and there is reason for it, when People will feed themselves with Fables and subtile Explications.

X. 'Twas also in *Constantine*'s Reign, that a Jew nam'd *Judas*, discover'd the Wood upon which *Jesus Christ* had suffer'd; and the *finding of the Cross* so frequently attributed to St. *Helena* must be restor'd to this Jew. *Baronius* [u] in his Zeal for such a precious Relick can't suffer the Glory of it to be given to a Stranger. 'Tis to no purpose to say, that *Judas* had already perhaps some Seeds of Christianity, or at least was Converted after he had found the Cross, and received the Name *Cyriacus* at his Baptism. This can't satisfie the Bigots: For indeed they have three great Reasons to deny this our Assertion; 1. They commonly make the Ancient Relicks of Saints to be found by Men of renowned Piety. It must not be Chance, or the Course of a general Providence, that governs these Events; which are often the Product of Miracle and Revelation. How shall we imagine, that in the question of the *Holy Cross* of the Son of God, a Jew was privileg'd to find it? Did God reveal to him, that this was it, and distinguish the true Cross from all others that might have been buried in this place? We must suppose a Miracle in the Person of a Circumcised, who was still a Member of the Synagogue united to the Society of those who had Crucified the Lord of Glory. 2. This overthrows the Tradition of St. *Helena*, which is more generally received, and does much more Honour to the *Invention of the Cross*. 3. Lastly, All the Miracles connected to this Invention disappear and vanish; for it is not said, that God wrought so much as one Miracle for the Jew, who found out this Wood; and tho' he should have done many for him, yet all those must be denied, that are commonly told. 'Tis indeed an unlucky Accident; but yet we ought not to dissemble it: But it does not suffice to relate it; but we must examine which of these two Traditions is most probable; and it will undoubtedly appear to be that of the Jew; *Eusebius*'s silence about the finding of the Cross in a place adjacent to his Bishoprick, and his Residence deserves to be taken notice of. 'Tis no wonder that he should not mention it, if it was done without Noise, and without Miracle, by a Jew, but little known; but 'twas impossible for him to be silent, if 'twas the Mother of his Hero, who unburied this Cross, and that in a glorious manner, and if God recogniz'd her Zeal by publick Miracles: So that the silence of *Eusebius* makes much for the Jew. Besides, *Gregory* of *Tours* [x] is the most ancient of all those that have spoken of the Discovery of the Cross. But yet this Historian gives the Glory of it to *Judas*, and looks upon him to be the Man that pointed it out. *Schelstrate* [y], the *Vatican Librarian*, thinks, that *Gregory* of *Tours* took this fact from an ancient Catalogue of the Popes, which he has Published from a Manuscript of the Queen of *Sweden*, having corrected it by another of Mr. *Colbert*'s Library. It signifies little to know whether *Gregory* of *Tours* drank at this Fountain; but this is certain, that in this ancient Catalogue, the discovery of the Cross, and the Baptism of *Judas* are placed under *Eusebius*'s Pontificate. We read the same thing in the Pontificial, which *Holstenius*, another *Vatican Librarian*, had Revised with great exactness. These Proofs are not questionable, they come from good Hands. The ancient Historians of the Popes, furnish 'em, and their Librarians Publish 'em, and at the same time give glory to the Truth.

Baronius, and the obsequious Crowd that follows him, have often quoted a Letter of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, that brings *Helena* back upon the Stage. But the Letter is too evidently spurious to prove any thing; and that which is objected, that *Gregory* of *Tours* associates *Helena* with *Judas*, and gives one the Glory of shewing the Cross of our Saviour, and the other of receiving and honouring it, is of no moment; for 'tis a gross fault of an Historian [z] who had not well computed the Years of *Constantine*, and his Conversion; for *Eusebius* was Pope, before *Constantine* was a Christian. *Judas* found the Cross of *Christ* in *Eusebius*'s Pontificate. 'Tis therefore impossible that *Helena*, who was yet an Idolater and a Heathen should have had any part in this Event; for it must be owned, that some foreign Hand being full of the current Tradition associated *Helena* with *Judas* by corrupting the Text, as has often happen'd to *Gregory*'s History, or else but part of his Narrative is true. He ought to be believed about the Jew, since he would never have made that Confession, had he not been forced to it. But he is not at all to be credited, as to what he says of *Helena*, since he is contradicted by a Chronology own'd by all the World. *Rome*, and all the Worshippers of the Cross, are hereby much more oblig'd to the Jews than they imagine.

XI. This Jew would have done a compleat piece of Service, if he had told how the Wood of the Cross had been preserved from rotting, during the three hundred Years it had been left under Ground, and how it was found again after that place had been so often disseltled and disturb'd. Another Jew persevering in his Religion has done it; and his Piece has been Publish'd. He relates [a], that *Abraham* being one Day in the Place, where the *Jor* and the *Dan* unite, and make the *Jordan*, he perceived a Man that wept bitterly, he advised him to take Three Firebrands, to plant them and Water them daily with Forty Buckets of Water, till they had taken Root, because God would then be appeased. The Penitent obeyed, and related afterwards, that not only the Firebrands shot out, but after he had transplanted 'em into far different Places, united and made but one Tree. This Jew doubtless had no other design than to make *Abraham* one of his Patriarchs, the Author of a Miracle. But the Christians of *Berytus* disputing one Day about the kind of Wood the Cross was made of, espoused the Story of this Jews that was put into their Hands, and doubted not but the Cross was compos'd of these three miraculous Firebrands. 'Tis true, they are not all of this Opinion, and some chuse rather to invent new ones, than to copy the Jews. *Allatius* [b] has made a jumble of 'em that deserves relating. Why, says this great Man, should we trouble our Heads about Hereticks, who say 'twas impossible that this Wood should he preserved? *They deny the Word of God; they deny the Writings of the Holy Fathers; they deny the Traditions of the Church. Should we therefore deny 'em too? On the contrary, we ought to believe it because they deny it. For they would not be Hereticks, if they believed. They accuse us of Stupidity, for believing what they reject, but they are much greater Fools for rejecting what we believe.* After such a fine *Proœmium* follows the History of the Cross from the beginning of the World. *Adam* press'd with violent Pains, and feeling Death approaching, bad *Seth* go to the Terrestrial Paradise, to require of the Cherubim that kept it, the Oil of Mercy, which God had promised him when he expelled him from thence. *Seth* asked the Way to this Earthly Paradise; he was told, that he need only go to the Valley of *Hebron*, where he should find a Place where Herb never grew in, because Man had sinned there. He went, he found the Angel,

[u] Baron. An. 305. [x] Gregor. Turon. l. 1. c. 36. p. 28. [y] Schelstrate Ant. Illust. p. 442. [z] V. Le Cointe Annal. [a] Apud Allat. Συμμικτ. p. 228. [b] Allat. ibid.

and

and preſented *Adam*'s requeſt to him. The Angel made him look through the hole of a Gate, and he ſaw a Fountain, from which iſſued Four great Rivers, and hard by it was a Tree without Leaves and Bark. The Branches of this Tree bent to the Ground, and even to Hell, where *Seth* perceiv'd the Soul of *Cain*; but the Top of the Tree touch'd the Clouds; and there he ſaw a young Child crying. It was the *Son of God*, who was to expiate *Adam*'s Sin, and was the promiſed Oyl. The Angel took Three Seeds of the Tree of which the firſt Man had eaten, and gave 'em to *Seth*, telling him that *Adam* ſhould die Three Days after his Return; that he ſhould put theſe Three Kernels in the Noſtrils of the Dead, from whence ſhould riſe Three Trees, a Cedar, a Cypreſs, and a Pine, which ſhould live to the Days of *Noah*. *Lerico*, one of this Patriarch's Sons, going to viſit *Adam*'s Sepulchre, pluck'd up theſe Three Branches, and planted 'em in the Wilderneſs near *Jeruſalem*; but a little after they miraculouſly united, and made but One Tree, which was known by the Difference of its Leaves. *Moſes* tranſplanted it to *Tabor*, and from this Wood conſtituted of Three Incorruptible Trees was compoſed the Croſs of *Jeſus Chriſt*. *David* found this Wood, which had been cut by chance, and acknowledging the Trinity of Perſons, *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, in theſe three ſorts of Wood, which made but one, religiouſly preſerved it as a Pledge of the Proſperity of his Houſe, and of that of Mankind. He had a Mind to introduce it into the Structure of the Temple, but this Wood was never found of a fit Length; It was one while too ſhort, and another while too long. The Architects after ſeveral uſeleſs Attempts to place it, acknowledged the Miracle, and publiſhed it. It was no longer doubted, but it was intended for the Death of the *Son of God*, and from that time they began to worſhip in the Temple. A Woman, who approach'd it in *Solomon*'s Reign perceived her Cloths to be ſet on fire; but the People ſton'd her. One ſays, that *Solomon* ſhewing the Temple he had built to the Sybil *Crythræa*, asked her to ſit down with him upon that Piece of Wood, but the Sybil by a Prophetick Inſtinct refuſed to ſit there with the King, and exclaim'd: *O thrice happy Wood, upon which the Lord and King ſhall be ſacrificed*, which cauſed it to be adorn'd with Thirty little Silver Crowns, which were the Thirty Pieces given to *Judas*; and the Wood being afterwards found uſeleſs, and diveſted of its Ornaments, was made into the Croſs of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Another ſays, that the Queen of *Sheba*, who is made a Sybyl of, foretold that this Tree, which was trampled under foot in *Solomon*'s Reign, ſhould one Day work a great many Miracles. And therefore after the Sybil's Departure he ordered it to be thrown into a very deep Well, which was cloſed up with Stones and Mortar. The Water riſing open'd the Well, and the Angel deſcended in it every Year to trouble it, and the firſt ſick Perſon that went down into it, was heal'd by vertue of this Wood: but it was taken from thence to make a Bridge for the Pool of *Siloam*; and the Jews, who ſought for a great Tree to make a Croſs of, took it, and faſten'd *Jeſus Chriſt* to it. The *Latins* vary the Matter a little; for they ſay that this Tree ſerved for a Bridge over the Brook *Cedron* in the Queen of *Sheba*'s time, who foretold, that *a King much wiſer than* Solomon *ſhould die upon this Wood, and that this ſhould cauſe the Jews Deſtruction*. The King being incenſed cauſed this Wood to be buried where the Pool was, and at the Moment of the Paſſion it roſe out of the Earth to be Inſtrumental to the Death of the *Son of God*. Are not we very great Fools not to believe this? and have not they well corroborated the Faith of the Wiſe, who with *Allatius* have aſcended up to the Fountain-head of the Tradition? The Story of the Three Firebrands made by the Jew, is as good as the reſt, and this Order of Chriſtians ought no longer to reproach the *Rabbins* with their Rambles of Imagination about the Ark of *Noah*, the Rod of *Moſes*, or the Antiquity of the Cloud, ſince they have made ſuch great ones about the Croſs.

XII. Laſtly 'twas in [c] *Conſtantine*'s Reign, that the Jews, who were potent at the Court of *Perſia*, reveng'd themſelves for what they ſuffered in the *Roman* Empire, by kindling a cruel Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians of the Eaſt.

The Goſpel had ſome time before arrived into *Armenia*. We are told that one of its Kings called *Tiridates* had embraced Chriſtianity. From thence it paſs'd on to the *Perſians*, who had a great Correſpondence with the *Armenians*. They began to build Churches, and to conſecrate Prieſts. There was alſo a Biſhop for the Two Cities of *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, which were the moſt conſiderable of the Country. The Jews were multiplied there, becauſe as St. *Jerom* obſerves, they lived quiet and undiſturb'd, and were perſecuted by none of the *Perſian* Kings. Being jealous of the Progreſſes made by Chriſtianity, they murmured: but when they ſaw *Uſtazades* one of *Sapor*'s principal Eunuchs turned Chriſtian, they no longer obſerved any Meaſures; but made a League with the *Magi*. *Simeon* Biſhop of *Cteſiphon* was accuſed of Criminal Correſpondences with *Conſtantine*. This was enough to deſtroy him. This Biſhop refuſed to worſhip the Sun and the King, when he was brought at the Foot of his Throne. *I bent my knee formerly*, ſaid he, *before your Majeſty, becauſe I did it voluntarily, and it was a civil Homage, but I can't do it at preſent becauſe you make it an Act of Religion, and you would make me renounce my God.* He would not ſo much as look upon *Uſtazades*, becauſe he had been ſo weak as to warp under Violence, and worſhip the Sun. The King being enrag'd cauſed him to be chain'd in a Dungeon. The Jews and the *Magi* taking advantage of this Opportunity, fell to work and pull'd down all the Chriſtian Churches. The Perſecution was long and barbarous. *Uſtazades*, an old Eunuch of *Sapor*, and eminent for his Services, repenting of his Infirmity, was the firſt Martyr [d].

XIII. *Conſtantine*'s Sons were much ſeverer than their Father had been. 1. *Conſtantius* coming to the Empire was oblig'd to make War againſt 'em. This Prince muſt have been mov'd by the Diſorders the Jews had committed at *Alexandria*, when *Gregory* the *Cappadocian* went to ſucceed St. *Athanaſius* [e]. Joyning [f] with the Heathens who were then numerous in this great City; they burnt the Sacred Books, undreſs'd themſelves in the Baptiſteries; and profan'd 'em in ſo impudent a manner, that St. *Athanaſius* durſt not ſpeak it. Their Inſolence went ſo far as to force the Virgins they had ſtripp'd to abjure their Religion. But as this Diſorder was acted at the Sollicitation of *Gregory*, who paid the Mutineers; and as this *Arrian* Biſhop had great Favour at Court, no body troubled themſelves to puniſh 'em for this Riot; and it was the Rebellion of the Inhabitants of *Diocæſarea*, that oblig'd the Emperor to take up Arms againſt 'em.

XIV. They thought they might ſafely riſe during *Magnentius*'s Revolt. This Rebel was a Chriſtian as well as *Conſtantius*, ſince we find his Medals have the *Labarum* or Church-banner; and *Baronius* abſurdly ſuppoſes him to have diſſembled,

[c] An. 344. [d] Sozom. l. 2. c. 9. p. 455. [e] Athanaſ. Ep. ad Orth. [f] An. 341. and

and cheriſhed Heatheniſm in his Heart like *Julian*, becauſe he revoked all the Edicts publiſh'd againſt the Idolaters in the Places he was Maſter of. The Jews could expect nothing from him, eſpecially ſince it was in the Weſt, that his Rebellion had the greateſt Footing. But as he was powerful; and his Troops had often been ſucceſsful, the Emperor was obliged to go Perſonally into *Hungary* to encounter him. The *Perſians* taking Advantage of his Abſence afar off, took up Arms, and attack'd *Niſibis*, which ſuſtain'd a Four Months Siege. The Jews ſeeing the Fire kindled at both Ends of the Empire, could not forbear making uſe of ſuch a favourable Conjuncture. *Diocæſarea* is a City but little known, ſituate in the Second *Paleſtine*. People talk indeed of Three Cities of this Name, one whereof was in *Cappadocia*, and another in *Phrygia*. There was a Third in *Iſauria*, ſince *John* Biſhop of *Diocæſarea* in *Iſauria* ſubſcribed in the Council of *Chalcedon* [g]. But yet the Geographers, without excepting the Learned *Holſtenius*, generally forget that of *Judæa*. *Scaliger* [h] confounds it with another City of *Paleſtine* called *Geth*, in the Neighbourood of *Gaza*. This Learned Man's Errour, which has been often copied, proceeded from his not underſtanding St. *Jerome*. This Father ſays, that *Geth was but a Mile and an half from* Sephoris, *call'd at preſent* Diocæſarea. This Father ſpeaks of *Sephoris*, and he was thought to ſpeak of *Geth*. *Sephoris* had been famous, and the *Romans* made it a Metropolis, when *Agrippa* II. was put in Poſſeſſion of *Tiberias*, which occaſion'd great Jealouſies and Diſputes betwixt theſe Two Cities. It retain'd its Name till the Empire of *Trajan*; for Father *Harduin* [i] has publiſhed a Medal ſtruck in this Prince's time, with the Name of the *Sephorenians* on it; but it left it quickly after out of Gratitude. As after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, a great Number of *Jews* were retired to *Sephoris* and *Tiberias*, the Heathens and Chriſtians, who continued with 'em in theſe Two Cities, ſuffer'd much in their Revolt againſt *Adrian*, in which the Rebels put all to the Sword, that came to their Hands. And therefore when the Emperor had delivered 'em from their Inſults, they teſtified their Acknowledgements with Emulation. Thoſe of *Tiberias* built a Temple we have ſpoken of, which they call'd *Adrianion*, and *Sephoris* forſook its ancient Name, to be called *Diocæſarea Adriana*, or *Diocæſarea*. Tho' great Slaughter had been made of the Jews in this Country, yet they ſtill got together there under the following Princes in ſuch Numbers, that in *Conſtantine*'s time, they were the only Inhabitants, and ſuffer'd no body elſe of whatever Religion to ſettle there. 'Tis no wonder then, that this was the Rendezvous of the Malecontents under *Conſtantius*; and that the Inhabitants of this City were the forwardeſt to arm, when they underſtood, that *Magnentius* obliged the Emperor to march with his Troops into *Hungary*, and that the *Perſians* made a great Diverſion in the Eaſt. But *Gallus*, whom *Conſtantius* had made *Cæſar*, and commiſſion'd to march againſt the *Perſians*, came [k] into *Judæa*, beat the Rebels, and razed *Diocæſarea*, which had been the Seat of their Rebellion. Nevertheleſs this City raiſed its Head again from under its Ruins, and the Jews ſettled in it. We find it in the ancient *Notices* that *Carolus* [l] a *Sancto Paulo* has Publiſhed, as a Suffragan Biſhoprick of *Jeruſalem*; and it ſtill ſtood in the time of the Cruiſades ſince *Godefroy* of *Bouillon*, gave it to *Tancred* with *Galilee*, of which it was then the Capital.

XV. *Conſtantius* being incens'd againſt the Jews, and being with all zealous for his Religion, made ſome Laws againſt them. *There is*, ſaid St. *Hillary* [m] who lived at that time, *an Edict of the Emperor, which hinders 'em at preſent from entring into Jeruſalem*. He makes 'em circuit about the Walls of that great City without entring it. They complain'd to *Julian*, when he came to the Throne of this hard Uſage, of being excluded the Gates of a City, which had been the Reſidence of their Anceſtors for a great many Ages. All this is an Argument, that *Conſtantius* had renew'd *Adrian*'s Edicts, or had made a new one upon the ſame Subject.

This Prince [n] made it Death for a Jew to Marry a Chriſtian, or to Circumciſe a Slave. He alſo prohibited their having Chriſtians in their Service; and eſpecially he forbad, under great Puniſhments the embracing their Religion. So that if they had Liberty of Conſcience for themſelves and Poſterity, they were not permitted to receive Proſelytes, when they offer'd themſelves. Laſtly he loaded 'em with Taxes, and had alſo projected new Pecuniary Edicts againſt 'em when he died.

XVI. 'Twas [o] in his Reign that St. *Epiphanius*, who was born a Jew, embraced Chriſtianity. The Authors [p] of his Life give ſuch a ridiculous and fabulous Account of his Converſion, as makes a Man uneaſie to read it. He was born in a Village near *Eleutheropolis*, which ſome confound with the ancient *Hebron*. It ſtill went by this Name at the Council of *Nicæa*; ſince *Macrinus*, who was Biſhop of it, Subſcribed with the other Prelates of *Paleſtine*. St. *Epiphanius*'s Mother continuing a Widow was ſo poor, that ſhe ſent her Son to ſell a paultry Horſe ſhe had remaining, with the Hopes, that the GOD *of Iſaac and of Jacob would vouchſafe the Sale of him*, and that he who had wrought ſo many Miracles by *Moſes* againſt *Pharaoh*, would hinder this Beaſt from diſcovering his Faults. A Jew came to buy him; but having touch'd *Epiphanius*'s Conſcience, he choſe rather to give him Three Crowns in Charity, than to be troubled with that *unruly* Beaſt. A Chriſtian afterwards cheapen'd him, and I know not whether the young Jew made any Scruple to cheat him; but the Brute fell a kicking, threw his Rider, and broke his Thigh. The Charitable Chriſtian cured him in the Name of *Jeſus*, and kill'd the Horſe, who at his Word fell dead upon the Ground. *Epiphanius* was not ſufficiently affected with this Miracle to think of turning Chriſtian. On the contrary, he enter'd the Family of a Jew call'd *Tryphon*, who confirm'd him the more in his Religion, becauſe he promiſed him his Daughter, and would make him his Heir. The Father and Daughter died, and left *Epiphanius* the entire Poſſeſſion of their Eſtate. And as he went to ſee it, he met a Monk upon the Road, called *Lucian*, who having ſtripp'd himſelf, to give a poor Man Subſiſtence, was miraculouſly cloath'd with a Robe that fell from Heaven. This Second Miracle being more effectual than the former touch'd *Epiphanius*'s Heart. He deſired to be made a Chriſtian; and his Siſter deſired the ſame thing, upon the Account of her Brother. *Lucian* carried 'em to the Biſhop, becauſe 'twas his Buſineſs to receive the Abjuration of theſe Proſelytes. This Prelate led 'em to the Church, and whilſt the Goſpel was read, he ſaw the Countenance of the young Jew

[g] Concil. Chalc. Act. iii. [h] Scaliger in Euſeb. Chron. Adrichom. deſcr. Terræ Sanct. p. 22. V. Baubrand. Carolus à Sancto Paulo in Geogr. Patriarch. Holſten in Not. p. 306. edit. Amſtæl. [i] Hard. p. 449. [k] An. 353. [l] Carolus a Sancto Paulo p. 7. [m] Hilar. in Pſ. 58. p. 731, 734. Pſ. 131. p. 1050. Pſ. 146. p. 1176. [n] Sozom. l. 3. c. 17. p. 529. [o] An. 348. [p] Joannes Vita Epiph. n. 1. &c. p. 338, 339, 340.

all radiating: He baptiz'd him; but the young Convert going ſoon after into *Egypt*, ſuffered himſelf to be dazled by the Devotions and Dotages of the *Gnoſticks*, ſo that he was very near running into their Sect, with the ſame Precipitation as he had enter'd into the Church. If he had ſeen ſo many Miracles wrought, not only under his Eyes but upon his Perſon, how could he be ſo eaſily ſeduced?

XVII. *Julian*'s Reign [q] was much more favourable than *Conſtantius*'s. This Prince had no Reaſon to love the Jews, who worſhip'd but one God, and abominated the Heathen Idolatry. But he was glad to augment the Numbers of the Enemies of Chriſtianity, which he thought moſt formidable, and to ſet all Religions at War, that *Paganiſm* might triumph in the midſt of theſe Conflicts. He diſcharged the Circumciſed from the Taxes wherewith *Conſtantius* had loaded 'em. He wrote to 'em, and in his Letter honours their Patriarch with the Style of *Brother*; which is a Sign they were then conſiderable in the Empire. Laſtly he gave 'em Liberty to Sacrifice, and to rebuild the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, becauſe they repreſented to him that they could not offer Sacrifice out of the *Holy Land*. They employ'd the Emperor's Protection firſt to inſult the Chriſtians; for they aſſembled in many Cities of *Judæa* and *Syria*. They pull'd down their Temples at *Gaza*, *Aſcalon* and *Berytus*. They demoliſh'd Two at *Damaſcus*, one of which was ſtill ruined in St. *Ambroſe*'s time [r]. Thoſe of *Egypt* did the ſame thing, and the fineſt of all the Temples of *Alexandria* was deſtroy'd. Secondly they fell to rebuilding the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. But this Event, which Hiſtorians relate with a great many Circumſtances, deſerves to be inſiſted on.

XVIII. The Emperor not only authoriz'd the Building of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, but alſo furniſhed 'em with Materials and Money. St. *Jerom*, ſpeaking of the Jews of his time, ſays, that they imagin'd that Four Hundred and Thirty Years after their Diſperſion, they were to become Maſters of the *Romans*, ſell 'em to the *Sabeans*, rebuild *Jeruſalem*; and that the *Meſſiah* then coming, this City ſhould appear again in its Primitive Magnificence; that the Boroughs and Neighbouring Cities, not excepting *Sodom* it ſelf, ſhould be rebuilt. They grounded upon ſeveral Oracles, promiſing that God would revenge his People of their Enemies, and rebuild *Sion*. When they ſaw *Julian* ſollicite 'em to labour upon this Structure, they fancied God prevented their Hopes, and began to accompliſh his Promiſes. They inſultingly ask'd the Chriſtians, whether they would cauſe Gold and Silver Tools to be made, to work upon this New Edifice. The Women and Children lent a helping Hand, and the Heathens themſelves aſſiſted 'em in the Reſtoration of the Temple. 'Tis ſaid that God prevented it by Three ſucceſſive Miracles. Three Ancient Hiſtorians [s], *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret* unanimouſly relate theſe Facts. And *Sozomen*, who is afraid the incredulous would look upon them as fabulous, refers 'em to Depoſitions of Eye-witneſſes, who were ſtill alive at the Time of his Writing.

XIX. The Firſt of theſe Miracles was an Earthquake, which happen'd, when they were cleanſing the Foundations of the Old Temple to lay new ones; which Earthquake overturn'd the Materials. There are Two Variations about this firſt Miracle; for *Theodoret* makes it preceded by I know not what Divine Power, which brought back by Night the old Rubbiſh, and Ordures, that had been removed, and afterwards by a miraculous Wind, which ſevered the Stones, tho' they had been ſtrengthen'd and cemented with a great deal of Lime and Mortar. Secondly *Sozomen* makes this Earthquake kill a *great many people*, who came as Workmen or Spectators, and who were cruſh'd under the Ruins of the Neighbouring Houſes and Porches, under which they were retired.

The Second Miracle was a Fire, that burſt out from the Foundations they had juſt laid, conſumed Part of the Workmen, and put the reſt to flight. One makes this Fire deſcend from Heaven, and the other Two ſay it came out of the Earth. *Socrates* makes it laſt a whole Day, to conſume the Mattocks and Shovels, and all the Tools deſign'd to the Work. *Sozomen* relates *the Death of the Workmen* with ſome Uncertainty. He alſo obſerves there was ſome Difference in the Account; ſome ſay the Fire had conſum'd 'em when they went to *enter into the Temple*, which was impertinent, ſince the Foundations were ſcarce finiſh'd; and others affirm'd, that this happen'd, when they began to remove the Earth and to carry it away. There is a Fourth Difference about this Miracle; for 'tis added, that the Jews acknowledged *Jeſus Chriſt* to be God, whether they would or no, but yet they perſever'd in their Enterprize, which is contradictory.

But that ſignifies nothing; their Conſtancy occaſion'd a Third Miracle; for they perceived in the Morning a great many ſhining Stars ſcattered upon their Cloaths, which they attempted to bruſh off, but could not do it. *Sozomen* adds that theſe Stars were made with ſo much Art, as if they had been put there by the Hand of a Workman. *Theodoret* is ſomewhat different; for inſtead of ſhining Stars he puts *black ones*, which better repreſented the Crime and Puniſhment of the Jews, and at the ſame time he makes many of 'em cruſh'd to Death, who were a-ſleep under a Porch. But the great diverſity conſiſts in the Effect of the Third Miracle; for ſome affirm, that the Jews retired home as obdurate as if they had ſeen nothing, but the other two pretend that moſt of 'em turn'd Chriſtians, and that the News of their Converſion came even to the Ears of the Emperor *Julian*. We have thought fit to obſerve theſe different Circumſtances, that the Reader might better weigh the Truth of this Story. Some will find a Pleaſure in multiplying theſe Miracles as *Theodoret*; and adding to 'em the Accounts even of the Modern Writers. But 'tis fit, that others ſhould alſo find the Reaſons, that ſome have for ſuſpending their Belief. I will only add two things. One, that the Proof *Sozomen* alledges for the Truth of his Aſſertion is very weak. He appeals to the *Event*, and maintains that we can no longer doubt of this long Train of Miracles, ſince the Temple was not finiſh'd. But had this Hiſtorian forgotten that this Permiſſion was not given the Jews, till *Julian* ſet out for his *Perſian* Expedition, in which he was kill'd, and ſo there was no need of ſo many Miracles to obſtruct the Building? The Oppoſition of the Chriſtians, who took Advantage of this Prince's Remoteneſs, his Death, and the Elevation of *Jovian*, the Jews Enemy, were ſufficient to cut ſhort this Deſign. Beſides he refers his Readers to Eye-witneſſes in indefinite Terms, without naming or intimating any body. Laſtly *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [t], who was then Biſhop of this City, muſt have been upon the Place, ſince 'twas he, who encouraged the People, from a Prophecy of *Daniel*, foretelling, as he thought, that the Undertaking would not ſucceed. In the mean time

[q] An. 363. Julian. Ep. κοινῶ Ἰουδαίων, p. 223. [r] Ambr. l. 5. Ep. 29. p. 154. [s] Socrat. l. iii. c. 20. p. 193. Sozom. l. v. c. 22. p. 632. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 20. p. 142. [t] Cyrill. Hier. Ep. ad Conſt. p. 24. Ibid. Catech. xv. p. 168.

Cyril

Cyril has never ſpoken of theſe Miracles. Not but that he loved 'em, for he writ as is ſaid to *Conſtantine* the Younger, that he was happier than his Father, in whoſe Reign the Croſs of the Son of God had been found in the Earth, ſince the Heavens manifeſted a more glorious Prodigy. Which was a Croſs more Luminous than the Sun, which all the City of *Jeruſalem* had ſeen in the Firmament a long time together. How came he to ſpeak of this Croſs, and to ſay nothing of theſe Miracles? He tells the Jews, that they ſhall ſee the Sign of the Croſs which ſhall precede the Coming of the Son of God; and do s not ſay one word of thoſe Stars, which had been miraculouſly faſten'd to their Cloaths. This Silence of a Biſhop who was upon the Spot, who delighted in Miracles; and the Converſion of the Jews ought to be ſuſpected, when none but remote Witneſſes ſpeak of them.

However it muſt not be diſſembled, that if one of the Jewiſh [u] Chronologers affirms, that the Temple was not built, becauſe of the unexpected Death of *Julian*. Another [x] aſſerts, that this Temple, rebuilt at a great Expence fell down; and that *the next day a great Fire from Heaven melted the Tools that remain'd, and deſtroy'd an innumerable multitude of Jews*. This Confeſſion of the *Rabbins* is the more conſiderable becauſe it is affrontive to the Nation, and theſe Gentlemen are not wont to copy the Books of Chriſtians.

XX. *Julian* [y] who had permitted the re-building of the Temple, before he departed for *Perſia*, carried his Conqueſts very far. He found there a Part of the Ten Tribes, which poſſeſs'd an entire City. Indeed the Hiſtorians [z] obſerve that this Prince being arrived at *Meſene*, which is an Iſland made by the *Tigris*, where *Apamea* bore a conſiderable Rank, march'd towards *a Place, where the* Euphrates *divides it ſelf* into many Chanels, and found a City call'd *Bithra*, which was inhabited by the Jews, who had abandon'd it, becauſe the Walls were not ſtrong nor high enough to ſuſtain a Siege. This City had been conſiderable in the *Perſian* Empire, ſince the Emperor's Palace, and Houſes to lodge a Garriſon were ſtill ſeen in it. *Julian*'s Army ſeeing it deſerted ſet fire to it and reduced it to Aſhes. It can't be doubted, but theſe were Jews of the Ten Tribes diſperſed in the Eaſt, ſince they were ſituate between the Chanels of the *Euphrates*. They were numerous and potent there, ſince they poſſeſs'd an entire City. They were alſo faithful to their Prince, ſince they rather choſe to forſake all than to wait and receive the *Romans*, who would have profited by their Stay.

XXI. *Julian* was kill'd in this War, and *Jovian* his Succeſſor was obliged to check the Inſolence this Prince's Countenance had infuſed both into the Heathens and Jews of the *Roman* Empire. He did it, but his Reign was ſo ſhort, that they look'd upon it only as a fleeting Cloud; and the rather becauſe *Valens* reſtored an entire Liberty of Conſcience to all the Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, Heathens, Jews, and Hereticks. He did ſomething more; for *Valentinian* and he maintain'd the Jews and their Patriarchs in the Poſſeſſion of all their Privileges. The Law of theſe Two Princes is loſt; but ſince *Arcadius* ſupports himſelf with their Example in confirming all theſe Privileges, it can't be doubted but they made it. However *Valens* [a] aboliſhed one of their greateſt Advantages, ſince he ſubmitted them to publick Offices, and revok'd the preceding Decrees, that had exempted them. This Prince's Words are conſiderable, becauſe they ſhew that the Clergy was not ſo far priviledged as is at preſent imagin'd. *The Edict, upon which the Jews flatter themſelves that they are exempted from the Offices of Court is voided by theſe Preſents; for even the Clergy are not allowed to conſecrate themſelves to the Service of God without having firſt paid what is due to their Country; and he that will truly give himſelf to God, ought to furniſh a man to fill up his place in Publick Offices* [b].

XXII. Tho' *Theodoſius* had not revoked this Law of *Valens*, which was executed in the Reign of *Arcadius*, yet the Jews continued happy enough at that time. *Maximus* rebelling [c] in the Eaſt, and obliging *Valentinian* to implore the Protection of *Theodoſius*, who was then in *Illyricum*, thought it his beſt way to gain the Jews, and bring them over to his Intereſts. He not only favour'd 'em; but underſtanding that the People had burnt one of their Synagogues at *Rome*, he order'd it to be rebuilt. St. *Ambroſe* [d] was violently ſcandaliz'd at it, and imagin'd, or rather deſired to perſuade others, that God had deprived him of the Empire for this Act of Protection he had done in favour of the Circumciſed. Indeed *Maximus*'s Reign was ſhort. *Theodoſius* having often beaten his Troops, cauſed his Head to be cut off at *Aquileia*, and came afterwards to *Milan*, where *Valentinian* and he revok'd all they had decreed. But as the rebuilding of the Synagogue at *Rome*, was a particular Ordinance, and *Theodoſius* was perſuaded, the Jews ought not to be depriv'd of their Religious Places, I queſtion whether he annull'd that relating to the Jews.

XXIII. Indeed the ſame Queſtion was afterwards debated in the ſame *Theodoſius*'s Reign. The Prefect of the Eaſt had permitted the Building of a Synagogue in a little [e] City of *Oſrhoene*, named *Callinicum*. Mr. *du Cange* ſays that theſe ſorts of Cities had no Biſhops, but he is miſtaken, for there was one in this, who ſet himſelf at the head of the Rabble, and went to burn the Edifice. *Cedrenus* [f] overthrows this Event; for he ſays that the Sedition happen'd at *Conſtantinople*; that 'twas the Prefect of the City, a Heathen, who licens'd the Jews to build a New Temple, and rejected the Remonſtrances of the Chriſtians, who ſet fire to it in the Night. The Emperor, ſays he, having order'd the Damage to be repair'd by the Incendiaries, they intreated St. *Ambroſe* to ſupport their Intereſts. He undertook it, and taking his Opportunity, when *Theodoſius* was at Sermon, made a violent Digreſſion upon this Affair, He brings in God reproaching *Theodoſius*, that 'twas he that had ſet the Diadem upon his Head, *which lice and ſcabs ate before*. The Emperor ordering him to be habited on occaſion of our Saviour's Nativity, which they celebrated the Feaſt of, and asking him, whether it were lawful for Mutineers to do what they pleaſed in the Capital of his Empire? St. *Ambroſe* reply'd, that the Prayers of the Jews were as ſo many Curſes and impious Execrations, and that they ought not to be ſuffer'd to Sing in the Capital, nor the Ears of the Saints to be defiled by 'em. The Emperor ſubmitted to the Remonſtrance, and prohibited the Jews the having any Synagogue at *Conſtantinople*, and making their Prayers in publick. *Zonaras* confirms the beſt part of this Story.

XXIV. But tho' theſe Two Hiſtorians have ſome Reputation, yet 'tis certain they are miſtaken; for St. *Ambroſe* who acted ſo great a Part in this Buſineſs, ought be believed rather than Authors, who lived a long time after him. 'Twas not at *Conſtantinople*, but at *Callinicum* that the Synagogue was built and burnt. *Theodoſius* [g] was not at *Milan*, to

[u] Ganz. Tſemach David. p. 2. [x] R. Gedalia Schalſche'et Hakkabbala. [y] An. 363. [z] Ammian. Marc. l. 24. c. 4. p. 432. & Zoſim. Hiſt. l. 3. p. 173. [a] An. 383. [b] Val. ad Hypat. [c] An. 387. [d] Amb. Ep. 29. [e] Caſtra. [f] Cedren. p. 248. Zonar. t. 3. p. 30. [g] An. 393.

hear St. *Ambroſe*'s Sermons, either in the Pulpit, or at the Door of the Church; for having ſtay'd three Years in *Italy*, upon *Maximus*'s Rebellion, he was return'd to the *Eaſt*, and *Conſtantinople*; ſo that all theſe Diſcourſes are fictitious. What Aſſurance muſt a Man have, to make a Preacher and a Prince Diſcourſing, whilſt one is at *Milan*, and the other at *Conſtantinople!* Laſtly, The Emperor had not the Complaiſance to inhibit [h] the Publick Exerciſes of the Jews; for here is a Law which he made in the laſt Year of his Life, and it does not appear that he ever revok'd it. *There is no Law depriving the Jews of the Liberty of Conſcience; and therefore We are diſturb'd, that their Synagogues have been taken from 'em in certain Places; and We Order your Lordſhip to ſtop the Violence of the Chriſtians, who, under the pretence of Religion, have the Raſhneſs to do what the Laws forbid; and to Puniſh with a due Severity, ſuch as ſhall Plunder or Raze the Synagogues.* Thus this ſame Prince, who had ſhut up the Temples of the Hereticks, firſt in the Cities, and afterwards in the Country, maintain'd thoſe of the Jews. And as this is not the Decree, which *Theodoſius* had given, to make amends for the Synagogue burnt at *Callinacum*, it can't be ſaid, that St. *Ambroſe* caus'd it to be revok'd: And indeed, we don't find that this Biſhop had obtain'd his Requeſt; and this Law made by *Theodoſius* ſome Months before his Death, is a Proof to the contrary.

XXV. 'Tis only true, that St *Ambroſe* was violently angry with the Emperor upon this Account. He did not ſpeak, but wrote to him; and his Letter, which is conſider'd as an Effect of *Zeal*, is preſerved. 'Tis ſtrange, that a Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* durſt not open his Lips; and that St. *Ambroſe*, from his Biſhoprick of *Milan*, ſhould intermeddle in an Affair of *Oſrhoene*, and venture ſo boldly to cenſure his Prince. But there are a ſort of Men ſo bold, as to think that they can do any thing, provided they walk and talk under a Cloak-Religion: He declares to his Prince, that he ought not to take charge of his Prayers before God, unleſs he would hear him, and grant him his Requeſt. After ſuch an inſulting Preface, he [i] asks him how he could oblige a Biſhop to rebuild this burnt Edifice; ſince he muſt neceſſarily make him a Prevaricator, if he obeyed his Orders; or a Martyr, if he diſobey'd them. He ſets himſelf in the Place of the Accuſed, and declares that he has Commanded him. This was not ſo; but 'tis a Bravado he makes to the Emperor, and a Challenge to Puniſh him. He urges, That he would have done the ſame thing at *Milan*, if God himſelf had not began to burn the Synagogue. He ranks among the Prevaricators the Count who was charged with the Prince's Commiſſion. He introduces the Jews boaſting of being enrich'd, and of having built a Temple with the Spoils of the Chriſtians, as the *Romans* had built one with the Spoils of the *Cimbri*. He repreſents the Church in Tears, the Faithful in Chains, the Servants of God condemned to the Mines, and the Triumphs of the *Faithleſs Jews*, which muſt be a Conſequence of this Order, if 'twas rigorouſly executed. Theſe Sophiſms and bombaſt Expreſſions, are ſo many Teſtimonies of St. *Ambroſe*'s Gratitude to *Theodoſius*, who had preſerv'd him from Baniſhment, Impriſonment, and ſeveral Calamities. 'Tis a ſtrange thing to ſee Biſhops talk at this inſolent and haughty rate, and to apply to the Jews of his time the Prohibition that God gave *Jeremy* of Praying for this People. 'Tis ſaid, that *Theodoſius* diſcharged the Incendiaries from the Reſtitution he had inflicted on 'em, and forbad the building a Synagogue within the Walls of the City.

XXVI. St. *Ambroſe*, to make the Jews odious, aſſured [k] the Emperor, that *this Nation did not think it ſelf obliged to obſerve the* Roman *Laws*; *that, on the contrary, it look'd upon its Obedience to be a Crime.* It's a hard matter to find out the meaning of theſe words. Did the Jews, in thoſe days, pretend not to be ſubject to Magiſtrates and Laws? This Biſhop, perhaps, overſtrain'd Matters; and would inſinuate, that the Jews obeyed not the Emperor's Edicts without great reluctancy. However, 'tis not amiſs to illuſtrate the Extent of their Power and Juriſdiction at that time.

The Jews being excluded from Dignities, exactly paid the Taxes, which they were often loaded with to exceſs. *You cannot* (ſaid St. *Auſtin* to 'em) *be either Emperors or Prefects: You can't enter into the Army of the Senate: You have not ſo much as liberty to eat at the Table of great Lords: You pay Taxes.* Here then you have a People fully ſubjected to the Laws. But as they had Controverſies with the Chriſtians, or even among themſelves, *Theodoſius* granted them a particular Juriſdiction. I know not whether it was this Prince, who diſmiſs'd 'em from the City of *Conſtantinople*, and granted them a Place in the *Stenor*, that is, in the Space that was left void betwixt the City and the Sea. But they built there a ſort of a City, which ſtill remain'd in the Year 1204. when the Cruſaders went into the *Holy-Land*; [l] *car ils ſe hebergierent devant la Tor en la Fuerie, que l'on apelle Stanor, où il y avoit mult bonne ville & mult riche*; and here it is that they ſubſiſt at this day. *Theodoſius* priviledg'd them from anſwering, except before the Prætor of *Stanor*, or the Judge of that Part; and they enjoy'd this Privilege [m], till *Manuel Comnenes* aboliſht it, and ſubjected them to the other Juriſdictions. This Prætor was an *Imperial* Judge; but however, the Jews had a great Advantage, that they could not be Summon'd before any other Juriſdiction. A Judge who lives by our Bounty, is more eaſily enclined and won; and beſides, they avoided the trouble of going to ſolicit in unknown Tribunals.

XXVII. Beſides their Civil and Publick Judge, they had alſo their Particular Officers and Magiſtrates, which they elected themſelves, and were of their Religion. St. *Chryſoſtome* ſays in expreſs terms, that the Election belong'd to 'em, and that it was commonly made in *September*. Theſe Particular Magiſtrates commonly Judged Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, or concerning Diſcipline; and *Theodoſius* made a Law, by which their Authority, which was ſhaken by the Judges, was reſtored. The Primates Excommunicated Sinners, and drove Scandalous Perſons from the Synagogue. The Guilty, who could not mollifie their own Judges, addreſs'd themſelves to the Civil Magiſtrates, who, whether by their Authority, or menacing Solicitations, reſtor'd 'em to the boſom of the Church. The Primates complain'd to *Theodoſius* [n] of the Violence that was done 'em, and that they were forc'd to diſhonour their Religion, by receiving Perſons unworthy of their Society; and the Emperor inhibited the Magiſtrates of the Empire from giving them Aſſiſtance and Reſcripts, and authorizing ſuch Intruſions, referring all to the Judgment of the Illuſtrious Patriarchs, and Perſons dignified in the Synagogue: And this Law was renewed ſome time after by *Arcadius*. I know not how *Selden* [o] could conceive, that the Queſtion was only about Proſelytes, upon whoſe Admiſſion the Magiſtrates made

[h] Cod. Th. l. 16. t. 8. l. 9. *Judæorum ſectam nulla Legum prohibitam conſtat.* [i] Ambr. l. v. Ep. 29. p. 155. [k] Ambr. l. v. c. 29.
[l] Ville Hardoin. [m] Balſamon in Nomo Canone, tit. 1. de Fide, c. 2. p. 8. [n] An. 393. Cod. Theod. l. 16. t. 8. l. 9. p. 225.
[o] Selden de Jure Nat. l. 2. c. 2. p. 147.

great

great Scruples; for beſides that they were not allowed to make Converſions, *Theodoſius* ſo evidently ſpeaks of thoſe who *had been thrown back* by a Decree, and who demand *their Reconciliation*, that 'tis ſtrange a Man could be miſtaken. Theſe Excommunicates did not Appeal from the Sentence of their Eccleſiaſtical Judge to the Magiſtrates of the Empire; but only implored their Protection, which could not chuſe but be formidable to People that lived in a Dependance: So that tho' there were Rebels, that went from the Tribunal of the Church to the Civil Court, as there have been among the Chriſtians in all Ages; yet it is certain, that the Jews had Authority to execute the Sentences they paſs'd in their Eccleſiaſtical Council, about Religion or Diſcipline. So that their Condition was gentle and quiet enough in *Theodoſius*'s Reign.

XXVIII. St. *Jerome* had not the ſame Abhorrence for the Doctors of this Nation, as St. *Ambroſe*; for, on the contrary, he paid them a Penſion, and made uſe of their Inſtruction for the underſtanding the *Hebrew* Tongue, and the Holy Scripture. This Father, who thought that God had caus'd him to be ſcourged before his Tribunal, and puniſh'd in a lamentable manner, becauſe he had taken too much pleaſure in reading *Cicero* and *Virgil*; *You are not a Chriſtian, but a Ciceronian*, (ſaid the Judge to him) changed his Opinion for the *Hebrews*, learn'd their Language with difficulty, conſulted their Doctors, ſtudied under 'em, and made uſe of them to compoſe a *Latin* Verſion of the Scripture.

He acquaints us, That to reſtrain the Sallies of his Youth, he put himſelf under the Diſcipline of a young *Hebrew*, that was turn'd Chriſtian. He afterwards over-ſtrains the Difficulties he found in the Study of the Holy Tongue: [p] "He ſweated, "he groan'd, he labour'd like a Slave at the Mill, "he quitted all, he deſpair'd; he calls his Conſci- "ence to Witneſs, and thoſe that have liv'd with "him, that this Toil was inſupportable." If the Queſtion was about a thing unknown, St. *Jerome* would have frighted us with theſe great Words: but he underwent a very common Labour, that of learning a ſtrange Language under a good Maſter, in his Youth, in which this Study was eaſie. And we ought no longer to wonder that he ſo ſorrowfully ſpeaks of the frightful Sound of the *Hebrew* Letters.

XXIX. He [q] He was not contentd with this Converted Jew; but took another, who ſo paſſionately lov'd him, that he fetch'd the Books from the Synagogue, under pretence of reading 'em, and brought 'em to his Diſciple. This Maſter was an ingenious Man, and St. *Jerome* has quoted ſome of his Explications. He ſent for a third from *Tiberias*, whom he employ'd to reviſe, by the *Hebrew*, his Verſion of the *Chronicles*, which he had made by the *Septuagint*. He ſays, that this new Maſter was admir'd by the Synagogue. He ſent for a fourth from *Lydda*, whom he paid very dear, becauſe he was a learned Man, and interpreted the Traditions in the Synagogue. 'Twas this Rabbin that help'd him to Tranſlate the Book of *Job*. He had Occaſion for new Aſſiſtance to underſtand *Daniel* and *Tobias*, becauſe of the *Chaldee* Expreſſions that are ſcatter'd in theſe Books. But as he labour'd with a great deal of haſte, he employ'd but one Day in the Tranſlation of *Tobias*; which a Rabbin, equally ſkill'd in the *Chaldee* and the *Hebrew*, Dictated to him.

XXX. But the chiefeſt of all his Maſters was *Barabbanus*: This Doctor came by Night, like a *Nicodemite*; becauſe his Brethren of *Bethlehem* and *Jeruſalem* would not have ſuffer'd him to have had ſo particular a Correſpondence with a Chriſtian Prieſt. As he commonly gave Encomium's on *Barrabanus*; *Ruffinus*, who thought the *LXX*'s Verſion was preferable to that of an obſcure Rabbin, laugh'd at him; and the better to turn him into ridicule, he call'd him *Barabbas*. *I ſee on one hand* Jeſus, *and on the other* Barabbas: *You are at liberty to cry, with the Jews, I will have* Barabbas, *and I to prefer* Jeſus-Chriſt. The Jingle would be much worſe, if this Doctor was call'd *Barrhaninus*, as St. *Jerome* inſinuates: But 'tis more probable, that his Name was *Barrabanus*, and that *Ruffinus* only retrench'd ſome letters, to allude to the *Barrabbas* of our Saviour's Paſſion. *Joſephus* relates a Quibble of this nature, which the People had frequently in their mouths at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*; for when they ſaw thoſe great Stones flung from the Machines of the Beſiegers, in their approaches to the Wall, they cried, *The Son comes*. A [r] learned Man has thought they cried, [s] *Barabbo*. Another concludes, that *Joſephus* underſtood not *Hebrew*, and that hearing his Brethren cry, *The Stone comes* [t], imagin'd they ſaid, *The Son comes*. But 'tis an Equivocation common with the People, who love 'em on the ſaddeſt Occaſions. The words *Ben*, *Son*, and *Aben*, which ſignifies a *Stone*, have a great reſemblance. Inſtead of a Stone which was coming to fall upon them, they cried, by way of Inſult, to the Son of God, who had threatned 'em with an extreme Deſolation, *The Son comes*. *Ruffinus*'s Pun upon the Name of *Barrabbas*, was of the ſame Nature, though it contain'd not the ſame Impiety [u].

XXXI. St. *Jerome* grew ſo much the haughtier, from theſe Aſſiſtances which he had drawn from the Synagogue; becauſe this Erudition, which was new, and almoſt unknown in the Chriſtian Church, diſtinguiſh'd him from the reſt of the Prieſts, and even from the Biſhops, who hardly knew any more than their Mother-Tongue. In doing ſome Juſtice to his Maſters, he boaſted of his own Skill and Underſtanding of the Scripture. St. *Auſtin*, who did not love him, yet admir'd him as a Prodigy, becauſe he underſtood three Languages. An Author, who has taken his Name, adds, that St. *Jerome* underſtood *the Language of the* Greeks, *the* Hebrews, *the* Chaldeans, *the* Perſians, *the* Medes *and* Arabians, *and of all Nations*. This Elogy is very extravagant; for this Father, who was at ſo great pains to learn *Hebrew*, proceeded not much farther. The Moderns have gone farther than the Ancients; and becauſe this Father underſtood the Holy Tongue, they have eſpouſed his Obſervations, as thoſe of an almoſt infallible Critick. Whereas, it is not enough to underſtand *Hebrew*, to interpret the Holy Scripture; otherwiſe the *Talmudiſts* and *Jews* would be the beſt of all Interpreters. St. *Jerome* wanted Judgment, which is infinitely neceſſary for Tranſlators; and he Writ with too much Precipitancy, to weigh the Difficulties. A Man that in one Day Tranſlates a Sacred Book, from a Language he does not underſtand, and from another's Report, can neither be Exact nor Judicious. [w] There were at that time neither Grammars nor Dictionaries, which being compoſed, as they are at preſent, after twenty and thirty Years Study, are a great Aſſiſtance to the Moderns. They muſt be of another Make and Molding than the Ancients, if, with theſe Aſſiſtances, they are not more ingenious than they. Beſides, though St. *Jerome* boaſts of his Maſters, 'tis eaſie to obſerve, that they had at that time an Imagination

[p] Hier. in Ep. iv. ad Ruſtic. c. 6. in Epitap. Paulæ, & Præf. ad Daniel. [q] Hier. Præf. ad Paral. [r] Lightfoot, in Matth. xxvii. p 385. [s] ברבו *Baraba*. [t] אבן בן *Abenbo*, the *Stone* comes, inſtead of, בן בן *Benbo*, the *Son* comes. [u] Le Moine Varia Sacra, t. 2. [w] V. Clerici Quæſtiones Hieronym. § v, vi, vii.

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fitter to darken than explain the Scripture. Nor ought we to be prejudic'd by unknown Perſons, becauſe they have liv'd ſome Ages before us; but we muſt weigh what they have ſaid. St. *Jerome* [x] had learn'd from his Maſter, the Interpreter of Traditions at *Lydda*, and highly eſteem'd, that theſe words of the Prophet *Habakkuk*, *Wo unto him that giveth his Neighbour drink, and maketh him drunk*, ought to be underſtood of *Zedekias*, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* cauſed once to ſit at his Table; he order'd a Purgative Wine to be given him, which produced ſo ſudden an Effect, that the poor King found himſelf in a naſty Condition, before he could leave *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Table. Can we truſt ſuch Interpreters, as falſifie the Hiſtory of their Kings with ſuch kind of Stories? They have done a Service to the Church, which would have continu'd longer with its ancient barbarous Verſion, had not they lent St. *Jerome* their Aſſiſtance to Correct it. But this Service is not Perfect, ſince we ſtill obſerve in it ſuch groſs Defects. We could not wave giving this Circumſtance of St. *Jerome*'s Life; ſince we learn by it, that the Jews had learned Men and Interpreters of Traditions at *Lydda*, *Tiberias* and *Jeruſalem*, at the end of the IVth, and the beginning of the Vth Century [y], whereof we are going to give the Hiſtory.

[x] Hier. in Habac. c. ii. 15. p. 358. [y] An. 390, & 406.

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of the Jews in the Grecian *Empire, during the Fifth Century.*

I. *The Feaſt of* Haman *forbidden in the Vth Century. The Inſolencies in this Feaſt.* II. *Whether the Murther of a Child, was the Motive of this Inhibition.* III. *Synagogues deſtroy'd.* Theodoſius's *Edicts againſt this Violence.* IV. Moſes *a* falſe-Meſſia *in* Candia. V. *A Paralytick Jew cured by Baptiſm. This Miracle examin'd.* VI. *Whether* Sabbatius *and the* Sabbatians *were Jews.* VII. Neſtorius's *Judaiſm confuted.* VIII. *A Hundred thouſand Jews expelled from* Alexandria. IX. *St.* Cyril's *Violence condemned.* X. *The Apparition of* Gamaliel *to the Prieſt* Lucian. XI. *What Intereſt the Jews have in this Relation.* XII. *Proofs againſt* Gamaliel's *Chriſtianity.* XIII. *His Apparition ridiculous.* XIV. *The Falſhood of his Revelation.* XV. *The Barbarous Names given the Saints.* XVI. *Their Epitaph at* Piſa. XVII. *The Patriarchs aboliſh'd in the Year* 429. XVIII. *A Miracle of St.* Sergius, *wrought for a Head of the Synagogue.* XIX. *The Origine of this Monaſtery at* Conſtantinople.

I. MOST of the Edicts which the Chriſtian Emperors had publiſh'd in the IVth Century, were executed in This: Some of them were renew'd, and others added that were thought neceſſary to check the Jews Inſolence againſt the Chriſtian Religion. *Theodoſius the Younger* was oblig'd to remedy this Miſchief; but he always did it in an Equitable manner, for he only puniſh'd thoſe who had deſerv'd it by their Crimes. The firſt Occaſion that offer'd it ſelf, reſpected one of their Devotions, which they abuſed. They continued [a] to celebrate the Feaſt of *Haman*, and their Deliverance by *Eſther*. The People being Solemnly Aſſembled at this Feaſt, committed a thouſand Extravagancies; for as they read the Hiſtory of this Enemy of their Religion, the Men and Children made a frightful Noiſe, by ſtriking with their Feet, or knocking the Benches with Stones and Mallets, as often as the Name of *Haman* was pronounc'd. After the Devotion, follow'd the Debauch; as is the Cuſtom of all Feaſts celebrated for ſome Deliverance. The Chriſtians took little notice of theſe Follies. But they were uſed to ſet up a great Gallows, and to hang up *Haman*'s Effigies; and 'twas imagin'd they deſign'd to Inſult the Chriſtians upon the Death of *Jeſus-Chriſt*, who was *hang'd upon a Tree*. And perhaps this was true enough; for indeed they chang'd the Gibbet into a Croſs, and afterwards burnt the Croſs, with the Figure faſten'd to it; which was not done without Maledictions, which reflected upon the *Meſſiah* we adore. *Theodoſius* II. having Notice of it, forbid the raiſing and burning of theſe ſorts of Gibbets, under pain of loſing all their Privileges; becauſe it was not fit they ſhould inſult the Myſteries of Chriſtianity. They obeyed in ſome Places; but yet new Troubles ſprung up in *Macedonia* and *Dacia*. On the one hand, the Jews of theſe Countries continued to inſult the Chriſtian Religion: And on the other, the Chriſtians burnt their Houſes and Synagogues, and even ſometimes Condemned the Jews to Death, who had no other Crime but their Religion. *Theodoſius*, who was always Equitable, condemned [b] this Oppreſſion of the Jews, forbad the Magiſtrates to puniſh 'em for Religion; to ſuffer the Edifices belonging to 'em to be burnt, on Condition that on their part they would not violate the Reſpect that was due to the prevailing Church. But yet the Inhabitants of *Inmeſtar*, three Years after, fell into an Exceſs. Debauchery prevail'd over the Reſpect that was due to the Prince's Laws; for they faſten'd a young Chriſtian to *Haman*'s Gibbet, and whipt him ſo cruelly, that he died. The Chriſtians of that Country, inraged at ſuch a barbarous Sport, run to Arms. The Battle was violent, becauſe the Jews were numerous. The Governor of the Province giving *Theodoſius* Information of it, he ſent Orders to chaſtiſe the Guilty, and the Tumult was appeaſed by their Puniſhment.

II. *Godefroy* [c], that learned and judicious Lawyer, who had ſo ſcrupulouſly examin'd the Laws of the ancient Empire, pretends, that 'twas this Murther of the young Chriſtian, that oblig'd *Theodoſius* to Iſſue out his Laws; but he has been guilty of a Miſtake. Indeed, there is a difference both as to Time and Place; for the firſt Edict was given in the Year 408. for all the *Eaſt*; and therefore it is addreſs'd to *Anthemius*, who was then Governor. The ſecond was not publiſh'd till four Years after, and reſpected only *Eaſtern Illyricum*, *Dacia*, and *Macedonia*; wherefore it was directed to *Philip* the Governor: And the Child's Murder happen'd not till the Year 415. at *Inmeſtar* a City ſituate between *Chalcis* and *Syria*.

Beſides, *Theodoſius*'s Law does not mention the Murther of a Child, but the Cuſtom of burning the Croſs of *Haman*. 'Tis certain then, it was not this Murther, that occaſion'd the Emperor to Condemn the Jews; but that they deſpiſed the Imperial Law, and, inſtead of obeying it, crucified a Child, which expos'd 'em to a Sedition near *Antioch*.

Theodoſius, who ſpent the Winter at *Conſtantinople*, (in the Year 425.) made many Ordinances there,

[a] An. 408. [b] Cod. Theod. l. 16. l. 18. An. 408. p. 433. Id. l. 21. An. 412. p. 438. [c] Gothofr. ibid Socrat. l. 7. c. 16. p. 353.

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one of which forbad the Celebrating Games and Spectacles on *Easter-Sunday*, and during the principal Feasts of the Year. The Jews and Heathens might have alledg'd, that this Decree did not relate to 'em, since they had no Respect for the Memory of *Jesus-Christ*, in whose Favour it was made. But the Emperor Declared, That they were subject to the Law; and told 'em, There was a Time for Devotion, and another for Pleasures. They thought to excite the Prince's Jealousie, by complaining, that this mistaken Devotion, hinder'd the People from Crowning and Saluting the Emperor's Statues: But *Theodosius* put himself above that, and declared, It was Honouring of him, to do Service to God. However, we see, that this Relick of Heathenism was still retained in this Prince's Reign, of Saluting the Emperor's Statues, and inserting the Stile of *Numen* in the Laws.

III. Those that profess the predominant Religion, fansie that every thing is lawful to 'em. They think that they signalize their Zeal, in proportion to the Outrages they commit, and under this Notion, they prescribe no bounds to their Passion. It always belongs to the Prudence of Kings, to restrain these Excesses; and to cherish the Publick Peace, by punishing a Cruel Zeal. But this is not commonly done; and those who being convinc'd of its necessity to undertake it, don't always succeed. They often render their Religion suspected; they expose themselves to the Ralleries of the People; they incur the Hatred of the Priests, and raise 'em against 'em. Nevertheless, a Prince ought not to give way to these fiery Motions, nor put himself at the Head of a People breathing nothing but Sedition. But where are those that have this love for Justice? The Christians in *Theodosius*'s Empire pull'd down the Synagogues, without any other reason for it, than their Hatred to this Religion. A private Person thought himself affronted by a Jew; immediately he engag'd the Populace in his Interests: The next thing was, to run in shoals to the Synagogue, and set it on-fire. This was often done in *Macedonia*; and the Emperor was obliged to represent to his Subjects, That it was not Lawful for Private Persons to do themselves Justice; That there were Tribunals appointed to Hear their Grievances, and to Judge of their Complaints; and he Commanded the Judges of that Country to take Care of 'em. The Ecclesiasticks, accustom'd to fish in a troublesome Sea, join'd with the People: Those of *Antioch*, where the Jews were numerous and rich, plunder'd the Synagogue, and consecrated their Robberies to God and the Church: They thought to sanctifie the Theft, by giving to God, what no Particular could have dared to appropriate, without exposing himself to Punishment. Complaints were made of so scandalous a Conduct, which were so reasonable, that they were back'd by the Prefect of the *Prætorium*, who gave Informations of the Disorder, and the Occasions that had produc'd it: And *Theodosius* Condemned the Clergy to restore what they had taken, or the Value; and Order'd a Place to be assign'd 'em to rebuild the Temple. The Decree was equitable, since the Jews lived in the Empire upon the Publick Faith of the Edicts. But it did not seem so to *Simeon Stilites*, who was then alive, and violently espoused the Interests of the Clergy, and the Mutineers of *Antioch*: He wrote so pressingly in their favour to *Theodosius*, that he not only [d] revok'd the Orders he had given, but cashier'd the Prefect, who had advised him to punish the Robbers. This Prince wrote, they say, to this Hermit, and put this singular Inscription on his Letter, *To the most holy Martyr in the Air*. At least *Valesius* says it: But I know not whether these are the Words of *Theodosius*, or of *Evagrius*, a great Admirer of this Anchoret; for it seems the Emperor contented himself with having *Simeon Stilites* told, that he should *Pray for him*. I confess also, that the Title given him is pleasant. What means, *a Martyr in the Air?* This is indeed prostituting an honourable Title, reserved for those that sign the Truth with their Blood, to apply it to a sort of Mad-men. Be it how it will, the Favour which *Theodosius* Granted, upon his Request, not only encourag'd the Christians of *Antioch*, but those of the Cities and neighbouring Provinces, to make new Assaults upon the Synagogues. They were oblig'd to have recourse to *Theodosius*, to procure [e] some Security against these frequent Insults. This Prince, who was an Enemy to Violence, forbad 'em doing any. The Christians were disgusted at it: They resum'd the Charge against the Jews, and complain'd, that the Emperor's Protection had render'd them Insolent. In Explication of the preceding Decrees, it was said, that in answering the sad and doleful Complaints of the Jews, it was design'd to skreen 'em from the Persecution that some turbulent Spirits exercised on 'em, under pretence of Religion, and to prohibit the burning of their Churches; but at the same time [f] it was Declared, That if they had nothing to fear for the Temples they were in possession of, it was not lawful for 'em to build new ones; and that Death should be inflicted on all those that undertook the Circumcising of a Christian. There were still Christians at that time that embraced Judaism; for Laws are only made against reigning Abuses; and it was pretty difficult for the Jews to confer Circumcision on a Christian, if he had not a mind to it.

IV. The Losses of the Church were repaired, by an Accident that happen'd in the Year 434. in the Island of *Candia*, where there were a great many rich Jews, most whereof were converted, after they had been grosly deceived by a False-Messiah. This Messiah's Name was *Moses*, and he pretended to be the ancient Law-giver of the People, who descended from Heaven to procure them a glorious Deliverance, by leading them through the Sea, to return to the Land of *Promise*, as they had done when they left *Egypt*. We can't conceive how a Man could be so mad as to attempt such a Miracle, or to persuade himself that he was able to effect it. But yet [g] *Socrates* affirms, That he not only had this Imagination, but also, that he had occasion but for one Year to run over all the Cities and Villages of the Island, and to persuade the Inhabitants of his Religion. The Infatuation was so great, that, in expectation of the Day appointed to throw themselves into the Sea, the Ploughman neglected the Tillage of his Fields, and the Proprietors abandon'd the Possession of their Lands and Houses to the first Comer; every one contenting himself with taking what he could carry away. *Moses* having muster'd up his Flock upon the top of a Rock, the first at hand threw themselves into the Water, without any wavering of Faith: The Women and Children plung'd themselves in with an equal Ardour. 'Twas quickly perceiv'd that *Moses* was an Impostor; some were drowned; others were sav'd by the Christian Fishermen, who happen'd to be there with their Barks, and went to acquaint their Brethren, how near their Credulity had been to cost 'em their Lives. They attempted to seize the Imposture, but he had disappear'd: Which made it suspected (says *Socrates*) that it was a Devil,

[d] An. 423. [e] An. 425. [f] An. 423. Cod. Theod. L. 16. t. 8. l. 25, 26, 27. p. 242. [g] Socr. Hist. l. vii. c. 38. p. 383.

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who had aſſum'd the Figure and Name of *Moſes*, to deceive this Credulous Nation. But this Notion is another Piece of Folly; for if the Impoſtor believed the Miracle he had promiſed, he periſh'd with the reſt in the Sea; and if he did not believe it, he took care in good time of his Retreat, wherein he had Leiſure to reflect upon the Extravagance of thoſe that had believ'd him. Moſt of 'em grew wiſe, and being aſham'd of putting ſo much Confidence in an Imaginary *Meſſiah*, they ſought the true one, and became Chriſtians.

V. There were other Adventures, that happen'd in the ſame Reign of *Theodoſius*, that muſt have anger'd the Nation. A Jew of *Conſtantinople*, who had remain'd paralytical for a great many Years, and who had exhauſted the Art of the Phyſicians, thought he might recover the Uſe of his Limbs, if he were Baptized, therefore he deſired this Grace. *Atticus* the Patriarch caus'd him to be inſtructed; he received Baptiſm, and coming out of the Baptiſmal Font, he found himſelf cured. This Cure ought to have converted a great many Jews, and the rather becauſe they are fond of Miracles. But yet they perſever'd in their Infidelity, whilſt many Heathens ſtruck with ſo unexpected a Cure enter'd the Church. It muſt be confeſs'd, that [h] *Socrates* was very credulous in point of Miracles. He relates a ſecond very extraordinary, and which we ſhall report too, becauſe it ſerves to manifeſt the Method, that was uſed with the Jews, who were converted. 'Twas the Cuſtom of that time to give 'em Money to oblige 'em to change their Religion. Each Sect had the weakneſs to open their Purſe to 'em. A Rogue of a Jew, who was much perplex'd about the means of a Livelihood, bethought himſelf of tricking the Chriſtians, and making a Traffick of Baptiſm. He went from one Sect to another, and was baptiz'd by all that were tolerated in the Empire, But at laſt having run through almoſt all Religions, he was put to his Shifts. He addreſs'd himſelf to the *Novatians*, whom he had not yet bubbled, and demanded the ſame Favour that he had obtain'd elſewhere. The Biſhop had more Precaution than the reſt; for he made his Proſelytes faſt a long time, and often whilſt he inſtructed them. The Jew did not reliſh Faſting. He pretended [i] to have a holy Impatience for a Sacrament, which was to cleanſe him from all his Faults; and he ſo eaſily conceal'd his Hatred of Mortifications under a Zeal for Religion, that the Prelate was deceiv'd by him. That he might not diſcourage this ardent Votary, he ſhorten'd the time of his Examination, bought him a White Habit, and caus'd Water to be pour'd into the Font; but it all run away as ſoon as the Jew enter'd. They ſought for the Hole, through which the Baptiſmal Water had paſs'd, but it was not to be found; they put in freſh, and the ſame thing happen'd. The *Novatian* Biſhop preſently accuſed his Proſelyte of Impoſture, and ſuſpected he had already been Baptiz'd. The Noiſe of this Adventure ſpread over the City, the People ran in Crouds, and diſcover'd the Rogue, who had been Baptiz'd by *Atticus*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. Thus it is that God works Miracles among the Schiſmaticks, as well as in the Catholick Church.

VI. *Socrates* afterwards lays to the Jews Charge a thing that relates to 'em but very indirectly. The *Novatians*, who were then numerous at *Conſtantinople*, had a Prieſt call'd *Sabbatius*, who had a violent Deſire of being made a Biſhop. This Man officiating in a particular Chappel, and reading theſe Words of the Goſpel; for *it was the Feaſt of the Jews, which is call'd the Paſſover*, added theſe words; *and curſed is he, that celebrates it beyond the Days of unleaven'd bread.* By this he meant to introduce into his Church a Track of Judaiſm, and to cauſe the Feaſt of the Paſſover to be celebrated like the Jews, before the *Sunday* that follows the Full Moon of *March*, and at the time of unleaven'd Bread. Some Auditors eaſily obſerved that *Sabbatius* had added theſe Words to the Text. It was eaſily to perceive it, and the want of Connexion was ſufficient for it. But yet a great Number gave way to be over-reach'd. Being won or ſupported by *Sabbatius*, they thought, they ought to make a Schiſm in a Schiſm, and celebrate the Paſſover with the Jews. It coſt them a very bloody Miracle to recover theſe Schiſmaticks from their Errour. *Sabbatius* had not ventured to break entirely with his Biſhop; and tho' he had a mind to communicate with the Jews, yet he ſtill obſerved *Eaſter-Sunday*, and the Vigil of that Feaſt. As they were aſſembled in a great Crowd to keep it by Night, a Rumour was ſpread, or rather a panick, or *diabolical* Terrour, ſays *Socrates*, ſeized all the Congregation; as if *Siſinnius*, Biſhop of the *Novatians*, was come with a great Multitude to fall upon them, they all betook themſelves to flight; and the Place being ſmall they cruſh'd one another at the doors, which were very narrow; and ſeventy Perſons were kill'd. This Accident carried off a great many of *Sabbatius*'s Followers. Some however ſtuck to him, and he found means to be made Biſhop of the *Novatians* at *Conſtantinople*: but as he paſſed for a half-Jew, and was very much hated, he preſerved his Biſhoprick but a very little time.

VII. *Neſtorius* was accuſed of being a Jew as well as *Sabbatius*. *Bartolocci* [k] ſpeaks of one *Neſtorius* an Apoſtate Monk, who turned Jew, and wrote a Book for Judaiſm againſt the Chriſtian Religion. He affirms likewiſe that the Manuſcript of this Book is to be ſeen in the *Vatican* Library; but we ought not to confound this unknown Monk with the famous Antagoniſt of *Cyril* of *Alexandria*. *Bartolocci*, who had the Book in his Hands, ought to have let us known it better, and have taught us what Countryman this Author was, at what time he lived; or whether it be a Book fooliſhly father'd on *Neſtorius* a Monk, and afterwards Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, whom the Ancients have accuſed of Judaiſm, and on whom the Moderns ſtill faſten that Imputation. For indeed *Proclus* writing againſt *Neſtorius* calls him *Jew*. *He that hath redeem'd us*, ſays he, *O Jew, is not a man; for humane nature was inſlav'd to Sin.* The Church has ſtyl'd the Symbol *Jewiſh*, which *Neſtorius* ſpread abroad by his Party. In fine they have found a great Analogy of Belief. 1. Becauſe the Jews believe Jeſus to be born of *Mary* by the common ways of Marriage; and tho' *Neſtorius* left *Mary* her Virginity, yet he would have her Son to be a Man. 2. He follow'd the Jews in the Explication they give to ſeveral Paſſages of *Iſaiah*; for when this Prophet affirms that the *Meſſiah* ſhall be *Immanuel*, *God with us*, he aſſerts, that the Divinity only dwelt with the humane Nature. Laſtly *Neſtorius*'s Diſciples, and particularly *Anaſtaſius* [l], were accuſed of reſtoring the Jewiſh Impiety becauſe he rejected the Title of *Mother of God*.

The Moderns make uſe of theſe Particulars to bring *Neſtorianiſm* under great Abhorrence; but if they frighten the ignorant by theſe odious Names, they leſſen the Veneration which Wiſe Men have for the Fathers. For hereby we are inform'd, that theſe Venerable Ancients inflamed like the reſt

[h] Socr. H. l. 7. c. 4. p. 341. c. 17. p. 354. [i] Ibid c. 5. p 342. [k] Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 4. p. 260. [l] V. Garnier. in Mar. Mercator. Diſſ. 1. c. 4. p. 304, &c. V. Douchin. Hiſt. of Neſtor. l. 1. p. 14.

of

of Mankind, by an over-ruling Spleen, rail'd at and upbraided their Adverſaries with the moſt infamous Names. 'Tis authorizing Miſchief and Injuſtice, to go about rationally to prove that a Creed is *Jewiſh*, or that *Neſtorius* was juſtly accus'd of being a *Jew*. Our Duty is to excuſe the Fathers in their Extravagance, inſtead of juſtifying them, leſt ſuch forcible Examples ſhould authorize Modern Divines, and confirm the Hatred and Revenge of Writers. *Proclus* ſaid that *Neſtorius* was a *Jew*, and *Neſtorius* return'd him the ſame Compliment with as little Foundation. 'Twas an Edifying Engagement, for the Church at that time to ſee their Principal Biſhops beſpattering one another with the Titles of *Jews*, *Gentiles* and *Manichees*; for they proceeded from Reproach to Reproach, and from one Abuſe to another. The *Neſtorians* deſerve not the Title of *Jews*; for theſe latter look upon our Lord as an Impoſtor, who deſerv'd the Death their Anceſtors inflicted. This is the diſtinguiſhing Doctrine of Judaiſm concerning the *Meſſiah*, which we are to find in *Neſtorianiſm*, but ſhall never be able to diſcover it. The *Neſtorians* made the *Meſſiah* to be born of a Virgin, and the Jews deny it. The *Neſtorians* maintain'd, that the Child was *full of the Divinity dwelling in him*; the Jews own neither any inhabiting Divinity in this Child, nor Gifts of Grace. On the contrary they believe, that he *had a devil, and that he caſt out devils by Beelzebub*. *Neſtorius* applied *Iſaiah*'s Prophecies to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and only explain'd the Union of the Divine with the Humane Nature differently from the Orthodox. But the Jews are far from believing, that *Iſaiah* ever ſpoke of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or that he had any kind of Union with the Deity. So that there is no Compariſon to be made betwixt their Doctrines. To ſay that *Neſtorius was worſe than a Jew*, becauſe he made Mankind to be ranſomed without the Deity, without any Incarnation, and without a Redeemer, is making a Compariſon upon Conſequences, which no body will own. We don't know what the Jews Thoughts are upon the Subject of the Redemption by way of Satisfaction; becauſe they do not believe it, and if it were to be made, he perhaps would be much perplex'd to determine, whether he believes it ought to be done by a Dying God or by a Man, whom God approves. Beſides *Neſtorius* did not make *Jeſus Chriſt* a common Man. He at laſt gave him an Aſſiſtant co-operating Divinity, which gave a Value to the Sufferings of the Humane Nature. So much for *Neſtorius*'s Judaiſm. Let us ſee the Hatred his Enemy *Cyril* conceived againſt this Religion, and the violent Effects that were the Product of it.

VIII. They reckon'd a Hundred Thouſand Jews in the City of *Alexandria*, who like the reſt of the *Egyptians* beſpoke the Heat of the Climate in their Tempers. They were mutinous and ſeditious; and the Hatred they cheriſh'd againſt the Chriſtian Religion help'd to ſharpen and exaſperate their briſk and turbulent Conſtitution. So that [m] Commotions frequently happen'd in this great City, and they ſeldom ended without Bloodſhed. *Saturdays* were noted, as ſo many Days of Battel, becauſe the Jews who gave this Day to Idleneſs and Debauchery, inſtead of going to the Synagogue, ſought Occaſion to ſignalize themſelves; and the Chriſtians and Heathens commonly inſulted them, when they went to the Synagogue. There were [n] alſo publick Shows upon that Day; and the Jews choſe rather to be there than at their Devotions. Whereupon the People that flock'd thither, often ingag'd in Quarrels with 'em. They uſed to come to Blows, and the Governours had ſeldom ſufficient Authority to reſtrain theſe Riots. One Day *Oreſtes*, the Governour of *Alexandria* was in the Theater, where he was making ſome Political Regulations about the Shows and Stage-Plays. He deſigned perhaps by good Laws to prevent the Diſorders, which had ſuch fatal Conſequences to the Publick Peace and the Good of the City. But he was miſtaken; for as he was attempting it, it was perceived, that he was ſurrounded by thoſe of *Cyril*'s Party. 'Twas ſuſpected, that they came only there to incenſe the Governour, and dictate to him, ſome Ordinance againſt the Jews. The Preſence of *Hierax*, who was only an Uſher of the lower Claſſes, but one of *Cyril*'s hired Flatterers, and who uſed to clap this Biſhop as he Preach'd, help'd to provoke them. They cried aloud, that *that* Man whom they look'd upon as their Enemy, was come only to inſult them, and to raiſe Sedition. He muſt have given Occaſion for theſe Complaints, ſince the Governour cauſed him to be ſeized by his Officers and whipp'd upon the Stage, without any Form of Trial. *Cyril* was not a Man, that would bear ſuch an Inſult from the Prefect, whom he mortally hated. Inſtead of complaining to him of his Injuſtice, if 'twas true that he had been guilty of any, he ſent for ſome Jews to his Palace, and threatned them. They deſpiſed the Threatnings of an Eccleſiaſtick, whom the Governour openly thwarted and oppoſed; and they even reſolved to Maſſacre the Chriſtians. In order to which Deſign, a Body of the Conſpirators run along the Streets in the Night, crying that *the Principal Church of the Chriſtians at* Alexandria *was on fire*. The Croud run out without Arms, to extinguiſh it. The Jews, who had a Mark to diſtinguiſh themſelves, kill'd 'em as faſt as they came. *Cyril* having Notice of it came out with a Multitude of People, enter'd into all the Synagogues, appropriated them to the Church, gave up the Houſes to be plunder'd, and drove the Jews quite naked out of the City. The Governour was highly enraged, becauſe the Biſhop encroach'd upon the Juriſdiction of the Officers of the Empire, and becauſe he ſaw this great City almoſt unpeopled by ſuch a general Baniſhment of the Jews. He inform'd the Court of it, whilſt *Cyril* alſo ſent his Complaints againſt the Jews. The People ſided with the Governour againſt their Patriarch, and obliged him to go and ſue for Peace with *Oreſtes*, who refuſed to be reconciled.

IX. *Cyril* brought Religion into the Affair, and went to the Governour with the Goſpel in his hand, to oblige him upon Sight of that Book to a Reconciliation; but *Oreſtes* being inflexible in his Reſentments, *Cyril*, who had a Troop of Dragoons in the Habit of Monks, ordered 'em all down from the Mountains of *Nitria*. Theſe Anchorets were never ſeen to deſcend, but they put the People in Frights. They march'd down that Day to the Number of Fifteen Hundred; and ſpying the Governour as he went into his Coach, they began to load him with Abuſes, and accuſed him of being a *Heathen*, that they might have a Pretence to get rid of him, under a Shew of Religion. 'Twas in vain for him to cry out, that he had been Baptiz'd at *Conſtantinople*. Inſtead of hearing him, they fell upon him with a Shower of Stones, wounded him in the Head, and covered him with Blood. His Guards run away, being oppreſs'd by Numbers; and the Governour would have been left to periſh, if the People had not run in to his Aſſiſtance. *Ammonius*, one of the Rioters, was arreſted and condemn'd to Puniſhment. *Oreſtes* wrote to the Court. *Cyril* on his Part juſtified the Proceedings of the Monks by making a Martyr of the Man, and making his Panegyrick

[m] An. 415.

[n] Socrat. l. 7. c. 13. 14. p. 350, &c.

in the Pulpit, who died for such a glorious Action. The Tumult began again some time after, and *Cyril* was loaded with all the Odium of the Event, in which the famous *Hypatia* lost her Life, whom this Bishop, jealous of his Reputation, had caus'd to be assassinated.

'Tis in vain to extol *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and to make him one of the principal Saints of the purest Church. Tho' there were nothing else but this Series of Actions in his Life, related by a Man who has endeavour'd to flatter him, I could not forbear saying, That People suffer themselves to be easily dazled in favour of some Men, and Canonize those who have had violent and criminal Passions, instead of a regular Devotion. 'Tis own'd, that *Cyril* incurr'd *Orestes*'s Hatred, by his Ambition, and Encroachment upon the Authority of the Imperial Officers. And how did he take his Revenge on him, after he had acted the Comedian, in bringing him the Gospel? He causes him to be Assassinated by the Monks he brings down from the Mountain. Is this the Conduct of a Bishop? But he stops not here; he again brings his Officers, who were like so many Murtherers in the Field, against a Philosophical young Lady, who unmercifully kill'd her at a Church-door. *Socrates* had reason to say, That this Action involv'd *Cyril* and his Ecclesiasticks in Shame and Confusion. This same Prelate had drawn upon him the People's Hatred; since they always engag'd against him, in spite of their Reverence for Religion, and sacred Persons. How could they esteem an ambitious Prelate, who hired People to clap their hands and applaud his Sermons in publick, as *Cyril* did, and who afterwards acted the Votary, and crown'd a seditious Monk, who had been punish'd for his Crimes, with Martyrdom? We can't justifie his Conduct against the Jews, since they were not of his Jurisdiction: It belong'd to the Governor to expel 'em the City, if he thought it convenient, and the Bishop was no Judge of their Privileges and Settlements. 'Twas a perfect Highway Robbery, to Head a Rabble, to plunder their Synagogues, and appropriate them to themselves, with their Houses and Effects. Lastly, It was uncharitable to banish People quite naked, who had liv'd there ever since *Alexander the Great*, under the Protection of Edicts.

X. The same Year [o] that the Jews were banish'd out of *Alexandria*, *Gamaliel* bethought himself, Four hundred Years after his Death, to expose them to an Affront at *Jerusalem*. This ancient Doctor of the Law Appeared by Night to one *Lucian* a Priest of *Gaphargamala*, and reveal'd to him, That being turn'd Christian, he had been baptiz'd by the Apostles, with *Akiba* his youngest Child, whose Learning and Virginity he commended: That he had bury'd St. *Stephen* at his own Charge, as also *Nicodemus*, his Nephew, whom the Jews, in spite of his Dissimulation, had scourg'd to the Blood, and so absolutely depriv'd of his Estate, that he had been forced to maintain him in one of his Farms. This Man, coming in the Shape of a Priest, with a long White Beard, and a Mantle thrown over him fasten'd with *Precious-Stones of Gold*, at the bottom whereof hung Crosses, spoke with Authority, and ask'd *Lucian*, why their Relicks were so long left in the Grave, since the World was upon the brink of Destruction, through a Deluge of Sins? He Order'd the Bodies of *my Lord Stephen*, of *Akiba*, and *Nicodemus* his Nephew, who were buried with him, to be taken out; and in order to distinguish 'em, he caus'd four Baskets to descend from Heaven, one of which was full of Red Roses, and signify'd St. *Stephen* the Martyr. The other two were also of Gold, and fill'd with White Roses; because *Gamaliel*, and his Nephew *Nicodemus*, were but Confessors. Lastly, The fourth Basket was of Silver; because *Akiba*, who always liv'd in Celibacy, had not been *defiled with any stain of a Woman*. *Lucian* being convinc'd of the Truth, by three Admonions, acquainted *John* of *Jerusalem*, who, with the Assistance of *Eleutherus* Bishop of *Jericho*, and *Eleutherus* Bishop of *Sebaste*, discover'd the holy Bodies. These *fat and odoriferous* Relicks, as they were taken from the Tomb, cur'd Seventy three Sick Persons; and diffus'd such a pleasant Smell, that People thought themselves in Paradise, because they had never perceiv'd the like. These holy Bodies were carry'd to *Jerusalem*, with a singing of Hymns; and afterwards they sent Bones, and Ashes, and Teeth, and Arms, and Hands, and intire Bodies, to several Parts of *Africa*, to *Minorca* and *Spain*, to *Constantinople*, *Rome* and *Pisa*, and abundance of Places.

XI. It seems, that the Jews have no Interest in this Discovery: Nevertheless, it would be a great Confusion for 'em, if *Gamaliel*, one of their Senators, had turn'd Christian, and had reveal'd his Conversion, at a time wherein there was no Dissimulation. The Christians ground themselves upon an ancient Relation, written by *Lucian*, and quoted, as is thought, by St. *Austin*, translated by a Cotemporary [p] Author, who sent St. *Stephen*'s Relicks, newly discover'd at *Jerusalem*, to *Spain*, and collated upon four Manuscripts of the *Vatican*. The Father *Benedictines* have also since produced a new Copy of this Relation, taken from the Abbey of *Fleury*, which they have join'd to St. *Austin*'s Works. We neither engage in the Party of the Jew or Christian; but we cannot wave observing some Circumstances, that render this Event suspicious or doubtful.

XII. *Gamaliel* was Preceptor to St. *Paul*; but to make him the more renown'd, they turn him into a Christian, a Priest, and Patriarch of the Jews. In the mean time, there is not one of these Titles but is contested. We have prov'd, that the Patriarchs began not to appear till after the Ruine of *Jerusalem*. And tho' they shou'd be more ancient, yet *Gamaliel*, St. *Paul*'s Preceptor, who gave his Voice in favour of the Apostles, was not President of the *Sanhedrin*, nor discharg'd the Functions of it. This Office rather belong'd to *Nicodemus*, whom St. *John* [q] call'd *Prince*, or Ruler of the Jews. Lastly, Tho' we could suppose *Gamaliel* to be President of the Council, yet this would manifest *Lucian*'s Relation to be the more evidently false; for this Patriarch's Eldest Son, who continued incredulous, and succeeded him in his Office, was call'd *Simeon*; whereas *Lucian* gives him the Name of *Selemias*, who is altogether unknown. *Gamaliel*'s Christianity is much more uncertain than his Patriarchship. The Jews assert, It was he, that seeing the Hereticks multiplying in *Israel*, made an Imprecation against 'em, which they repeat in the Synagogue, and which others attribute to *Samuel the Little* his Disciple. They are so fully persuaded, that he persevered in Judaism to his death, that they affirm, he was still Patriarch, when he died in the Year 52. and that the *Glory of the Faith ended with him*. The Evangelists, who have praised his Toleration, and his moderate Advice, about the Apostles, have never mention'd his Christianity. Would St. *Luke* have so exactly related the Conversion of his Disciple, without intimating that of the Master? St. *Paul* gloried to the Jews, of being educated at the *feet of Gamaliel*; which would have

[o] An. 415. *in the Month of* December. [p] Baronius, An. 415. p. 371. [q] Joh. iii. 10. Ἄρχων.

exasperated

exaſperated their Minds, already diſturb'd; if *Gamaliel* had deſerted the Synagogue and the Law, like himſelf. This Doctor muſt have died in the open Profeſſion of his Religion; ſince the Apoſtle endeavour'd to mollifie the Nation, by crying out, He had been brought up under this Maſter, whom they had in Veneration. For would not the Name of *Gamaliel* have been odious to the Circumciſed, if he had been Converted, and if his Son [r] *Abibas had been ever in the Temple an Aſſociate of St. Paul*, teaching the Goſpel with him? Thoſe that make *Gamaliel* a Chriſtian, confeſs that he Diſſembled, to preſerve his Place in the Council of the Jews: And *Bede* juſtifies his Diſſimulation, as if it had been innocent, and that his Conduct was authorized by the Apoſtles. But is this a Chriſtianity the Church can do it ſelf an Honour by? And muſt it not be very greedy of Saints, to ſeek 'em in in the *Sanhedrin* of the Jews? *Gamaliel* therefore only became a Chriſtian and a Saint, by a Nocturnal Revelation, that happen'd Four hundred Years after his Death. His Prieſthood is ſtill more uncertain than his Chriſtianity: 'Tis only known that he exerciſed this Office, by his Figure, and his Mantle faſten'd with Claſps with Croſſes on 'em. According to this Viſion, he was a Chriſtian Prieſt. But did the ancient Prieſts of the Chriſtian Church wear White-Mantles, with *Precious-Stones* [s] *and Gold, and a Golden-Rod in their Hand?*

XIII. The Apparition of *Gamaliel*, a Prince of the Senate at *Jeruſalem*, and afterwards a Chriſtian and a Prieſt, ſtrangely ſurprized *Lucian*, who was half a-ſleep. *Salazar* [t] makes him a *Spaniſh* Prieſt in the Service of the Church of *Gaphargamala*. But if he was a Native of *Spain*, his Relation would not have been Tranſlated into *Latin*; for he would rather have Written in his Country Language, than in *Greek*. This good Prieſt heſitated whether it was an Apparition of the Devil, or came from Heaven; and concluded in his mind, That if the Phantom call'd him but once, it was a Devil that came to tempt him; but if it call'd him thrice, it was a heavenly Apparition. This method of proving and diſtinguiſhing Spirits, is eaſie and extraordinary. *Gamaliel* thrice repeated, *Lucian! Lucian! Lucian!* And from that moment the good Prieſt doubted not of his being a Divine Man. However, he obliged St. *Gamaliel* to return three different Days, during which, he faſted on *Bread, Salt and Water*. The Saint was angry at this Diffidence; but the Prieſt excuſing himſelf, upon his deſire of being aſſured of the Truth, by three Apparitions, St. *Gamaliel* thrice repeated, *I Pardon you! I Pardon you! I Pardon you!* and gave him ſo many Marks of his Power, that *Lucian* thought him to be a God; *I knew every thing, and from whom nothing was hidden.* I know, that the Simplicity of *Lucian* and St. *Gamaliel*, is compar'd with that of the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, who have reveal'd the Myſteries of Faith; but that Parallel is equally falſe and odious.

XIV. *Gamaliel*'s Revelation conſiſted chiefly in Four things. 1. It relates the Hiſtory of his Wife, which he recounts to her Burial, and that of his Son, who continued in Unbelief; as if God reveal'd to the Saints in Heaven, that part of their Family was miſerable in Hell. For if *Gamaliel*'s Wife died before him, his Son muſt ſurvive him; and he could not learn his Damnation, but by a particular Revelation of God, which muſt diſturb his Felicity. 2. He circumſtantiates the Converſion of his Son *Abibas* and of *Nicodemus*, and affirms that he was Baptiz'd by the Apoſtles. It has been a long time after conjectured, that theſe Apoſtles were St. *Peter* and St. *John*; and *Photius* has made a glorious Martyr of this Head of the Diſſembling *Nicodemites*. The Jews might exclude this *Prince* from the Council, and might even ſcourge him till the Blood came. But had the Jews, who were ſubject to the *Romans*, the Power of Plundering and Confiſcating the Eſtate of a conſiderable Particular, and Prince of the Nation, ſo as not to leave him wherewithal to ſubſiſt, and that his Uncle *Gamaliel* was oblig'd to maintain him in one of his Farms? This Circumſtance, tho' reveal'd by *Gamaliel*, who makes himſelf Uncle to *Nicodemus*, gives a Blow to the Story. St. *Stephen*'s Burial, affords us another evidently falſe; for he aſſerts, that this Martyr's Body continued, by Order of the Jews, expos'd Night and Day to Wild Beaſts, in the City or Place call'd *Exapolis*; and that God not ſuffering any Beaſt to touch it, he ſent the Faithful, who liv'd mix'd with the Jews at *Jeruſalem*, and caus'd it to be bury'd, at his own Charge, ſecretly in his Country-Houſe. *Gamaliel* was not a Chriſtian, when he Voted for the Apoſtles in the Council; ſince he ſtill diſſembled at St. *Stephen*'s Martyrdom, and cauſed other Perſons to bury him in ſecret. Beſides, this Martyr's Body did not remain expos'd to the Wild Beaſts *Night and Day*. We know neither the Place nor the City *Exapolis*, with *ſix Gates*, where his Body muſt have been expos'd. This is one of thoſe Falſhoods, by which an Impoſtor frequently betrays himſelf. St. *Luke* ſays, That after they had Martyr'd St. *Stephen*, *devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him*. He neither ſpeaks of his Body being expos'd Night and Day, nor of the Miracle of Providence preventing the Wild Beaſts, nor of the City *Exapolis*, where the Miracle was wrought, nor of *Gamaliel*, who ordered the Funeral. All the Honour of it is given to ſome private Perſons. The Church being well pleas'd to lament ſuch a glorious Death, it is ſtrange that *Gamaliel* ſhould come from Heaven Four hundred Years after, to reveal his good Works, which the ſacred Hiſtorian had paſs'd over in ſilence. *Gamaliel* does not forget, that he had order'd *all the Charge to be put to his Accompt, and promis'd to reimburſe the Expences*. But why did not he ſpeak of the Pomp of this Funeral, which St. *Jerom* and the Legendaries deſcribe in lofty Terms, nor even of a *little Ship*, upon which the Body was convey'd from *Jeruſalem* to *Gaphargamala*. This Saint, hitherto unknown, reveals the preſſing neceſſity of taking his Body from the Grave; *becauſe the world is upon the very brink of ruine, through the multitude of ſins that were then committed*. And there was already a terrible Drought, which ſcorch'd up the Earth, and threaten'd it with abſolute Ruine.

Et [u] *tunc arida, vel ſiti peruſta*
Accepit pluvias diu negatas
Tellus germinibus ſoli creandis.

Moreover, it was neceſſary to take theſe Bodies from their Graves, that, *by their Prayers, the Gate might be open'd for the Mercy of God*. Is it, that the Gate of Divine Mercy is ſhut, when the Bodies of Saints reſt quietly in their Graves? Do the Saints that Pray, never make their Interceſſions, but when their Relicks are drawn from the bowels of the Earth, and expos'd to the ſight of the People? Is it poſſible the World ſhould be threaten'd with impending Ruine, in the Year 415; and that ſo ſmall a thing ſhould retard it, till our time, near Thirteen hundred Years. The Drought which then

[r] Epiſtola Luciani ad omnem Eccleſ. c. 2. [s] Ibid. [t] Tamayo Salazar Commemoratio Sanctorum Hiſp. t. vi. p. 587.
[u] Notker. Hymn. 2. de Revelat. Corpor. SS. Steph. apud Caniſ. t. vi. p. 772, 773.

ſcorch'd up the Earth was not very dangerous; for *Lucian* had this Viſion the Twenty-fifth of *December*, at which time the Rains are not very neceſſary, nor the Sun over-ſcorching.

XV. Laſtly the Accounts, tho' written by the ſame Author, are not conſiſtent about the manner the Holy Bodies were found. I will not quote a Sermon that has beeen publiſh'd in the Name of *Baſil* of *Seleucia*, as if it had been ſpoken in the Year 458. wherein St. *Stephen* is introduced ſpeaking to *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and diſcovering to him the Place where he was buried, whilſt the Prieſt *Lucian* aſſumes all the Honour of the Viſion to himſelf; but this ſame Author ſays in one place that before they opened the Ground, he gave Notice of it to *John* of *Jeruſalem*, who ſent for Two Biſhops, and came along with 'em to the Place. He contradicts himſelf, ſince he gave no Notice to the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, till after the Diſcovery of the Relicks. Beſides, it is ſtrange that theſe Saints would appear at all under *John*'s Epiſcopacy, an intimate Friend of *Pelagius*, and whoſe Doctrine was very much ſuſpected. He had no need of ſending in queſt of Biſhops, ſince they were with him in the unhappy Council of *Dioſpolis*, where *Pelagius* was abſolved. He gives the ſame Name of *Eleutherus* to both theſe Biſhops. But Cardinal *Noris* has obſerved this to be a Fault of the Tranſcriber, and with good Reaſon; for in the Manuſcript of *Fleury* [x] there is a Diſtinction of Names. But at the ſame time he changes their Biſhopricks; for *Eleutherus* was Biſhop of *Sebaſte*, and *Euthonius* of *Jericho*. There is another groſſer Fault in the Inſcription, that was ingraven in *very eminent Characters*; in which were read [y] theſe Names, *Keayea*, *Celiel*, *Apaan*, *Dardan*. The Author ſays that Pope *John* [z] interpreted theſe Words in his Preſence, *the Servant of God*, *Nicodemus and Gamaliel*. He might ſay what he pleas'd, ſince it is a barbarous and unknown Language; but we have Reaſon to ſay, there is no Appearance in it of the Names of *Stephen*, *Abibas*, *Gamaliel*, and *Nicodemus*. Indeed the Manuſcript of *Fleury* relates the Inſcription thus, [a] *Celeliel*, *Naaſon*, *Gamaliel*, *Abibael*: However of four Names here is one. We may too, by aſſiſting the Letter, diſcover the Son of *Gamaliel*. But what ground is there to conjecture, that St. *Stephen* is *Celeliel*? 'Tis, ſay they, becauſe חלל *Chalal* ſignifies *to dance*. Joy may denote a Crown, and the Crown is the Name of St. *Stephen* [b]. *Nicodemus* may alſo be call'd *Naſoan*, from Two Hebrew Words, *Natſak Gnam* נעח עם. But tho' theſe Two Etymologies were as genuine as they are unworthy of their Author, how ſhall we find *Gamaliel*, *Nicodemus* and *Abiba*, in *Keayea*, *Apaan*, *Dardan*? And tho' we could diſcover here the Names of theſe Three pretended Saints, yet an unconquerable Difficulty would ſtill remain, ſince one and the ſame Writer, and an Eye-witneſs, relates the ſame Inſcription ſo differently, which ought never to vary. Beſides, the Inſcription of the old Manuſcript, which we are tempted to prefer, is more ridiculous than that of *Fleury* publiſhed by the *Benedictines*.

XVI. I will add nothing concerning the different Removals of their Relick after this Diſcovery, the Falſhood whereof is ſo manifeſt, that the Authors [c] who dote moſt on this Event, dare not diſown it. I ſhall only obſerve, that they ſhew at *Piſa* near the great Altar, the Tombs of *Gamaliel*, *Abiba* and *Nicodemus*. St. *Luke* is made to ſay, that the firſt was a good Chriſtian and Teacher of the Goſpel, and *Nicodemus* is rank'd among the Martyrs, as had been done by *Photius*, tho' the Revelation makes him die in his Uncle's Eſtate:

Hoc [d] *in Sarcophago requieſcunt corpora ſacra*
Sanctorum, quorum nomina dicta trium.
Sanctus Gamaliel, Abybas & Nicodemus
In ſimul ipſe pater, filius, atque nepos.
Gamaliel, Divi Pauli diſcalus olim,
Doctor & excellens Iſraelita fuit,
Conſilii magni fideique per omnia cultor,
Narrat ut Hiſtoriæ ſcriptor Apoſtolicæ.
Magna in Evangelio præconia ſunt Nicodemi.
Denique Martyr obit.
Hoc Epigramma legens, horum ſuffragia quære;
Teque recommendans, poſce ſalutis opem.

All theſe Reflections neceſſitate us to reſtore *Gamaliel* and his Son to the Jews, in ſpite of his pretended Revelation, and his *very fat and odoriferous Relicks*; in ſpite of the Miracles they have produced, and the Effects they expect at *Piſa*, and other Places from their Interceſſion; for it does not appear, that they abandon'd the Synagogue to turn Chriſtians, nor that this great Doctor of the Law came Four Hundred Years after his Death to reveal, that he ought to be number'd among the Saints.

XVII. A little after [e] a more real Calamity happen'd to 'em in the Empire; for the *Jewiſh* Patriarchs way of living raiſed Murmurs and Complaints againſt 'em, and the Taxes they levied upon the Nation, occaſioned their Fall. We have ſaid enough [f] of the Privilege the Patriarchs had of raiſing this Tribute; let us add, that *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* deprived them of it, and applied this Impoſt, that was made upon their Subjects, to the *Imperial* Treaſury. *Honorius* [g] alſo publiſh'd at the End of the Fourth Century, a Law upon the ſame Subject. But beſides that it reſpected only his Empire, it was only executed during the Diviſion of the Two Brothers, which was then very great.

Geminam quid dividis aulam,
Conariſque pios odiis committere fratres?
Te magis, ah! demens! veterem ſi reſpicis artem,
Conciliare decet,

ſaid *Claudian* to *Eutropius*, whom he conſider'd as the Cauſe of the Diviſion. *Honorius* [h] revok'd his Law Five Years after the making it, and reſtored the Patriarch to all his Privileges, ſo that he then enjoy'd 'em over all the Empire; and therefore St. *Jerom*, who liv'd at that time, had reaſon to ſay, that this Cuſtom was practiſed in his time. *Baronius*, who highly exclaims againſt theſe Tributes of the Jews, thinks that the Poet *Rutilius* alluded to 'em in his Verſes.

Atque utinam nunquam Judæa ſubacta fuiſſet
Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi!
Latius exciſæ peſtis contagia ſerpunt,
Victoreſque ſuos natio victa premit.

But he is in the wrong; for not to examine, whether the Poet intimates the Chriſtians ſcattered over all the Univerſe, and who came out of Judaiſm; rather than the Jews, who were not formidable, particularly at *Rome* where he wrote, it can't be ſaid that they oppreſs'd their Maſters by theſe Taxes; for the Tribute was not raiſed upon the Heathen nor Chriſtian, but upon the Jews; and the Patriarch extended his Authority no farther than his own Nation. They grew weary of ſuffering this Tax, and the Emperors wholly appropriated it to themſelves. *Photius* thinks too, that the Primates

[x] App. Aug. t. 7. MS. Ulimmerianum & Floriacenſe, p. 6, 7. [y] Ep. Luciani MS. Ulimerianum, p. 7. [z] *He calls him alſo Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. [a] MS. Floriacenſe, p. 8. [b] Tillemont *Notes upon St.* Stephen, n. 4. t. 4. pag. 311. [c] Tillemont ibid. *Note* 7. *p.* 313. *See alſo* Salazar Commemoratio Sanctorum Hiſpan. t. vi. not. p. 588. & Ep. Anaſtaſii ad Landulfum in App. Auguſt. t. 7. p. 10. [d] Apud Wagenſeil in Sotah Miſnæ, t. v. p. 314, 315. [e] An. 429. [f] *Book* xi. *c.* 1. [g] An. 399. [h] An. 404.

who

who ſucceeded the Patriarchs, were obliged to be reſponſible, and to bring this Money into the Treaſury. Laſtly *Theodoſius* deſtroy'd this Patriarchal Dignity in the Year 429, unleſs any one had rather ſay, it was aboliſhed by the Jews, tired with maintaining ſo great a Lord; which is not probable, for this Office did honour to the Nation, and to be a Center of its Unity in the *Roman* Empire.

XVIII. *Nicephorus* [i] relates, that the Year that *Acacius* became Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the Diſputes about *Arrianiſm* being then at their Height, Two Biſhops challeng'd each other to throw themſelves into a burning Pile, to diſcover the Truth. The Fire being kindled, the *Arrian* Biſhop was afraid; but the Orthodox boldly faced the Danger, and Preached upon the flaming Pile, without loſing ſo much as the Edges of his Cloaths. Such another Prodigy is reported in behalf of a Jew, who [k] was condemn'd in Hatred to his Religion. A Tumult was raiſed by the Children at *Conſtantinople*; but the Head of the Synagogue was ſuſpected to have a Hand in it. He was put to the Rack, and in the Height of his Tortures, he ſtill call'd the God of St. *Sergius* to his Aſſiſtance, continually crying, *St.* Sergius, *thou knoweſt whether I am guilty.* The Judges without any regard to theſe Symptoms of Chriſtianity, which they thought pretended, unmercifully condemned him to be burnt. But they were ſurprized to ſee Two Gentlemen in the midſt of the Flames cloathed in white, who hinder'd the Jew from being burnt; and the People moved by the Miracle, ruſh'd into the Fire and fetch'd out the Accuſed, who being Baptiz'd with his Two Children, ſold all his Eſtate, and built a Temple to St. *Sergius* in the very Place where the Pile had been made. He cauſed himſelf to be ſhaved, and lived as a Monk with his Children, who follow'd his Example.

XIX. One would think, there was no doubt of the Truth of a Miracle, in acknowledgement whereof Monuments have been built, which ſtill remain; but this Monument mentioned by *Nicephorus*, affords an Argument againſt his Narration. *Sergius* and *Bacchus* muſt have ſuffered under *Dioclefian*; but they are known only from Acts full of Lyes, that bring their Martyrdom in great queſtion. But without engaging in this Diſcuſſion, 'tis certain, that the Emperor *Juſtinian* built the Temple or Monaſtery we ſpeak of; and therefore it could not have been done [l] by a Jew long before. This Prince, who thought himſelf indebted to 'em for his Life, becauſe in an Apparition, they had convinced the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* of his Innocence, Conſecrated many Temples to theſe Two Martyrs. He Conſecrated one at *Conſtantinople*, near the Imperial Palace, and the Church of the *Apoſtles*. *Zonaras* ſays, that *Juſtinian* pull'd down the Houſe he lived in before he was Emperor, and built St. *Sergius*'s-*Church* there. *Cedrenus* adds, that he Conſecrated to it all the Eſtate he poſſeſs'd whilſt he lived as a private Perſon, and that he made a Monaſtery there, which became very famous; and *Procopius*'s [m] Commentator has produced Verſes from the *Vatican* ſaying the ſame thing. Juſtinian, *to teſtify his Devotion to* Sergius, *has honour'd him with this magnificent Structure:*

Ἡμέτερος δὲ
Ἐυσεβὴν σκήπτοχ☉ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄεξων
Σεργιὸν ἀγλαΐηπι δόμῳ θεραπόντα γεραίρει.

This [n] Houſe and Monaſtery were not built then till the Sixth Century, when *Juſtinian* was Maſter of the Empire. Here it was Pope *Vigilius* ſought a Sanctuary againſt *Juſtinian*'s Anger, who could not bear this Pope's Excommunicating *Mennas*. Mr. *du Cange* has thought that the Pope lived there, and that this Monaſtery at that time belong'd to the Biſhops of *Rome*; but he is miſtaken, for the Donation was not made to the *Latins* ſo ſuddenly. But the Artful and Politick Pope preferr'd this Church before all others, becauſe he thought *Juſtinian*, who had a great Veneration for St. *Sergius*, would not violate a Temple and an Altar he had built. 'Twas a long time before the Emperors ſuffer'd the Service to be made in *Latin*, and the Pope's Reſident to live there. Theſe Remarks are a manifeſt Proof that the Church and Monaſtery of St. *Sergius* at *Conſtantinople* were not built by a Jew, miraculouſly deliver'd from the Fire; which gives *Nicephorus*'s Relation ſuch a violent blow, that it muſt be rejected as fabulous.

[i] Nicephor. Hiſt l. 15. c. 23. t. 2. p. 624. [k] An. 471. [l] Ibid. [m] Alamannus in Hiſt. Arcan. Proc. c. 10. p. 124. [n] Procop. de Ædif. l. 1. c. 4. p. 13. t. 1.

CHAP. XVI.

The State of the Jews in the Weſtern Empire during the Fifth Century, and of the Cœlicolæ.

I. *An equitable Law of* Honorius *in Point of the Jews.* II. *He deprives them of the Office of Agents.* III. *Different Opinions concerning the* Jewiſh Samaritan *and* Eſſenian Cœlicolæ. IV. *The* Schamain, *a particular Sect of the Jews in* Egypt. V. *An Explication of this Sect.* VI. *A different Opinion about the* Cœlicolæ. VII. *They were* Donatiſts. VIII. *Why they were called* Cœlicolæ. IX. *This Sect ſhort-liv'd.* X. *It ſymbolized in nothing with the Synagogue.* XI. *The Jews numerous at* Minorca, *where they exercis'd the chief Offices.* XII. *Dreams, by which* Severus *is determin'd to convert them.* XIII. *Miracles that happen'd.* XIV. *Violences that were uſed, proved from* Severus's *Account.* XV. *The State of the Jews under the Vandals in* Africa. XVI. *The Arguments made uſe of to convert them.* XVII. Valentinian *preſerves their Privileges.* XVIII. Theodorick, *King of the* Goths, *protects them.*

I. HOnorius, who poſſeſs'd the other Part of the Empire, met with a great many Rebellions. Never Prince maſter'd ſo many Tyrants. And therefore we ſee him in moſt of his Medals, holding a *Labarum* in one Hand, a Victory in the other, and trampling a Rebel under his Feet. St. *Chryſoſtom*, who derived this Prince's Glory from hence, was not well skill'd in Heroes; for it is moſt commonly the Weakneſs or Cruelty of the Governour that excites Rebellions; and 'tis no great Honour for a Prince to ſee his Subjects vanquiſh'd, and in Chains at his Feet. The Zealots perſuade themſelves, that his Victories were the Recompence of his Vehemence againſt the Sectaries. 'Tis true he ſometimes tormented them; but yet he had a great deal of Equity for the Jews who lived in his Dominions. There is even a Law preſerv'd, made upon their Account, which is an Honour to him; for he declares [a] "That the Glory

[a] An. 412. Cod. Theod. t. 16. l. 20. p. 237.

"of

" of a good Prince, conſiſts in permitting every " Society quietly to enjoy the Privileges they have " acquired; and, That tho' a Religion is not ap- " approv'd by a Sovereign, yet he ought to pre- " ſerve its Privileges." Purſuant to theſe Maxims, he Decreed, That no body could Deſtroy or Appropriate the Synagogues, with Impunity. He even forbad them to Violate the *Sabbath*, under pretence of the Publick Good and Service of the State; becauſe the reſt of the Week was ſufficient to ſatisfie the Neceſſities of the Empire.

II. Nevertheleſs, as he would not give new Encouragements to this Religion, he forbad the Building of Synagogues, and deprived the Profeſſors of it of the Offices in the Militia, and of *Agents*. The Agents were diſtinguiſh'd in the Militia, having three ſorts of Employs: To raiſe Taxes in the Provinces; to convey Bread into the Magazines and Army, for the Subſiſtence of the Troops; and to be Spies and Couriers to the Princes. *Auguſtus* had appointed theſe *Inſpectors* [b] in every Province and Legion: They brought an Account of all that was done to the Prince, and to this Purpoſe, they had the Diſpoſal of the Publick Carriages. *Honorius* deprived the Jews of this Employ, who were at that time Commiſſion'd to furniſh the Magazines, as they are at this day in many States.

III. This Prince more ſeverely reſtrain'd the Sect of the *Cælicolæ*, or the Worſhippers of Heaven, who began to appear in his Reign. It has been thought, that theſe were the Jews who have often been reproach'd with the Worſhipping of Heaven, and who took the Name of *Cælicolæ*, or Heven-Worſhippers, to avoid the other which was more odious.

Quidam [c] *ſortiti, metuentem Sabbatha patrem,*
Nil præter Nubes *&* *Cæli* Numen [d] *adorant.*

Judæus [e] *licet porcinum numen adoret,*
Et Cœli *ſummas advocet auriculas.*

The Jews gave Occaſion to theſe Reproaches, becauſe they had no Image of the Deity in their Temples: They Pray'd to God in open Places, and on flat Roofs: They neglect the Temples, (ſays *Tertullian*) and go to make their Prayers upon the Banks in the Air. Laſtly, They Swore by the Heaven. 'Tis ſaid, that this more particularly agrees with the *Samaritans*, who had formerly an Oratory near *Napolouſſe*, built in the form of a Theatre, where they went to pay their Devotions. Beſides, they had a Baptiſm like the Sectaries we ſpeak of. Laſtly, They were call'd *Cæleſtes*, or *Cælicolæ*, becauſe they read the Bible in *Hebrew*, as it came down to 'em from Heaven *. *Scaliger*, who has often varied upon this Matter, thought it was a Sect of the *Eſſenes*, that bore the Name of *Cælicolæ*, or Angels, by reaſon of the Angelical Life they led. And thus, in the lower Ages, the Monks have been intitled *Cælicolæ*, as if they had led the Life of Heavenly Citizens whilſt they were upon Earth.

IV. There was † another Sect in this Nation, call'd *Schamain*, or the *Heavens*. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* found it in *Egypt*; which Name has ſo much reſemblance with that of *Cælicolæ*, that 'tis very probable, it was a Remainder of thoſe who were Condemn'd in the *Theodoſian* Code. It has been [f] further maintain'd, that they were Apoſtates, who forſook Chriſtianity and turn'd Jews. Laſtly, *Cunæus* [g] has thought the *Cælicolæ* to be half-Chriſtians, that Judaized.

V. I have thrown all theſe Opinions together; becauſe they may be all confuted at once, by one general Reflexion. For *Honorius* looks upon theſe Hereticks, as People that *were but juſt ſprung up in Africa*, and whoſe Doctrins he was yet unacquainted with. This Character can't be applied to the *Jews*, nor *Samaritans*, nor *Eſſenes*, nor to the Apoſtates that return'd to Judaiſm, whoſe Doctrins, and Worſhip, and Auſterities could not be unknown to the Emperor. Beſides, the *Schamain*, which *Benjamin* [h] of *Tudela* found in *Egypt*, were not *Cælicolæ*, nor ſo much as Sectaries. This is eaſie to be obſerv'd by a Man that reads this Traveller with any attention; for he diſtinguiſhes two different Synagogues he ſaw at *Grand Cairo*, one whereof belong'd to the Jews of the *Irack*, and the other to the Jews *Schamain*. As the firſt Name is that of a Province from which theſe Jews came, *viz.* the *Babalonian Irack*, from whence they went into *Egypt*; the ſecond Name muſt alſo ſignifie a Province from whence the Jews who poſſeſſed that Synagogue proceeded; and *Syria* is actually call'd *Scham*, and the *Syrians*, *Schamain*; or rather, there needed no more, than to forſake *Arias Montanus*'s Verſion, and to follow that of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, which removes all the Difficulty. Indeed, *Benjamin* makes no difference between theſe two Synagogues, except in their manner of dividing their Reading, and the Sections of the Law, which makes no Variation in the Worſhip.

VI. An ingenious [i] Critick has departed from all the reſt, by obſerving, that the *Cælicolæ* are accus'd by *Honorius*, of *diſturbing the Sacraments of the Church*: Wherefore he ſuſpected, they were Baptized in the Name of *Heaven*, inſtead of the *Father*, *Son and Holy Ghoſt*; and by *Heaven*, they underſtand the God that reigns in it. This was the Jews Style long ago. They ſay ſtill, that *the Name of Heaven is profan'd*; that *the Fear of Heaven is neceſſary*; that *the Aſſembly inſtituted by Heaven ſhall remain*; and 'tis God they mean by all theſe Expreſſions.

VII. Since nothing but Conjectures can be offered about a Sect ſo little known, let us obſerve, that theſe *Cælicolæ*, Worſhippers of Heaven, were in *Africa*; for 'twas to the Governors of this Province that the Emperor Directed his Orders againſt them. They were alſo Schiſmaticks, for they had their particular Aſſemblies, and *Honorius* was for reducing them within the Pale of the *Church*. Theſe Sectaries attack'd the *Sacraments of the Catholick Faith*, and the Worſhip and Veneration of God. All which is an Argument, that they were real *Donatiſts*; for theſe latter impugn'd the Sacraments of the Church, by Re-baptizing thoſe who had been Baptized by the Orthodox, and by the addition of ſome Ceremonies. And indeed, St. *Auſtin* [k] ſays, that Major, one of the *Cælicolæ*, was ſearch'd for, who had invented a new Baptiſm among them, and had ſeduced a great many People. Here you have the *Cælicolæ* in *Africa*; their Principal was Major of the Sect of the *Donatiſts*, with whom St. *Auſtin* would have engag'd in a Conference, had he not been call'd away upon the Ordination of a Biſhop. The Baptiſm Major had invented was new, and little *known*: This Man had ſet up new Congregations, and miſ-led a great many People by this New Sacrament. St. *Auſtin*'s Paſſage ſo perfectly agrees with *Honorius*'s Declaration, that one ſeems to be a Comment of the other.

VIII. They departed alſo from the *Worſhip of God*; for we know that the *Donatiſts* Swore *by their Martyrs, as by the only Religion*, ſays *Optatus* [l]. They Swore *by the Gray-hairs and by the Joints of*

[b] Salmaſ. in Spartian. p. 28, &c. [c] Juvenal. Sat. 14. [d] *Or*, Lumen. [e] Petron. in Catalect. * Petit. Var. Lect. l. 2. † Druſius. [f] Baronius. [g] Cun. de R. H. l. 3. c. 6. [h] Benjamin de Tudel. Iter. p. 114. [i] Petit. Var. Lect. l. 2. c. 11. [k] Auguſt. Ep. 162. t. 2. p. 479. [l] Optat. l. 3. Auguſtin. contra Parm. l. 3. c. 6. Baluſ. Miſc. l. 2. p. 25.

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theſe pretended Martyrs. Laſtly, They demonſtrated their Veneration for 'em, by admitting their Deciſions, as ſo many Oracles. This is enough to make 'em paſs for *Cælicolæ*, ſince the Saints are regarded as the Inhabitants of Heaven, and they Swore by 'em; which was not done in the Chriſtian Church. 'Twas a thing unheard of by the Orthodox, that a Man ſhould Swear by the Gray-Hairs of a Martyr. Perhaps they Swore alſo by the Heaven, who refuſing to prononnce the Name of God in their Oaths, cry'd, *By Heaven*, the thing is ſo; *By Heaven*, thou haſt made me remember it: and this Conformity of Oaths, has caus'd 'em to be confounded.

IX. This Sect is little known, becauſe it continued but a ſhort time. And as the *Donatiſts* ſoon vaniſh'd after *Honorius*, the *Cælicolæ*, who made but a very ſmall part of theſe Schiſmaticks, quickly diſappear'd; and therefore we only find their Name in St. *Auſtin*, and the *Theodoſian* Code. We find no Track of 'em among the Ancients, who have given the Catalogue of Hereſies; and almoſt all the Moderns have forgot 'em, aſwell as the Ancients.

X. Laſtly, They muſt not be confounded with the Jews; becauſe we find them in the *Theodoſian* Code under the ſame Title, and included in the ſame Law. *Godefroy* has judiciouſly obſerved, that the Law ought to be diſtinguiſh'd into Two Articles, one whereof relates to the *Cælicolæ*, who were obliged to *return to the Church before a Year's end*, under pain of being confounded with other Hereticks; and the other forbids the Jews the making of Proſelytes.

'Tis true, that this learned Commentator thought the *Cælicolæ* had a Worſhip common with the Jews, who worſhip'd the Heavens and the Stars; but ſince this Worſhip of the Ancient Idolaters was aboliſh'd among the Jews, and the *Donatiſts* had a Baptiſm, and a peculiar Worſhip for their Martyrs, there is no need of confounding two different Religions. And therefore we diſcharge the Synagogue from this new Crime, of which it hath hitherto been thought convicted by the Laws of *Honorius*.

XI. [m] Betwixt *Africa* and *Spain* is the Iſland of *Minorca*, in which were two conſiderable Cities; one, [n] where the Biſhop reſided, was inacceſſible to the Jews; when they went to *enter it, they were ſtruck with Lightning, or ſeized with ſome violent Diſtemper:* And for the ſame reaſon, there were neither Wolves nor Wild Beaſts there; and the Serpents, which were very numerous there, loſt their Venome. On the contrary, in the other City, call'd at preſent *Port-Mahon*, the Jews were ſo conſiderable, that tho' it was ſubject to the Emperor *Honorius*, whoſe Laws we have reported, yet they arrived to be Counts, and exerciſed all Civil Dignities: For *Theodoſius*, who was Doctor of the Law, and Head of the Synagogue, bore the firſt rank among the Chriſtians, becauſe he had paſs'd through all the Offices. *Severus* [o] becoming Biſhop of the Iſland, reſolved to convert this Nation, which was too potent and numerous in his Dioceſe. The Voyage of *Oroſius*, who came from *Judæa* loaden with the Relicks of St. *Stephen*, to carry 'em into *Spain*, put him upon this Deſign; for upon the Approach of the Saint, People found themſelves inflamed with the Fire that the Lord came to kindle upon Earth; and they began to diſpute with the Jews in Houſes, and even in publick places.

XII. *Severus* was confirm'd in this Deſign by Dreams, which the Author thinks himſelf obliged to recount, becauſe St. *Luke* has related that of St. *Paul*, who ſaw a *Macedonian* by Night, deſiring him to come into his Country. *Severus* ſaw a Widow Woman conjuring him to ſow her Field. This Widow was the Synagogue ſeparated from her God, who deſired to be inſtructed by the Biſhop. The *Rabbin* alſo heard a Voice in a Dream crying to him, *there was a Lion in the place where he went*; which Lion was that of the Tribe of *Judah*. The Jews, who were afraid of this Conference, would not enter into the Church of the Chriſtians, for fear of being defiled on the *Sabbath*. And therefore *Severus* reſolved to go to the Synagogue, attended with a great Croud of People. The Jewiſh Women waited for 'em, and began the Combat. The Chriſtians had no longer Patience, when they perceived they had hidden Arms, and provided Stones in the Synagogue to knock 'em on the Head. They betook themſelves to Arms likewiſe, and overturn'd the Synagogue, ſaving only the Books and the Money. Upon this Execution the Biſhop returned to the Church to return Thanks to God for the happy Succeſs of his Journey. Abundance of Jews came thither. *Reuben* was the firſt-born of *Jacob*; for he was converted before the reſt. But *Theodorus* was to be humbled, who was the Head of the Synagogue, and upon whom was repos'd all the Confidence of the Nation. *Reuben* flatter'd him with the Hopes of ſeveral Points of Honour; as to ſit with the Biſhop and Clergy, whilſt the others ſtood. But what contributed moſt to his Converſion, was a Sentence ill-underſtood. *Reuben* cried aloud, *Theodorus, believe in Jeſus Chriſt.* But God changing either the Auditor's Ears, or the Sound of this Word, all the Nation imagined, that *Reuben* pronounced, *Theodorus has believed.* They mutinied againſt him, and call'd him a Deſerter. What haſt thou done *Theodorus?* cry'd the Women in tears, without attending to what he ſaid. *Theodorus* finding himſelf deſpiſed by ſome and courted by others, turned Chriſtian. He promiſed to aſcend the Pulpit in three Days, and to make a ſolemn Abjuration, which ſhould bring over thoſe of his Nation. In the mean time many embraced Chriſtianity. Thoſe that were retired from the City into the Caves, found themſelves forced to pronounce theſe Words, *Chriſt in thy Name.* They attempted to ſwear, and to ſpeak Obſcenities, in order to diſtract this Thought; but they ſtill pronounced the ſame thing, whether they would or no.

XIII. Miracles accompliſhed their Converſion; for the Rain fell from Heaven as often as a Jew came to be converted. They ſaw round the Church a Globe of Light. There fell a ſmall Hail, which was a *Manna* ſweeter than Honey. The Cloud alſo appear'd again; God working Miracles like thoſe that were ſeen upon their Departure from *Egypt*, in order to acquaint 'em, that he deliver'd 'em from a Slavery more ſevere and fatal than that of *Pharaoh*. The Water of the Caves, in which ſome obſtinate Women had hid themſelves, had alſo the Sweetneſs of Honey. Such a Number of Miracles deſtroy'd the Infidelity of the Jews who were all converted in eight days time, aud chang'd their Synagogue into a Church.

XIV. This Event is related by *Severus* Biſhop of *Minorca*, an Eye-witneſs, by whoſe Miniſtry theſe numerous Converſions were made. However this *Severus* is only known by the Letter which goes by his Name, which lay concealed, till it was drawn out from the Regiſters of the *Vatican*. *Freculphus* [p] ſays indeed, that ſo many Books were written upon the Effects produced by St. *Stephen*'s Relicks brought into *Spain* by *Oroſius*, that it was Proverbially ſaid, *he that boaſts he has read 'em all, has lyed.* But theſe Books muſt have been very bad,

[m] An. 428. [n] Jammona. [o] Epiſtola Severi ad omnem Eccleſiam, de virtutibus ad Judæorum converſionem factis, cap. 2, &c.
[p] Freculph. Chron. t. 2. l. 5. c. 12. p. 634.

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ſince of ſo great a Number, there is hardly any remaining. Beſides it can't be doubted, but that this Biſhop imploy'd Sedition and Violence; for Converſions not only are always ſuſpected when they are made in general [q] in a little time; but the Suſpicion ought to be twice as great, with particular Relation to the Jews ſo ſtrongly conceited with their Law and Religion. Indeed *Severus* has not diſguiſed the matter, that many conſiderable Perſons betook themſelves to flight, and hid themſelves in Caves, from whence they came not out but upon the approach of Death occaſion'd by Famine. Why ſhould they ſeek Sanctuary among the Rocks, and run the risk of Death, if the People had expreſs'd no Fury, nor the Biſhop any Violence? He owns, that they put themſelves to Sea to leave their Country and Eſtates: This is not uſed to be done when People have nothing to fear. Laſtly he introduces one *Galileus*, exclaiming, *I can no longer live with you other Jews; for the Chriſtians Hatred is ſo violent that they would kill me: I will go to Church to avoid Death, and ſave my life.* There is no need of bringing Miracles on the Stage for ſuch kind of Converſions; Fear being ſufficient to effect them. Let it be only obſerv'd, that theſe Miracles are very ill contrived; and if we judg'd by 'em of *Severus*'s Senſe, they would give us but a bad Opinion of it; for the *Manna* and the Cloud that were renew'd again, were fitter to confirm their Bigottry to the Law of *Moſes*, than to deſtroy it. And of what Uſe were thoſe Drops of Rain, which made thoſe who ſaw 'em fall, cry, *A Jew is going to be converted? Baronius* not only confeſſes that Violence was uſed; but that this Example ſo edify'd the People and the Biſhops, that they employ'd the ſame Expedient in other Places; and Matters would have been carried farther, if the Princes had not put a ſtop to 'em.

XV. The Eruption of the *Vandals* a cruel People, and who had no Notion of Toleration in Point of Religion, was very likely to create them new Troubles. But yet it is probable, they brought upon this Nation only ſuch Confuſions, as are inevitable in great Revolutions; for we find in St. *Auſtin*'s Works ſeveral Tracts compoſed againſt the Jews, whilſt the *Arrians* reign'd in *Africa*, which ſhew that their Condition was not grown more hard nor unhappy, than in the other Parts of the Empire.

In the *Plea of the Synagogue againſt the Chriſtian Church*, written by a Lawyer of that time, the Synagogue alledges, "[r] That ſhe is neither a Slave "nor the Servant of the Chriſtians, ſince they are "not committed Priſoners; and inſtead of wearing "Irons, and other Marks of Slavery, they were "left the Liberty of Sailing and Merchandizing." The *Vandals* therefore promis'd them their Liberty of profeſſing their Religion and Trading. But on the other hand the Church anſwers her, "That ſhe "is obliged to pay Tribute to the Chriſtians; that "a Jew can't pretend to the Empire, *nor become a "Count* or Governour of a Province; that he can't "enter into the Senate nor the Camp; and that "he is not even received at good Tables; and "that if he be left the Liberty of getting his "Livelihood, 'tis only to prevent his dying with "Hunger.

XVI. From the other Works, that go by St. *Auſtin*'s Name, we learn, that [s] all ſorts of Arguments were then made uſe of to convince them. They proved *Jeſus Chriſt* by the Expreſſion of *Lot*, who ſeeing the Angels, ſaid to 'em; [t] *My Lord, Behold now thy Servant hath found grace in thy ſight*, as if he had diſcover'd a God with the Angels. 'Tis true the LXX have tranſlated it in the ſingular, *My Lord*; but 'tis alſo certain, that the *Hebrew* Word [u] is equivocal, and that the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt, who muſt have known the force of it, has tranſlated it *My Lords*. But yet, as if the Victory was infallible, he cries out: "Away with you Jews, be gone "ye *Arrians*, and *Sabellians*. you ſee nothing here; "I ſee all: I ſee two of 'em; and I find them e-"qual: yet I pray but to one, becauſe I divide "not the Father from the Son." This is very declamatory; but yet is nothing in compariſon of the Author [x], according to whom *Nebuchadnezzar* is made an Inſpired Perſon, who diſcover'd *the Son of God in the Furnace*, and who finds him in this Verſe of *Virgil*.

Jam nova progenies cælo dimittitur alto;

as well as in the *Acroſticks*, of the Name of *Jeſus* attributed to the *Sybils*.

XVII. *Valentinian* confirm'd all their Privileges at *Rome*, and in the reſt of the Empire under his Obedience; he left the Synagogues remaining that had been built in the preceding Reigns; but at the ſame time he oppoſed Innovations; and underſtanding they were building a Temple, he cauſed it to be pulled down and fin'd the Undertaker. When the Empire chang'd its Maſter, and the *Goths* ſeized on *Italy*, the Jews ſtill found Protection from theſe barbarous Kings.

XVIII. *Theodoric* defended them againſt the Inſults of the People and Churchmen. He followed the Maxims infuſed into him by his Secretary *Caſſiodorus*, of forcing no body; becauſe all Violence in point of Religion is criminal. This Prince often repreſented to 'em, *their exceſſive love of riches and a temporal Reſt, whilſt they loſt Immortality.* But he would not have 'em driven into this Road by Violence, ſince they equally ruined their Salvation, when they don't enter it with their whole Deſire. He was diſturbed, when he heard, that to revenge a private Quarrel, the Synagogue of *Rome* was burnt. He cenſur'd the Senate for permitting it, and repreſented the Conſequences ſuch a Tumult might have had, ſince the Flame of that Building carried by the Wind might have conſumed a great Part of their City. He alſo ſeverely reprimanded the Eccleſiaſticks of *Milan*, who went to ſeize upon a Synagogue, and all the Emoluments annex'd to it. The Chriſtian Religion does not authorize Robberry: And 'tis a great Abſurdity to think of enriching the True God with Plunders committed upon other Religions. Laſtly the Citizens of *Genoa* were going to vacate all the Privileges which the Jews poſſeſs'd, who had been ſettled there for a long time. The People [y] fermented by their Leaders mutiny'd, and went to plunder the Synagogue, of which they carried away the Roof. The oppreſs'd had Recourſe to *Theodorick*, whoſe Equity was known to them. They were not miſtaken; for this Prince maintain'd their Privileges, and permitted 'em to rebuild the Synagogue, on Condition that they would add no Ornaments, nor make it larger than it was before. And thus the Jews concluded [z] the Fifth Century in the *Roman* Empire. They frequently ſubmitted to the Hatred and Tumults of the People, but ſtill they preſerved the beſt Part of their Privileges by the Authority of the Sovereigns.

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[q] *There were* 540 *Perſons converted in leſs than Eight Days.* [r] Altercatio Eccleſ. & Synagogæ apud Aug. t. 8. Appendix. [s] Contra quinque Hæreſes, c. iv. apud Aug. t. 8. Appendix. [t] Geneſ. 19. 18. [u] Ainſworth. *upon* Geneſ. *'Tis in the* Hebrew אדני *The* Greek *has tranſlated it* κύριε. *And the* Chaldee Paraphr. רבוני Domini mei. [x] Sermo de Symbolo contra Judæos, Paganos & Arianos, c. 14. apud Aug. ibid. [y] Caſſiodor. l. 2. Ep. 27. p. 33. l 4. Ep. 33. p. 70. l. 4. Ep. 43. p. 73. l. 5. Ep. 73. p. 91. [z] An. 500.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The History of the Jews diſpers'd among the Perſians *during the Fifth Century.*

I. Aſce *elected Preſident at Fourteen Years of Age.* II. *A new Method of Teaching.* III. *The* Babylonian Thalmud, *how it was compiled.* IV. *His Succeſſors. The Throne and Kingdom of the Doctors explain'd.* V. *The Revenues and Power of the Prince of the Captivity examin'd.* VI. *A Perſecution that puts a ſtop to the Compoſition of the* Thalmud. VII. *At what time the* Thalmud *was finiſhed.* VIII. *A new Difficulty ariſing from the time of the Perſecution.* IX. *An Account of this Perſecution.* X. *A Conjecture about the Union of theſe Two Events.* XI. *The Riſe of the* Sebureans. *The Advantages of the* Scepticks *in Point of Religion.* XII. Peroſez's *War againſt the* Nephtalites. XIII. Schickard *confuted upon this Subject.*

I. THE Academies flouriſh'd in the *Eaſt* under the Conduct of R. *Aſce*, Compiler of the *Thalmud* of *Babylon*. This City was his Birth-place [a]; but he taught at *Sora*. He was elected Preſident of this Academy at Fourteen Years of Age. This is doing him a great Honour; but very little to his Electors, ſince they made a Child the Depoſitory of Traditions and Religion. For howſoever great were his Parts and Talents, he could not be qualified in ſo green an Age to manage the Office of Preſident, and Head of the Prime Univerſity. They give him great Encomiums; for with him was found *the Law, Devotion, Humility, and Magnificence; four things never poſſeſs'd by any other than himſelf.*

II. He invented a new Method of Inſtruction; for inſtead of fixing his Diſciples conſtantly to the College, and reading 'em Lectures all the Year, he only did it in the Months of *February* and *Auguſt*. In *February* he gave his Scholars a Treatiſe, and ſent 'em to Study at home for Six Months. They returned in *Auguſt*, and gave Account of their Proficiency. The Subjects [b] were examined; they diſputed in his Preſence, and afterwards he removed the Difficulties by the Deciſions of preceding Doctors.

Ten Perſons were ſeated over againſt him, Seven whereof were called *Princes* [c] *of the Crowns*, whoſe Office it was to Paraphraſe upon the Dictates of the Maſter, and to make Repetitions to the Scholars, whoſe Number amounted to Two Thouſand Four Hundred. Thoſe that diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Diligence, were praiſed and rewarded. The Preſident made a Collection of all the Subjects that had been handled, and from this the *Babylonian Thalmud* was compoſed. Laſtly he gave 'em a Subject they were to Study the half Year following, and ſo the School broke up.

III. *Aſce* having taught in this manner Sixty [d] Years, Publiſhed a Collection of his Deciſions, which he divided into Four different Parts, The Firſt contained the Maxims and Recleſs of the *Miſnah*, with the Doubts that might be propoſed, and their Solutions. In the Second he handled diverſe Queſtions, and related the Opinion of the *Tanneans* and *Gemariſts* about them. The Third Part conſiſted of the Sentences and Maxims that had been publiſhed ſince *Judah* the Saint: And in the Laſt were all the Explications the Scripture affords for the Determination of Differences, with the Commentaries of the Principal Doctors. This was the firſt Diviſion of the *Babylonian Thalmud*. But as R. *Aſce* could not finiſh his Undertaking, thoſe that came into it after him, changed the Method, and made Additions, which have render'd it much more confuſed.

IV. [e] This great Doctor died in the Year 427. They make *Marimar* his Succeſſor; but others ſay that *the Feet of* R. Hovna *haſten'd*; that is, that this Maſter was made Preſident of the Academy of *Sora* in *Aſce*'s Place. His Son *Thobiomi aſcended the Throne of his Father in the Year* 455, *and reigned Thirteen Years, during which the Nation enjoy'd ſuch a great Tranquility, that they called this Doctor their Daily Proſperity.* He muſt needs have contributed to this Felicity, ſince they gave him the Name of it. We ought not to be ſurpriz'd to hear 'em talk of the *Succeſſion to the Throne*, and Thirteen Years *Reign*, tho' the Queſtion be only about the Office of a Doctor, or the Pedagogue of a School. 'Tis the *Rabbicinal* Style to give great Idea's of their Maſters, and to careſs 'em with flattering Titles. Thoſe that are unaccuſtomed to this Style, are eaſily dazled by it; not imagining that a Pedant is placed upon the *Throne*, and that they ſhould expreſly ſay, he reign'd Thirteen Years, when his Empire extended no farther than over ſome Scholars, to whom he told Stories and Traditions. They alſo call'd plain Students *Princes of Crowns*, becauſe they were the uppermoſt of a Claſs.

V. Seeing ſuch a glorious Title is given to the Scholars, we need not wonder that the Prince of the Captivity wore it likewiſe. They give themſelves lofty Notions of theſe Princes; whereas their Power was not ſo conſiderable, as is commonly believed. 1. The whole Nation did not depend on 'em, as is ſaid, ſince to the Year 429. the Patriarchs of *Judæa* extended their Juriſdiction over a great many Provinces; and ſince that time, the Jews diſpers'd in the *Roman* Empire, could not acknowledge a Prince reſiding in the Territories of the *Perſian* or *Arabian* Kings, with whom there was continual Wars. Would the *Grecian* Emperors, ſo extreamly jealous of their Authority, have ſuffer'd a foreign Jew to come and raiſe Taxes upon his Subjects, and to have correſponded with 'em in time of War? 2. This Prince's Revenues were but ſmall. The Doctors tell, that he obtained of the *Perſians* the Privilege of ſetting up but one Judge for the Determination of Differences betwixt Man and Man, without being obliged to repair the Damage, when the Sentence was given wrong; whereas by the common Laws they were to be judged by Three Perſons. This Obſervation is childiſh: For 'twas the *Thalmudiſts* that fix'd the Number of theſe Judges to Three; and 'twas impertinent to deſire the King of *Perſia* the Diſpenſation from a Law, which they had voluntarily impos'd on themſelves. But however, the Prince eſtabliſhed One or Three Judges at *Nerean*, a Town half a Day's Journey from *Babylon*; and here they paid the *Didrachm*, when they came to be Twenty Years old. He alſo puniſhed the Violations of the Law by Fines, which were reſerved for the Prince. There was ſuch another Tribunal at *Chaloan*, Five Days Journey from *Babylon*. There was a Third at *Keſar*: and the Laſt at *Babylon*, where the Prince reſided: and in all theſe Courts they collected but Seven Hundred Gold Crowns, which made the Prince's Revenue: And ſuppoſing his Dignity proportion'd to his Income, it could not be conſiderable. 3. By this we diſcover the Reaſon of the Silence of all the Hiſtorians, concerning theſe Heads

[a] An. 353. [b] Juchaſin, p. 124. Bartol. B. R. t. 1. p. 486. [c] ראשי כלות. [d] *A Fault muſt be corrected which has ſlipp'd in* l. 3. c. 6. *to* 2. p. 700. *where it is* Forty Years *inſtead of* Sixty. [e] Ganz. Tſemach David. p. 119.

of the Captivity. They say, that all these Princes were of the House of *David*. They assign 'em a great Empire in their Fancies, by which the Sceptre was preserved in the Tribe of *Judah*. However these Historians, that preserve the Succession, the Names and some Actions of the Doctors, who taught in the Schools of *Sora*, *Pundebita* and elsewhere, hardly ever mention the Heads of the Captivity; and we discover some Names of 'em not without great Uncertainty. R. *Asce* is highly celebrated; they reckon his Successors in the Academy: But in all the Fifth Century we are examining, we find but one Name of a Prince of the Captivity. 'Tis impossible to believe they should have been so perfectly forgotten, if they had done any important Actions in the Fifth Century, or had been *Princes* as they are styled. But to return to the *Babylonian Thalmud*, which the Head of the Academy composed.

VI. This Work was interrupted by the Death of *Asce*, tho' he left able Disciples that might have finish'd it. But this Interruption was caused by a Persecution that lasted Seventy three Years: It was violent; for *the Sabbath was taken away*; that is, the Celebration of it was forbidden. The [f] Synagogues were shut up. The Holy Houses were given to the *Magi*. The Principal Doctors of the Nation were made Prisoners. *Amimar*, *Mor*, *Asce*'s Disciples, and *Huna* his Son, who was Prince of the Captivity, were condemned to Death, and suffer'd it couragiously; but the Youth more addicted to to the Pleasures of Life, deserted their Religion, so that *Israel* was *found in great Affliction*, towards the End of the Fifth [g] Century. However they resum'd Courage some time after, and the *Thalmud* was accomplish'd in the Year 500. *It was dispersed over all the Nation, which agreed, That no Addition or Diminution should be made to it for the future.* Thus one of the most able Historians [h] has related this Event.

VII. Others put off the Conclusion of this Work somewhat later; upon which Subject Doctors differ by some Years, since according to their Calculation, the *Thalmud* was not finished till the Year 545. This Difference would not be considerable; but we find greater Difficulties in weighing the Testimony of these Historians. He [i], before quoted, makes the *Thalmud* to be finish'd in the Year 500; but he does not reckon exactly; for *Asce*, the first Author of this Work, died in 427. His Eldest Son was created President of the Academy of *Sora* in 455, *and reigned Thirteen Years*. The Nation was at Peace in his Reign. *Jesargar*, King of *Persia*, had a Design to Persecute it; but the President of *Sora* had such an Interest with him as to obviate the Proceeding of this Violence. The Persecution began not till 474. which was the Year of Martyrs: And if it lasted 73 Years, as we are told, the *Babylonian Thalmud*, which was not compleated till after the end of this Persecution, must have been deferr'd to the Year 547. And so the Historian contradicts himself.

VIII. There is a second Difficulty more considerable; for almost all the Jewish Historians [k] say, That the Seventy three Years Persecution was raised by *Isdigerdes*, and that it lasted till the Reign of the *Ismaelites prevailed*.

IX. These Difficulties may be carry'd farther; for one of these Historians says, "That the Kings "of *Persia* had always a Love for the Jews, who "had then Doctors as famous and holy as before "the Destruction of *Jerusalem*: But the King, at "the Instigation of the People, who Mutiny'd at "the time that they were threaten'd with a Foreign "War, had the Complaisance to Arrest the *three* "*Princes* [l] *of the Captivity*: They were cruelly "Whipt, without being able to shake their Constancy. A great many Princes of the Nation "were Imprison'd, and made to Fast to that degree, that nothing remain'd but Skin upon their "Bones. Most of 'em being macerated by the continuation of so many Miseries, abandon'd their "Religion. But after that time, the *Persian* Affairs "chang'd Countenance. The *Arabians* gave 'em "many Battles, and took all the Kings of *Persia*, "and put 'em in Irons. The King of the *Arabians*, "who knew that Constraint, in Matter of Religion, "was Unjust, sent for the Jews, and granted 'em "full Liberty of Conscience." The Author [m] says, he took this Event out of the Annals of the Kings of *Persia*, which had been sent into *Spain*: But he places it in the Year 244 of the Christian *Æra*; which discovers a gross Falshood or Ignorance in his Narrative.

X. All these Occurrences are perplex'd; for the Doctors are almost equally agreed about two things, which are contradictory: One, that the *Babylonian Thalmud* was finish'd at the end of the Vth, or beginning of the VIth Century. They agree, that R. *Asce*, who form'd this Design, Taught in the Year 370. And those that give him the longest Life, make him Die in the Year 474. They agree also, that the Persecution, which prevented the perfecting this Work, was rais'd by the Orders of the Last King of *Persia*, a little before the *Saracens* made the Conquest of that Monarchy. Shall we say, that the Jewish Historians are mistaken in the Time of this Persecution, or in R. *Asce*'s Age? We cannot venture to do it, since we find an almost equal Consent about these two things. In the mean time, under this Incertainty, we follow the Tradition, that the *Thalmud* was accomplish'd in the Year 500, or some Years after; because nothing is more common with these Authors, than to combine Events very remote from one another. They may have known the Time when the *Thalmud* was compos's'd, and have join'd to this great Event the Persecution they suffer'd a little before the Victories of the *Saracens*. But we propose this only as a very uncertain Conjecture. We will only Observe, That the Jews have noted many such Combinations; because there is nothing more common with the Doctors, than to confound Chronology. Besides, it was so much the easier to run into this Errour, because there was one *Isdigerdes* upon the *Persian* Throne at the time we speak of; and 'twas a Prince of the same Name that, reign'd, when the *Saracens* overturn'd this Monarchy. For *Procopius* [n] calls the King of *Persia*, *Isdigerdes*; to whom *Arcadius*, when he died, committed the Education of his Son, and who discharg'd this Trust with so much Generosity. The Jews may have confounded these two Princes, one whereof liv'd when the *Thalmud* was compos'd, and the other persecuted them a little before the Ruin of the *Persian* Monarchy.

XI. 'Twas towards the end of the same Century, that a New Order of Doctors arose, call'd *Doubters*, or *Sebureans*, headed by *R. Josi*. I know not whether these Gentlemen carry'd their Doubts so far as the Decisions of the *Thalmud*, and shook its growing Authority, by Difficulties they did not resolve; or whether they were contented to propose new Questions, upon which they disputed *in utramque partem*, without admitting any Conclusion. These Fathers of Difficulties are troublesome in all Religions; for there is not one but has its weak-side, against which we may raise batteries with success: and if we gain any advantage by illustrating many things, that have been too inconsiderately believ'd,

[f] Ganz. Tsemach. p. 121. [g] An. 474. [h] Ganz ibid. [i] Ganz. [k] Serira Gabon. Abraham. [l] Amimar. Murcia & Masurgia. [m] Salom. Ben. Virgæ Schævet Judah, p. 5. [n] Procop. de Bello Pers. l. 1. c. 2. p. 8.

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we alſo loſe conſiderably, becauſe many, who can't digeſt theſe Difficulties, are ſtagger'd, and fall into Incredulity. By going to oblige moſt Men to ſtand upon their Guard againſt certain Errors, we poſſeſs them with an exceſſive Diffidence, that ruines 'em. They are ſure of nothing, when they ſee thoſe Truths wreſted from them, that they thought indiſputable. A Man ſhould only propoſe his Doubts in the Schools, and Language of the Learned, who might be able to make a juſt Diſtinction, whereas the *Sebureans* writ in the Language of the People. Thoſe that doubt, have a great Advantage in the Conteſt; for taking no Side themſelves, they are ſtill the Aggreſſors, without being obliged to ſtand upon the Defenſive Part. Beſides it is eaſier to pluck up than to plant; and to throw down a Building, than to raiſe one without Defect. But on the other hand, is this making a Judicious Uſe of Reaſon, to keep it always fluctuating in ſuſpenſe, without giving it an Inch of Ground, whereon to fix its Foot? Is it ſo great a Glory to have laid our Enemies proſtrate, whilſt we know not what we are our ſelves, nor what we ought to be? We muſt not wonder then that the *Sebureans* or Jewiſh *Pyrrhoniſts* made themſelves odious in their Nation. They began to make their Entrance towards the End of the Fifth Century, and made their *Exit* in the Sixth, when the Excellents ſucceeded them, as we have ſaid elſewhere.

XII. Hiſtorians agree, that *Peroſez* engag'd in an unhappy War, wherein he loſt his Life; but the People he went to fight with are little known. *Agathias* [o] ſays they were *Nephtalites*. An Ingenious Critick [p] has concluded, that theſe unknown *Nephtalites* were the Remains of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, which *Tighat Pileſer* had conveyed upon the Frontiers of *Perſia*. Indeed theſe People were Allies and Neighbours to the *Medes*, with whom they often made great Irruptions. *Procopius* [q] affirms they had been ſettled there a long time. They had their King, who underſtanding *Peroſez*'s Deſign, left upon the Road a Lord of his Court, bound with Cords, with Orders to tell his Enemy, he had been ſo treated, becauſe he had adviſed to yield, and pay Tribute to the *Perſians*. *Peroſez* [r] found the Lord, credited his Advice, and ſuffered himſelf to be conducted by this faithleſs Guide, who led his Army into dry and barren Places, where it periſhed with Thirſt, when, the Enemy falling upon him, he was routed and taken. He ranſomed himſelf upon Condition he ſhould make War no more againſt the *Nephtalites*, and never paſs beyond a Stone, which was placed for the Boundary of their Kingdoms. *Peroſez* laugh'd at his Oaths, and to elude them, reſolv'd [s] to have the Stone, which was to ſerve for the Limits, carried before him, imagining by this he ſatisfied his Oath, and paſs'd not beyond the Stone. His Council wiſely repreſented to him, that the Queſtion was not about a Stone; but a ſolemn Treaty made with the Enemy, which ought never to be violated. An Oath, ſaid the *Perſians*, depends not upon the Stone, *but upon a Promiſe given, which muſt be explained, as the Enemy conceives it.* *Peroſez* was inflexible in his Opinion, raiſed Troops, gave Battel, and was kill'd. And his Children, that attended him, were moſt of 'em deſtroy'd. *Procopius* relates the Matter very differently. He ſays, that *Peroſez*'s Raſhneſs engag'd him in the Mountains, where the Enemy, which he yet thought at a great diſtance, ſurrounded him on all Sides. The *Perſians* being terrified, knew not how to extricate themſelves out of a Danger, which was ſo much the greater, becauſe the King did not perceive it. *Euſebius*, *Zeno*'s Embaſſador, acquainted him with it by the Emblem of a Lion, who was going to devour a Goat; and who throwing himſelf too furiouſly upon his Prey, fell into a Ditch, that was made for him, where he periſhed. *Peroſez* was then ſenſible of his Fault, but could not repair it The King of the *Ephtalites* made a Propoſition to him, that he ſhould come and worſhip him as his Maſter, and ſwear, he would never make War with him any more. The *Magi*, to ſalve their Prince's Honour, made choice of the Morning, when the Sun riſes, to perform this Adoration, that the King might ſay, he had worſhipp'd the Sun after the manner of the *Perſians*. The Oath and Homage being made, *Peroſez* led back his Army. He began the War again, but the *Ephtalites* having dug a Ditch in the middle of a Plain, and cover'd it up, the *Perſians*, who fell too violently upon ſome of the Enemies Squadrons, who ſeem'd to fly before them, fell into the Snare, and *Peroſez* periſh'd there with his Army and Children.

XIII. 'Tis not our Buſineſs to reconcile the *Arabian* and *Greek* Hiſtorians upon ſuch different Circumſtances. We will only obſerve, that according to *Procopius*, it was not the Tribe of *Nephtali* againſt which *Peroſez* made War, ſince he calls theſe People *Ephtalites*, and aſſerts, that inſtead of being the Poſterity of the Ten Tribes, they were *White Huns*, who lived upon the Frontiers of *Perſia*, in *Chorazan*, near the River *Oxus*. They were infinitely more polite than the other *Huns*, and lived in a very different manner. But we muſt not from thence conclude, that they were Jews. *Agathias* alſo, who by calling 'em *Nephtalites*, has given occaſion to believe they were the Remains of that Nation, acknowledges 'em to be *Huns*, which removes all the Difficulty.

[o] Agath. l. 4. c. ii. [p] Schickard Taarick, p. 130. [q] Procop. de Bello Perſ. l. 1. c. 3. & 4. p. 10, &c. [r] Patricides & Elmacinus. [s] An. 475.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Continuation of the State of the Ten Tribes in Perſia, Arabia *and* Æthiopia, *till the Seventh Century.*

I. Cavade's *Genius.* II. *The Jews can't expel a Dæmon that keeps Treaſures.* III. *A Diſpute betwixt* Chanina *and the Head of the Captivity. Its Conſequences.* IV. *The Inſurrection of the Jews againſt the King of* Perſia. *The Pillar of Fire appears again.* V. Choſroes the Great *ſhuts up their Academies. They make a League with him.* VI. Hormiſdas III. *gives 'em their Liberty.* VII. *Their Cruelty towards the Chriſtians under* Choſroes II. VIII. *Their Conſpiracy againſt the Inhabitants of* Tyre *puniſh'd.* IX. *Whether* Choſroes II. *was a Chriſtian.* X. *Whether the Jews join'd with* Mahomet. XI. *The Reſemblance of Religions. The Equity of the Jews.* XII. *The manner of* Mahomet's *dealing with 'em.* XIII. *A Diſtinction of Jews.* XIV. Obadiah's *Dialogue fictitious.* XV. Mahomet's *Reproaches of the Jews.* XVI. *An extraordinary Treaty of* Mahomet *and the Chriſtians.* XVII. *Jews metamorphos'd into Apes. Wars made againſt them in* Arabia. XVIII. *The Jews Conſpiracy againſt* Abdalla. XIX. *A Diſpute betwixt them and* Mahomet.

I. THE Sixth Century commenc'd with the Perſecutions the Ten Tribes ſuffered in the *Eaſt*. *Cavade*, a violent and haughty Prince, who could not bear a Difference of Religions

in his Kingdom, cauſed a great many Chriſtians to be ham-ſtrung; but this did 'em no great Harm, if we believe *Theophanes*, ſince they continued to walk with the ſame Eaſe as before [a]. He deſign'd alſo to force the *Iberians* to forſake Chriſtianity for the *Perſian* Religion; but having firſt demanded of their King, that their Bodies ſhould be left unburied a Prey to the Birds and Wild Beaſts, and the *Iberians* not being able to conſent to an Action, which ſo manifeſtly contradicted Humanity, they gave themſelves to the *Romans*. Laſtly the *Manichees* were ſo conſiderable at his Court, that they had ſeduced a young Prince of his Family; and under Pretence of crowning him before his Death, he ſummon'd 'em all together, and put ſome to death, and burnt the reſt. We muſt not therefore wonder, that this King tormented the Jews of his Empire; and 'tis probably to this that we are to aſcribe the frequent Alteration that happen'd in the Dignity of the Princes of the Captivity [b]; for in leſs than Ten Years we find Four of theſe Princes ſucceeding one another, and even *Zutra*, one of 'em, was hang'd, as we ſhall give an Account of it hereafter.

II. Firſt [c] we are told, that they fell into Diſcredit with *Cavade*, becauſe they could not put him into Poſſeſſion of a Caſtle fill'd with Treaſures, *which the Devils guarded*. *Cavade* had beſieg'd it with hopes of growing rich by this one Conqueſt; but he was aſtoniſh'd to ſee the common Machines of War to be uſeleſs in the Siege, and that the Devils diſappointed all his Efforts. He Summoned all the Religions, that were known in his Kingdom, to his Aſſiſtance. The *Magi*, the *Maniches*, the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* reſorted to his Camp to make Trial of their Art; but the *Chriſtians* alone having the good Luck to drive away the Devils by a Sign of the Croſs, *Cavade* deprived the *Manichees* and *Jews* of their Privileges, and beſtow'd 'em upon the *Chriſtians*, whoſe Biſhop reſided at his Court with great Authority and Intereſt.

'Tis the Chriſtians that relate this Story, having founded it upon the Opinion of the Vulgar, who imagine the Devils to be covetous, doting on Riches, that are uſeleſs to 'em; and that they carefully guard 'em, and envy even the Idolaters the Poſſeſſion of them, tho' they be their Slaves. 'Tis ſtrange that Ancient Writers ſhould have an Opinion ſo ill-grounded, but yet *Theodorus* and *Cedrenus* are not the only ones, that have offer'd it; for *Procopius* [d] ſeriouſly tells, that a Devil lay with *Juſtinian*'s Mother, and begot this Prince for the Deſtruction of Mankind. He even affirms, that *Juſtinian* was a Devil in Humane Shape, becauſe there were Witneſſes, who had ſeen him walk upon his Head, and that his Face became a formleſs Maſs. Laſtly an *Anchoret moſt acceptable to God*, having been admitted to this Prince's Audience, came back ſtrangely frighted, and talking like a Mad-man, becauſe he had ſeen the Devil, inſtead of the Emperor upon the Throne, What Tales do we find in the Writings of the Ancients! The Biſhops ought to have been better inſtructed, and not have imployed the Name of God or Exorciſms to deprive the Devils of their Cuſtody of Treaſures, and leave ſo fooliſh an Opinion in an Idolatrous King; but ſome Biſhops are often as ſuperſtitious as the Heathens. Laſtly, this pretended Miracle does not agree with the Hiſtorian's Account, that *Cavade*, inſtead of granting the Chriſtians great Privileges, often perſecuted them.

III. A Diviſion aroſe among the Jews in his Reign, betwixt the Head of the Academy, and the Prince of the Captivity. The latter coming to *Chanina*, went to interpret a Section of the *Thalmud* about *Sermons*: The other look'd upon this Attempt as an Uſurpation of his Privileges, and ſtrongly withſtood him. The Prince of the Captivity order'd his Officers to take *Chanina*, and to pluck off the Hair of his Beard, at the ſame time forbidding all the Inhabitants of the City to lodge him, and ſupply him with Neceſſaries. *Chanina* wept bitterly, and God hearing his Petition, ſent the Plague into the Prince's Family, which kill'd every body, except a Child, that was not as yet born. *Chanina* foreſaw that this Stem ſhould ſhoot out again; for he dream'd by Night, that he enter'd a Garden, and cut down all the Cedars, excepting a very ſmall one. Whilſt he was cutting down all the Trees, a red old Man came to him, and told him the Garden was his. He reproved him for having cut all the Cedars, and gave him ſuch a violent Box on the Ear, that his Head was turn'd on the other ſide. *Chanina* being awak'd by the Blow, perceived that he was ſtruck, becauſe he had been the Author of the Death of all the Children to the Prince of the Captivity; but he believed ſome new Sucker would ſpring from the Family. He conſulted the Doctors, who told him that his Daughter was with Child, and near her time. He went, and ſat at her Door, and neither left it by Night or Day, nor when it ſhin'd or rain'd, till the Child was born. He brought it up, and took Care of its Education.

In the mean time as *David*'s Family failed, *Paphra*, who had lately been allied to that Houſe, brought the Dignity of Prince, and enjoy'd it till the *Minor* came to be Fifteen Years old. Then *Zutra*, which was the Child's Name, deſired of the King a Dignity belonging to his Family, of which he was the only Heir. His Requeſt was granted. *Paphra* was degraded by order of the King of *Perſia*, and a Fly having ſtung him, he continued ſneezing till he died, as a Puniſhment for his being made Prince of the Captivity by Money. *Zutra* enter'd upon the Office, and reign'd Twenty Years.

IV. In his time roſe the famous *Rabbin* [e] *Meir*, for whoſe ſake God renew'd the Pillar of Fire. He ſaw it, and this Miracle authorizing him to do ſome mighty Action, he aſſembled Four Hundred Men, with whom he declared War againſt the King of *Perſia*. His Succeſſes continued Seven Years. The Pillar of Fire often appear'd; his Victories were frequent, and he raiſed great Contributions. But at the end of this Term, his Soldiers debauch'd with the *Perſian* Women; they drank Wine conſecrated to Idols; which Sin not only made the Miracle ceaſe, but the *Perſians* taking *Meir* Priſoner kill'd him. They alſo enter'd the City, where *Zutra* the Prince of the Captivity lived. They plunder'd it, and hang'd the Prince, with the Preſident of the Council upon a Bridge. All that were of *David*'s Family, were forced to fly [f]. *Zutra* II. Son to the Prince of the Captivity, retired to *Judæa*, where he became Preſident of the Senate. Thus the Jewiſh Hiſtorians recount the firſt of their Misfortunes, the Conſequences whereof were ſo laſting, that their Doctor *Habonai* durſt not ſhew his Head for Thirty Years [g]; that is, all the time of *Cavade*'s Reign.

V. *Choſroes the Great* was not more favourable to 'em than his Father. They had endeavour'd to purchaſe his Favour by betraying the Emperor *Juſtinian*. This Prince had ſent Embaſſadors to the

[a] Theoph. Chron. p. 137. Id. p. 145. An. Ch. 512. Procop. de Bello Perſ. l. 1. c. 12. p. 33. Ganz. Tſemach David. ad An. 265 267. 270. *that is, in the Years of the Church* 505. 507. 510. [b] *Theſe Heads of the Captivity were*, Houna *who reign'd Two Years*; Acha *who governed Three Years*. Tettana *and* Meir Zutra, *who were Heads the ſpace of Four Years*. V. p. 121. [c] Theodor. Lect. l. 2. p. 564. Cedren. p. 297. [d] Procop. Hiſt. Arc. c. 12. p. 38. [e] Zeder Olam Zuta cum Not. Meieri. Vide Imbon. B. R. t. v. p. 46. [f] An. 522. [g] An. 331.

Eaſt

East, to negotiate a Peace, and had loaded 'em with Preſents; which were receiv'd with ſuch Acknowledgments, that there was reaſon to hope for a ſpeedy Iſſue of the Treaty, when the Jews, who had their Spies and Deputies at this Court, inſinuated [h] to *Choſroes*, That if he was willing to continue the War, they would furniſh him with Fifty thouſand Men in *Judæa*; by which means he might take *Jeruſalem*, one of the richeſt Cities in the World. *Choſroes* accepted the Project, broke off the Negotiation, and was preparing to go and ſecond the Endeavours of the Traitors; when News was brought, that the Deputies, who were departed to execute the Deſign had been ſeiz'd upon their return, and ſentenc'd to Death, having firſt confeſs'd their Crime.

This deſire to Oblige the *Perſian* Prince, did not engage him in their Intereſts; and they not only had their ſhare in the general Miſeries of the Empire, when *Choſroes*, who often took Arms againſt the *Romans*, pillag'd *Syria*, and advanc'd to *Judea*, to make himſelf Maſter of *Jeruſalem*: But this Prince [i] ſhut up all the Academies of the Eaſt; which ruin'd the love of the Sciences. We don't ſo much as find that there was then a Prince of the Captivity, ſince *Zutra* II. had been oblig'd to retire to *Judea*, where he long exercis'd an Office infinitely beneath that he would have poſſeſs'd at *Babylon*, if he had been ſuffer'd there.

VI. *Hormiſdas* III. [k] reſtor'd 'em their loſt Liberty; for the Academy of *Pundebita* was open'd. R. *Chanan Mebiſchka* began to Teach, and a new Order of Doctors appear'd, under the Title of *Gaons*, or *Excellents*; but this unhappy Prince reign'd not long [l]: His rebellious Subjects took him Priſoner; and his own Son *Choſroes* II. depriv'd him of his Life, by Baſtinado.

VII. This young Prince did not peaceably enjoy his Barbarity; for *Varame*, who had been his Father's Enemy, declaring himſelf alſo his, and pretending to aſcend the Throne, expell'd him *Perſia*, having firſt beat his Army. He was oblig'd to throw himſelf into the hands of the *Romans*. *Mauritius* lent him Troops, and Generals. He was forc'd to engage in many Battles, before he could get the Maſtery of *Varame*, who had made a great Party in the State, and defended himſelf with great Bravery. The Jews were in his Intereſt. *This faithleſs, reſtleſs, imperious, jealous, envious, implacable Nation* (ſays [m] the *Greek* Hiſtorian) *was then ſo powerful in* Perſia, *as to raiſe the People againſt their Princes, and to fortifie the Rebels; becauſe it was extremely multiply'd, and had amaſs'd prodigious Wealth.* *Choſroes* getting the Maſtery, expiated this Treachery with their Blood. Thoſe of *Antioch* fell firſt into the hands of *Mebodus* the *Roman* General. This was not the *Syrian* City; but another, which *Choſroes* I. had built in *Perſia*, and had given it that Name, becauſe he had form'd it by the other's Model, and had tranſplanted its Inhabitants. 'Tis ſaid, they were amazed, when they enter'd it, to find their Country again; a ſecond *Antioch*; the ſame Streets and Houſes they had left. *Mebodus* having taken this Place, put abundance of Jews to the Sword, deſtroy'd others by different Puniſhments, and reduc'd the reſt to a miſerable Slavery. However, *Choſroes* being reſettled, was reconcild to 'em, and uſefully employ'd 'em in his Deſigns. Indeed, this Prince, who delighted in War, gave out, That he Arm'd, to revenge the Death of *Mauritius*, his Benefactor, upon *Phocas*, who had kill'd him, and made himſelf Maſter of the Empire. A Heathen Prince deteſted the Injuſtice, Murther and Uſurpation of *Phocas*, whilſt Pope *Gregory the Great* incens'd and panegriz'd the Uſurper. Shall we condemn the Chriſtian Patriarch, and praiſe the Idolatrous Prince? They both acted by Intereſt; one ſordidly flatter'd a Tyrant he had need of, and the other ſought a Pretence to ravage the Territories of the Empire: In effect, he broke [n] into *Syria* and *Judæa*, where he made a terrible Execution. He return'd again in *Heraclius*'s time, took *Jeruſalem*, and carry'd with him a Croſs which a Jew had found. 'Tis moſt probable, this Nation had Intelligence with *Choſroes*; ſince, upon his being Maſter of *Jeruſalem*, he [o] return'd 'em all the Chriſtian Priſoners, which they only bought, to ſatisfie their Hatred, by the unmerciful Murther of 'em. Ninety thouſand Perſons periſh'd by their Hands upon that Occaſion.

VIII. *Elmacinus* [p], and the other *Arabian* Hiſtorians, add, That *Choſroes* going to beſiege *Conſtantinople*, there was a neceſſity of evacuating all the Places of *Syria*, and drawing out all the Garriſons, to come to the Aſſiſtance of the Capital; and the Jews ſeizing this Opportunity, Conſpir'd with all their Nation in *Judæa*, to Murder on an *Eaſter-Day* all the Inhabitants of the City of *Tyre*, to make themſelves Maſters of that important Poſt. All the Conſpirators came ſecretly to the Walls; but finding greater Reſiſtance than they look'd for, becauſe they were expected, they ſpread themſelves in the Country, where they burnt the Chriſtians Churches. The *Tyrians*, who beheld this Spectacle from the Ramparts and Towers, ſtruck off a Jew's Head upon every Church that fell or was burning: As they kill'd Two thouſand Jews, they muſt have burnt Two thouſand Temples. The Citizens going out, found this Company diſpers'd, like a Flock of Sheep in the Field, and made a great ſlaughter of 'em. 'Tis no wonder that *Choſroes* then favour'd the Eaſtern Jews, ſince they made ſuch advantageous Diverſions on his Account.

IX. 'Tis pretended [q], that he was retired to the Emperor *Mauritius* before, and that he marry'd one of his Daughters, and that this Princeſs oblig'd him to change his Religion. Indeed, *Evagrius* [r], *Biclar*, and many other Hiſtorians affirm the thing; but we can't ſubſcribe to theſe Authorities, tho' they ſeem to be ſtrong. 1. They give *Mauritius* a Daughter, which this Prince never had: He had three by the Empreſs *Conſtantina*; but theſe three Daughters were ſhut up in a Convent, with their Mother, before *Mauritius*'s Death, and were never marry'd. They muſt therefore make a new Princeſs, which the Ancients never heard of, to be marry'd to the King of *Perſia*. The thing is not without Example; for the *Greeks* have placed in their *Conſpiracies* one *Sopatra*, Daughter to the Emperor *Mauritius*, who never was; and ſhe is an imaginary Saint, who ought to be ſtruck out of the Catalogue of thoſe they worſhip. *Fredegaire* [s] has carry'd the Fiction farther; for he has imagin'd, an *Arnolfus* King of the *Perſians*, with a Queen *Ceſarea*, who, at the Solicitation of the Emperor *Mauritius*, was Baptized with Sixty thouſand *Perſians*: Whereas no King of this Monarchy had that Name. The other Hiſtorians contradict one another; for ſome make him change his Religion on account of his Marriage with *Mary*, *Mauritius*'s Daughter. Others ſay, he was already a Chriſtian when he marry'd *Syra*, who alſo profeſs'd the Truth. Some place his Converſion at his Reſtauration to his Throne, and others put it off to the end of his Life. One certain Fact ought to determine the Matter; for *Heraclius* having deſired Peace, his Prince, who was always addicted to Idolatry,

[h] Theoph. p. 152. [i] An. 589. [k] Ibid. [l] *Twelve Years.* [m] Theophil. Simocatta in Maur. l. 5. c. 7. [n] An. 615. [o] Theoph. p. 252. [p] Elmacin. p. 271. Patricides, p. 236. Hotting. Hiſt Orient. l. 1. c. 3. p. 129. [q] Willel. Tyr. l. 1. c. 2. [r] Evagr. l. 6. c. 16. Simocatta Theophan. p. 252. l. 5. c, 13. Biclar. An. 8. Maurit. [s] Fredegair, c. 9.

demanded

demanded as a Preliminary, that the Emperor ſhould embrace the *Perſian* Religion, and worſhip the Sun; and he would not grant him Peace, but upon that Condition.

'Tis ſaid [t] indeed, that *Choſroes* being forced to abandon his Capital to the Rebel *Varame*, *invok'd* St. *Sergius*, and promis'd him a Croſs of Pearls, and of the richeſt Stones the *Indies* could afford, if he obtain'd the Victory over his Enemy. He afterwards acquitted himſelf of his Vow, by ſending to the Biſhop of *Antioch* the Croſs which *Choſroes the Great* had taken from his Church, in *Juſtinian*'s Reign, and he added at the top of it a little Gold Croſs very fine, with a Letter wherein he teſtified he had placed his chief confidence in St. *Sergius*, when one of *Varame*'s Generals, call'd *Zadeſpras*, advanced with his Cavalry towards *Niſibus*. Three Years after he deſired a Child of the ſame Saint; and having obtain'd his Requeſt, he made the Saint an Acknowledgment, by a Letter he wrote to him in Paradiſe, and by rich Preſents: He thought alſo he had been ſuccour'd by the Virgin, who appear'd to him, and promis'd him *the Victories of Alexander the Great*. This looks like a indiſputable Sign of Chriſtianity; and this is what has really deceiv'd many Writers.

In the mean time, the ſame Hiſtorian relates, that *Choſroes* continued always devoted to Judicial Aſtrology; that entring one day the Church of *Dara*, whilſt the Service was perform'd, the Chriſtians were diſturb'd, as if the Myſteries had been profan'd, and the Religion diſhonour'd, by the Preſence of this Heathen Prince. *Domitian* Biſhop of *Melitene*, not being able to bear the Affront he offer'd the Church, went out, and threaten'd to bring his Troops. *Choſroes* ſent his Apology to the Prelate; who receiv'd it, return'd, Cenſur'd the Prince, and drove him out of the Church. All this Noiſe was made, becauſe *Choſroes*, being a Heathen, ought not to be preſent at the Service. Laſtly, in the Letter which he is made to write to *the great Martyr St.* Sergius, *by the King of Kings*, he ſays, [u] "I "have intreated you, Great Saint, to do me the "favour, that *Syra* may be with Child; for tho' "ſhe be a Chriſtian, and I profeſs Heatheniſm, "and the Laws forbid me to marry her, yet I have "done it, and love her more than any of my "Wives." Thus *Choſroes* was a Heathen, and a Polygamiſt, like the reſt of the *Perſians*, at the time he wrote Letters, and made Preſents to St. *Sergius*, who was dead long before. This Prince [w] was Impriſon'd by his Subjects and his Son, and they gave him Gold and Silver inſtead of Bread, ſaying, *Enjoy at thy pleaſure all the things thou haſt deſired with an inſatiable thirſt*. He died of Famine, in the midſt of his Treaſure, in the Year 628; and three Years [x] after concluded the *Perſian* Monarchy, which went to the *Saracens*; *Iſdigerdes*, the laſt of their Kings, having been conquer'd near *Cadeſia*. This is the ſame that *Theophanes* calls *Hormiſdas*.

X. *Mahomet* appear'd at the beginning of the VIIth Century, and diffuſed his Religion by force of Arms into abundance of Places. The Chriſtian Hereticks and Jews are accus'd of having furniſh'd him with the Syſtem of Religion. 'Tis affirm'd, that many *Neſtorian* and *Eutychian* Biſhops, being baniſh'd by the *Greek* Emperor into the Plains of *Arabia*, ſupply'd this Impoſtor with many of their Doctrines, which we find at preſent in the *Alcoran*. But I know not where to find this number of Biſhops, baniſh'd into *Arabia* for their Errors, who would join with *Mahomet*, and mingle their Religion with his. The *Eutychians* had a great Party in *Egypt*, where *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, by his violent Expreſſions againſt *Neſtorius*, had given occaſion to believe this Opinion to be the true one: But there is ſo wide a diſtance betwixt *Eutychianiſm* and *Mahometiſm*, that it can't be imagin'd that they acted in concert with each other. The Jews have been more violently charg'd with being Accomplices in this Impiety. *Theophanes* ſays, That this Nation ſeeing *Mahomet* make a great Figure, began to look upon him as the Meſſiah; and that the moſt Conſiderable deſerting *Moſes*'s Religion, embraced the new Doctrine of this Falſe-Prophet. They diſlik'd him, when they perceiv'd he ate Camels Fleſh: So that theſe People, who had renounc'd the Law, were yet concern'd, to ſee *Mahomet* violate one of its lighteſt Precepts. This ſeems contradictory; but there are commonly ſuch Contradictions in the Humour and Conduct of Men. *Theophanes* adds, That the Jews, tho' diſguſted with *Mahometiſm*, durſt not venture to renounce it publickly, for fear of being accus'd of Levity and Inconſtancy. Beſides, they thought, that by continuing their Devotion to the Founder of this Religion, they might eaſily ſuggeſt the Means to him of doing great Miſchief to the Chriſtians. And therefore they continued about him, till this Falſe-Prophet was *ſtabb'd*. We know not what they mean; becauſe that *Mahomet* died not a violent Death, and was not ſtabb'd. If there be any fault in *Theophanes*'s Text, it muſt be of Old Date, ſince *Cedrenus* ſays exactly the ſame thing. The Criticks have attempted to Correct it, by ſubſtituting another word, which ſignifies to *Eat*: But this barbarous word affords no natural meaning. It wou'd be more reaſonable to ſubſtitute *Flight*, inſtead of *Eating*, and *Death*; for *Mahomet* was obliged to flie; and his Flight, from which the *Hegira* is dated, might be a motive for the Jews to forſake him.

An Hiſtorian, publiſh'd by *Caniſius* [z], ſays, That the Jews corrupted *Mahomet*; for he took Circumciſion, Abſtinence from Swine's Fleſh, and many other Rites from them. A Lady, who always ſaw him ſurrounded with Jews, doubted not but he was a Divine Man. As the Chriſtians often charge the Jews with their Confederacies with *Mahomet*, and produce a great many Proofs of it, 'tis neceſſary to relate them.

XI. They draw a Parallel betwixt the *Jewiſh* and *Mahometan* Religion; becauſe the *Arabians* obſerve Circumciſion, and tax the Jews with the Violation of the Sabbath: But theſe ſorts of Compariſons, which are always odious, are ſeldom juſt. Some degree of Conformity in certain Doctrines, is not ſufficient to confound two Religions; no more than ſome ſlight Stroaks of Reſemblance, ſuffice to confound Perſons, and make us believe they are Brothers, or Children of the ſame Mother. Shall we believe that *Mahometiſm* and *Luther*'s Reformation are two Religions a-kin, becauſe a Controvertiſt * who deſign'd to *exerciſe his Zeal againſt the Jews and Saracens*, finds Twelve Articles of Conformity, one whereof is, that they *reckon Seventy Sects among the Muſſulmans, and there are ſo many among the Goſpellers*? Shall we think the *Muſſulman* and *Roman* Religion ought to be confounded, becauſe *Jeſus-Chriſt* is conſider'd there, as a Prophet arm'd with Power of working Miracles, and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, is maintain'd in them? It can only be ſaid, That the Jews, who

[t] Theoph. Simocatta in Maur. l. 5. c. 1. Ibid. c. 13. c. 15. [u] Ibid. c. 14. [w] Niceph. Chron. [x] An. 631. [y] Theoph. An. 622. φαγῆς αὐτῷ. *The Criticks read*, φαγῆς. *We ought rather to read*, φυγῆς. Cedren. p. 347. [z] Epit. Bellor. Sacror. Caniſ. t. 7. p. 287. * Dom. Martinus Alphonſus Vivaldus, Not. ad Petri de la Cavelleria Zelum Chriſti contra Judæos & Sarracenos, apud Adrianum Reland de Religione Mahomed. Præfatio.

diſpute

diſpute with the Muſſulmans, are more equitable than ſome Chriſtians, for they aſſault their true Doctrines; whereas the others diſguiſe 'em, and make Monſters of 'em, the eaſier to overthrow them. The King of *Cozar*, introducing a *Mahometan* explaining his Religion, makes him ſay, [a] *That he firmly believes the Unity and Eternity of God; that the World had a Beginning; and that all Men are deſcended from* Adam. *We abſtract all kind of Body, and all Incarnation and Incorporation from God: And if there be any thing in our Books, that ſeems to inveſt God with a Body, we maintain, that it is a Metaphorical Expreſſion, accommodated to the weakneſs of Humane Underſtanding.*

But *Lipſius* [b] explaining the *Muſſulman* Religion to Chriſtian Princes, imputes to 'em the Belief of a Spherical God, *perfectly Round, and Incorporeal*; which makes a ridiculous Contradiction, and a manifeſt Falſhood. *Euthymius* [c] deſigning to arm the Chriſtians againſt the Errour, affirms, That the *Mahometans* believe God to have a Spherical Body, and this *Figure indicates a Condens'd and Conſtipated Body*, from whence 'tis eaſie to conclude, that God, *who, according to* Mahomet, *is a Round Figure, neither Sees nor Underſtands.* Pope *Pius* II. went further; for even in his Letter to a *Turkiſh* Prince call'd *Mahomet*, he ventures to aſſert, That the difference between the *Chriſtians* and *Saracens* conſiſts in this, That the one declare God to be Corporeal, to have a Head, and Hands, and Feet, and a Body, whereas the Chriſtians regard him as an Eternal and Incomprehenſible Spirit. The Jews are more equitable; but the Equity theſe Rabbins have for the *Mahometans*, ought not to make them ſuſpected of loving their Religion. The Chriſtians ought to imitate them, inſtead of taking an oppoſite courſe.

XII. Secondly, This Nation was very potent in *Arabia*, and even in *Hegiaſa*. This Name ſignifies *Separation*, becauſe it lies betwixt *Arabia Deſerta* and *Arabia Felix*, without belonging to either. The *Greeks*, who have join'd it to the latter, have not examin'd its Situation, which is very barren. Here it is that *Mecca* ſtands: The Jews had there, Fortreſſes, and Caſtles, and Armies, and Princes commanding them, when *Mahomet* laid the Foundation of his Empire. It was his Policy to flatter People that could ſerve or hurt him; and the Jews, who only ſought a Conqueror to Head 'em, being dazled by the luſtre of his Victories, and ſeeing him boaſt of being the Meſſiah [d], follow'd him. Nay, the *Arabians* boaſt, that the Jews ſent to their Maſter Twelve Perſons of their Body, to inſtruct him in their Religion, and to join in the Compoſition of this wretched *Alcoran*. So that if this Nation ran not after this Impoſtor, as after its expected Meſſiah, yet at leaſt it confederated with him in compoſing the Syſtem of his Religion, and afterwards taught him the means of doing much miſchief to the Chriſtians.

XIII. In the Third place, *Mahomet* declares in his *Alcoran*, That there is a Race in the *People of* Moſes, *that teach others the Truth, and live with great Juſtice and Equity.* He diſtinguiſhes this People into the Righteous, who ſubmit willingly to God, when he afflicts them; and the Wicked, who cry, *God is poor, ſince he gives us nothing: The hand of God is faſten'd to his neck; but we acquire good things by our Induſtry, and we want nothing.* He adds, That the Remainder of the Houſe of *Moſes* and *Aaron* ſhall be carry'd into Heaven by the Hands of Angels. The Honour *Mahomet* did to *Moſes*'s his Family, and this Diſtinction of Good and Bad Jews, *who teach others the Truth*, are a ſufficient Argument, that one part of the Nation, which was ſituate in *Arabia*, adhered to his Opinions.

Moreover, he brings in God ſpeaking, and reproaching the Jews with his Miracles, and their Incredulity, and exhorts them to believe in the Prophet whom he ſends; promiſing Salvation, if they obey'd his Voice. *Enter* (ſays he to 'em [e]) *into this City, and eat what you like; enter the Gate with Humility.* And the *Arabians*, paraphraſing the words of God, make him ſpeak thus: "Enter into this "City of *Elia*, which is *Jeruſalem*; becauſe it ſtill "bore that Name, which *Adrian* the Emperor had "given it; or elſe into that of *Ariha*, which is *Je*"*richo*, or the City of *Giants*." It not only appears, that *Mahomet* had read *Moſes*'s Writings, ſince he relates the Miracles this Prophet had wrought; but he had the cunning to take the Jews on their blind-ſide, by talking to 'em of returning to *Jeruſalem*.

At the end of the *Alcoran* [f] we find the Conference *Obadiah* the Son of *Sca'om* had with *Mahomet*, in quality of the Jews Deputy, who put a hundred Queſtions to this Falſe-Prophet: And as he was perfectly ſatisfy'd with his Anſwers, he turn'd *Muſſulman*, with his Co-Deputies, who perform'd great Services for this new Maſter.

Laſtly, The *Mahometans* affirm, That at the Birth of *Mahomet*, many Prophecies were found in the Jews Writings, relating both to him and his Father *Abdalla*; but that they have ſtruck 'em out ſince, to prejudice the *Mahometan* Religion. Some body has ſaid, That theſe Prophecies were made after the Event, but *Mahomet* quoted 'em to the Jews of his time: Therefore they muſt have been given out, to contribute to the Elevation of this Falſe-Prophet.

Thus it is People argue againſt the Jews, to render them odious by their Confederacy with this Impoſtor. I do not pretend to be their Apologiſt, but a faithful Hiſtorian.

XIV. What occaſion is there to ſeek this promiſcuous ſwarm of Errors any-where elſe than in *Mahomet*'s fruitful and diſorder'd Brain? Don't we know what a humane Mind is capable of, when it leaps its bounds, and follows the motions of a heated Imagination? The *Alcoran* is a confus'd Medley of Errors: But a moderate knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion and Judaiſm, was ſufficient for its Author to form that monſtrous Union, in which *Mahometaniſm* conſiſts, without any need of Monks and baniſh'd Biſhops, or *Arabian* Jews, to ſupply their reſpective Portions. The *Arabians*, who aſſert, that the Jews ſent him Twelve Deputies to aſſiſt in the Compoſition, diſhonour their Maſter, who boaſted of receiving the *Alcoran* from the Hand of the Angel *Gabriel*, whom, for that reaſon, he call'd the *Maſter of Treaſures*, that is, of *Revelations*. *Obadiah*'s Dialogue with *Mahomet* is not the Product of that Impoſtor, but of a Diſciple who meant to do himſelf honour by the baffle of the Rabbins, but miſs'd of his aim; for the Queſtions and Anſwers are equally ridiculous. What ſignify'd it to a Jew, bigotted to the Law of *Moſes*, to ask *Mahomet* what was One, Two, Three, Four, and ſo to Ten? And tho' this Dialogue ſhould be true, yet no Conſequence ought to be drawn from the Apoſtacy of ſome Perſons, to the whole Nation. 'Tis not impoſſible but ſome Jews might follow *Mahomet*; but the Queſtion is here, concerning what the People did in that Conjuncture, which ſeem'd a nice one, becauſe of their Idea's of a Temporal Kingdom. Laſtly, The Motive aſſign'd to the Jewiſh Doctors of favouring *Mahomet*, that they might diſpute the Chriſtians the *Univerſality of their Religion*, has no

[a] Coſri, P. 1. p. 12. [b] Lipſ. Monita & Exempla Polit. c. 2. p. 17. ὁλόστυρον. [c] Euthymius Zygabenus Panophia Dogmat. p. 22. Reland. de Relig. Mahomed. l. 2. § 3. p. 105. [d] Imbonat. Bibl. Rabb. t. v. [e] Alcoran. c. 2. p. 9. [f] Dialog. Abdiæ ad finem Alcor. p. 189.

Probabi-

Probability; for they could not divine that *Mahomet*'s Succeſſors could make ſuch vaſt Conqueſts, which happen'd not till Eight Years after the *Alcoran*.

XV. 'Tis true, the *Alcoran* in ſome Places makes a favourable Mention of the Jews. But not to obſerve that it continually reproaches them with their Diſperſion, and Miſery, and Hatred of the Prophets they have murdered, and which *Mahomet* apply'd to himſelf, becauſe he conſidered himſelf as a new Prophet whom the Jews hated, as they had perſecuted the old; we know that the Elogies given this Nation in the Chapter *Aaraf* of the *Alcoran*, relates not to the Jews of *Arabia*; but thoſe pretended to have been tranſported into *Tartary*, or beyond *China*, and who could not then have any Correſpondence with *Mahomet*. And therefore the Interpreters of the *Alcoran* tell a ridiculous Story, how he had known 'em in that myſterious Voyage he made one Night to Heaven; and that having only read to 'em Ten Verſes of the *Alcoran* he converted them all.

XVI. If People built malicious Conjectures upon Appearances, might they not ſay that *Mahomet* had concerted his Book with the Chriſtians, ſince he acknowledges *Jeſus Chriſt* to be a great Prophet; calls him the *Word of God*; can't bear any ſtain of Sin to be fix'd upon the *Bleſſed Virgin*, who conceived her Son, without the Miniſtry of any Man, by ſmelling a Roſe? Would not they ſay, that he engag'd with them in a ſtrict Union, by a Treaty more ſolemn than *Obadiah*'s Conference, and which appears at this Day? This Treaty, made at the *Requeſt of the Chriſtians*, imports an Alliance betwixt 'em and *Mahomet*. This Impoſtor enters *with them into the Covenant of God, into the Peace of the Prophets, Apoſtles and Saints*. By Virtue of this Alliance "He [g] promiſes to protect "the Chriſtian Magiſtrates, their Temples and Con- "vents. He aſſures 'em, that no Biſhop ſhall be re- "mov'd from his Dioceſe, nor any Chriſtian forced "to change his Religion. He exempts all the Eccle- "ſiaſticks from all Impoſts, and regulates the Tri- "bute the rich Merchants ought to pay him." It can't be denied, but this Treaty is advantageous to thoſe that ſettle in the *Muſſulman* Territories. It has been found in the Convent of Monks of Mount *Carmel*, near Mount *Libanon*, and the Original Sign'd by many Witneſſes, *Mahomet*'s Diſciples, and by his Secretary *Moavia*, has been brought to the King of *France*'s Library. The Chriſtians are even ſo fond of this little Advantage, that they make bitter Complaints, that they are not ſuffer'd to enjoy it; and that *Mahomet* having aſſociated with 'em at the Birth of his Religion, which was yet weak, ſhould deſert them afterwards. Could ſuch a Piece be produced againſt the Jews, we ſhould be the more perplex'd to anſwer for 'em, in as much as this is ſaid to be acknowledged genuine by ſeveral *Muſſulmans*. But yet I am perſuaded it is a Fraud, or rather a bungling Trick of the Monks, who have thought to procure ſome ſhadow of Reſt, and Relief by this Impoſture; for not to obſerve, that it enumerates too many Particulars, of whatever might be advantageous to Chriſtianity, whilſt *Mahomet* demands nothing for his Religion, nor ſo much as the Liberty of its Exerciſe; there are two things that manifeſt the Falſhood; one that this Treaty is dated the *Fourth Year of the Hegira*; that is from *Mahomet*'s Flight; and indeed it is ſuppos'd, he had yet made no great Progreſs, when he concluded this Alliance. But 'tis known, that Dates did not run thus in *Mahomet*'s time. 'Twas *Omar*, the ſecond *Caliph* that ſucceeded him, who began this *Epoch*, in Imitation of the Chriſtians, who ſometimes reckon'd their Years from the Perſecution of the Chriſtians, which they call the *Æra* of the Martyrs. Seventeen Years were already paſs'd when this *Æra* began, and *Mahomet* Died the Tenth, or rather in the Beginning of the Eleventh Year of his Flight. Beſides *Mahomet* in this Treaty calls the Chriſtian Religion, *a Religion ordained of God*. The Chriſtian, who was the Author of the Fraud, has ſpoke according to his own Opinions, forgetting that he ought to have deſcribed only thoſe of *Mahomet*. *Obadiah* can't be accuſed of making ſuch Alliances.

XVII. On the contrary *Mahomet* infinitely hated this Nation; whether he did it out of Policy to engage the Chriſtians in his Train, or that their Reſiſtance did not pleaſe him. He has inſerted Curſes againſt 'em in his *Alcoran*. He looks upon them as Murderers of the Prophets; and People juſtly puniſhed by God, for their inſolent Violation of the *Sabbath*, the Obſervation whereof had been ſo ſtrictly enjoin'd; and his Interpreters add, that God for an exemplary Chaſtiſement, once metemorphos'd into Apes all thoſe that ſold Fiſh on that Day; ſo that their Neighbours returning from the Synagogue, did not know them. This Change continued Three Days, and ended with the Death of the Guilty. *Mahomet* farther complained of the Incredulity of the Jews, and maintained, that one of the Articles of his *Alcoran* againſt them fell from Heaven, becauſe inſtead of receiving him as a Prophet, they endeavour'd to carry off his Followers, and bring them into their Religion. He could not bear the Reſiſtance of *Cajab*, one of the Principal Jews, who ſtopp'd the Progreſs of his Sect; and therefore he ſuborned People to kill him. Laſtly he came to an open War againſt them. In the Third Year of the *Hegira* he beſieged the Caſtles they poſſeſs'd in the *Hegiaſa*, and forcing thoſe that were retired there, to ſurrender at Diſcretion, he baniſh'd 'em the Country, and gave their Eſtates to the *Muſſulmans*. The Jews muſter'd together again, and fought him in the [h] Battel of *Kaibar*, Four Days Journey from *Medina*. The *Arabians* ſay, that he carried off the Gates of the City, and uſed 'em for a Shield to fight the Jews. However they were defeated and maſſacred, excepting *Cajab*, who had the Art to eſcape with the reſt of the Nation. 'Tis no Wonder, that he afterwards gave 'em Safe-guards, becauſe he looked upon 'em as a Conquered People, and ſubject to his Empire. Nevertheleſs the Jews ſtill confederated with this Prophet's Enemies in the War of the *French*; but a *Muſſulman* Convert had the Art to divide them, and break the Treaty. *Mahomet* took Advantage of ſuch a favourable Circumſtance; and reduced the Jews to the hard Neceſſity of paying Tribute to enjoy their Incomes. Laſtly [i] in the Seventh Year of the *Hegira*, a Jeweſs named *Zinghe*, reſolved to deliver her Nation from this Impoſtor's Yoke, and preſented him with a poiſon'd Sheep. *Mahomet* taſted it; but immediately ſaid, *This bit informs me, that the beaſt is poiſon'd*, and refuſed to eat it.

XVIII. The *Arabians* farther complain, that Seventy Jews form'd a Conſpiracy againſt *Abdalla*, *Mahomet*'s Father; and that to execute this Deſign, they all came ſecretly to *Meccha*, with poiſon'd Swords, and fell upon him in an unexpected manner; but that Angels in the Appearance of Men, came to his Succour; and reſcued him from their hands [k]. The Jews Hatred begun with *Mahomet*'s Father; but no Conſequence can be drawn from that, for the *Arabians* have imagin'd this Conſpiracy only to raiſe *Abdalla*'s Glory. We muſt alſo put to their Account what they ſay, that the Jews of the *Hegiaſa* kept a Tunick of St. *John Baptiſt* all bloody, and that the Blood run from time to time; and that another Tradition ſaid, the Blood ran till the Birth of *Abdalla*, the

[g] Vide Ricaut's *Hiſtory of the Ottoman Empire*, l. ii. c. 2. p. 320. [h] Abulphar. Dyn. p. 102. [i] Vattier Hiſt. Mahometan. l. 1. p. 6. 8. [k] De Generat. Machumet. Lat. reddita ab Herman. Dalmata, p. 207.

Father

Father of *Mahomet*. The *Arabian* Jews had neither the Tradition nor the Tunick aſcrib'd to 'em. 'Tis a Fable of the *Arabians*, who think by this to exalt the Glory of their Falſe-Prophet, and who otherwiſe honour the Memory of *John-Baptiſt*; for they ſay, that his Blood could not be ſtench'd, when his Head was cut off, till God had reveng'd his Death by a great Deſolation of the Jewiſh People.

XIX. Laſtly, The Jews ſeeing *Mahomet* appear, and the Succeſs of his Arms, which was alledg'd to 'em as an Argument for the Truth of his Religion, anſwer'd this Impoſtor, [1] *You are not our Maſter*; *the* Meſſiah *the Son of* David, *who muſt come, ſhall be our Lord*. *Mahomet* continuing to exhort them *to pay the Prayers, and Tythes, and Tribute to God*, which are due to him, (for the Tribute that was paid to the Prophet, was the *Tribute of God*;) *Phineas*, who maintain'd the Conference for the Jews, anſwer'd, by way of Drollery, That 'twas a pleaſant thing to ſee a God poor, and Men rich; a God that required Money and Tribute of Men. This Jeſt drew upon him a box o' th' Ear from *Abubecer*, who was on *Mahomet*'s ſide, and who was the Firſt of the Caliphs; he would alſo have kill'd him, and expiated this Anſwer with his Blood. The Deputation of the Twelve Perſons, whom this Nation ſent to *Mahomet* to Interrogate him, and which has given occaſion to theſe Accuſations, proves nothing againſt it; for theſe Deputies might deſign to entangle this Impoſtor, and lay Snares for him. We know this had long ago been the Cuſtom of the Scribes and Phariſees, and Doctors of the Law: And therefore *Mahomet*, who was aware of their Artifice, diſmiſs'd 'em with ſhame, and would not anſwer them. 'Tis ſaid, that they afterwards addreſs'd themſelves to *Aly*, Couſin and Son-in-Law to *Mahomet*, and who was afterwards Caliph, to ask him the reaſon of the Diviſions that ſprung up amongſt 'em, about their Religion and Government, from the Riſe of their Sect. But *Aly* anſwer'd, That their Feet were ſcarce dry, after the Paſſage of the *Red-Sea*, but they murmur'd againſt *Moſes*, and deſired *Gods like thoſe of the Nations*. They return'd another time to inſult him, upon ſome unlucky Reports that were ſpread of *Aiſchah*, *Mahomet*'s Wife. But he anſwer'd 'em, That there had been People among 'em ſo very Wicked, as not to have ſpar'd the Virgin, *the pureſt of Creatures*. Some will have *Aly*'s Anſwer relate to the Ancient Hereticks, who diſhonour'd the Virgin; but it fell directly upon the Jews, who had reviled her after the Conception of the Son of God. If theſe Anſwers of *Aly* diſcover the ſubtlety of his Wit, they prove, at the ſame time, that the Jews held no Correſpondence with *Mahomet*, or his firſt Diſciples. But when they ſaw the dreadful Progreſs of his Empire, they made uſe of it to evade *Daniel*'s Prophecy, in maintaining, that he is noted by the Legs and Feet of Iron in *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Statue; from whence they conclude, that the *Meſſiah*, who is to deſtroy this Empire, ought not to appear, till it is form'd, and had exercis'd all its Violence; which Time is not yet arrived.

[1] Sufrata xxxix. p. 265. Hotting. Hiſtor. l. 11. c. 2. p. 216.

CHAP. XIX.

The Continuation of the Hiſtory of the VIIth Century, and of the State of the Ten Tribes, and other Jews of the Perſian *Monarchies.*

I. *The Conqueſts of* Omar, *the next Caliph to* Mahomet. II. *The Taking of* Jeruſalem. Theophanes's *Narrative compared with the* Arabians. III. *The Fall of the* Perſian *Monarchy. Its laſt King.* IV. Othman *elected Caliph. His Conqueſts.* V. Aly: *The Battle of* Camel. VI. Moavia, *Founder of the* Ommiades, *reigns at* Damaſcus. *His Character.* VII. *Ninety Battles fought againſt* Aly. *His Stratagems.* VIII. *The State of the Jews.* Iſdigerdes's *Perſecution.* IX. *Whether the Jews Confederated with the Muſſulmen.* X. *The Equity of theſe latter. Liberty of Conſcience reſtored.* XI. Aly *marries the Princeſs of* Perſia *to the Head of the Captivity.* XII. Omar's *Equity.* XIII. Maimbourg *confuted concerning the Perſecution of the Jews.* XVI. *The Academies reſtored.* XV. *The Converſion of the Jews in* Egypt.

I. THE *Arabians* made great Conqueſts, and the Jews of the *Eaſt* univerſally chang'd Maſters. *Omar*, the Second Caliph after *Mahomet*'s Death, reign'd but [a] Ten Years and a half. In the mean time, he took Thirty ſix thouſand Cities or Caſtles, pull'd down Four thouſand Temples belonging to the Chriſtians or *Magi*, built Fourteen hundred Moſques, and made himſelf Maſter of all the *Eaſt*.

Notwithſtanding all that *Heraclius* could do to Relieve *Damaſcus*, which this Caliph Beſieged by his Generals, he enter'd it at the ſame time by Aſſault and Capitulation; for they had forc'd the Intrenchments and one ſide, whilſt they Capitulated on the other.

II. *Syria* being Conquer'd, by the Taking of this Place, they proſecuted [b] the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, which was already begun. *Theophanes* [c] ſays, That the City being taken, *Omar*, habited in a tatter'd Chamlet, and walking the Streets with an air of Devotion, deſir'd them to ſhew him *Solomon*'s *Temple*. *Sophronius*, who ſaw him in this Equipage, cry'd, The Oracle of the Prophet was accompliſh'd, and *the abomination was ſeen in the holy place*. The Application was neither appoſite nor judicious. However, *Omar* only deſired to ſee the Temple, that he might raiſe a Moſque in the Place: But he was amaz'd, to ſee the Foundation of his new Structure fall aſunder as they were laying. He conſulted the Jews about it, who anſwer'd, That the Miracle would never ceaſe, till he had pluck'd up a Croſs that was fix'd upon the *Mount of Olives*. *Omar* believ'd it: The Croſs was pull'd up, and the Foundations of the Moſque continu'd ſolid: Which was a Motive for the Muſſulmen to believe the Jews, and to pull down innumerable Croſſes.

The *Arabians* aſſert, on the contrary, That their Caliph granted the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* a very honourable Capitulation for the City; That he enter'd it, without ſuffering any Diſorders of his Troops; and not allowing any Church to be taken from the Chriſtians, he very modeſtly deſired of *Sophronius* a Place where he might build a Moſque. The Biſhop ſhew'd him *Jacob*'s *Stone*, and the Place where *Solomon*'s *Temple* ſtood, which the Chriſtians had fill'd with Ordure, in hatred to the Jews. *Omar* labour'd himſelf upon cleanſing this Place, and was imitated in this Devotion by the principal Officers of his Army. In fine, he built a Moſque there. Theſe are two very different Accounts: In one, *Solomon*'s Temple was ſtill ſtanding; and in the other, we find the Place where it ſtood, to be fill'd

[a] *He began to reign in the* 13*th Year of the* Hegira, *which began in the Year* 622. Abubecer *was the Firſt Caliph.* [b] An. 637.
[c] Theophan. Chr. p. 284.

with Filth. One imagines a Miracle of a Croſs, which the others knew nothing of: One brings in the Jews ſpeaking in hatred to the Chriſtian Religion, and the other charges the Chriſtians with Violence.

III. *Omar* at the ſame time attack'd the *Perſians* by his Generals, and after many Battles, *Iſdigerdes*, the laſt of the *Perſian* Kings, loſt that of *Cadeſia*. His Capital, and Children, and Treaſures fell into the Enemy's hands: For his own part, he fled to *Chorazan*, where he lay conceal'd for ſixteen Years, ſhifting from Place to Place [d], till one of his Subjects, the Governor of *Merou*, betray'd him, and invited *Tarcan* King of the *Turks*. *Iſdigerdes* gave him Battle; loſt it; and attempting to paſs a River in his Flight, the Boatſman diſputed with him about the Price of his Paſſage; he demanded but Four Halfpence, and the Prince, who perhaps had it not, was willing to pay him with a Precious-Bracelet, which the Ferry-man fooliſhly refus'd. Whilſt they were in this Diſpute, the *Turkiſh* Horſe, who purſu'd him cloſe, arriv'd and took away his Life. Thus ended the *Perſian* Monarchy; and the Jews, who had been long under its Dominion, came under that of the *Saracens*, and *Omar*, who puſh'd on his Conqueſts on one hand to the River *Oxus*, and on the other to *Egypt*, where he made himſelf Maſter of *Alexandria*. *Mahomet* had educated him, ſince two Parties Appealing from the Judgment of this Falſe-Prophet to that of *Omar*, when he had Heard them, he went and fetch'd his Sabre, and ſtruck off the Head of him that had refus'd to ſtand by *Mahomet*'s Deciſion. He took the Title of *Commander of the Faithful*, and obſerv'd ſuch a great Simplicity in the midſt of all his Glory, that the Governor of *Suſiana* going to wait upon him in a Temple, he found him a-ſleep upon the Steps, among the Poor: And it was only to do an Honour to his Nation before this Stranger, that he went and ſate in the Pulpit of the Moſque, which ſerv'd him for a Throne. Laſtly, Renouncing the Ties of Nature, and the Endearments of Blood, he declar'd the Caliphſhip ſhould be Elective, and that his Son ſhould only have a Place in the Council, unleſs he was found worthy to Reign. He was kill'd by a Slave, as he was at Prayer.

IV. After his Death, the Six Electors met to Nominate a Caliph. One of them renounc'd the Election of himſelf, upon Condition he might Chuſe the Caliph alone. The thing was Agreed to, and he made Choice of *Othman*, in Preference to *Aly* the Son-in-Law of *Mahomet*, and who was the moſt Eminent for that Dignity. In reality, *Othman* had the ſame Pretenſions as *Aly*; for he was call'd the Poſſeſſor of *Two Lights*, becauſe he had marry'd Two Daughters of *Mahomet*, who had communicated to all his Poſterity the Light of Prophecy; and moreover, he was a Man of Merit. He intirely ſubdued *Chorazan*, and many Provinces of the *Eaſt*; and puſh'd his Conqueſts as far as *Andalous*, that is, *Andaluſia* and *Spain*. In the mean time, *Aly*, who always look'd upon him with a jealous Eye, rais'd ſome *Arabians* againſt him. They beſieg'd him in his Caſtle of *Medina*, where Water failing after a Three Month's Siege, he came out to the Rebels with the *Alcoran* in his Hand, and proteſted, he would have no other Judge than that Book, which was to be the Rule of their Conduct. This Proteſtation was not heard: The Reſpect they ought to have for the *Alcoran*, did not ſtop the Mutineers; they ſtabb'd him in many Places, and his Blood guſh'd out upon the Sacred Book.

V. *Aly*, Sirnam'd *the Lion of God*, *always Victorious*, was Elected in his Room; and though his Paſſion for the Caliphſhip was violent enough to make him kill his Brother-in-Law, yet he wanted to be intreated to accept this Dignity. The *Muſſulman* Pontiffs are as Politick as thoſe of the *Chriſtians*, who ſeem to flie and refuſe the Pontificate, whilſt they burn with a criminal deſire to poſſeſs it.

Et fugit ad ſalices, & ſe cupit ante videri.

Aiſchah, *Mahomet*'s Widow, rebell'd againſt her Son-in-Law; and as ſhe had great Intereſt with the *Muſſulmen*, already provok'd by the Conſpiracy againſt *Othman*, ſhe was at no trouble to form a numerous Army. The Battle was fought [e] near *Baſſora*. *Aly* got the Victory, who took *Aiſchah*, after a great deal of Blood ſhed about the Camel ſhe rode upon; becauſe the brave Men had ſurrounded this Woman, and loſt their Lives in her defence: For which reaſon, it was call'd *the Battle of Camel*. He reſpectfully ſent back his Mother-in-Law to *Mecca*; and ſeeing *Arabia* and the *Babylonian Irach* fully ſubjected to his Command, he March'd to ſtifle another Rebellion, which was rais'd againſt him in *Syria*.

VI. *Moawia* Headed this Revolt, reſolving to revenge the Death of *Othman*, his Benefactor and Relation. This Prince was a Lover of Men of Wit; and he Pardon'd an *Arabian* Robber, for the ſake of four Witty Verſes he compos'd in his preſence. He prided himſelf in his Humanity and Clemency. *The one is Brave, and the other Courageous*, (ſaid he, ſpeaking of his Enemies) *but for my own part, I am content to be conſider'd among the Muſſulmen as a Merciful and Gentle Prince.* 'Twas he, that firſt made a Gallery, or a ſeparate Place in the Moſque, for the Caliph, who was at once the Pontiff and Sovereign. 'Twas from thence he repeated the Office of the Muſſulmen, and made 'em a ſort of Homily, as the Biſhop and Curate do in the Church of *Rome*. This Prince was Maſter of *Syria*, and made *Damaſcus* his Capital: He puſh'd his Conqueſts as far as *Conſtantinople*, and beſieg'd it ſo long, as to Sow and Reap in the neighbouring Field.

VII. This was a formidable Enemy for *Aly*, who notwithſtanding March'd againſt him, and arriv'd in a little time upon the Frontiers of *Syria*. Water failing him, he ask'd for ſome of a Chriſtian Hermit who had his Cell the Camp. The Hermit had only three Hogſheads of Water in his Ciſtern, but he told *Aly*, There was a Well in the Neighbourhood, ſhut up with a huge Stone, and Tradition declar'd, *That a Prophet, or the Meſſenger of a Prophet, ſhould one day open it*. *Aly* diſcover'd the Well, and caus'd it eaſily to be uncover'd; which oblig'd the Hermit to throw himſelf at the Muſſulman's Feet, and to follow him as a Prophet. This Cheat, under his Frock and Haircloth, preſented *Aly* with an old Parchment, written by the Hand of *Simeon Ben-Sapha*, that is, of *Simeon Cephas*, or St. *Peter*, which contain'd the Coming of the laſt of the Prophets, the Arrival of his Heir in *Syria*, and the Diſcovery of the Well. This was an agreeable Flattery to *Aly*'s Vanity, who return'd Thanks to God, and continu'd his March againſt *Moawia*.

The Armies were quickly in ſight; but not venturing to give a deciſive Battle, they fought in little Parties; they reckon'd Ninety of theſe Skirmiſhes in a Hundred Days. *Moawia* loſt Forty five thouſand Men, but *Aly* infinitely leſs. The former perceiving himſelf too much weaken'd, faſten'd many Copies of the *Alcoran* at the end of Lances, and cauſing 'em to be carry'd at the Head of the Army, he cry'd, This was the Book that was to decide all Differences, and that it was not lawful, without reaſon, to ſhed *Muſſulman* Blood. *Aly* was ſenſible of the Artifice; but his Troops being ſtruck with an Inſtinct of Devotion for that Book, which they had already ſtain'd with *Othman*'s Blood, demanded that

[d] An. 653. [e] An. 655.

Arbiters

Arbiters [f] ſhould be choſen, to terminate the Differences betwixt *Moavia* and *Aly*.

Aly's Umpire was nominated by his Generals, who choſe a Man of great Devotion and Simplicity; *Ottimo Theologo, ma mediocre Pontifice*, as was ſaid of Pope *Adrian* VI. *Moavia*'s Arbitrator was a Man of Art. They Agreed to Depoſe the two Pretenders, and to Elect a Caliph, who ſhould Rule over all the Countries which the *Muſſulmen* had Conquer'd. *Aly*'s Arbitrator ſpoke firſt, and cry'd, He Depos'd *Ali* and *Moavia*, as *he took the Ring from his Finger*. *Moavia*'s Arbitrator approv'd *Aly*'s Depoſition, and confirm'd *Moavia* in the Caliphſhip, with which he Inveſted him in the ſame manner, *by putting his Ring upon his Finger*. 'Twas in vain to appeal to ſincere Dealing, and the Agreement, which the laſt Umpire openly violated. They Curs'd and Excommunicated one another. In the mean time, *Aly*, who honeſtly obſerv'd the Suſpenſion of Arms, had the mortification to ſee a great part of his Army rebel againſt him, becauſe he had acknowledg'd another Judge betwixt him and *Moavia*, than God, who alone had that Title. He beat the Mutineers; and march'd [g] a ſecond time againſt *Moavia* with different Succeſs. Here he loſt *Abdalla*, one of his beſt Generals: He had alſo the misfortune to hear that his own Brother [h] had deſerted him, and ſided with his Enemies. At laſt, three Reſolute Men, ſhrag'd to ſee ſo much Bloodſhed, reſolv'd to kill the Heads of a Faction who caus'd ſo great a Diviſion betwen the *Muſſulmen*. *Aly* was kill'd [i] in the Moſque by one of theſe Aſſaſſines, and *Moavia* was only wounded. 'Tis ſaid, that to cure his Wound, he conſented to drink a Liquor that made him Impotent. *Haſſan*, *Aly*'s Son, was forc'd to yield the Caliphſhip to *Moavia*, who remain'd Maſter of *Syria* and *Egypt*: He was the chief Founder of the Race of the *Ommiades*, which was always an Enemy to that of *Aly*.

Jeſid, his Son and Succeſſor, was Cruel and Impious; and therefore the *Perſians* never ſpeak of him, but they cry, *The Curſe of God be upon him*. However, he was acknowledg'd Caliph in *Perſia*, and in all the Lands of the *Muſſulmen*, except *Mecca*, *Medina*, and ſome Cities of *Chaldea*.

Moavia II. ſucceeded his Father; but he was of ſo weak a Conſtitution, that he voluntarily reſign'd the Caliphſhip [k] three Months after he had accepted it, and went and ſhut himſelf up in a Chamber, which he ſeldom or never came out of. Being wiſer, or more reſign'd than *Charles* V. he never repented his Abdication, and liv'd happily in his Retreat: But the People regretted the loſs of him, and caus'd the Man to be bury'd alive, who advis'd him to quit his Dignity. He was ſo ſcrupulous, as not to charge his Conſcience with the Choice of a Succeſſor, becauſe he did not know any one ſufficiently accompliſh'd to ſuſtain ſo heavy a Burden. His Device upon his Seal was, *The World is nothing but a Cheat*.

Marvan [l] was Elected, upon Condition, That his Children ſhould not ſucceed him, and that the Caliphſhip ſhould return to the Houſe [m] of *Moavia*. *Marvan* at firſt deſign'd to execute his Promiſe; but having humbled all his Enemies, he deſpis'd *Khaled*, who was to ſucceed him, and call'd him Baſtard. This young Prince's Mother, whom *Marvan* had marry'd, could not bear this Inſult, but reveng'd her Son, by ſtrangling her Husband.

VIII. We have related this great Revolution in a continu'd thread, by which the *Perſian* Monarchy fell, and the diſperſed Tribes came under the Empire of the *Muſſulmen*, who became Maſters of the *Eaſt*. Let us ſee at preſent what ſhare they had in theſe Events.

Firſt, Their Hiſtorians [n] aſſert, That *Iſdigerdes* King of *Perſia* Perſecuted them, ſome time before the War of the *Arabians* againſt him. Their Synagogues were given to the *Magi*; their Academies ſhut up; and the Perſecution caus'd the Fall of a great many Perſons. No wonder then, that they rejoyced upon the change of their Maſter. 'Tis an Inclination rooted in the Heart of all the Oppreſſed, to deſire and rejoyce at the humbling of their Perſecutor. They imagine, that God, a Juſt Avenger of the Innocent, puniſhes the Oppreſſor, and makes him ſenble of his Iniquity. The Jews paſs this Judgment upon *Iſdigerdes*, and the *Perſians*, who had given 'em ſuch rude Treatment.

They [o] are accuſed, not only of Rejoycing at the Conqueſts of the *Muſſulmen*, who deſtroy'd abundance of Churches, and did great miſchief to the Criſtians; but of Aſſociating with 'em; of taking their Mark, and encouraging them to carry their Arms into the Empire. 'Tis pretended alſo, that [p] *Beda* was inform'd of this horrible Conſpiracy, and, that notwithſtanding the prodigious diſtance of Places, he knew ſo many Particulars of it, as to make open Complaints, by comparing it to the League which *Herod* and *Pilate* had made againſt *Jeſus-Chriſt*. I doubt not, but the Jews of that time rejoyced at the Fall of their Enemies. 'Tis a common Motion of the Heart, which, tho' criminal, ceaſes not to be almoſt general. In the mean time, their Joy muſt have been often interrupted by their own Misfortunes: For the Havock which the Conquerors made in *Perſia* and *Syria*, cou'd not chuſe but give 'em Diſturbance. Beſides, it was not neceſſary that they ſhould provoke the *Saracens* to War, who were ſufficiently inclin'd to it: And from the moment they had taſted the pleaſure of Wealth, by plundering ſome Provinces, they deſpiſed their ancient Poverty, which was involuntary, and thought of nothing but enriching themſelves with the Spoils of all their Neighbours. We ought therefore to ſeek the Motives of the War, and of the Invaſion of ſo many Kingdoms, only in the Avarice of the *Arabians*, and the Ambition of their Leaders, which was never ſatiated.

X. In the Third place, The Jews highly extoll the Humanity of the *Arabians*, who condemn the Violence offer'd to Conſcience, and reſtor'd them to the free Profeſſion of their Religion. They liv'd peaceably under theſe firſt Caliphs, and their Academies were open; for *Chanina* govern'd that of *Nahardea*, whilſt *Mahomet* was extending his Religion and Empire. *Chana* [q], one of the *Excellents*, taught at *Pundebita*, under *Omar*. *Mar. Rabba*, who was another *Excellent*, ſucceeded him; whilſt *Chenina Surſæus*, the Son of *Calipta*, reign'd at *Sora*.

XI. Fourthly, *Aly* had ſome Controverſies [r] with them, about the Reproach they made him, That his Sect, tho' juſt born, was already divided into Factions. And indeed, the *Muſſulmen* had already great Diſputes among themſelves, about the Attributes of God, which ſome ſeparated from his Eſſence. Some maintain'd, That God is the Maſter of the Actions of Man, and that he can do in him and by him whatever he pleaſes; and that he was at liberty to bring all Mankind to Paradiſe. Others, denying this Neceſſity, which the Decree and Influence of God impoſe, pretend, That Man is Free; That the Deity having given him the Power of Acting, he determines himſelf to Good or Evil, without the need of any Aſſiſtance. Some ſo exalted Faith, as to believe Good Works uſeleſs: Others maintain'd, That

[f] An. 657, & 658. [g] An. 659. [h] Okail. [i] An. 662. [k] An. 64. *of the* Hegira, *of* Jeſus-Chriſt 683. [l] Vattier's Mahometan *Hiſtory, l.* 1. *p.* 59. *makes* Gabdolli *ſucceed, who reign'd but over certain Provinces.* [m] *By* Khaled *his Brother.* [n] Salomon Ben-Virgæ, p. 5. [o] Paul. Diacon H. l. 22. p 312. [p] Beda in Luc. xxiii. [q] Ganz. Tſemach. An 374, 390, & 430. p. 122, 123. [r] Abulphar. Dyn. 9. p. 105, 106.

he, who with Faith committed a great Sin, was a Deſerter of Religion, who ſhould periſh eternally in Hell. The Ancient *Muſſulmen* at that time debated the ſame Controverſies, which ſo frequently inflame the Chriſtians. Let us add further, one ſtroke of Reſemblance upon the Principle of Faith. Some are for having no other Rule than the *Alcoran*. Others believe, That the *Alcoran* being inſufficient to determine all Caſes, it is neceſſary to appeal to the Tradition of the Prophet. A third ſort add, The Conſent of the Doctors. And laſtly, Others will have Reaſon to be Judge; becauſe the Caſes being infinite, they are oblig'd to follow it, and make it the Rule of Faith.

The Jews drew Advantages from theſe Diviſions, which were the more terrible, becauſe they tore each other by Civil Wars. They once preſs'd *Aly* upon this Subject; who demanded of 'em, in his turn, Wherefore, when they had ſcarce paſs'd the *Red-Sea*, they deſir'd *Moſes* to make 'em Gods, becauſe they had ſeen Idolaters proſtrate themſelves before the Idols of the *Moabites*? Which reduc'd 'em to Silence. The ſame thing will always happen, when People will judge of the Truth of a Religion, by the Conduct of its Profeſſors, and the Diviſions that ariſe amongſt 'em.

Nevertheleſs, *Aly* protected theſe ſame Jews with whom he diſputed; for they were ſtudious to prepoſſeſs him in their behalf, by the Homage they had paid him: For they ſay themſelves, that R. *Iſaac*, one of the Sublime Doctors, or *Excellents*, went to pay his Reſpect and Homage to this Caliph, when he had Conquer'd the King of *Perſia*; and that this Prince highly honour'd him, and rais'd him to a great Dignity. [s] He alſo marry'd the King of *Perſia*'s Daughter to *Boſtenay*, who was then Prince of the Captivity. According to the Calculation of theſe Hiſtorians, this Marriage was one of the laſt things which *Aly* concluded before his Death; for he was kill'd the ſame Year [t], whilſt they were celebrating the rigorous Faſt of *Ramhadam*. We can only make ſome Objections, concerning the Homage that *Iſaac* paid to *Aly*; ſince it was not he, that won the Battle of *Cadeſia* againſt *Iſdigerdes*. *Aly* was not yet Caliph, or King, when the *Perſian* Monarchy fell; and we muſt give *Omar* the Glory of its Ruin.

XII. *Omar* ſometimes favour'd the Jews: For a *Muſſulman* having gain'd his Cauſe by *Mahomet*'s Deciſion, and the Proceſs being brought before him to be reviſ'd, he took his Sabre, and cut off the obſtinate *Muſſulman*'s Head, to avenge the Jew of his Adverſary's Cavils. After he was Caliph, a Jew complaining to him, of a Governor of a Province, to whom he had deliver'd ſome Goods which he did not pay for; *Omar* call'd for Ink: and there being none in the Place, he took a Brick from the Wall of *Medina*, which he was building, and drew upon it theſe words; *Put an end to the Complaints that are brought againſt you, or leave your Government*. The Jew carrying the Brick, was preſently paid the Money. Which ſhews what Acceſs this Nation had to the Caliph, and this Prince's love of Juſtice. But yet, if he had Equity for Private Perſons, he was very Injurious to the Nation: For that part which continued in *Arabia* after *Mahomet*'s Conqueſts, exactly paid the Tribute to the *Muſſulmen*. [u] But *Omar* remembring the Words of the Prophet, *That two Laws ought not to be ſuffer'd in the Iſland of* Arabia, expell'd the Jews.

XIII. Laſtly, We are told, That ſome Jews, that tamper'd in Magick, and Predictions of Things to come, deceiv'd *Jeſid* I. and promis'd him a Reign of Forty Years, on Condition he would aboliſh Images in his Empire. A *Saraçen*, who was already ſcandaliz'd at Images, would have bought a long Life at a much greater Price. *Jeſid* therefore granted the Jews their Demand: But ſcarce had he publiſh'd his Edict againſt Images, but a great Inſurrection was made in Heaven againſt him. The Virgin, and all the Saints, concern'd for their Images, Petition'd for his Death. And at their Prayer, *Jeſid* ended his Reign and his Life. *Moavia* II. meant to revenge his Father's Death, and the Jews Impoſture; but they eſcap'd his juſt Reſentments, by flying to the *Roman* Territories, where they were the cauſe of greater Troubles. *Bartolocci* [w] aſſerts, That *Saranta Pechis* was kill'd by *Ulid*, who deſign'd to puniſh him for killing his Father. But *Ulid* was not then Caliph, and the Jews eſcap'd his pretended Vengeance. The Modern Hiſtorian of the *Iconoclaſtes* [x] has made this the *Exordium* of his Romance. But a Man can't be more manifeſtly deceiv'd, than he is: For *Haſſan* the Son of *Aly*, having given up the Caliphſhip to the Houſe of the *Ommiades*, to live retired, and do Alms-deeds, this Houſe was very favourable to the Jews, and permitted the Reſtoration of their Academies. Beſides, they make a Reign of Forty Years to be foretold *Jeſid* [y]: Three Years after his Death; for he died in 683. Whereas the Prediction was never made, according to *Maimbourg*; and the Edict againſt Images was not publiſh'd till the Year 686. How could a long Reign be predicted to a Man, whoſe Son had already left the Caliphſhip?

'Tis contradicting the Character of Aſtrologers, to make 'em promiſe a long Life, upon Condition of deſtroying Images; for they believe that the Aſpect of the Stars abſolutely determines the Event: ſo that neither Piety nor Religion directs them. Nor did *Moavia* II. think of revenging his Father's Death. The *Arabians* were overjoy'd, to ſee themſelves deliver'd from a Prince, whom they openly accuſe of Impiety; and his Son, as weak and ſoft a Prince as ever was, hardly took the reins of Government in hand, but he deliver'd 'em up again to the Grandees of the Nation. The *Arabians* call'd him the *Father of Night*, becauſe of his Natural Weakneſs, and want of Health, which hinder'd him from ſeeing Day, and appearing in the Light. This Prince, who hardly reign'd three Months, had no thoughts of making Executions, and Perſecuting the Jews, who could not have promis'd his Father's Life, till after he was Dead.

XIV. The Nation, inſtead of ſuffering under *Jeſid* and his firſt Succeſſors, enjoy'd a full and abſolute Peace. Its Prince of the Captivity reign'd with almoſt as great an Authority, as if he had been King; whether *Jeſid*'s indifference for Religion contributed to it, or that he had purchas'd this Prince's Favour. The Academies had been almoſt abandon'd during the Revolution. So great was the Deſertion of Scholars and Maſters, that they were forc'd at *Sora* to make a *Weaver* Profeſſor, becauſe he had ſtudy'd the Law. But then they began to reliſh the Sciences again, and many *Excellents* came upon the Stage. The Profeſſion of Phyſick, which is always profitable, reſum'd its former luſtre. A Prieſt of *Alexandria*, nam'd *Aaron*, who, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, had the Charge of Bodies aſwell as Souls, was at once Phyſician and Teacher: He had Publiſh'd a Book, intitled, The *Pandects*, or, The Treaſure of Remedies. The Jew *Maſſergieuſe*, who was at the Caliph's Court, then Tranſlated it into *Arabick*. I know not how this celebrated Jewiſh Phyſician is made to live in the Reign of *Heraclius*, and the Caliphſhip of *Marvan* I. ſince theſe two Princes were not Cotemporaries. *Marvan* I. Succeſſor to *Moavia*, and *Jeſid* I. reign'd in the 68th Year of the *Hegira*, which is the 684th of the Chriſtian *Æra*. We ought therefore to place him at the end of the VIIth

[s] Ganz. Tſemach. David. p. 123. An. 420. [t] An. 662. [u] Vattier. Hiſt. Mahom. l. 1. [w] Bartol. B. R. t. 4. p. 464.
[x] Maimbourg. *Hiſt. of the* Icon. l. 1. [y] An 686.

Century;

Century; and acknowledge, that the Jews flouriſh'd in the Eaſt, under the Reign of the firſt Caliphs.

XV. This Nation alſo flouriſh'd in *Egypt*, which the *Ommiades* had made themſelves Maſters of, aſwell as of *Syria*. A Solitary of this Country, call'd *Coſmus* the Schoolman, ſeeing the Harveſt to be abundant, undertook their Converſion; which he labour'd upon with ſo much diligence, that thoſe that viſited him, generally found him Writing againſt the Jews. As he not eaſily came out himſelf, he ſent his Diſciples, and, amongſt others, the famous *Moſchus*, to Diſpute againſt 'em by the Holy Scripture: But we know not what was the Effect of theſe Motions and Writings, which are loſt.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Immerenians, *and Jewiſh* Homerites.

I. *The* Immerenians *were not Jews.* II. *The Jewiſh* Homerites: *Their Conference with the Chriſtians.* III. *Hiſtorical Reflexions upon their Converſion.* IV. *The Jewiſh* Homerites *War and Murthers of the Chriſtians.* V. *A Romantick Account of* Metaphraſtes. VI. *His Conformity with the* Abyſſine *Martyrologers.* VII. *The way to know the Truth of this Matter.* VIII. Nicephorus's *Contradiction.* IX. *Another Fault of this Hiſtorian.* X. Dunaan, *a Cruel King.* XI. *The Martyrs he made.* XII. *An uncertain Converſion.* XIII. Procopius's *Account.* XIV. *Reflexions upon it.*

I. THE *Perſians* had a Nation of *Immerenians* in their Empire, under their Subjection. *Theodorus* [a] ſays, That theſe People turn'd Jews, at the return of the Queen of *Sheba*, who had taken their Religion, in the Viſit ſhe made to the Wiſeſt of Kings. *Valeſius* thinks theſe People were *Homerites* deſcended from *Abraham*, by *Ketura*, Subjects to the Queen of *Sheba*, and Inhabitants of the Sea-coaſts on the South, and in the Neighbourhood of *Æthiopia*. But not to obſerve, that we are perfectly ignorant of the Hiſtory of their Converſion, and of the Name of the Miniſter that effected it, the *Homerites* were not Converted till *Juſtinian*'s Reign. So that they had reſumed their Judaiſm, if it be true, that they had turn'd Chriſtians in the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*'s Time. The Difficulty is ſo manifeſt, that we can't get rid of it, without denying the truth of this Converſion, ſo little known, or acknowledging the *Immerenians* to be a different People from the *Homerites* we are going to ſpeak of.

II. Indeed, there was a People of *Homerites*, call'd *Ethiopians*, tho' they were ſituate beyond the Gulf in *Arabia*. Judaiſm triumph'd there, under the Protection of the King, who profeſs'd it. [b] *Gregentius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Thephar* in *Arabia*, labour'd to Convert them in the Vth Century. He had a Conference with *Herbanus*, before the King. The Aſſembly was numerous, becauſe the Principal Perſons of this Nation had been Summon'd from all the Cities of the Kingdom. They Diſputed a long time in the Palace to no Purpoſe. *Herbanus* maintain'd, That God had never, by his Prophets, commanded the Worſhipping the Son and the Holy Ghoſt; That it was an Innovation of the Chriſtians: He quoted the Commandment of the Law, which forbids the Worſhip of *new Gods*. Whether he read the Text otherwiſe than we, or maliciouſly paraphras'd it to apply it to *Jeſus-Chriſt*; but the Conference ended with a glorious Miracle, for *Jeſus-Chriſt* deſcended from Heaven, and ſending Thunder before him, he Appear'd to all the Company; he ſpoke, and ſaid, That He was come, upon the Arch-Biſhop's Prayer, to ſhew himſelf, and to declare, That He had been Crucified by their Fathers: And as he departed, he ſtruck all the Jews Blind, and only left the Chriſtians their Sight.

III. *Herbanus*, aſtoniſh'd at the Miracle, deſir'd Baptiſm, with all his Aſſociates, and they forthwith recover'd their Sight. Five thouſand and five hundred were Converted upon the ſpot, and *Gregentius* went to Baptize the reſt in all the Synagogues of the Kingdom. The King, who was already a Chriſtian, Iſſued out Edicts to prevent the return of Judaiſm, upon pain of Death. He ſubmitted himſelf to the Arch-Biſhop, and *did nothing but by his Advice, in a Reign of Thirty Years.* His Son *Sordidus* had always the ſame Deference for Churchmen. It appears by this Conference, Publiſh'd in *Gregentius*'s Name, that moſt of the *Homerites* were Jews in the Vth Century; but that they all turn'd Chriſtians. In the mean time, great Scruples remain concerning the Truth of this Hiſtory; becauſe the *Scribes and Phariſees* are introduced into the Conference, whoſe Names known in the Goſpel, almoſt entirely periſh'd with the Temple, and never paſs'd into the Kingdom of the *Homerites*. The Miracle is too great, to have been no better known in ſo enlighten'd an Age. It is even ridiculouſly invented; for *Jeſus-Chriſt* never deſcended to ſpeak to his Crucifiers: And tho' he ſhould have done it, would he have amuſed himſelf in a Diſcouſe of two lines, to ſay, *He was come, upon the Arch-Biſhop's Prayers.* If *Gregentius* was the Author of this Piece, he ought not to have ſaid that; and 'tis plain, he only remark'd the Honour done him by *Jeſus-Chriſt*, and the King of the *Homerites*, out of a vain Oſtentation. But that which renders this Hiſtory ſuſpected, is, that twenty or thirty Years after this miraculous and total Converſion of the Kingdom of the *Homerites*, both King and People are found as much Jews as ever. However, *Sordidus* muſt have liv'd to the end of the Vth Century.

IV. The truth is, the *Homerites* were Jews under *Juſtin*'s Empire, and at that time made an Enterprize againſt the Chriſtians of *Negra*. *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* ſpeak only [c] in general terms of an *Homerite* Expedition, in which *Arethas*, King of the City of *Negra*, was a Martyr, and whoſe Death was reveng'd by the King of *Ethiopia*. But *Nicephorus* relates [d], That *Dunaan*, Prince of the *Homerite* Nation, and a Jew, being inſpired by the Devil, reſolv'd to attack *Negra* a City of *Arabia*. He cou'd not take it by Force; but having deſir'd leave of the Inhabitants to enter into it, upon his Oath, That he wou'd do them no Injury; it was no ſooner granted, but he offer'd all the City in Sacrifice to God, puting all to Fire and Sword. *Arethas* and others receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom. A young Child, whom the Tyrant wou'd ſeparate from his Mother, bit his Thigh, and fled to die with her. *Juſtin* having notice of this Diſorder, ſent Troops to *Elesbaan*, who Commanded in *Ethiopia*, and having attack'd *Dunaan* by Sea and Land, vanquiſh'd him, took him alive, and put him to death. In acknowledgment of the Victory, *Elesbaan* threw himſelf into a very little Cell, where he liv'd upon Bread and Herbs.

V. *Baronius* ſays [e] a great deal more of it, becauſe he has follow'd *Metaphraſtes*, and imagin'd, that this Legendary, as Romantick as ever was, had

[a] Theodor. l. 2. p. 567. An. 515. [b] Gregentius Diſp. cum Herbano, B. M. P. t. vi. p. 1014, & 1040. [c] Theoph Chron. An 515. p. 144. Cedrenus Hiſt. Imp. p 299. Zonaras, t. iii. p. 49. [d] Nicephor. Hiſt. l. 17. c. 7. t. 2. p. 748. [e] Baron. An. 522. p. 85. t. vii.

tranſcrib'd

tranſcrib'd this Story from ſome very ancient Original. He not only makes *Dunaan* a Jew, but Circumciſes all his Subjects, *Abraham*'s Poſterity by *Ketura*. Nevertheleſs, ſome worſhipp'd the Sun, and Moon, and Devils, whilſt others more ſtrictly obſerv'd the Law of *Moſes*. He places *Negra*, in the Kingdom of the *Homerites*, which was that of *Dunaan*; and imagines no other ground of the War, than a Hatred to the Chriſtians, becauſe that City had been Converted in *Conſtantius*'s time, by I know not whom, that had work'd a great many Miracles, to bring the Inhabitants, who were Jews, to the Knowledge of the Truth. He gives us even the City's Capitulation with *Dunaan*, and all the Diſcourſes on one Side and t'other, before it was Concluded. We here find alſo, not only the Diſcourſes of *Arethas*, the Chief of the Martyrs that ſuffer'd on that Occaſion, but of *Dunaan*, and likewiſe of the Women and Children that reſiſted. He adds to all the other Hiſtorians, a miraculous Fire, that blaz'd in the Air, and falling on the Ground, terribly frighted *Dunaan*, and all the Army, without Converting it. To which he adds alſo the Leagues with *Alamundar* King of the *Saracens*, for Perſecuting the Chriſtians; tho' it was ſaid, but a little before, that this was a Chriſtian Prince. Laſtly, *Elesbaan* is made to arrive by Sea, having firſt loſt Fifteen thouſand Men by Land. He conſulted a Monk, who promis'd him Victory; and, upon *Juſtin* and the Biſhop of *Alexandria*'s Prayers, God wrought a Miracle, to carry the Ships over a Boom, which *Dunaan* had placed at the entrance of the Harbour. He fought, took the Royal City; found *Dunaan*, who had chain'd himſelf and his Family in a Chain of Gold, and had given over all thoughts of ordering his Affairs. He kill'd him, with all his Court; built a Temple at *Pharé*; caus'd all the *Homerites* to be Baptized; and afterwards turn'd Monk. Thus the Jews of *Æthiopia*, after they had ſo long preſerv'd their Religion in this Country, became all Chriſtians, by *Elasbaan*'s Victory over 'em. This *Dunaan* has been ſince made a Falſe-Meſſiah of the Jews, who boaſted of being the Son of *Moſes*, and ſeduced the Nation.

VI. This Juſtice muſt be done *Metaphraſtes*, that he agrees well enough with the *Abyſſine* Martyrologers; but as they are near as fabulous as thoſe of other Nations, and are very modern, no credit can be given to 'em. *Metaphraſtes* has manifeſtly hyperboliz'd, in aſſerting, that the Sea was but two Furlongs wide, and that *Dunaan* perceiving it, caus'd a Boom, or an Iron-Chain, to be made, able to reſiſt the Impetuoſity of the Waves; which is impoſſible, and falſe.

VII. Such as would attempt to diſintangle the Fable from the Hiſtory, ought to cut off that great number of Circumſtances, which having eſcaped the ancient Hiſtorians, could not be known by *Metaphraſtes*, and *Baronius* that came after him. They muſt ſtrike out all the Diſcourſes the Narrative is loaded with, which could not be preſerv'd, and the Hiſtorian only invented, to imbelliſh his Work. The Miracles, that are made to be wrought by the Fire, and the Waves of the Sea, whether to aſtoniſh *Dunaan* at his return, or to break a Boom, are no better imagin'd.

VIII. Nor can we juſtifie *Nicephorus*, who was not aware, that he related one Event twice, with quite different Circumſtances; for he ſays, in the Sequel of his Hiſtory, that in *Juſtinian*'s Reign, *Damnus* King of the Jewiſh *Homerites*, hindering the *Grecian* Merchants from paſſing through his Territories to *Caxumo*, *David* the King of it Arm'd againſt *Damnus*, and made a Vow to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, if he return'd Victorious. It ſo happen'd, that he took his Enemy alive; and, in performance of his Vow, ſent to *Juſtinian*, to deſire a Biſhop, who Converted the *Indians*. There is a manifeſt Contradiction between theſe two Stories: for if the Kingdom of the *Homerites* terminated ſome Years before in the Perſon of *Dunaan*, as he ſays; and if the *Indians* of *Caxumo* were already Chriſtians, and their Prince a Votary; 'tis ridiculous to kindle a ſecond War againſt a Conquer'd People, and a Kingdom no longer in being, to give opportunity to the Chriſtian Church to eſtabliſh it ſelf in a Place where it was before. Either *Nicephorus* muſt groſly contradict himſelf, or elſe there was but one War made under *Juſtin*; and the *Damnus*, who is here made a King, was the *Dunaan* kill'd by *Elasbaan*,

IX. Nor can we any more excuſe what the ſame *Nicephorus* ſays of *Juſtin* and *Juſtinian*; for 'tis falſe, that *Elesbaan* King of *Caxumo* Commanded in *Æthiopia* for *Juſtin* the Emperor, and that this Prince ſent him Troops to fight *Dunaan*. *Æthiopia* did not depend upon the *Roman* Emperor; and 'twas by his own Troops, which the *Ethiopians* make amount to 120000 Men, that *Elesbaan* defeated his Enemies. Nor is it probable that *Juſtinian* ſhould ſend a Biſhop to *Caxumo* to Convert *David* and his People. What occaſion was there to go in queſt of one to *Conſtantinople*, when there were Biſhops in *Egypt*? And *Juſtinian* could not have ſent thither a *Jacobite* Biſhop, as the *Ethiopian* Patriarch always was. Even thoſe, who agree in making *Elesbaan* or *Kaleb* a Cloiſter'd Saint, have not obſerv'd, that the *Ethiopians* were engag'd in *Dioſcorus*'s Faction, and that they ſtill follow'd him, after the Council of *Chalcedon*. So that the *Greeks* and *Ethiopians* and *Latins* are agreed, to put a Prince guilty of Schiſm and Hereſie [f] in the Liſt of Saints.

X. Laſtly, *Dunaan* was not a Falſe-Meſſiah, as is [g] commonly ſaid; for he was King of the *Homerites*, and theſe *Homerites* were *Sabean Arabians*, who are often call'd *Ethiopians*. This *Dunaan*'s Name was *Pinchas*, or *Joſeph*: and he is doubtleſs ſaid to be the Son of *Moſes*; becauſe, affirming that *Moſes* was his Legiſlator, and his Father, this Title has been taken literally. This cruel and barbarous Prince made War againſt his own Subjects; for *Negra* was upon the Frontiers of *Arabia*. 'Tis ſaid, That reſolving to ſuffer none but the Jewiſh Religion in his Dominions, he particularly attack'd the Inhabitants of this City, for being Chriſtians. But this does not agree with what all the Hiſtorians ſay, That there were People in that Place who worſhipp'd the Sun and Moon, and that *the Jews were mingled with 'em*. This might be a War of State, aſwell as of Religion.

XI. 'Tis pretty generally agreed, That he made 340 Martyrs, with *Arethas* their Prince. The *Ethiopians* add, That they threw 'em into Ditches, which *Pinchas*, or *Dunaan*, had caus'd to be dug, and burnt 'em in the Fire that was kindled there. 'Tis alſo pretended, that *Mahomet* alluded to this kind of Puniſhment, when he ſays, in his *Alcoran*, That *thoſe that had dug the Ditch full of Fire, have been kill'd, and they ſhall one day be Witneſſes of what they have done to the Believers*. But would *Mahomet* call the Chriſtians *Believers*, and deplore their Misfortune? *Du Ryer* has eſpecially ſpoil'd the ſence of his Verſes, by tranſlating it the *true Believers*. *Mahomet* could ſpeak thus only of his Followers.

XII. The Prince of *Caxumo*, whom the *Greeks* celebrate by the Name of *Elasbaan*, was call'd *Caleb*, by the *Ethiopians*. This is the Name given him by the *Ethiopian* Poet, who has made his Elogy, (as in the following Page.)

[f] Synaxaria 24 October. [g] Ludolph. Hiſt. Æthiop. l. 2. c. 4. n. 22. Id. Comment. p. 234.

Salutem

Salutem [g] *Calebo, qui signum reliquit opum suarum,*
Dum misit coronam suam Hierosolymam ut suspenderent eam.
Hic Heros vanâ gloriâ usus non est, ob fortitudinem suam,
Cùm per manus ejus exercitus Sabæorum deletus fuisset,
Ita ut non superesset quisquam ex illo.

The War he engag'd in against *Dunaan* was not over-just, since *Negra* was not a Dependance on his Kingdom, and the Eastern Kings were so Absolute, as to tell their Subjects, *This is my Pleasure*. But however it was successful. What is added concerning the intire Conversion of the Jews by this Prince's Ministry, is suspicious: not only because general and sudden Conversions made by the Hand of a Conqueror, ought always to be thought so, but because the Jews have always kept their Ground in *Æthiopia*. They reckon at present above 60000 among the *Abyssines*; and 'tis not above a hundred Years ago, that an entire Province depending on them, and in which they were Absolute, was reduced. If the Conversion was general, it was very short, for the *Persians* came quickly after to take the Kingdom out of the Possessors hands. The Successors of *Arethas* II. favour'd the *Romans*; but the other Cities and Country gave themselves up to the *Persians*, which occasion'd long and cruel Wars; till at last *Bazerius*, the last of the Kings, submitted to *Mahomet*, and turn'd *Mussulman*.

XIII. This Event is thrown into a new Confusion, and made perfectly uncertain, by being confounded by many learned Criticks [h] of our Time, with that related by *Procopius* [i]. This Historian, giving a Description of the *Red-Sea*, or of *Mecca*, speaks of an Island call'd *Jotaba*, which was Peopled by the Jews; but they submitted to the *Romans* in *Justinian*'s Reign. He does not say, whether this Prince preserv'd the Privileges of a People that voluntarily submitted to him, or whether he oblig'd 'em to abjure Judaism: And, should we determine, we must presume, that this Island remain'd Peopl'd by Jews. This Historian adds, That there was a War at that time betwixt the Kings of the *Homerites*, and the King of *Caxumo*. *Helliſtæus* the King of *Caxumo*, understanding that the King of the *Homerites*, situate on the other side of the *Red-Sea*, and whose Kingdom was Peopled by *Jews and Heathens*, rais'd excessive Taxes upon his Subjects, Declar'd War against him, took him and put him to Death; and set up in his stead *Esimipheus*, a *Homerite* by Extraction, and a Christian. Part of *Helleſtæus*'s Troops refusing to follow him, at their return shut up *Esimipheus* in a Castle, and rais'd a Man of their own Rank to the Throne, the Slave of a *Roman*, who had settled at *Aduïs* a famous Port of *Æthiopia*. *Helliſtæus* sent Troops against the new King, who was call'd *Abraham*, and was a Christian. These Forces join'd *Abraham*, and laught at their Prince's Orders. He march'd himself with a numerous Army, but was beaten. Peace was made with his Successor, to whom *Abraham* promis'd a Tribute.

This History is very different from the former; for this Event occurr'd in *Justinian*'s Reign, who, some time before, had desired to make a League with the *Ethiopians* to act against the *Persians*. The Subject of the War is absolutely different, aswell as the Names of the Kings of *Æthiopia* and the *Homerites* that made it. The Succes is likewise very opposite; for *Helliſtæus* had at first a great Advantage, he was beaten twice, and oblig'd to a scandalous Retreat. Moreover, *Caleb* must be deny'd the glory of turning Monk, aswell as that of his Victories, and the Donation he made of his Crown to the Church of *Jerusalem*, rather than to that of *Alexandria*.

XIV. The only puzling Difficulty, is the common Opinion, That the Kingdom of the *Homerites* was destroy'd by *Caleb*. For 'tis not probable, that *Procopius*, a Cotemporary Writer, who was in the Army which *Justinian* sent to *Persia*, and relates the Alliance that this Prince design'd to make with the *Homerites*, should speak of a Kingdom which was no longer in being, and should confound Events, which much more modern Historians, and more remote from these Places, would have distinguish'd better. We must conclude therefore, that these are different Wars, and that what we are told of *Caleb*'s Converting the Jews of *Æthiopia*, is a Fable, since we find 'em appear again under *Justinian*.

[g] Ludolf. ibid. [h] Vid. Ludolf. [i] Procop. de Bello Pers. l. 1, c. 20. p. 57, 60, 61.

CHAP. XXI.

The State of the Jews in the Roman *Empire, at* Constantinople, *in* Italy, Spain *and* France, *during the VIth and VIIth Centuries of the Christian* Æra.

I. Justinian; *his Character.* II. *His Edicts against the Jews, about the Passover.* III. *The Synagogues of* Africa *chang'd into Churches.* IV. *The City of* Borium *in* Africa *Peopled by the Jews.* V. Simeon *the Fool makes a Jew dumb.* VI. *The Glasses of another Jew broken.* VII. *The Remains of the Eucharist eaten by the Jews. A Child thrown into a Furnace by his Father.* VIII. *This Miracle related by* Beda. IX. *Several Insurrections of the Jews against* Justinian. X. *Their Fidelity to the* Goths *at* Naples. XI. *Whether* Justin *bought a Synagogue? The Fault of Historians.* XII. *A Sedition at* Antioch. XIII. Leontius *of* Naples: *His Sermons to the Jews.* XIV. Gregory *the First's Equity to 'em.* XV. Heraclius's *Journey to* Jerusalem: *His Motive.* XVI. *He expels the Jews out of his Empire.* XVII. Sisebut *does the same thing in* Spain. XVIII. Isidorus *of* Sevil *condemns him.* XIX. *The Inconstancy of Bishops, about Toleration.* XX. *The Laws of the* Goths. XXI. *The Jews Submission to* Receſuinth, *feign'd.* XXII. Ervigius *causes 'em to be Written against.* XXIII. *They accuse* Cæsarius *of* Arles *of Treason.* XXIV. *This Matter examin'd.* XXV. Childebert's *Decree.* XXVI. Ferreol, *Bishop of* Usez, *banish'd on account of the Jews, expells them.* XXVII. Avitus, *Bishop of* Clermont, *uses them ill.* XXVIII. *St.* German *of* Paris *converts them.* XXIX. Chilperic *persecutes 'em.* XXX. Lunel, *an Academy of the Jews. Whether* Gregory I. *Wrote to its Bishop?* XXXI. *This Pope censures the Violence of the Bishops of* Arles *and* Marseilles. XXXII. Dagobert *expells them out of* France. XXXIII. Wamba *meets with resistance from the Bishops, Protectors of the Jews.*

I. JUstinian took upon him all the Affairs of Religion, and delighted in making Decisions and Laws upon this Subject. 'Twas in his Reign, that *John* the Schoolman began to make a Collection of Edicts; which were to serve for a Rule to Bishops, and which is call'd the *Nomocanon*. The Christians complain, that he abused his Power against the Church, and often reproach'd the Weakness of the Oriental Bishops, for suffering this Prince to lay his Hand upon the Censer; as if *Vigilius* the Bishop of *Rome* had not buckl'd under his Authority more cowardly than the rest. The Jews had also frequent Subjects of Complaint against him;

him; for he made Laws and Military Executions againſt them.

II. *Procopius* [a] ſays, that he forbad 'em to celebrate the *Paſſover* on a Day different from the Chriſtians. Whereas their Calculation differ'd from ours, it rarely happen'd that *that* Feaſt fell on the ſame Day: And as the Jews are ſcrupulouſly devoted to their own Account, and to the Fourteenth Day of the Moon, 'twas depriving them of the liberty to Celebrate this Feaſt, to tranſmit it to the time of the Chriſtians keeping theirs. Moreover, he amerced all thoſe with great Fines [b], that ate the Paſchal Lamb.

Juſtinian [c] did the ſame thing to the Chriſtians, and overthrew the Order of *Eaſter* in his own Church, which cauſed great Confuſion; for the People had began to Faſt the Fourth of *February*: but the Emperor order'd the Butchers to kill the Meat, and expoſe it to ſale, alledging, that *Lent* ought not to begin ſo ſoon. The People kept on, and Faſted that Week: The Butchers loſt their Meat. But the People alſo loſt their *Faſt*; for *Juſtinian* reſolving not to be contradicted, put off *Eaſter-Day* to the Seventh of *April*, which was to be kept the Firſt of the Month; and the *Faſt* was hereby prolong'd beyond the term, becauſe the Emperor would not have the firſt Week reckon'd. *Nicephorus* [d] ſays, there was a great Famine that Year at *Conſtantinople*, which was the reaſon that *Juſtinian* order'd them to begin to ſell Meat the ſecond Week of *Lent*; but that the People oppoſing that Violence, would not buy it. All this is obſcure, and wants an Explication aſwell for the Jews as Chriſtians.

Firſt, *Theophanes*, who placeth this Event in the 19th Year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, is evidently miſtaken; for the Famine he ſpeaks of, happen'd at *Conſtantinople* in the Year 538. which is the 11th of *Juſtinian*. 'Tis true, this Prince's Years are differently reckon'd, becauſe Authors are not agreed about the Time of his Death. But we find an ancient Monument, in which *Juſtin*, his Succeſſor, reckon'd the Year 575. to be the 12th of his Reign: Therefore his Uncle muſt have died in the Year 565. This Prince publiſh'd an Edict the 14th of *September*, the Firſt Year of his Reign, Indiction 15. that is to ſay, 566. His Uncle therefore, who died the 14th of *November*, muſt have ended his Life the Year before. 'Tis agreed, that he reign'd 38 Years: He muſt therefore have aſcended the Throne in the Year 527. And whatever way *Theophanes* may reckon, he will never find that *Juſtinian* chang'd the *Feaſt* of *Eaſter* in the 19th Year of his Reign.

Secondly, *Nicephorus* has not well underſtood this Hiſtorian's Thought, tho' he copy'd him; for 'twas not the Famine, that oblig'd *Juſtinian* to open the Shambles in *Lent*. *Theophanes* ſays, that abundance of Rain ſpoil'd the Vintage and Harveſt that Year that there was an Earthquake; and he afterwards adds, the Change that *Juſtinian* made in *Lent*: but he does not produce one, as the Cauſe of the other, becauſe theſe two things have no relation to one another; and 'twas the change of *Eaſter-Day*, that caus'd a diſorder of *Lent*.

We can't eaſily apprehend, how they began to Faſt the 4th of *February*, ſince *Eaſter-Day* was not kept till the 1ſt of *April*; nor the reaſon that oblig'd *Juſtinian* to diſturb the *Lent* and *Feaſt*. The Matter was thus: They began *Lent* Seven Weeks before *Eaſter*. *Sozomen* ſays it expreſly. And not to trouble our heads, whether they made a diſtinction of Two Weeks, in which they were permitted to eat Eggs and Cheeſe; or whether they choſe Thirty ſix Days of Faſting in theſe Seven Weeks, that they might conſecrate the Tenth part of the Year to this pious Exerciſe, as *Blaſtares* affirms: 'tis ſtill true, that if *Eaſter-Day* fell on the 1ſt of *April*, they muſt have begun the Faſt with the Month of *February*. But *Juſtinian* finding the 14th of the Moon of *March* to happen on the 1ſt of *April*, and that People wou'd be oblig'd to keep *Eaſter* the ſame Day with the Jews, reſolv'd to put off the *Feaſt* and the *Faſt* for a Week. This is the Alteration *Theophanes* ſpeaks of. So that the Emperor was ſo far from According with the Jews, that he went farther off, that it might not be believ'd that he ſubmitted to their Laws and Rules. There remains but one Difficulty about the *Paſchal Lamb*, which *Procopius* makes the Jews to eat; and *Juſtinian* forbids the Cuſtom, upon pain of a great Fine. However, the Jews did not at that time eat the Paſchal Lamb, or elſe the Law of the Prince did not only relate to the Time of its Celebration. But this reſpects the *Samaritans*, who Sacrificed in ſecret, upon *Gurizim*; or ſome Jews, who dwelling at *Jeruſalem*, imagin'd they might celebrate this Ceremony in ſecret in the Holy City, and near the Temple, on the Day forbidden by *Juſtinian*.

III. The Emperor made another breach upon their Liberty, by forbidding the Magiſtrates to receive *their Teſtimony againſt the Chriſtians, and depriving them of their Natural Right of making Wills and Donations*. There were none but the Labourers of the *Samaritans*, whoſe Children might inherit their Fathers Goods. Some add, that he order'd their Children to be Catechis'd from Two Years old, the more effectually to work their Converſion. But this laſt Novel is not *Juſtinian*'s. Laſtly, He depriv'd them of the publick Exerciſe of their Religion in *Africa*; for the Council of *Carthage*, making a Deputation to this Prince, to obtain of him the Reſtoration of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates, which the *Vandals* had uſurp'd, he wrote to the Prefect of the *Prætorium* in *Africa*, to take care that the Hereticks might not Baptiſe, *nor do Publick Acts*; ordering further, *that the Synagogues ſhould be prohibited, and chang'd into Churches, and forbidding the Jews to meet in Caves, and perform the Service after their Way*; becauſe 'tis an Abſurdity *to ſuffer the Impious to do Acts of Religion, which are Conſecrated*. The Reaſon upon which this Prince grounded [e] the Edict, is abſurd: But the Jews loſt part of their Privileges in ſeveral Places of the Empire.

IV. This Law was executed chiefly at *Borium* a City of *Africa*, ſituate at the foot of the Mountains, which bounded *Pentapolis* on the Weſtern-ſide. The Situation of this City was ſtrong, becauſe a chain of Mountains ſhut up its Entrance, and left but a very narrow Paſſage to come at it. The Jews had made it a Retreat, and fill'd it in *Juſtinian*'s time: Here they liv'd the more peaceably, becauſe the Emperor demanded no Taxes of 'em, and no Imperial Collector was ever ſeen there. They had [f] a ſtately Temple, the Foundation whereof they referr'd to *Solomon*'s time. What we are to conclude from this, is, that they had been a long time ſettled in this Place, and that they were rich, notwithſtanding the Neighbourhood of the *Moors*. *Juſtinian* undertook the Converſion of this City, aſwell as of that of *Aigula*, where Heatheniſm [g] ſtill remain'd, and where they ſacrificed to Idols, in Temples conſecrated to *Alexander the Great*, and *Jupiter Ammon*. This Prince ſucceeded in his Deſign: The Jews aſwell as Heathens embrac'd Chriſtianity. The Synagogue, or Temple of *Solomon*, became a Church; and *Juſtinian* caus'd the City to be Wall'd in, to make it more ſafe.

V. They boaſt of other Converſions, that were made in the ſame Reign by *Simeon* of *Emeſa*. This Man paſs'd for a Fool with moſt People: He was ſeen to run along the Streets, to enter into Shops, to eat what he found there; and to whip the Pillars,

[a] Procop. Hiſt. Arc. c. 28. p. 82. [b] Alamanric. Not. in Proc Arc. Hiſt. [c] Theoph. ad An. Juſtin. 19. p. 190. [d] Nicephor. l. 17. c. 32. p. 787. [e] An. 535. [f] Proc. de Ædif. l. 5. c. 2. p. 110, 111. [g] An. 530.

crying,

crying, *This is for Dancing*, becauſe there had been an Earthquake, which threw down [h] many Cities. Nevertheleſs, he is [i] extoll'd as a Man that was full of Grace, that wrought glorious Miracles and Converſions. A Jew, who had ſome Inſpection over the Shops of *Emeſa*, ſaw two Angels near him in the Bath. *Simeon* forbad him to publiſh what he had ſeen; and as he cou'd not be aſſured of Secrecy, he touch'd his Lips, and made him Dumb. The Jew made a Sign to *Simeon the Fool* to cure him: But he could not obtain it, becauſe he would not be Baptiz'd. The Author obſerves, that theſe two People ſpoke by Signs; as if all Dumb People were Deaf. *Zachary*, the Father of *John Baptiſt*, perfectly underſtood the Reaſonings that were made in his Family, about the Child that was born: His Ears were open, tho' his Tongue was ty'd. Therefore they abſurdly ſuppoſe a Deafneſs in this Caſe. 'Tis another wonder, to ſee the Jew remain Incredulous, notwithſtanding the Miracle wrought upon his Perſon, and to ſuffer *Simeon* to Die before his Converſion. The Relicks of the Dead, and Poverty, did what the Preſence of this Saint could not effect. The afflicted Jew, ſeeing St. *Simeon*'s Relicks carry'd about, demanded Baptiſm, with all his Family; and coming out of the Font, he recover'd his Speech.

VI. This Solitary, one day, had a mind to divert himſelf, and make the Spectators laugh at the Coſt of a Jewiſh Glaſs-maker, who was working at his Furnace. This Workman blow'd to make a Glaſs; but he made a Croſs, which immediately broke: He blow'd ſeven times, and ſtill made a Croſs, inſtead of a Glaſs. *Simeon* laught, and made all that were preſent laugh at this little Paſtime. But by playing the Fool, he attempted the Converſion of the Unbeliever; for he told him, That *all his Glaſſes would break, till he had made the Sign of the Croſs.* The Artiſt ſeeing his Time and Labour loſt, after ſo many repeated Trials, embrac'd the Religion, without which he could not work, nor get his bread. Thus *Simeon the Simple* found new Artifices to Convert this Nation, without Inſtructing it.

VII. Another Miracle was wrought at *Conſtantinople*, related by a great many Hiſtorians, and even by Controvertiſts [k], who, without troubling themſelves about the Truth of the Miracle, make uſe of the Fact, to prove, That the Remains of the Communion were given to Children to eat. For when the Communion was over, and *ſome holy Parts of the immaculate Body of Chriſt our Lord* remain'd, the Children, who were in the Schools, were call'd to eat theſe Remains. The Child of a Jew came there, and ate like the reſt. This retarded his return Home. The Father, wondering at his ſtaying longer than ordinary, ask'd him the reaſon of it? And being told it, this inhumane Glaſs-maker threw his Son into the Furnace, and ſhut it up. The Mother, being reſtleſs and fond, ſought her Child in all Places for three Days, without finding him: but at laſt, as ſhe pronounc'd his Name, ſighing near the Furnace, the Child call'd her, and told her, That a Woman cloath'd in Purple had hinder'd him from being burnt, and furniſh'd him with Food. Such a ſurprizing Event became publick: The Court was inform'd of it. *Juſtinian* ſent for the Mother and the Child, who receiv'd Baptiſm, and the Child was placed among the Clergy of *Conſtantinople*, where he doubtleſs became Reader, ſince at his Age he was not capable of any other Office, and the Mother was elected Deaconneſs: but the Father, obſtinately refuſing to be Converted, was Crucified in a Suburb of the City.

VIII. *Beda* [l] doubtleſs deſign'd to relate the ſame Event, when he ſays, "That a Jewiſh Child, eating "the Remains of the Euchariſt at *Rome*, found him-"ſelf inſpir'd with the Holy Ghoſt, and cried, *He "wou'd be a Chriſtian.* That his Father, enrag'd, "threw the Mother and Son into a Furnace, where "they were miraculouſly preſerv'd from the Flames." 'Tis true, he changes the Scene, ſince he makes the Miracle to be peform'd at *Rome*, whereas *Evagrius* places it at *Conſtantinople*: But even this thing diſcovers it to be the ſame Fact; ſince the *Roman* Church had not eſpouſed the Cuſtom of the *Greek*, of making the *Children who came from the School, eat the ſacred Remains of the immaculate Body of Jeſus-Chriſt.* He alſo heightens the Miracle, by making the Mother and the Child thrown into the ſame Furnace; which makes the thing more incredible. But 'tis the Character of Tranſcribers, to ſwell up the Narrative of their Originals. People make no ſcruple to imbelliſh a Miracle, being ſure to pleaſe, proportionably to its ſtrangeneſs: And in matter of Prodigies, the World ſwallows every thing, without conſidering whether the Aliment it takes in be coarſe, and of hard Digeſtion. Laſtly, *Beda* has alter'd the Times; at leaſt *Baronius* thinks ſo, ſince he has fix'd the Story in the Reign of *Theodoſius the Younger*: But as *Bede* does not note under what *Boniface* the Miracle happen'd, and there was a *Goth* ſo Named, who was made Pope in *Juſtinian*'s time, we may believe, that *Bede* has follow'd *Evagrius*, and thought this Prodigy happen'd in the Year 530. We have ſaid enough of the Jews Converſions in this Reign: Let us come to their Inſurrections.

IX. The firſt [m] was caus'd by a Falſe-Meſſiah, Nam'd *Julian*. He appear'd in *Paleſtine*, and deluded the People of that Country. As he took the Title of *Conqueror*, the eaſier to ſurprize his Nation, he caus'd all his credulous Followers to Arm themſelves. The Seditious falling unexpectedly upon the Chriſtians, who fancy'd they had nothing to fear from a Nation ſo often humbled, made a great Slaughter of 'em; but *Juſtinian*'s Troops ran to the relief of the Oppreſſed: They in a little time diſpers'd theſe Rebels, who wanted Experience, and follow'd the firſt Motions of their Hatred. Their Leader was taken, and puniſh'd with Death, which put an end to that Affair.

There was a ſecond Diſturbance [n], 25 Years after, at *Cæſarea*. The *Samaritans* and *Jews*, tho' mortal Enemies to each other, yet united againſt the *Chriſtians* of this City. They pull'd down [o] the Churches, murder'd many People, kill'd the Governor in his Palace; whoſe Wife eſcaping the Danger, carry'd her Complaints to *Juſtinian*, who ſent ſpeedy Orders to *Adamantius* to bring the Cauſe before him. The Informations being made, and the Jews charg'd with all the Odium and Cruelty of this Violence, *Adamantius* confiſcated the Eſtates of the Rich, put to flight a great number of the Mutineers who had a ſhare in the Action, and took off the Heads of others. The Execution was *ſo bloody, that it made all the Jews of that Country tremble*: And therefore I am ſurpriz'd, that modern Hiſtorians ſhould mention a third Rebellion of the Jews againſt *Juſtinian*; for the *Greek* Hiſtorians, who could not paſs by this Event, ſay not a word of it. *Paul* the Deacon, who is quoted as a Witneſs, upon whom they only depend, is profoundly ſilent about it. And the Terrour of the Puniſhment they had lately felt, was a powerful Motive to retain the moſt Seditious in Obedience.

X. Twas in *Italy* that they declar'd loudeſt againſt *Juſtinian*, and *Beliſarius*, who beſig'd *Naples*. This famous General had recover'd *Africa* to the Em-

[h] An. 551. [i] Evagr. l. 4. c. 34. p. 409. [k] Evagr. l. 4. c. 36. p. 411. An. 552. [l] Beda Collect. ad fin. [m] An. 530. [n] An. 555. [o] Paul. Warnefr. Hiſt. l. 16. B. M. P. t. 13. p. 276. Cedren. p. 316.

peror's Obedience, and vanquish'd the *Vandals*; and in the Triumph decreed him for it at *Constantinople*, he brought out the sacred Vessels of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, which *Titus* had brought to *Rome*, and *Gizeric* had carry'd away, when he plunder'd that great City. This Spectacle, which reviv'd the remembrance of the taking of *Jerusalem*, and the ruin of its Temple, must have disturb'd the Jews of *Constantinople*. Upon this Sight, one of 'em seem'd seiz'd with a Prophetick Spirit, and cry'd, That these precious Vessels ought not to be brought to *Constantinople*, nor placed in the Emperor's Palace. *They can't* (said he [p]) *be preserv'd in any other Place, than that where* Solomon *consecrated them*; *and this is the reason that* Gizeric *has taken* Rome, *and the* Romans *have conquer'd* Gizeric. *Justinian*, who was told of this kind of Oracle, believ'd the Jewish Prophet, and forthwith sent the Gold and Silver Vessels to *Jerusalem*. This Prince's Superstition must be great, to imagine, that God had fix'd the residence of these Vessel at *Jerusalem*, when *Solomon*'s and *Zorobabel*'s Temple were both destroy'd; or that the taking of *Rome*, which happen'd so many Ages after these Vessels were convey'd thither, was a Punishment for not returning them to *Jerusalem*.

The same *Belisarius*, who had conquer'd the *Vandals* in *Africa*, pass'd over into *Italy*, to fight the *Goths*, who were Masters of the principal Places, and he first attack'd *Naples*.

There were two Factions in this great City, one for the Emperor, and the other for the *Goths*, whom the Jews, who were numerous and considerable there, favour'd. The *Imperialists*, to free themselves from the Inconveniencies of a Siege, had represented to *Belisarius*, that it was more advantagious to lay Siege to *Rome*; because if he took that Capital, *Naples*, which continu'd in Subjection to the *Barbarians* but by Force, would naturally return to its Obedience: But he rejected this Proposition, and only made 'em great Promises, if they would Capitulate. The Articles of the Capitulation were already Drawn up, and Accepted by *Belizarius*, who granted all their Demands, when the Friends of the *Goths* pathetically harangu'd the Inhabitants, and supported their Arguments by the Presence of the Jewish Merchants, who were there, to assure the People, that they should neither want Provisions nor Ammunition during the Siege: The Citizens, encourag'd by this Assurance, took heart, and defended the Place for 20 Days with the greatest Vigour. *Belisarius* lost a great many good Officers and Soldiers in the different Assaults, in which he was repuls'd. *Theodatus* ought to have hasten'd to the Defence of so important a Place, and such zealous Subjects. But he said, That he amused himself with consulting the Dæmons, and a Jew, among others, pretending to Magick, who caus'd Thirty Hogs to be shut up: There were Ten in each Stable; the first Ten bore the Name of the *Goths*; the second, that of the *Romans*; and the third, was that of the Emperor. The Stables being open'd three Days after, Eight of the *Gothick* Hogs, and Five of the *Romans*, were found dead, and all the Emperor's alive. He concluded from thence, that most of his Nation should perish; that the *Romans* should suffer a great deal; and that *Justinian* should triumph. Astonish'd with this Presage, he had not the Courage to go and attack *Belisarius* in his Camp, who took *Naples*. The Jews defended that part towards the Sea; and as they were persuaded, they should have no Quarter, since they were the principal cause of the Resistance that was made, they fought like Desperate Men. The City was already taken on another side, whilst they still sustain'd the Enemy's Assault in their Intrenchments: But at last, when Day-light came, they were Forced in 'em. [q] *Procopius* says, that *Belisarius* exhorted his Army to be merciful; but whether he spoke but faintly, or that the Soldiers, bent on Murther and Plunder, were deaf to the General's Advice, or that the Historian design'd to flatter him on this Occasion, the other Writers affirm, that they respected neither Age nor Sex, nor Religion, and, without distinction of Persons, made a great Slaughter: If there was any difference, 'twas in respect of the Jews, who were doubtless more inhumanly treated than the rest. However, it can't be charg'd upon 'em as a Crime, to have continu'd faithful to the *Goths*, who were then their Sovereigns. Pope *Sylverius*'s Action, who design'd to deliver up *Rome* to 'em, and was Convicted at the same time, by many Witnesses, of keeping secret Intelligence with the *Barbarians*, when Obedience was due to the Emperor, was infinitely more criminal.

XI. *Justin* [r] succeeded his Uncle, and ascended the Throne in the Year 565. The Historians [s] say, that he bought a fine Synagogue of the Jews, which remain'd to 'em in the Braziers Quarter at *Constantinople*, and that he turn'd it into a stately Church, which he Consecrated to the Virgin *Calchopratiana*. But they are mistaken. 'Tis true, the Jews were at first settled in that part of *Constantinople*, which took its Name from the *Kettles* and Brass that were sold there, because perhaps they were Artificers in Brass, and traded in it. But they had been a long time driven from thence, and made to dwell in the *Stenor*, where they are at this day. Besides, 'twas *Theodosius the Younger* who built the Church to the Virgin *Calchopratiana*, or *the Seller of Brass and Kettles*. It can't therefore be said, that the Jews had a Synagogue there, or that *Justin* bought it to make a Temple of. The Error of the Historians who have affirm'd it, proceeds from this; that the Church of the Virgin being destroyd by an Earthquake, *Justin* rais'd it again from its Ruins.

XII. Tho' *Mauritius*'s Reign was often troubled with the Wars of the *Avari*, who came from the *Danube*, and made frequent Incursions into *Thracia*, yet the Jews were quiet enough there. This Prince's Avarice, perhaps, contributed to it; for 'twas easie to purchase their Liberty and Peace of him. Besides, the *Avari* were so remote from *Judæa* and *Syria*, that they could not flatter themselves to draw any Assistance from thence; and perhaps their Motions were but little known. But *Phocas* mounting the Throne, by assassinating his Master and his Children, it was fancy'd that this Revolution might cause many Alterations, and that there was Punishment to be fear'd for Crimes, whilst one part of the People submitted to the Tyrant with great reluctancy.

Those of *Syria*, finding themselves powerful at *Antioch*, laid hold on the Opportunity, and Arm'd against the Christians. The Sedition was General, and they fought resolutely on both Sides; but the Jews being the strongest, kill'd a great many People, and burnt others in their Houses, which they had set fire to. The Bishop was treated in a barbarous manner, for they dragg'd him along the Streets, cut off his Privy-Parts, and put them into his Mouth; and after they had carry'd him in this hideous manner, they threw him into the Fire and burnt him. *Phocas* was not a Man that would pardon such a flagrant Excess. The most inhumane Princes would have punish'd it. The Rebels therefore experienc'd his just Severity. He sent Count *Bonosus* to *Antioch*, who could not oblige 'em to lay down their Arms:

[p] Procop. de Bello Vand. l. 2. c 9. p. 255. [q] Procop. de Bello Goth. l. 1. c. 8, 9, 10. p. 329, &c. [r] An. 565. [s] Theophan. An. 569. p. 209. Paul. Diac. l. 16. p. 277.

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He was oblig'd to muſter up Troops, who having beaten 'em, made a great Slaughter. The Priſoners were Executed, Maim'd, and baniſh'd the City. *Nicephorus* [a], relating this Event, has confounded two *Anaſtaſius*'s Biſhops of *Antioch*, who immediately ſucceeded one another. He ſays, that it was the Firſt of theſe Patriarchs that ſuffer'd Martyrdom in the Inſurrection of the Jews, whereas it was undoubtedly the Second, and him, with whom another *Nicephorus* has concluded his Chronicle.

XIII. They were as numerous and formidable in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, where they had found means to eſtabliſh themſelves [b], notwithſtanding the Reſolution that had been taken in *Adrian*'s Reign, of not ſuffering ſo much as Travellers of that Religion there. *Leontius* [c] Biſhop of *Naples*, in that Iſland undertook their Converſion, and publiſh'd an Exhortation to reduce 'em to the Church. We have but one Fragment of it remaining, which comes from a ſuſpected hand; ſince there never was any private Perſon ſo bold as to forge and publiſh falſe Pieces, as the Second Council of *Nicæa*, which has inſerted this in its Acts. As the Idolatry of the Chriſtians, who worſhip the Creature, was the greateſt Scandal to the Jew; *Leontius* alledges, 1. That the Jews ought to be confounded with Shame, to accuſe the Chriſtians of Idolatry; ſince they often worſhipp'd their own Kings, and thoſe of the Idolatrous Nations. For *Abraham* worſhipp'd the Princes of *Canaan*; *Moſes*, his Father-in-Law; and *Daniel*, King *Nebuchadnezzar*. 2. He maintain'd, That if the Jews were puniſh'd for the Worſhip they had paid to the Creature, 'twas becauſe they adored the *Heifers of Samaria*, that is, the *Golden Calves of Bethel*, inſtead of the Sacred Altar in the Temple; which only reſpected the Ten Tribes engaged in the Schiſm. They had alſo worſhipp'd *Aſtarte* the Goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, inſtead of the *Rod of Aaron*; and *Baal*, inſtead of the *Rock* from whence the Waters flow'd in the Deſart. Laſtly, *Leontius* call'd the Jew to witneſs, that the Chriſtians were not Idolatrous; ſince they not only did not ſacrifice their Children, nor Oxen, nor Bullocks, but alſo *had no Altar, nor Sacrifice, nor ſo much as knew what it was*. Theſe Words, ſpoken at the beginning of the VIIth Century, and ſo contrary to the *Sacrifice of the Altar*, are obſervable. We know not what was the ſucceſs of this Attempt, and whether the Inhabitants of the Iſland believ'd what the good Biſhop ſaid, or rather, whether this Exhortation be not a fictitious Piece.

XIV. *Gregory the Great* liv'd at that time: This Pope was perſuaded, that the Jews ought to be cultivated, inſtead of hated, becauſe they were, one day, to be Recall'd. The Foundation, upon which this Great Man built his Maxim, was very weak; for he drew it from the Revelations of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, whom God order'd *to leave his Houſe, to go into the Plain, and afterwards to ſhut himſelf within this Houſe, when he was return'd to it*. He thought that the firſt Order of God was addreſs'd to the Apoſtles, and Miniſters of the Goſpel, who were to leave the Jews ſhut up in the *Houſe of God*, to run after the Gentile Vagabonds diſperſed in the Plain, and Aliens from the Promiſes of the Covenant. But afterwards God order'd 'em to return to this Houſe, to Convert the Jews, or *to ſhut themſelves up with 'em*; becauſe, ſays this Pope, they were to hide themſelves, to eſcape the Violence of Antichriſt, who was then to reign. The General Converſion of this People, was the vehement Object of his Deſires: *Let this Prophet* (ſays he) *ariſe, and go from the Houſe into the Plain, and return ſpeedily again; that the Number of the Gentiles being accompliſh'd*, Judæa *may recover the Faith, and receive the Graces it had loſt*.

Gregory [d] labour'd upon their Converſion, and wrote to his Receiver in *Sicily*, to abate his Farmers, who turn'd Chriſtians, the Third of the Revenues they were indebted to him. "They muſt (ſaid he) "be call'd to the Unity of the Faith by Gentleneſs, "by Perſuaſions, and Charitable Advices. Vio"lence is likely to diſguſt thoſe, whom Gentleneſs "and Charity allure. Menaces and Terror ſtop "thoſe, whom the Idea of God's Juſtice, often re"peated, had ſhaken. The true method to Convert "them, is not to make 'em fear us, by carrying "Severity to exceſs; but to oblige People to come "and hear the Word of God."

He imagin'd it lawful to employ Money, without believing theſe Preſents could infuſe Faith; but, ſaid he, if we Convert not the Fathers, we ſhall Win the Children. The Maxim is not certain; for the Children often diſſemble, aſwell as the Fathers: And it is not lawful to do Evil, upon the uncertain hopes, that Good will come of it. However, the Jews have prais'd this Pope, in their Annals, for his Lenity and Indulgence to 'em: And they had reaſon; for the Abbeſs of St. *Stephen de* [e] *Gergenti* in *Sicily*, deſiring to ſignalize her Zeal to the Pope, and at once to procure ſome Money for her Monaſtery, that was poor, gave him notice, that a great number of *Scicilian* Jews deſired to be Converted. But he would not be dazled with a Notion of Encreaſing the Church. He order'd the Abbeſs not to be too haſty; to wait till theſe Catechumens were well Inſtructed, before ſhe ſuffer'd 'em to be Baptis'd; and if any of them were impatient to receive this Sacrament, becauſe of the Miſeries that threatned the Iſland, yet at leaſt they ſhould be examin'd by a Penance of Forty Days, and he conſented then only to give 'em a Suit for the Ceremony of Baptiſm: And by this Precaution, the Covetous Zeal of the Abbeſs was diſappointed. The Biſhop of *Palermo* in the ſame Iſland, had ſome Controverſies with this Nation, and oppreſs'd them, by employing the Authority of his Office. They complain'd of his Injuſtice to the Pope; who Wrote to this Prelate, to exhort him religiouſly to obſerve the Laws, and to take unſuſpected Judges; and if the Matters could not be agreed, that all theſe Controverſies ſhould be brought to him to be ended.

He [f] had the Equity to condemn the extravagant Zeal of a New Convert of *Cagliari*. A Jew that had receiv'd Baptiſm the Day before, and who thinking he might do any thing now he was turn'd Chriſtian, or that he was to diſtinguiſh himſelf in his new Religion, put himſelf at the head of a company of young People, and went to the Synagogue on an *Eaſter-Day*, and ſet up a Croſs there, with the Image of the *Virgin*. The Chief Officers, Military and Civil, inſtead of approving this Violence, certify'd againſt the Neophyte Jew. The Biſhop himſelf, whom he had conſulted, deny'd his Conſent, and condem'd the Action. *Gregory the Great*, deſiring to corroborate this Prelate in his equitable Notions, praiſes him for not confounding the Evil with the Good, and adviſes him to paſs a Cenſure upon the New Convert, without hearkening to the Excuſes he might make, by caſting the fault upon his Zeal, and love for Religion. He requires, that the Croſs and Image ſhould be remov'd, and the Synagogue left to the Jews; ſince, *tho' the Law forbids 'em to build new ones, it appoints, that they*

[a] Niceph. Call. l. xviii. c. 44. t. ii. p. 867. Zonaras, t. iii. p. 66. Paul. Diac. Hiſt. l. xvii. p. 287. An. 602. [b] An. 606. [c] Leont. Epiſc. Neapoleos Cypri ex V. Sermone pro Chriſt. Apolog. contra Judæos Concil. Nic. II. Act. 4. p. 235, &c. [d] Gregor. l. i. 4. Ind. 13. Ep. 50. p. 533. l. 7. Ep. 24. p. 631. Ep. 26. p. 632. l. 1. Ep. 34. p. 451. [e] *This is* Agrigentum. [f] Id. l. 7. Ind. 2. Ep. 5. p. 638.

ſhould be left the enjoyment of thoſe they had already. And with the ſame Spirit he condemn'd the Biſhop of *Terracina*, who had taken away a Synagogue in his Dioceſe, which the Laws had eſtabliſh'd, and had driven the Jews from another Place, where they were retired for their Devotion.

Laſtly, This Pope, who was often conſulted concerning the Jews Domeſticks, left ſeveral Orders thereupon. He would not have Chriſtian Slaves ſold to 'em, becauſe he thought *the Chriſtian Religion would be diſhonour'd, if it was ſubject to Judaiſm.* He Wrote to Queen *Brunehaut* to hinder this Commerce, which was then made in *France*. He ſent another Letter upon the ſame Subject to the Governor of *Sicily*, which a conſiderable Jew had given the Occaſion of: He had bought many Chriſtian Slaves, whom *Gregory* I. would have reſtored to their Liberty, becauſe the Imperial Laws Commanded it. This ſame *Naſa* had built an Altar to the Prophet *Elias*, and had brought a great many Chriſtians to pay their Devotion before it, becauſe they thought to refer their Worſhip to this Prophet. The Pope having notice of this Conduct, and ſuſpecting that *Juſtin* had been brib'd to tolerate it, vehemently preſs'd the Governor to give the Guilty Corporal Puniſhment. The Story is pretty particular; for the Jews raiſe no Altars to the Creature; they nowhere build any, and believe it would be a Crime to do it. From whence then came this Altar conſecrated to *Elias* by a *Sicilian* Jew? The Pope [g] ſpeaks but dubiouſly of the Fact, and would have new Enquiry made into the Matter, before it was determin'd to attach the Perſon, which may make it ſuſpected. *Baronius* pretends that there was another Idolatry in ſome corner of *Sicily*, where the Jews caus'd the Angels to be worſhipp'd; which oblig'd *Gregory* [h] to Write to *Eutychius*, Biſhop of *Santa Maria di* [i] *Tindaro*, to haſten the Converſion of theſe People, moſt whereof defended themſelves, by the Authority of the Powers that protected them. But *Baronius* is miſtaken; for the Pope does not ſpeak of the Jews in his Letter; and the Analiſt charges them with a Crime, of which they were not guilty.

Laſtly, The Pope [k] Order'd the Jewiſh Servants, who fled to the Church to be Converted, to obtain their Liberty by it. *Januarius*, who was then Biſhop of *Cagliari*, ſent back his fugitive Slaves to their Maſter, as St. *Paul* had done *Oneſimus*, or elſe he bought their Liberty with the Church-Revenues. We may ſay, that the Pope here forgot his uſual Equity; for he would not have the Church-Money employ'd in the Ranſom of theſe People, who became Free, by their Flight; as if the Church and Religion could excuſe a Robbery. However, theſe Letters ſhew, that the Jews were Numerous in *Italy*, in *Sicily*, and *Cagliari*, and that they thitherto preſerv'd their Privileges in all the Places where they were not factious or rebellious.

XV. *Heraclius* chang'd the countenance of the Empire and the neighbouring Kingdoms towards 'em, by Declaring himſelf their Enemy. When he had concluded Peace with the *Perſians*, he reſolv'd to make a Voyage to *Jeruſalem*, to fetch from thence the Wood of the true Croſs. This Wood has been expos'd to a great many Adventures; for after it had been hid 300 Years under Ground, a Jew retriev'd it. It was placed in a Church; the *Perſians* carry'd it away, and kept it a long time: but 'tis preſum'd theſe Infidels reſtor'd it, ſuch as they had taken it. *Sain*, General of the *Perſians*, carry'd it off a ſecond time. *Heraclius* making a Peace with him, re-demanded this Relick. *Siroes*, who reign'd, promis'd to reſtore it, *if he could find it*, For 'tis probable, the *Perſians* did not religiouſly preſerve a Piece of Wood which was of no Uſe to 'em. But at laſt, *Heraclius* received both the Pieces of the Croſs. "He brought 'em to *Jeruſalem*, ſhew'd 'em to *Modeſtus* the Patriarch, who perceiv'd that the Seals "were intire, and that the Relick had not been "touch'd by Prophane Hands. The Key was brought, "and the Shrine open'd: The People ſaw and wor-"ſhipp'd the Croſs, which was afterwards ſent to "*Conſtantinople*, where *Sergius* placed it in the Church "of the *Blackerns*." Thus *Nicephorus* relates [l] the Matter, which may adminiſter great Objections; for *Heraclius* went not to *Jeruſalem* in his return from *Perſia*, but directly to *Conſtantinople*; and 'twas not till the Year following, that he took his Journey to *Paleſtine*. *Modeſtus* was not Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* when the Emperor came there; but *Zachary*, whom the *Perſians* had kept Priſoner, and who was reſtor'd to his See. 'Tis true, that the Criticks remove [m] this Difficulty, by ſaying, that Zachary *died at his return from* Perſia, *and that the Emperor put* Modeſtus *in his Place*. But this muſt be inſerted in *Theophanes*; for theſe Words that have been added to him, are not found in moſt Manuſcripts. Beſides, Can we imagine, that theſe Seals, and the Shrine in which the two Pieces of Wood were put, had not been broken by the *Perſians*, either in the Plunder, or the different Removals it had undergone, or in the obſcure Place it had been thrown into, ſo that the King knew not whether it could be found again? Laſtly, *Nicephorus* is miſtaken [n], in ſaying it was ſent back to *Conſtantinople*, and was depoſited in the Church of the *Blackerns*. 'Tis true, this Church, which was Conſecrated to the *Virgin*, was in ſuch eſteem, that it was preferr'd to *Bethlehem*; becauſe the *Virgin*, inſtead of one delivery in this Place, daily brought-forth ſome new Miracle in the *Blackerns*. Here they kept her Cloaths: But 'tis not true, that they preſerv'd the true or wrong Croſs; for *Heraclius*, who had ſhewn it the Year before to the People of *Conſtantinople* without Seals and Shrine, left it at *Jeruſalem*, when he had reſtor'd it thither, and Devotion was then the Occaſion of his Voyage.

XVI. Coming [o] to *Tiberias*, he found one *Benjamin* a Jew, ſo rich, as to have ſupply'd the Army and Court with Proviſions out of his own Stock: But being a mortal Enemy to the Chriſtians, he often embroil'd and perſecuted them. *Heraclius* being acquainted with it, and not loving the Nation, notwithſtanding the Services he had receiv'd from this Perſon, Cited him before him, and ask'd the reaſon of his unjuſt Proceedings againſt the Chriſtians? He declared, He hated 'em, becauſe they were Enemies to his Religion [p]. I know not whether the Emperor terrify'd him, but at leaſt he talked to him, ſo as to cauſe him to be Baptiz'd: And, to puniſh the whole Nation, he baniſh'd it *Jeruſalem* and forbad it to approach within three Miles of that Place.

The Prediction of ſome Soothſayers he had conſulted, gave him greater Provocation againſt the Jews. This reſtleſs Prince queſtion'd them about the Fate of the Empire, which was in violent Convulſions: And they anſwer'd him, *It ſhould be ruin'd by a Circumcis'd Nation.* As he ſaw the Jews, Numerous

[g] Gregor. l. 2. Ind. 11. Ep. 37. p. 499. [h] Ibid. Ep. 59. p. 500. [i] *This is an ancient City, upon the Ruins whereof a Church was built.* Cicero (*a*) *often ſpeaks of it to* Verres. Dixio hic, quem vides non quæ publicè Tyndari, non quæ privatim ſibi eripuiſti; ſed unicum miſer abs te filium optimum atque innocentiſſimum flagitat. *Et* (*b*) *Silius Italicus*, — Tyndaris attollens ſeſe adſuit. — [k] Greg. l. 3. Ep. 8. p. 516. [l] Niceph. Chronogr. in Herac. c. 5. [m] Goar. Not. in Theoph. p. 609. [n] An. Heracl. 19. [o] An. 628. [p] Theoph. Chron. p. 273.

(*a*) *Cicero in Verr. l. 4.* (*b*) *Sil. Ital. l. 14.*

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merous and Powerful in *Egypt*, *Arabia* and *Persia*, and even in the Empire, *Heraclius* doubted not but they were these Circumcised who were to overturn the State. The Hope of a Restoration, with which they always fed themselves, and the violent Attempts they had made to render their Hopes effectual, encreased this Suspicion against them, and confirm'd the Application of the Oracle. *Heraclius* thought to prevent its Accomplishment, by Persecuting them, and oblige them, by Violence, to abjure their Religion. However, they bore the Punishment of a Revolution they were not the Authors of; it being the *Saracens*, who were Circumcis'd aswell as they, that overturn'd the Empire.

XVII. The Emperor, not contented to persecute 'em in his own Territitories, and to mortifie 'em by several kinds of Punishment, carry'd his Zeal against them into the neighbouring Kingdoms. He wrote to *France*, to oblige 'em to be Converted. He particularly address'd himself to *Sisebut* King of of *Spain*. This Prince had weaken'd the *Romans* by several Victories over 'em, and push'd his Conquests as far as *Portugal*: And the Affairs of the Empire were in so wretched a posture, that *Cæsarius*, who had the Direction of them, despairing to support them, and to help *Heraclius*, made *Sisebut* some Proposals of Peace. The Proposals and Presents were well receiv'd. They began to treat; and *Heraclius* demanded, as a Condition, That the Jews should be expell'd all *Spain*. *Sisebut* granted this Article, which *Heraclius* demanded in very strong Terms, and as an important Service. Instead of consulting of Bishops upon this Subject, says *Mariana*, he made the Decision himself, and *did a thing contrary to the Christian Religion*. The Jews were forc'd to quit their Religion, or to depart all the *Goths* Dominions. They speak of this Persecution, as if it had happen'd much [q] later. They tell how they address'd themselves to the Court, weeping, that they offer'd Money to the Ministers to stop the Course of the Persecution. But the King answer'd, He was oblig'd to make 'em be Baptiz'd; and that if they were Masters, they would not fail to force the Christians to embrace their Religion. They [r] alledg'd the Example of *Joshua*, who never forc'd the Nations to follow *Moses*'s Law. They suppos'd that this Hero, before he attack'd a Place, offer'd 'em a Peace, upon Condition of observing the Seven Precepts of the *Noachides*. The Fact is false: But the King, without examining it, reply'd, That *Joshua* had done what he pleas'd; That he own'd no Authority above his own; That they must Obey, since the Bishops and Supreme Pontiff had inform'd him, *That all who were not regenerate by Baptism, perish'd*. They represented farther, That as the Children of *Israel*, who slighted the *Holy Land*, never enter'd it; it ought to be sufficient to exclude 'em from Eternal Life, since they had no mind to it. *Sisebuc* (for so they call him) maintain'd, *That Men ought to be left a full liberty to accept or reject Temporal Goods; but for those of the Soul, they ought to be forc'd to receive 'em, as a Child is oblig'd to learn his Lesson*. At last, *Sisebut*, weary of all these Reasonings, made the principal of them Prisoners. They were cast into Prison, where they languish'd a long time. Some abandon'd their Religion, to avoid the Punishments they were condemn'd to: Others retired into *France*, where *Heraclius* caus'd 'em to be Persecuted. The Jews insinuate, That they had not liberty to leave *Spain* during *Sisebut*'s Reign; and the Privilege of preferring their Religion to their Country was not granted them, till after his Death. However, 'tis certain, that all those were Banish'd, who could not be conquer'd by Threats and severe Punishments.

XVIII. *Isidorus* of *Sevil* [s], who was one of *Sisebut*'s great Admirers, has yet condemn'd his Prince's Zeal, which was without Knowledge; and instead of Impressing Faith in the Hearts of the People, Commanded it: and being afterwards, at the Head of the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, he caus'd a very Solemn Decree to be made about it. This Council was Assembled by Order of *Sisenand*, who had Dethron'd *Scuintilla* the Son of *Sisebut*, and who, perceiving that People's Minds were divided, because his Competitor was still alive, made use of Religion to Unite 'em. He Conven'd the Prelates of the Kingdom to *Toledo*; he prostrated himself before them, and in that too profound Humiliation of a King to his Subjects, desired a Reformation of Discipline. The Council labour'd for the New King, by giving great Instructions to the *Goths* to Unite under the same Prince, for the Defence of the Nation, and pronouncing *Anathema's* on those who should violate the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to the Usurper. The Council Declared, That neither *Scuintila*, who had Abdicated the Crown, nor his Wife nor Children, nor *Gelanus* his Brother, who had pretended to take *Sisenand*'s part, and had deceiv'd him, should ever be admitted to the Peace of the Church. The Council went also upon the Correction of several Abuses, and made Two Regulations about the State of the Jews. 1. It condemn'd the Violence that had be done 'em by *Sisebut*'s Order, Declaring, That no body ought to be Forc'd to Believe, because, *God Hardens and has Compassion on whom he pleases*; That we can only Save those that desire it; That as the First Man Ruin'd himself wilfully, by crediting the fallacious Promises of the Serpent, Man can't at present be Saved, but by a Free Conversion of his Mind; atd that he ought to be Persuaded, and not Driven to the Faith.

The 2d Regulation, in some sort, derogates from the former; for the Council Orders, That those that are Converted by Violence or Necessity, should be oblig'd to keep the Faith, and continue in the Church; *because they have receiv'd the Sacraments: And the Holy Name of God would be blasphemed, and the Faith villified, by that Circumstance*.

Lastly, They relate an Ordinance of *Sisenand*, who refers the New Converts to the Ecclesiasticks to Force 'em to Perseverance. The Criticks change the Text of the Council, and think this Ordinance was that of *Sisebut*: But they are mistaken; for it speaks of the Prince as Living, *Our Glorious Prince*: And 'tis very probable this Law was made by *Sisenand*, when he perceiv'd that the Jews, who had only dissembled, resum'd their old Religion, when the Persecution ceased. I confess, the Honour of the Church suffer'd, by these New Converts return to the Synagogue: But since this Council condemn'd the Violence, that had forc'd 'em from it against their Wills; Why does it add a new one, to hinder 'em from returning? Is it, that Perseverance in a Religion believ'd to be false, is not as criminal, as the first Entrance? Is it, that these words, *God hardens, and has mercy on whom he pleases*, relate not to Perseverance, aswell as Conversion? The Councils sometimes Reason after a manner that does 'em no Honour.

XIX. Five Years after [u], a much more manifest Inconstancy appear'd in all the Bishops of this Kingdom. *Chintila*, who succeeded *Sisenand*, and was perhaps his Brother, thought also, he ought to bring the Churchmen into his Interest. To which effect, he Call'd the Fifth Council of *Toledo*, which made

[q] An 800. [r] Salomon Ben Virgæ Schævet Juda, p. 93. [s] Isidor. Chron Gothor. p. 402. [t] Concil. Tolet. IV. An. 633. C 57, & 59. t V. p. 1719. [u] Conc. Tolet. V, & VI. An 638. C. 3. t. V. p. 1742.

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many Decrees in his Favour. But to render his Laws more authentick, he caus'd 'em to be confirm'd by another Council assembled the same Year in the same Place. This Council did Three things against the Jews. 1. It recommended its King, who was inflam'd with a Persecuting Zeal; and blessed God, for having given the Nation a Soul so Noble, and so full of Wisdom, and *so inflamed with the Ardour of Faith.* 2. It solemnly ratified the Law that this Prince had made, to Banish all the Jews out of his Kingdom. 3. Lastly, It Decreed, That no King, for the future, should ascend the Throne, till he had taken an Oath never to violate this Law; and Anathematiz'd him, if he broke it. How different are Councils from one another? One Man is sufficient to inspire 'em with contradictory Opinions. The King, perhaps, had a great Influence in this Change: But who knows whether he was not changed himself by Compulsion, or to please the Clergy, whose favour he was willing to gain? 'Tis most probable, this Variation of the two Councils was caused by the Death of *Isidore* of *Sevil.* This prudent and moderate Man, whose Sentiments are known, presided in the Fourth Council of *Toledo*: He died before the Sixth. Hence came the Inconstancy of the Prelates, who having lost their truly Christian President, leap'd from Moderation to Violence.

XX. Be it how it will, the Jews suffer'd much by this Condemnation [a]. These *Visigoth* Kings made a Law, which compleatly authoriz'd Violence. The Law alledges for a Motive, That as *the Violent, are they that take the Kingdom of Heaven by Force*, Men ought to be hasten'd to obtain that Advantage: And it Orders, That every Jew who shall not be Baptized after its Publication, shall receive a Hundred Stripes, and shall be Banish'd, and have all his Goods confiscated.

XXI. *Receswinth* [b] afterwards Call'd several Councils at *Toledo*, where he offer'd 'em a Draught of what ought to be the Subject of their Deliberations. He there reprimanded the criminal Life of the Bishops, who had Concubines, and solicited the Prelates to regulate this Matter, and to prevent the Scandal. They were to Debate about the Election of Kings, in which the Clergy had a great share given them. Lastly, The Jews were not forgotten, who, after their Conversions in the former Reigns, continued to Judaize, which they always did and still do in *Spain.* The King was weary of this Dissimulation, and would have it remedy'd. But the only Remedy, is, to give Liberty to Oppressed Consciences. However, it seems, that this Motion of the King, and the Decrees of the Council, produc'd a comfortable Effect; for the Principals of the Nation met, and wrote to the King, in the the Name of those of *Toledo*, and of all *Spain*, who were in the same Circumstances; protesting to him, That tho' they had hitherto dissembled, being neither perfect Christians, nor perfect Jews; they were resolved to change their Conduct, and sincerely embrace the Christian Religion. They assur'd this Prince, that they would no longer have any Commerce with those of their Nation who were Unbaptis'd; that they would not Intermarry with 'em, nor observe the Sabbath, nor Circumcision; and that if they could not resolve to eat Bacon, because of a long abstinence from it, yet they should make no scruple to eat what was boiled with Hogs-Flesh. Lastly, They promis'd to stone or burn him that should violate this Engagement; and if the King would graciously grant 'em their Lives, they would consent to be his Slaves, and that their Goods should be confiscated. This Letter is so particular, that it looks suspicious. 'Tis most probable it was dictated to 'em, to appease this enraged Prince, and to prevent the rigorous Executions of the Laws. Indeed, the following Councils of *Toledo* were often taken up with correcting this Dissimulation.

XXII. The Jews made so publick a Profession of the Law, as oblig'd *Ervigius* to Order the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo* to Write against 'em. They attack'd the Christian Religion, and then enforc'd an Argument taken from *Jesus-Christ*'s not being born in the Sixth *Millenium*, which had been fix'd for his Appearance. *Julian* of *Toledo*, in Obedience to his Prince's Orders, took Pen in Hand, and shew'd, by a long Discussion of the Prophets, that the *Messiah* must have been born. He ask'd them, [c] *Where was their Promis'd Land, since they were driven out of it?* We look (said he) for the Kingdom of the Jews, and there is no such thing; we look for their Altar, and there is none to be found; and for their Priesthood, and discover it no-where: we ask, where are the Sacrifices? and no body answers; because all these things are abolish'd, as *Daniel* had foretold. To prevent this Reproach, the Doctors said, and had said it *long before*, That they had a King in some corner of the East, who ruled over the Nation. But *Julian* [d] taxed them with advancing an indefensible Falshood. Lastly, He proves to 'em, That *Jesus-Christ* was born in the Sixth *Millenium*, in the Year of the World, 5325. But to support this Chronology, he is oblig'd to espouse that of the LXX Interpreters, which he takes for Inspired Men. He [e] asserts likewise, That *the* Latin *Church makes use of a Version, which is made by theirs:* which shews, that the *Spanish* Churches had not yet receiv'd St. *Jerom*'s Version, and that they had a very different one from the Vulgar. 'Twas upon the same Principle, that he accus'd the Rabbins of having corrupted the *Hebrew* Text, out of Jealousie to the Christians, and earnestly exhorted them not to follow it. However, this Accusation was ill-grounded, and the Chronology of the *Hebrew* Text is more exact than the *Septuagint*, which ruins the best part of this Bishop's Book, who wrote at the end [f] of the VIIth Century.

Egica complain'd [g] of a Conspiracy which the Jews and their dispersed Brethren in *Africa* had made against his Government. This Prince represented to the Council Assembled at *Toledo*, That the Mischief was spread into all the Provinces of the Kingdom: That it had not pass'd the *Alps*, nor come into *France*; but that it was nevertheless worthy of Consideration; and that it could not be dissembled or tolerated: And therefore he demanded not only the Council's Advice, but Assistance. Upon Deliberation, it was Resolved, That all the Jews should be degraded of their Privileges; declared Slaves for ever; That their Estates should be confiscated, and their Children Educated by Christians, This manifests the Error of *Luke* of *Tudela*, who affirms, that the Jews came not into *Spain* till the Reign of *Vitiza*, who invited them; for *Vitiza* was the Son of *Agica*, who persecuted them: and they had been settled in this Country for many Ages, Another [h] Author is more grosly mistaken, in placing *Vitiza*'s Reign in the Year 520. and *Sisibut*'s five Years before; for the one reign'd in the beginning of the VIIth Century, and the other at the end of it. How then could he place 'em so near one another in the beginning of the VIth Century.

XXIII. They were not much happier in *France*; but they commonly brought the Miseries they suffer'd upon themselves. They had made but little Figure there in the first Ages; and, excepting the Laws of *Constantine*, which mention'd them in *Belgick Gaul*, 'tis hard to find any footsteps of their Establishment and Power in this great Kingdom. For the Historians seldom mention them in the beginning of the VIth Century; and they even begin to talk of 'em, in a manner that disgraces 'em; for they speak of a treasonable Attempt of theirs, upon *Cæsarius* Bishop of *Arles*. Upon *Alaric*'s being kill'd by *Clovis*, his Troops, went to besiege *Carcassone*; and the Troops of *Bourguignon*, his Ally, invested *Arles*. *Theodoric* sent an Army to the Assistance of his Grandson, whom they deprived [i] of the finest Cities of his Kingdom. The Soldiers plunder'd the Monastery that *Cæsarius* had built for his Sister. He was suspected to have had Intelligence with the *French*, and to have design'd to betray the City. The Jews who were besieg'd with him, vehemently supported this Accusation. Upon these Suspicions, the Bishop was Arrested and Imprison'd. I know not how he came to be found, some time after, conceal'd in his Palace: 'Tis only said, that God wrought a Miracle, to oblige the *Goths* to bring him back. In the mean time, as he remain'd there very secretly, the Jews, who believ'd him dead, triumph'd, and proclaim'd what they had done. Their Triumph lasted not long; for a Jew, pretending to shoot Arrows from the Wall, upon the Besiegers Camp, sent a Note of Intelligence, in which he exhorted the Enemy to approach the Place by Night where he kept Guard, and to scale it, and he would suffer 'em to enter the City, upon Condition, that all the Persons of his Nation should be secur'd from Plunder. The Billet was found next Morning, and discover'd the Treachery of the Jew, and the Innocence of *Cæsarius*, who, like another *Daniel*, came out of the Lion's Den. Thus speaks one of his Disciples, call'd *Cyprian*, who wrote his Master's Life.

[a] Leges Visigoth. l. 12. tit. 3. l. 3. [b] Conc. Tolet. VIII. An. 653. [c] Julian. Tolet. contra Jud. l. 1. B. R. t. 4. p. 126. [d] Ibid. p. 122. [e] Id. l. 3. p. 139, 141. [f] An. 686. [g] Ibid. in fin. [h] Jacobi Schudt Compendium Historiæ Judaicæ, l. 3. c. 8. [i] An. 503.

XXIV. In

XXIV. In the mean time, I can't conceive, how the Jews Treaſon made *Cæſarius* Innocent; and a very ſtrong Preſumption ſtill lies againſt him. For the Hiſtorians own [k], that *Clovis* advanced to *Aquitain*, invited by the *Orthodox Biſhops*, who being tired with the Yoke of the *Arian Viſigoths*, were willing to reſtore Liberty and Repoſe to the Church. *Cæſarius* was one of theſe Orthodox Biſhops, conſiderable in his Party, and who doubtleſs lean'd, with the reſt of the Prelates, to *Clovis*'s Side. Moreover, a Citizen of *Arles*, a Clerk, and Couſin of *Cæſarius*, went over to the Camp of the Beſiegers. *Cyprian* ſays, The Devil had inſpired him with this Deſign, through his Hatred to the Saints. This is ſoon ſaid: But thoſe who don't believe the Devil to be Maſter of the Heart of Man, and who read in the Hiſtorians, that the Biſhops paſſionately deſired to change their Maſter, will eaſily believe, that *Cæſarius*'s Clerk and Couſin was influenc'd by a Biſhop, rather than a Devil. And indeed, this was the Notion of the *Goths*, who Committed *Cæſarius* Priſoner, upon this Indication; which prov'd a great deal. Laſtly, A Jew might have the ſame View as *Cæſarius*; and the Crime of the one, does not make the other Guiltleſs. It only appears by this, that the Jews were employ'd in Arms by the *Goths*, and were intruſted with the Cuſtody of *Arles*, like the reſt of the Inhabitants.

XXV. *France* changing its Maſter, the *Romans* being expell'd, and the *Viſigoths* depreſs'd, the Jews laid hold of this Revolution, to make their Way into ſeveral Places, where they were not before. At leaſt we find, after *Clovis*, the Kings and Councils of this Kingdom to make many Regulations relating to their Conduct and Liberty. They muſt have been ſettled at *Paris*, and the adjacent Parts; ſince *Childebert*, to whom this Kingdom fell by Lot, publiſh'd [l] an Ordinance, forbidding them to appear in the Streets from *Maunday-Thurſday* till *Eaſter-Sunday*: becauſe he fear'd, that the People's Devotion might cauſe ſome Inſurrection againſt 'em; or that they might take advantage of that Conjuncture, when the Churches were full, and the Streets empty, to execute ſome villianous Deſign. The Council of *Orleans*, held in the Year 540. made ſuch another Ordinance; which ſhews, that they were ſpread in the Kingdom.

XXVI. They were eſpecially ſeen [m] Numerous and Potent in the Dioceſe of *Uzes*, ſince *Ferreol*, the Biſhop of it, fell under the King's Diſpleaſure, and was baniſh'd on their Account. He thought that he might Convert them, by living familiarly with them. This Familiarity render'd him ſuſpected: 'Twas imagin'd he engag'd in their Intereſts, and probably in their Opinions. He was oblig'd to quit his Biſhoprick, and go to *Paris*, to juſtifie himſelf to *Childebert*. He continued there many Years in Exile. But the King being convinc'd of his Innocence, and having reſtored him to his Biſhoprick, he fell into another Extreme, and expell'd all the Jews from his Dioceſe. Some make a Martyr of him: But it is much more certain, that he built St. *Paul*'s Church, and a Monaſtery, for which he made Statutes, which are preſerved to this Day.

XXVII. *Avitus* Biſhop of *Clermont* went alſo to Convert the Jews of *Auvergne*; but the Means he employ'd, were not always lawful; and, on the other hand, the Incredulous fell into a criminal Violence: For a New Convert entring the City with his White Habit, upon his receiving Baptiſm; a Man of his Nation, enraged to ſee him in that Figure, threw upon him a Pot of ſtinking Oil. The People Rioting upon that Inſolence, were going to tear him in Pieces, if *Avitus* had not oppoſed it: But their Revenge was only retarded; for [n] on *Aſcenſion-Day*, the Chriſtians of *Clermont* Mutinying, quitted the Proceſſion, to pull down the Synagogue:

Et campus patuit, quo Synagoga fuit.

Avitus took occaſion to Write to the Jews, That he did not approve the Violence; but that, as a Shepherd, who was to take care of his Flock, and ſeek the ſtraggling Sheep, he exhorted them to Believe as he did, or leave the City:

Aut admitte preces, aut rogo cede loco.

And indeed, the Jews preferr'd Chriſtianity before Exile. *Venantius* has ſung this Converſion as a miraculous Event, which muſt render *Avitus* as acceptable to God, as *Abraham* was by the Sacrifice of his Son. Poets not only are Hyperbolical in their Encomium's, but, what is ſtrange, they change the Nature of Things. *Venantius* affirms, there was no Violence uſed in theſe Converſions. Whereas the Biſhop baniſh'd the Unbelievers out of his City; and they did not begin to ſend him their Confeſſion of Faith, till the People had Impriſon'd them, or threatned to Murder 'em. *Venantius* does not diſſemble it; but he calls [o] Gentleneſs, what we call Violence:

Vis hic nulla premit, quivis te collige liber,
Aut meus eſto ſequax, aut tuus eſto fugax.
Aſi Judæa manus ſimulante furore rebellis,
Colligitur, rapitur, conditur inde domo.
Chriſticolæ ut cernunt tunc agmina manzara jungi,
Protinus inſiliunt quâ latet ille dolus.
Si fremerent gladiis, ſentirent juſta, cadentes
Vtvere quò poſſint, aut daret alma fides.
Legati occurrunt, vati mandata ferentes:
Nos Judæa manus, jam tua caula ſumus.
Ne pereant acquire Deo qui vivere poſſunt,
Si mora ſit morimur, & tua lucra cadunt.
Tende celer greſſum; properes niſi præpete curſu,
Funera natorum ſunt tibi flenda, pater.

Thus the Threats of the Biſhop, and the Fury of the People had their Effect. The fear of a cruel Death, enlightned the Jews, and threw off the Veil of *Moſes*; and on the third Day, a part of the People ſent their Confeſſion of Faith to the Biſhop, deſiring to be Baptized; which was perform'd on *Whit-Sunday*. Thoſe who had courage to perſevere, were baniſh'd the City, and oblig'd to return to *Marſeilles*, from whence they came.

XXVIII. St. *Germain*, Biſhop of *Paris*, a little after, made another Converſion. [p] He was come to *Bourges*, to aſſiſt at *Felix*'s Ordination, who was nam'd to that Biſhoprick. Here he found one *Sigerius* a Jew, whom he Converted without much trouble; but his obſtinate Wife would neither ſee nor ſpeak to the Biſhop. He went to her, and ſuſpecting that ſome Enchantment hinder'd her Converſion, touch'd her Forehead. Immediately a thick Smoke proceeded from this Woman's Noſtrils. The Charm was diſpell'd, and the Devil who bound her, being departed, ſhe attended to the Exhortations ſhe had deſpiſed; demanded Baptiſm, and was Converted, with all her Houſe. We think it not neceſſary to believe that the Devil throws out ſuch a groſs Smoke, when he departs from the Poſſeſſed; or that he went out by her Noſtrils, and by St. *Germain*'s Touch. But we muſt relate what the Hiſtorians attribute to their Saints, when this ſerves to diſcover the Places where the Jews dwelt, and the different Means that were employ'd to Convert 'em.

XXIX. King *Chilperic*, who found 'em Rich and Conſiderable in his Kingdom of *Soiſſons* and *Paris*, alſo [q] undertook their Converſion. Bad Princes think to atone for their Sins, by an Expedient that coſts 'em no inward Regret: They often follow the Suggeſtions of Pride and Cruelty; and they ſatisfie their Paſſions, inſtead of impugning them, when they labour to change the Heart of others, inſtead of reforming their own. *Chilperic*, a wicked King, made it an honour to Force the Jews, and preſent them to the Font. But this Sacrament was prophan'd by theſe New Converts. It was quickly perceiv'd, that they obſerv'd *Saturday* aſwell as *Sunday*. *Priſcus*, the moſt Conſiderable of the Nation, refuſing to diſſemble, boldly maintain'd to the King, That God had no Wife; and that a God could not be Born, or be Scourged. He was [r] put in Priſon; but he came out again, for his Money: and requiring Time, to marry his Son to a Chriſtian; a Converted Jew, who was the King's God-ſon, quarrel'd with him, kill'd him, and eſcap'd, with his Conſpirators, to the Church of St. *Julian*, as to a ſafe Sanctuary. The King gave *Phatir*, the Principal in the Murder, his Life, who retired to *Burgundy*, from whence he came; but he was kill'd there a little after. One of the Conſpirators kill'd all the reſt in their Sanctuary, and afterwards attempted to flie; but the People took away his Life. And ſo no great Advantage was procured from theſe Deſigns of *Chilperic*; and indeed, he was ſet on by a Motive that God could not bleſs.

XXX. *Lunel* became afterwards one of the moſt famous Academies of the Jews in the *Weſt*. The Youth came to Study there, from the remoteſt Countries, and found not only able Doctors that inſtructed them, but an Exemplary Charity. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* affirms, that

[k] Fragmenta de Moribus & Geſtis Francor. Hiſt. Fr. Script. t. 1. p. 232. [l] An. 540. [m] An. 556. Le Cointe Annal. [n] Gregor. Tuton. Hiſt. Franc. l. V. c. 11. p. 315. [o] Venantius, l. IV. Ep. 5. B. M. P. t. X. p. 554. [p] Fortunatus Vita S. Germani, c. 64. An. 579. [q] Gregor. Turon. ibid. p. 326. [r] An. 585.

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the Doctors maintain'd their Scholars, and ſupply'd 'em with Cloaths, all the time that they ſtay'd in the Academy. Perhaps ſuch liberal Maſters were never ſeen. 'Twas from this City, in the Neighbourhood of *Montpelier* and *Niſmes*, that *Salomon*, the Son of *Iſaac*, took the Name of [r] *Lunatick*, or *Jarki*, who was one of the learned'ſt Rabbins that *France* ever bred. *Bartolocci* relates the Teſtimony of a Rabbin, who ſays, that *Salomon* was born at *Troyes*, or *Treves*, a City of [illegible]edoc, or *Narboneſe Gaul*. He was of *Troyes* in Champagne; but this City is not in *Languedoc*, as the Rabbin ſays, who is quoted by *Bartolocci*. In the mean time an ancient Tradition ſays, that *Lunel* was his Native Place, ſince he took from thence his Title of *Lunatick*. He was an ingenious Man, and his Deciſions are the more eſteem'd, becauſe he had collected them from the Mouth of the Doctors of all the Jewiſh Academies where he paſs'd, having, for that effect, run thro' almoſt all Parts of the World, where there were People of his Nation. The Chriſtians don't like his Commentaries upon the Scripture, becauſe he has fill'd 'em with *Talmudick* Notions: And ſome even can't bear that he ſhould ſay, upon the beginning of *Geneſis*, That *Moſes* ſpoke of this great Work, to ſhew, that God, the Maſter of the Nations he had form'd, had a Right to expell the Inhabitants from *Canaan*, to give it the Jews. But it would be happy, if there were none but ſome Prejudices of this kind in his Writings. If we rob the City *Lunel* of *Jarki*, we muſt reſtore to it *Zerachia* the Levite, for he was a Native of this Place: And if he be call'd a *Spaniard*, 'tis only becauſe *Lunel*, aſwell as the reſt of *Languedoc*, then depended upon *Spain*; or becauſe he left his Country, to live at *Vigera*, a City but little known, but which yet is placed among thoſe of *Spain*. He Wrote a Book, [s] intitl'd, *The Two Luminaries*; either becauſe he pretended to diſſipate the Darkneſs or Errors of *Iſaac Alphes*; or becauſe he deſign'd to allude to his Name, which ſignified, *The Lord is Riſen*. His Writing was not long Unanſwer'd, and a Diſciple of *Alphes* Refuted it out of hand.

Many of the Learned have imagin'd, that the Jews were ſettled at *Lunel* in *Gregory the Great*'s time; and that this Pope wrote to the Biſhop of that City, to oblige him to retrieve ſome Chriſtians, whom the Jews had made their Slaves. But he that *Gregory* wrote to was not Biſhop of *Lunel*, but of *Luna*, a Biſhoprick ſituate between *Lucca* and *Genoa*. *Gregory the Great* [u] expreſly ſhews, in the following Letter, that this Biſhoprick is to be ſought in *Italy*, ſince he joins the Biſhoprick of *Milan*, *with that of Luna*, to correct ſome Abuſes that had crept into Religious Houſes. How could it be imagin'd that the Biſhop of *Milan* ſhould go to reform the Abuſes of the Convents of *Languedoc*? *Luna*, call'd at preſent *Sarzana*, muſt have been particularly known by the *Italian* Authors, and even by others, from *Lucan*:

Alaos [w] *vicinæ procurrit in æquora Lunæ.*

The Names of theſe Cities are very different. Beſides, all the Rabbins, who have made the City *Lunel* famous, lived not till the XIth, or even the XIIth Century. So that the Academy could only be erected at that time; and *Gregory*'s Letters don't relate to it.

XXXI. 'Tis true however, that this Pope [x] concern'd himſelf in the Affair of the Jews of this Province. *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Marſeilles* was a turbulent Man, who had already embroil'd himſelf with King *Guntram*, who had forc'd him from his Biſhoprick, and convey'd him towards *Treves*, under a ſtrong Guard. It was not permitted to ſee him; and he ſcarce had wherewithal to cover his Nakedneſs. This Man, being eſcap'd from the Danger that had threatned him, reſolv'd to make the Jews in his Dioceſe, or that came to Trade there, feel his reſtleſs and violent Temper. *Virgilius* Biſhop of *Arles*, an ambitious Prelate, ſeconded *Theodorus*'s Attempts. The Oppreſſed had recourſe to the Pope, who Wrote to the two Biſhops, to exhort them to Moderation; becauſe the Baptiſm they conferr'd on theſe pretended Converts, *cauſed their Death, inſtead of giving 'em Life*; and their Relapſes became more ſcandalous, than their Converſion could be edifying. *Gregory*'s Letter informs us, that there were a great many Jews in that Province, and that they came from remote Countries to Traffick there.

XXXII. They quickly fell under a more violent Perſecution. [y] *Dagobert*, who reign'd alone in *France*, declared he could no longer ſuffer them in his Kingdom, unleſs they became Chriſtians. *Heraclius*, who had already expell'd them out of the Empire, had obtain'd the ſame thing in *Spain*; and ſent Embaſſadors to *Dagobert*, to oblige him to imitate theſe Examples. The King, who ſet up for Bigottry, notwithſtanding his ſcandalous Debaucheries, embrac'd ſo eaſie an Occaſion of pleaſing the People, and giving publick teſtimonies of his Zeal. He Aſſembled the Prelates of the Kingdom, to whom he communicated his Deſign, and the Requeſt of the Emperor. The Clergy approv'd the Reſolution of the Prince, which was an Argument of his Piety; and Order'd all the Jews, upon pain of Death, to depart his Dominions, or to embrace Chriſtianity: which was executed with a great deal of Rigour. Some ſuffer'd the hardſhips of a ſecond Flight; for they were come into *France* to ſeek Reſt, to avoid *Siſebut*'s Perſecution in *Spain*; and they ſaw themſelves baniſh'd once again: Others yielded to the Temptation, and preferr'd Diſſimulation, before Baniſhment.

XXXIII. *Wamba*, King of the *Goths* in *Narboneſe Gaul*, attempted the ſame thing towards the end of the VIIth Century *; but he met with Reſiſtance, and caus'd an Inſurrection which he did not expect. For the Abbot *Raymirius* Biſhop of *Maguelonne*, and the Count of *Toulouſe*, joining together, took upon 'em the Protection of the Jews, and oppoſed the Execution of the Edict; and Arming the People, plunder'd all the Country as far as *Niſmes*, whoſe Biſhop they had put in Chains, becauſe he would not engage in their Party. The Diſorder encreaſed, by the arrival of Count *Paul*, who came to appeaſe it: He was originally a *Greek*, and had a great ſhare in *Wamba*'s Favour, who gave him the Command of his Army againſt the Rebels. Inſtead of giving them Battle, he Declared for 'em; took *Narbonne*, and caus'd himſelf to be Crowned King. *Wamba*, who was at War with the *Navarrois*, quickly made Peace; and falling into *Languedoc* with three different Armies, retook *Narbonne*, and ſurpriz'd Count *Paul* in *Niſmes*. He hid himſelf in the Vaults of the Amphitheatre, expecting that the Arch-Biſhop of *Narbonne* would obtain his Pardon; but two Soldiers dragg'd him from thence by the Hair, and he was put in Chains. The King had him brought to the Bar, and after many Formalities, which it is needleſs to relate, he was found Guilty of High-Treaſon, and Condemn'd to Death: reſerving to the King the liberty of Pardoning him, on Condition that his Eyes ſhould be Put out, and that he ſhould remain a Priſoner. The Edict againſt the Jews was executed afterwards: The King † baniſh'd them from *Narbonne*, and return'd to *Toledo*, making Count *Paul* walk before him, carrying a Crown of Pitch upon his Head; with the principal Rebels, who were drawn in Carts, in wretched Habits made of Camels-Hair, with their Heads and Beards ſhorn, which was at that time a Mark of Infamy.

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[r] *By alluding to the Hebrew word, which ſignifies*, the Moon. *He was born in* 1105. [s] An. 1150. Bartol. B. R. t. V. p. 822. [u] Greg. I. l. 11. Ep. 21, & 22. p. 421. [w] Lucan. l. 11. [x] Greg. I. l. 1. Ep. 45. p. 458. [y] Geſta Dagoberti, p. 580. Fredegarii Chronicon. Hiſt. Fr. t. I. p. 758. * An. 629. * An. 675. † Catel's *Memoirs for the Hiſtory of* Languedoc, l. 3. p. 308.

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The END *of the Sixth Book, and of the Fourth Volume.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The Seventh and Laſt BOOK.
Containing the Hiſtory of their Diſperſions in the Eaſt and Weſt, from the eighth to the eighteenth Century.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of the King of Cozar: *Whether he and his Kingdom embraced Judaiſm in the eighth Century. The Letters of another King of* Cozar *examin'd.*

I. *The Deſign of this Chapter.* II. *The* Cozareans *Deſcendants of* Japhet. *Jews in that Country.* III. *Several Deſcriptions of the Kingdom of* Cozar. IV. *That of* Iſaac *the Son of* Abraham. V. Sangari's *Conference with the King of* Cozar. VI. *This Prince's Converſion to Judaiſm.* VII. Chaſdai *who ſpeaks of it, liv'd in the tenth Century.* Bartolocci's *Error.* VIII. Chaſdai's *pains to find out this Kingdom.* IX. *His Letter to King* Joſeph. X. *The King's Anſwer.* XI. Bula's *Converſion.* XII. *The Deſcription of his Territories and Provinces.* XIII. *The time of the coming of the Meſſias.* XIV. *Remarks proving theſe Facts falſe.*

I. THE Converſion of the King of *Cozar*, makes one of the moſt conſiderable Events of the Jewiſh Hiſtory. They have placed this King in the eighth Century; and ſay, that after he had examin'd all Religions, in his Conferences with the Chriſtians and Philoſophers, he determin'd himſelf in favour of that of *Moſes*, and publickly profeſs'd it. *Judas Hallevy* not only relates this Fact in all its Circumſtances; but has alſo preſerv'd the Arguments and Objections that were made to the King of *Cozar*; and this the Doctors have thought ſo ſolid a Work, as to recommend it *to be learnt by Heart*, and made uſe of in every thing it contains. This *Judas Hallevy* was a Spaniſh Poet, of the twelfth Century, who after his writing this Book, reſolv'd to make his Pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Upon ſight of *Jeruſalem* he tore his Cloaths, and continu'd his Journey bare-foot, ſinging a Canticle of his making, with theſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *Thy Servants think upon theſe Stones:* A Muſſulman, who took him for a Madman, or was provoked with this Devotion, kill'd * him, being fifty Years of Age. Let us at preſent ſee what account he gives.

II. *Cozar* was the youngeſt of the Sons of *Japhet*, according to the *Arabians*; but the *Jews* ſay he was only his Grandſon, by *Thogarma*. And indeed *Joſeph* the *Hebrew* reckons *Chozar* among the ten Children of *Thogarma*. He parted from his Brethren, to go and People the World, that was depopulated by the Deluge. He arriv'd, ſay they, on the Banks of the *Volga*, where he built a City, and gave it his own Name. The Inhabitants of the neighbouring Country, ſituate on the North of the Caſpian Sea, took alſo the ſame Title, whether by reaſon of their Alliance with the *Cozarians*, or becauſe they deſcended originally from their Founder. However there was ſuch a Kingdom as *Cozar*, with Cities in it, whereof *Thogarma* was one of the chief. Some pretend, that the Jews of the Ten Tribes diſperſed by *Salmanazur*, in *Media* beyond the River *Gozan*, paſs'd above the Caſpian Sea, into the Country *Cozar* had peopled, and advanc'd as far as the Confines of *Tartary*, and from thence to *China*: They maintain'd themſelves in the Kingdom they had ſeiz'd; and there it was that *Mahomet* went to ſee them in his way to Heaven, where he was travelling. But this Tradition, which places the Jews in the Kingdom of *Cozar*, before the King we are going to ſpeak of, does not agree with the Account of the Conference we have received; For this Prince was an Heathen; and if there were any Jews in his Kingdom or Neighbourhood, they lay conceal'd, and perform'd their Religious Worſhip in the Caves of the Rocks and Mountains.

III. 'Tis a difficult thing to find out this Kingdom of *Cozar*; It is placed in *Tartary*, but no body can diſcover it there. One ſays, that this Kingdom being ſituate on the Banks of the Caſpian Sea, that is the reaſon that the *Arabians* give it the Name of *Cuſar*. Another dividing the Earth into ſix different Climates, aſſerts that the ſixth commences at the Kingdom of *Gog* and *Magog* and *Cuſar*, and proceeds to include *Conſtantinople* and *France* in it. A Traveller † affirms, that he abode eight Days in this Kingdom; that it is ſeparated by an arm of the Sea from

* An. 1140. † R. Petachia apud Buxt. in Coſri Præf.

Tartary; that the Women there continually lament their dead Relations: Seven great Rivers iſſue from its Frontiers; it has two Seas a days Journey diſtant from each other. One is ſo fetid, that it kills all that ſail in it with its ſtench: When the Wind blows from that Coaſt, moſt of the Inhabitants and Travellers fall ſick. The City of *Thogarma* is ſituate on the Mountains of *Ararat*; the Law of *Mahomet* is profeſs'd there. Paſſing from thence you come to *Niſibe*, which is remote from it a Weeks march; in which there is a Synagogue and a School, which *R. Juda* the Son of *Betira* built after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. There are two others founded by *Eſdras*. There is ſtill to be ſeen a red Stone, which *Juda* took out of the Ruins of the Temple, and is preſerv'd as a precious Relick. One would think there could be no doubt of the reality of a Kingdom of this Name, upon the Teſtimony of a Man, who affirms he made an eight days ſtay in it, and gives the Deſcription of it. Let us add the Account of another Doctor, *Iſaac* the Son of *Abraham*, it being neceſſary to diſcover the place, in order to be able to judge of the Truth of the Hiſtory.

IV. *Iſaac*, deſigning to prove that the Scepter was not yet departed from *Judah*, as had been ſo often objected to him, made a diligent Search after a place where his Nation had a Kingly Government, and a Supream Authority. This Man travelling from * *Conſtantinople* to *Egypt*, met with an old *Turk* in the Ship, who after a Relation of all the Wonders he had ſeen in the *Indies*, and the Land of *Chaluſch*, aſſured him that there were alſo Jews who acknowledg'd no other Soveraign than one of their own Appointment. Arriving at *Alexandria*, and deſiring to be more certainly convinc'd of the Truth of it, he made ſeveral Enquiries to no purpoſe; but at laſt the Prince's Phyſician, who was a Jew, not only aſſur'd him that the thing was true, but related divers Circumſtances, which confirm'd his Aſſertion. At laſt he found the Letters of *Joſeph* King of *Cozar* to a *Spaniſh Rabbin*, which permitted him no longer to doubt that there was a Kingdom under the Soveraignty of the Jews. The worſt of it is, that after all theſe Informations, it remains ſtill equally uncertain whether there be a Kingdom of *Cozar*; or rather it is evident that there is none at all, ſince neither the Jew, who has ſo great an Intereſt in diſcovering it, nor the Chriſtians who have travell'd, are able to ſhew its Situation; and all that we have been relating is founded upon Fables, or a Tradition void of Proofs.

V. However they ſay, that a certain King of *Cozar*, in the Year 740, reſolved to acquaint himſelf with all Religions, in order to chooſe the beſt, being determin'd to this Enquiry by a Dream. This was a devout Prince, and ſacrificed to falſe Gods with an upright Heart; but an Angel advertiſed him, that notwithſtanding the Purity of his Intentions, his Devotion was not acceptable to God. Hereupon he reſolv'd to find out the way how he might pleaſe the Deity, and make his Sacrifices accepted; and held Conferences with a *Philoſopher*, a *Chriſtian*, and a *Mahometan*. All this was diſpatch'd in a very little time, and in few words. Diſliking all theſe Religions, he ſent for a *Jew*, for whom at firſt he had a vaſt Contempt, as believing this Nation was quite ſunk; and that ſo long a Train of Miſeries had exhauſted it of every good Quality. Notwithſtanding, *Sangari* (for that was the *Rabbin*'s Name who diſputed with *Coſri*) had the Happineſs to pleaſe him, and convince him that *Judaiſm* was the beſt of all Religions. He inſiſted much upon the Excellency of the Jews, and the Preference God gave them above all Mankind beſides, who, tho' they are devout, can be no more compared with them, than as a dead Image with a living Body. He maintain'd, that *Judea* was ſuperior to all the other Countries of the World; that *Adam* was created in it, and alſo buried there in *Abraham*'s Sepulchre. He muſt have been ill-acquainted with the Situation of the Terreſtrial Paradice, to place our firſt Parents in *Judea*. However he added, † That the Diſpute which aroſe betwixt *Abel* and *Cain*, which occaſion'd the firſt Murder, proceeded from their joynt deſire to have each of them the *Holy Land* in their Diviſion. *Cain* went out from the *Face of God*; that is, from *Judea*. Thus *Jonah* fled from the Preſence of God to *Tarſis*, becauſe he quitted the *Holy Land*, which was called the *Face of God*. The Prophets were only divinely inſpired in its Boſom, or for its ſake; for *Abraham* and *Daniel* propheſied purely on this Land's account. It is better to live in it with Infidels, than to inhabit in any other place with Jews. No body can oblige his Wife, his Children, or his Slaves, to go out of it; but an Husband is oblig'd to follow his Wife, or to reſtore her Portion, if ſhe reſolves to go and live and dye in the *Holy Land*; and the Wife that does not attend her Husband in his Pilgrimage thither, forfeits all her Rights.

VI. The Jew had other Arguments to convince the King. And it muſt be confeſs'd, that he handled a great many Subjects in preſence of this Prince, who ‖ durſt not diſcover his Deſign, for fear of a Revolt from his Idolatrous Subjects. He truſted this Secret to the General of his Army, and departing privately with him, they arriv'd at certain Mountains ſtanding in a Deſart near the Sea, the Night ſurprizing, and obliging them to enter a Cave, they found Jews in it keeping the Sabbath. The Prince and the General, over-joy'd at this Adventure, made their Abjuration to theſe Jews, and being Circumcis'd, reſum'd their way back to the Capital. The King artfully cultivated his Officers and People. In the mean time, the Noiſe of his Converſion being ſpread abroad, thoſe who had hitherto diſſembled their *Judaiſm*, openly profeſſed it, and converted the *Cozareans*. *Rabbins* and Doctors were ſent for from ſeveral places to inſtruct the new Converts, and to convert the reſt; and above an Hundred thouſand imbraced this Religion. A Tabernacle was built, perfectly like that which *Moſes* ſet up in the Wilderneſs. The original Jews were exceedingly honour'd, and the King himſelf reſolv'd to have a Preceptor of that Nation, to remove his remaining Doubts, and to open to him all the Precepts of the Law. He had moſt Inclination for the Caraites, who are ſcrupulouſly addicted to the Law, and more zealous than the Traditioniſts; but he yielded to the Reaſons of *Sangari*, who was a Rabbaniſt. The King grew happy and potent; he triumph'd over his Enemies; he diſcover'd hidden Treaſures in the Bowels of the Earth; he made new Conqueſts, which render'd him formidable to his Neighbours.

VII. *Judaiſm* muſt have continued long in this Kingdom, ſince more than Two hundred and fifty Years after, King *Joſeph* gave an account of his Faith to a *Spaniſh Rabbin*, who deſir'd to be inform'd of his State, and the Method of governing his People. This Doctor's Name was *Chaſdai*. His Letter is believ'd fictitious, becauſe this Doctor lived not till the end of the XIV^th^ Century, whereas *Abraham* * *Ben-Dior* has mention'd him and his Letter Two

* An. 1562. † Coſri p. 2. p. 83 & 96. ‖ Coſri pars 2. p. 75. * Chaſdai *muſt have lived according to* Bartolocci Bibl Rabb. t. 2. p. 853. *in the Year* 5156. *according to the Jewiſh Æra, that is, in the Year* 1394. Abraham Ben-Dior *compoſed his* Chain of the Cabbala, Schialſchelet Hakkabala, *in the Year* 4921. *i. e. in* 1159. *So that he could not ſpeak of him or his Letter.*

hundred

hundred and thirty Years before. But *Bartolocci* has not accurately examin'd *Chaſdai*'s and King *Joſeph*'s Letters; for the firſt boaſts of the Clemency of Government his Nation enjoy'd in *Spain*, in the Reign of *Abdalrachman*, whom he calls *Amir Amulmenim*. This Prince, who is the Chriſtians *Abderamus*, reign'd in *Spain* at the beginning of the * tenth Century; who was the firſt that chang'd his Name, and took the Title of *Emir Almoumenim*; or, *Commander of the Faithful*. He reign'd glorioufly for fifty Years, notwithſtanding the Diviſions of the Muſſulmans, who meant to tranſlate the Caliphſhip to the *Abaſſides*. This agrees with *Joſeph*'s Anſwer, who reckons but twelve Kings from him, that chang'd his Religion, and theſe twelve could not poſſeſs the Throne above two hundred and ſeventy Years. We muſt therefore remit *Chaſdai* to the tenth Century; and that will remove the Wonder of his Name, being found in the *Chain of the Cabbala*.

VIII. *Chaſdai* was Treaſurer General to *Abderamus*; and had ſo great Authority at this Prince's Court, that if you'll believe him, nothing was done without his Advice. He confeſſes he had often heard mention of the Kingdom of *Cozar*, without being able to diſcover it, till the Ambaſſadors from *Conſtantinople* inform'd him, that Merchants frequently came from this Country, whoſe Commodities were Skins, and who told him, that the reigning King's Name was *Joſeph*. He reſolv'd to write to this Prince, and be at the Charge of ſending an Expreſs with his Letter. He took the opportunity of the Ambaſſador's return to *Conſtantinople* to conduct him ſo far. The Envoy reſided there for ſix Months, after which he was oblig'd to return the ſame way he came, upon Information that the Roads to *Cozar* were impracticable. *Chaſdai*, when he return'd, was ready to dye for Grief, being in a paſſionate Purſuit of a Kingdom, where his Nation bore the Rule. He deſign'd to ſend his Letter to *Jeruſalem*, that it might be carried to *Niſibe*, and from thence be convey'd to *Armenia*, and from *Armenia* to the Country of *Baradas*, and the Kingdom of *Cozar*. But two Ambaſſadors of the King of *Gablim* arriving at *Cordua*, undertook to make a more certain and ſpeedy Expedition. He was alſo inform'd, that there was an old blind Man in *Spain*, who had been a Favourite of the King of *Cozar*; but upon Search after him, he was not to be found, which oblig'd him to commit his Letter to the *Gablim* Ambaſſadors, who were as good as their words, and caus'd it to be deliver'd to King *Joſeph*.

IX. He was deſir'd to give a deſcription of his Kingdom, the number of his Provinces and Cities; what People he made War upon; whether there were any adjacent Iſles; whether any of theſe Iſlanders turn'd *Jews*; the Names of the Kings his Predeceſſors: He was ask'd too, *whether War expelled the Sabbath? i. e.* Whether it was allow'd to defend themſelves, and attack the Enemy on the Sabbath-day; and whether he had not ſome particular Prediction concerning the *Meſſiah*'s coming, and the Deliverance of the People.

X. King *Joſeph* anſwer'd all theſe Queſtions: That his Subjects, the Deſcendants of *Japhet* by *Thogarma*, were extremely multiply'd; that they had alſo driven their Neighbours as far as the River *Rona*, near *Conſtantinople*: He tells, How one of his Predeceſſors, call'd *Bula*, was admoniſh'd by an Angel to worſhip God; but he could not reſolve upon Obedience to the Meſſage, till the Angel had carry'd the ſame Order to the General of his Forces, as fearing a general Inſurrection, upon any attempt to change the prevailing Religion, and abo-

liſh Idolatry. The Angel anſwer'd *Bula*'s deſire, and in a Convention of the Council of the Nation, it was reſolv'd to follow *Moſes* Law preferable to that of their Anceſtors. The Angel return'd a third time, to command *Bula* to build an Houſe to God: He preſently excus'd himſelf upon the account of his Poverty; but the Angel informing him, that he might go and ſpoil his Neighbours of their Treaſures, by making War upon them, he brought back wherewithal to make a *Tabernacle, an Ark, a Candleſtick, a Table, and Altars and Veſſels*.

XI. *Bula* deſigning to make his New-embrac'd Religion triumphant, reſolv'd to ſend for a Chriſtian and a *Muſſulman*, and oblige them to a Conference with his *Jewiſh* Maſter. Each of them expos'd their Reaſons; but the King of *Cozar* having ſeparated them, ask'd the Chriſtian, Whether *Judaiſm* was not better than *Mahomet*'s Religion? and he was oblig'd to acknowledge it. He then ask'd the *Muſſulman*, Whether *Judaiſm* was not better than the Chriſtian Religion? and upon his acknowledging it, determin'd that *Judaiſm* was the pureſt of all Religions. Hereupon he eſtabliſh'd it in all his Dominions. His Son *Obadias* built Synagogues and Temples, and appointed Salaries to many Profeſſors for explaining the Bible, the *Talmud* and *Gemara*, and would have his Civil Government reſemble the Inſtitution of *Moſes*.

XII. Coming in the next place to the Deſcription of his Kingdom; he ſaid, That it could not be travell'd round in a Months time; that it was ſituate near the Sea *Gargan*; that it was well furniſhed with Cities, Citadels, and Inhabitants; that many Neighbouring Nations, ſtretching as far as *Conſtantinople*, as the Inhabitants of *Baſſa*, *Tanat*, and *Abalbua* paid him Tribute. He had three principal Cities; one containing fifty Leagues, or *Paraſanges*, was the Reſidence of the Queen, his Wives and Eunuchs. In which the Chriſtians and *Muſſulmen* had Liberty of Conſcience. The Prince and his Council reſided in the third, which was much leſs than the others. He lived in it only in the Winter, retiring in the Month of *March* into the Country, as well as the Inhabitants, who had all their Fields and Lands to cultivate. He made the Tour of his Province, the Government whereof was ſo well regulated, that there was no Extortion, nor Law-ſuit, nor Diſpute. They have very ſeldom Rain, but abundance of Rivers well ſtor'd with Fiſh. The People cultivate Vineyards, and all ſorts of Fruit-Trees.

XIII. He ſpoke of the time in which the *Meſſiah* was to appear; and referr'd himſelf to the Doctors of *Babylon* and *Jeruſalem*. He had only learn'd, that this Calculation was very uncertain, becauſe God had retarded their Deliverance for the Sins of the People. He ardently wiſh'd an end might be put to this delay, and to ſee *Chaſdai*; aſſuring him, that if he came into his Kingdom, he would honour him as his Father; and that *his Subjects ſhould kiſs his Mouth*.

XIV. Thus it is they have pictur'd the King of *Cozar* and his Kingdom. They pretend, that what we have related, is extracted from the *Cozarean* and *Jewiſh* Annals: but ſtill the Misfortune is, that all the pains to find out this Kingdom are fruitleſs: In vain you have the Deſcription of it given by King *Joſeph*, ſince you can never trace it out; nor diſcover the Boundaries he denotes, nor the neighbouring Nations. *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, who travelled the World over in the twelfth Century, to find out the Remains of his Nation, found no Footſteps of this ſo famous Kingdom; and all ſucceed-

* An. 910. Manano. l. 7. c. 19. p. 312.

ing Voyagers have been unable to get a ſight of it; which one thing is ſufficient to demonſtrate it chimerical; and that it is a meer Imagination, rais'd from the fond deſire of having a Kingdom governed by the *Jews*. No body knows who was this *R. Sangari*, who is ſaid to have diſcours'd with the King of *Cozar*. His Work was never heard of for two hundred and fifty Years; nor was it till the twelfth Century that it appear'd in *Arabick*. *Judas Hallevy* having tranſlated it into that Language, *Judas* the Son of *Tysbon* tranſlated it ſome Years after from *Arabick* into *Hebrew*. Some Rabbins are even of opinion, that it is a Fiction of *Judas Hallevy*, and that he is the firſt Author of it, and that he compos'd this Dialogue with the King of *Cozar*, in imitation of *Cicero*, and *Plato*, and a great many others. And indeed, when a Man examines this Piece, he eaſily obſerves, that he has not kept to probability. Not to ſay, that he rejects the Chriſtian Religion upon the moſt frivolous Objections, and yet in the very entrance on his Subject begins with a Miracle. He brings down *Deus ex Machina*. An Angel deſcends from Heaven, who prepares the Converſion of the Prince, without intimating the Religion he was to prefer before the reſt. The Angel, who had reveal'd, that King *Bula*'s Intention was acceptable to God, ſhould have recompenc'd that good intention, with the Revelation of the Truth: but as ſoon as he had mov'd this Prince's Heart, he leaves him in the Hand of his own Council. Afterwards this Infidel Prince is introduc'd as one of the moſt Learned Men that can be found in *Europe*. Science is not the ordinary lot of Kings; and if it be ask'd from what Fountain this of *Cozar* drew his profound Knowledge, 'tis impoſſible to conjecture. And yet he reaſons upon Philoſophy: He enters into the ſubtileſt Queſtions of *Judaiſm*: It appears that he already underſtood what *Caraiſm* was, which ſo many knew nothing of: He deſcends to the minute particulars of Vowels and Points: He purſues his Notices even to the *Cabbala* and the *Sephiroths*, which were known in that Country. So much Knowledge abſurdly aſcrib'd to an Idolatrous Prince, ſufficiently diſcovers the Work to be a meer Fiction of a Doctor deſigning to divert himſelf. How could this Book have eſcaped *Chaſdai*'s Knowledge, and the nice Enquiry he made into the Kingdom of *Cozar*? And yet we ſee by his Letter, that he never heard a Syllable of it, tho' it muſt have been in *Spain*; or rather, *Chaſdai*'s Letter, and King *Joſeph*'s Anſwer, are alſo ſuppoſititious. And indeed, I can't ſee to what purpoſe was the building of an Ark, a Tabernacle and Altars. There was no Ark in the ſecond Temple, why then muſt there be one in the Kingdom of *Cozar*? It was not lawful to offer Sacrifices out of *Jeruſalem*; to what uſe then were his Altars deſign'd? In pretending to erect a Church at *Cozar*, perfectly like the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, a Man betrays himſelf, and diſcovers the Vanity of this Fiction.

Chaſdai might have been miſled by his paſſionate Deſire to find the Kingdom he was in queſt of, and have written his Letter in ſincere earneſt: But the Forgery of the Anſwer is manifeſt, as well as the Falſity of the Narratives of ſo many People; who ought to have known where this Kingdom was, and who afterwards were not to be found when they were to be examin'd about it, or elſe built upon an uncertain Authority, without any manner of Proof to ſupport it. Let us return to the *Jews* in the Eaſt, and to the Tribes diſperſed there.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of the Tribes diſperſed in the Eaſt, *during the eighth and ninth Centuries of the Chriſtian Church.*

I. Abdalmelec's *Toleration.* II. Omar's *Diſcourſe with a* Jew, *who deſir'd his Daughter for a Wife.* III. *The* Jews *and* Chriſtians *perſecuted in* Egypt. IV. *The Caliphſhip tranſlated into the Houſe of the* Abaſſides. Coufah *is made their Capital City.* V. *That Houſe favourable to the* Jews. *Diviſions among them.* VI. *The Law of* Giafar *the Juſt againſt the* Jews. VII. Almanſor *a lover of Sciences.* VIII. Hakem *the Impoſtor, whether he deduced his Sect from* Judaiſm. IX. Aaron *loves the* Jews. X. Charlemain's *Embaſſy to this Prince by a* Jew. *The end of his Negotiation.* XI. *Whether* Charlemain *became Maſter of* Judea *by Donation or Conqueſt.* XII. *The Diſmiſſion of* Iſaac *the* Jew *to* Aaron. XIII. Mamon *calls the* Rabbins *to tranſlate their Books into* Arabick. XIV. *Diviſions in the Academies of* Sora *and* Pandebita. XV. Motavakel *perſecutes them: The Footſteps of his Perſecution are ſtill to be ſeen.* XVI. *Diviſions among the Excellents at* Pandebita. XVII. *Revolutions in the Houſe of the Caliphs. The* Jews *conſulted about a Monument.* XVIII. Albumaſar *an* Arabian Jew; *His Predictions falſe.*

I. ABdalmelec held a Caliphſhip * in the beginning of the eighth Century. He had ſuch a ſtinking Breath as to kill Flies with it. His Avarice was ſo exorbitant, that nothing could content it; and he was ſo violent an Enemy to the Houſe of *Aly*, as not to bear to be commended by a Poet of that Sect. He puſh'd his Conqueſts as far as *Spain*, and triumph'd where-ever he carried the Terror of his Arms. In the heighth of his Victories he preſerv'd a great Moderation. He neither perſecuted the Jews nor Chriſtians of his Dominions. He allow'd the former their Academies and Priviledges, and would not take from the latter by force one of their Churches at *Damaſcus* which they had refus'd him, but left them in the peaceable Enjoyment of it.

II. *Valid* the eldeſt of ſixteen Sons ſucceeded || his Father; and tho' he reign'd but nine Years, yet he conquer'd a great many Provinces; *Spain*, *Sardinia*, the Iſlands *Majorca* and *Minorca*, were reduc'd to his Obedience; and his Troops penetrated even into the *Narboneſe Gaul*. He was ſo ignorant that he could never learn Arabick; and being ſhut up ſix Months in his Father's Life-time, he came out from his Retirement as ignorant as he went into it. He was a Bigot to his Law, and ſo had no Kindneſs for the Chriſtians. He erected a Moſch at *Damaſcus* upon the Ruins of a Church, and built another at *Jeruſalem* †. *Soliman*, that is *Salomon* his Brother, ſucceeded him, but continued not in his Sovereignty long. He was oblig'd to fortifie *Rama* in *Paleſtine*, to ſtop the Incurſions the *Arabians* made into the Holy Land. 'Tis ſaid he was ſo great an Eater, that after he had breakfaſted upon three roaſted Lambs, yet he dined in publick. 'Tis no wonder

* *He began to reign in the Year* 686 *of the* Heg. 65. *and reigned* 21 *Years.* || An. 705. † Abulph. p. 129,

then

then he died of Indigeſtion. *Omar* II. *Abdalaſi*'s Son, was his Succeſſor, of whom they relate what a ſingular Diſcourſe he had with a Jew. This Man publickly demanded the Caliph's Daughter for his Wife. The Caliph anſwer'd, That could not be, becauſe he was of a different Religion from the Princeſs. The Jew reply'd, That *Mahomet* gave his Daughter to *Aly*, who was not of his own Opinion; and upon the Caliph's obſerving that *Aly* had been the *Commander of the Faithful People*, the Jew ask'd, Why then they curs'd him in the Moſchs? "If he "be the Head of your Religion you ought not to "curſe him; and if he was not of the ſame Faith, "the difference of Religions is no Impediment to "my marrying the Princeſs your Daughter. This Dialogue was, no doubt, concerted betwixt the Jew and the Caliph, who was willing to compaſs his Ends, and diminiſh his Subjects Hatred of *Aly*. However the Jews muſt needs have bore a conſiderable Rank at Court, to venture to act this part, and deceive the Mahometan Doctors who were preſent. And indeed the Caliph took this occaſion to aboliſh the Curſes that were pronounced againſt the *Alides*, and ſubſtituted theſe words full of Charity in their room: *Pardon us, Lord, and pardon alſo our Brethren, who make Profeſſion of the ſame Faith with us.* A certain Lord would have carried *Omar* II. farther, and have oblig'd him to Curſe the *Ommiades* inſtead of the *Alides*. He even rebelled againſt him the eaſier to obtain his Demands; but the Caliph ſent Deputies to deſire a Conference, in order to know whether his Deſign was to reform the Government or Religion; but ſignifying that he would never Curſe his Anceſtors and Relations, becauſe it was a great Sin *to determine what relates to the other Life, and that God never gave command for the Curſing any Body: Even* Pharaoh, ſaid he, *who ſo impudently arrogated to himſelf a Ray of the Divinity, was never curſed.* This Muſſulman Prince gave a Lecture to a great many Chriſtians, who decide of the eternal Deſtiny of their Enemies, with the ſame Authority, as if it were at their diſpoſal. He was ſo abſolutely perſwaded that nothing could retard the fatal Period of Life, that when he found himſelf attack'd with a Diſeaſe that was cauſed by Poiſon, and his Phyſician offer'd him a Remedy, he refus'd it, ſaying, If it were only to rub his Ear with a little Oil, he would not do it.

III. The Caliphſhip return'd, by his Death, into the Family of *Abdalmelec*, and was poſſeſs'd by his third Son call'd *Jeſid* II. *Abulpharages* ſays *, He was the tenth Caliph of the Houſe of the *Merveranides*; but he is miſtaken, for it was in the Houſe of the *Ommiades* he held this Dignity. He made himſelf famous by his Conqueſts, it being in his Reign that the *Sarazens* beſieged *Toloſe* and *Narbonne*; but he grew more ſo by his Amours. His Brother *Soliman* perceiving his exceſſive Inclination for a Slave, had her taken away from him. But when he became Caliph he found her out again, and grew ſo deſperately in love with her, that ſhe abſolutely govern'd him; and at laſt was the occaſion of his death. They went together into *Judea* upon the Banks of *Jordan*, where making a Collation in a Garden, *Jeſid*, by way of foolery, threw a Grape to his Miſtreſs, who going to eat it, was choak'd with it. This Accident threw the Caliph into deſpair. He would not ſuffer his dear *Baabah* to be remov'd from his ſight till ſhe ſtank; He had her taken from her Tomb to ſee her again, and his Melancholy proceeded to that degree as to dye of it, leaving the Caliphſhip to *Heſcham*, the fourth Son of *Abdalmelec*. The Chriſtians of *Egypt* † ſuffered ſo much in his Reign, that the King of *Nubia*, which lies betwixt *Thebais* and *Æthiopia*, came to their Succour with an hundred thouſand Men, and would not return till *Heſcham* ſent the Patriarch of *Alexandria* to aſſure him, he would not diſturb the Church. 'Tis probable the Jews had an hand in theſe violent Proceedings, ſince they were caus'd by the Avarice of the Egyptian Governours.

IV. The Houſe of the *Ommiades* ended a little after under *Marvan*. The *Abbaſſides* had already for ſome time meditated this Rebellion in *Corazan*; the Governour whereof wrote a Letter to his Maſter in theſe words, *I ſee through the Aſhes, the Light of ſome Coals which will break out to your Confuſion: Fire is kindled with Wood, and War by Diſcourſe. I would know whether* Ommi *wakes or ſleeps.* He anſwer'd but this, *The Preſent ſee more than the Abſent; Cut off the Miſchief before it ſpreads farther.* But as he ſtudied not how to remedy the Diſeaſe, the *Abbaſſides* who were not contended to talk, nor even to manifeſt their Pretentions to the Caliphſhip, as being Deſcendants of *Haſchem* Grandfather to *Mahomet*, broke out into a Rebellion in the Reign of *Marvan* ‖. This Prince was brave and unfortunate. The Chriſtians ſay, that being fond of an Egyptian Virgin, ſhe offer'd him a Water to render him invulnerable, upon condition he would ſpare her Virginity. She waſh'd her own Neck with this Water, when the Caliph, to make Experiment of the Power of the Secret, gave her a Blow with his Cutlas and cut off her Head; and ſo made her a * Martyr. *Ab* or *Abbas Saffa*, whom *Elmacin* calls *Abulgebaſus*, revolting againſt him, and being proclaim'd Caliph, the War prov'd cruel and fatal to *Marvan* by a particular Accident. For this Prince having drawn his Army in Battle Array, went aſide to make water. His Horſe, that he had left, took the Bit in his Teeth, and running to the Army, caſt it into a panick Fear, as believing the Caliph was kill'd, and without any further Information run away. *Marvan* made fruitleſs Attempts to rally his frightned Troops, and was forced to fly with them to *Damaſcus*, from whence, not thinking himſelf ſecure, he paſs'd into *Egypt*, where giving a freſh Battle he loſt his Life; and his Head was carried to his Enemy, who remain'd Maſter of the Caliphſhip. He uſed his Advantages ſo outragiouſly, that he had this Title given him, *Saffa the Bloodſhedder*; becauſe, beſides thoſe who were kill'd in the Battles, he put all the Houſe of the *Ommiades* to the Sword, of whom there eſcap'd but one Man, who paſs'd into *Spain* and reign'd there. *Abdalla*, the new Caliph's Uncle and General, having gather'd together fourſcore Princes of the Family of the *Ommiades*, cauſed them all to be knock'd in the Head with maſſy wooden Clubs; and having their Bodies cover'd with Tapeſtry, gave to all his Officers upon this Table a Dinner of a new Invention; and the Entertainment was carried on among the Sighs and Groans of the expiring Men. Afterwards he caus'd the Sepulchres of this Family to be open'd, and taking out the dead Bodies, hung them upon Gibbets †. Thus periſh'd that Houſe which had furniſh'd fourteen Caliphs. That of the *Abaſſides* ſucceeded, and reign'd above five hundred Years. But whereas the former Caliphs had their Seat at *Damaſcus*, theſe choſe the City *Couſah* for their Capital; a City ſituate upon the Banks of *Euphrates*, four days Journey from *Bagded*. They ſay that the Serpent which tempted *Eve* was baniſh'd to this place, becauſe its Inhabitants were Malicious and Seditious: 'Tis ſaid alſo, that here it was that *Noah* embark'd, and enter'd into the Ark. Which perhaps may be founded upon this,

* Abulph. p. 131. † An. 738. ‖ Vattier. l. 2. * Vattier. Hiſt. Mah. l. 2. † Bibl Or. p 629.

that

that the *Euphrates* in this place is broad, and ſo often overflows its Banks, that they call it *Faidh*; that is, the River that leaves its Bed. This City is decay'd long ſince, and conſiderable for nothing but the Sepulchre of *Aly* which is in its neighbourhood, and viſited by his Followers with a great deal of Devotion. The *Abaſſides*, when they chang'd the Seat of their Empire, brought their Capital nearer the Habitation of the Jews, who had ſtill their Academies on the Banks of *Euphrates*. *Almanſor* who ſucceeded his Brother, built alſo *Bagded*, for greater Security. He call'd it the City of *Peace*; but it retains the Name of the Hermit *Bagded*, who had his Cell in the Meadows where the City was built *. And it was in the Neighbourhood of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, that the Caliphs reſided ſince that time.

V. The *Abaſſides* treated the Jews favourably enough. In effect this Nation having ſuffer'd what was unavoidable, and common to all Subjects in the Revolutions of an Empire, reſumed their firſt Tranquility under *Almanſor*, who was a Man of Letters, and drew to his Court all the Learned of his time, without troubling himſelf about the difference of Religions. His firſt Phyſician was a Chriſtian. *Almanſor*, who loved him, was willing to make him a *Turk*; but *George* anſwer'd, that he would either *be burnt or ſaved with his Anceſtors*. The Prince laugh'd at the Anſwer, and diſmiſs'd him to dye in Peace at home. He took another of the ſame Religion, who was caſhier'd for oppreſſing the Chriſtians, and demanded the Church-Plate of the Primate of *Niſibe*. *Almanſor*, who delighted in Aſtronomy, had alſo ſome Men from *Perſia* well vers'd in that Science. He had eſpecially Jews in his attendance, who took advantage of that Circumſtance to bring their Academies into new repute. † *R. Joſeph* and *Samuel* * the Excellent, preſided in the Univerſity of *Pundebita*. *Doræus* ‖ another Excellent, *Ananias* and *Malcha* † ſucceeded them. There were likewiſe two famous Men at the Head of the Academy of *Sora*, who went both by the Name of *Judah*; one was the Son of *Nachman*, and the other of *Outhrineus*. Some aſſert that the firſt of theſe Profeſſors publiſh'd the *Great Leſſons*, which others attribute to *Simeon Keiara*, another learned Man, who was famous at this time in the Eaſt, tho' he be excluded from the number of *the Excellents*. This laſt Conjecture is better grounded than the other. His Book was ‖ receiv'd with ſo general an Applauſe, that *Judah*, who taught at *Sorah*, ſoon after made a ſort of an Abſtract of it. This *Judah* was blind: However he had the Title given him of the *Great Light*, becauſe the Jews thinking it an Affront to their learned Men to call them blind, conceal that Imperfection under an honourable Title. There was another Doctor in the ſame Century call'd *R. Mari*, whom they alſo ſtiled *Light of the Eyes*, becauſe he had loſt his ſight. *Acha* was another Doctor profoundly skill'd in the Precepts of the Law; upon which he compos'd a large Volume intitul'd *Schealtot*; but as he claſh'd with the Head of the Captivity, he could not arrive to the Quality of Sublime Doctor or *Excellent*; which Mortification was attended by another. *Samuel* the Head of the Captivity, when he died, nam'd another Prince to ſucceed him *; but ſo far from having any regard to the Reputation and Learning of this Doctor, he choſe his Servant to preſide over the Nation. *Acha* could not † digeſt this laſt Affront, but leaving the Academy went to dye in *Judea*, whilſt his Servant *Nithroneus* poſſeſs'd the Principality, which he enjoy'd for thirteen Years. *Ananus* ‖ had the ſame Misfortune as *Acha*. This *Rabbin* was a Man of parts, but could not be admitted to the number of the Excellents, becauſe his Doctrine was ſuſpected of ſome *blemiſh*. Which Suſpicion was well grounded, for he put himſelf at the Head of the *Sadducees*, which Sect was believ'd to be almoſt bury'd in the Ruins of *Jeruſalem*. They recover'd Strength, and under the Conduct of this famous Leader became formidable to their Enemies. Some Criticks conſider this *Ananus* as the Father of the *Caraites* rather than the Reſtorer of *Sadduceiſm*. But we have ſhewn, that the *Caraites* could not claim him for their Founder, becauſe they were of a more ancient Standing.

VI. *Giafar* ſurnamed the Juſt (*Sadek*) who lived at that time *, heavily afflicted the Jews of *Arabia*, and alſo of *Perſia*. He was the Sixth of the *Imams*. So the Muſſulmans ſtile their ſupream Pontiff, who preſides over the Moſchs. He has a Temporal as well as a Spiritual Authority. Such as caſt off their Subjection to him, are look'd upon as Atheiſts; becauſe his Authority proceeds immediately from God. Some ſay, notwithſtanding, that he may be depoſed, when he is guilty of any enormous Crime, becauſe he is oblig'd to be Holy. The *Perſians* have a particular Reverence for twelve of theſe *Imams*, the immediate Succeſſors of *Aly*; among whom *Giafar* is one of the moſt conſiderable. *Rabbi Abrar* affirms, that *Imam Giafar* was a *Præadamite*, becauſe he aſſerted that there were three *Adams* before him the Scripture ſpeaks of; and that there would be ſeventeen more of them, anſwering to the like number of mighty Revolutions that were to happen to the Univerſe. He ſaid likewiſe, that God will create new Men after this World is at an end, becauſe it would be indecent for the Kingdom of God to remain empty and his Power unactive. This *Imam* made an Order, that the Jews and Chriſtians who turn'd Muſſulmans, ſhould be ſole Heirs of their Family; and as this Law was exactly executed, it cauſed a great many Children to Apoſtatiſe, who by this means ſucceeded to the Eſtates which they could not obtain in a lawful way.

VII. *Almanſor* having reign'd two and twenty Years, died. *Abdalla* his Uncle had diſputed the Caliphſhip with him, which he pretended to be due to his Valour, and the Services he had done to *Saffa*. But being overcome, he was ſhut up in a Houſe ſupported by Stones of Rock Salt; *Almanſor*, by conveying a Water-ſtream under the Palace, diſſolv'd theſe Stones, threw down the Building, and buried *Abdalla* in the Ruins. The reſt of his Reign would have been very happy, had he not diſgraced it by his Avarice. Finding his Death approaching he ſent for *Mohadi* his Son and Heir, whom he commanded to honour his Relations, becauſe the Honour he did them reflected upon himſelf; and to treat his Freed-men kindly, becauſe they were Perſons who would ſerve him in time of need. He forbad him to build the City *Bagded* on the Eaſt ſide, and to admit Women into Affairs of State, after which he recommended him to God and died. *Abulparages* † affirms that he added, *My Son, you will execute none of the things I command you, but you will do thoſe I forbid you*; and that the Prediction was accompliſh'd. Mean time Hiſtorians give a quite different Character of this Prince. He was as Liberal as his Father was Covetous. He ſpent ſix Millions of gold Crowns in one Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, having convey'd thither Snow and Ice, which ſtrangely ſurpriz'd the Inhabitants, who had never ſeen any

* Valtier. Hiſt. Mah. l 2. † An. 740. * An. 750. ‖ An. 760. † An. 770. ‖ *The Great Leſſons of* Simeon Keiara Hilcot Gedalor, *or* Halacot, An. 500. *i. e.* 740 *of our Lord. The decided Leſſons of* R. Jehuda *the Son of* Nachman; *or* Halacoth Peſnecoth. An. 515. *i. e.* 755 *of J. C.* Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. t. 3. p. 9 & 4. p. 57. * An. 747. † An. 760. Ganz Tzemach David p. 124, 125. ‖ An. 755. * An. 770. † Abulpharag. p. 142. v. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. p. 530.

before.

before. He was ſo good-natur'd, that an *Arabian*, who ſaw him ready to begin Prayers in the Moſch, and intreating him to ſtay till he was waſh'd, that he might have the honour to pray with him, he waited patiently till the Man had finiſh'd his *Oblation*, tho' he was of the meaneſt of the People. Seeing a Tempeſt, he threw himſelf upon the Earth, crying to God, *If it be me, Lord, whom thou requireſt, behold I am ready to undergo the Chaſtiſement I deſerve. But treat not thy Faithful as Enemies for my ſake.* He held his Court of Juſtice, attended with the moſt able Muſſulmans, and ſhamed the unjuſt Judges. Laſtly, He oblig'd the Empreſs *Irene* to pay him a Tribute of Seventy thouſand gold Crowns, to be freed from the Incurſions of the *Arabians*, who incommoded her as far as *Conſtantinople*. He was an Enemy to the *Jews*, and would have them either imbrace his Religion, or wear a Badge to diſtinguiſh them from the Muſſulmans. He ſent *Theſias*, one of his Generals, to *Emeſa* with this Commiſſion, which he executed with great Severity. The Chriſtians boaſt, that they withſtood this General, and produce a long Catalogue of Martyrs who ſuffer'd on this occaſion. But whether the *Jews*, who invoke neither Saints nor Martyrs, were unconcern'd to tranſmit their Names to Poſterity, or whether they were guilty of a Weakneſs ſo common to them, (*viz.*) of yielding eaſily to avoid Perſecution, it does not appear by any of their Monuments, that they ſtop'd the Execution of *Mohadi*'s Orders.

VIII. In the Reign of this Prince, appear'd the Impoſtor *Hakem*, ſurnam'd *Burca*, or *Mask*. 'Tis ſaid † he was a *Jew* by Birth, or at leaſt had borrow'd from this Nation the *Schekinah*, or Divinity which reſted upon the ancient Prophets, and the Tranſmigration of Souls. He taught, that God took an Humane Shape, by aſſuming the Perſon of *Adam*; for which reaſon he commanded the Angels to worſhip him; that he afterwards appear'd in the Perſons of the Prophets, and great Men that lived from time to time; that at laſt he deſcended upon *Aboulem* Prince of *Corazzan*, one of the great Generals of his time, whom *Almanſor* had murder'd in his Chamber, for fear of his revolting, and robbing him of the Caliphſhip. From thence the Divinity came and made his abode in him; giving out that he was God. With ſo fooliſh an Opinion he deceiv'd a great many Chriſtians and Idolaters, whom he caus'd to wear a white Habit, to diſtinguiſh them from *Aly*'s Followers, who wore Black. Having loſt an Eye in a Battle, he wore a gold Mask on his Face to conceal its Deformity; but his Diſciples maintain'd, that he did it with the ſame deſign as *Moſes*, that he might not dazle Mens Eyes with the Majeſty of his Countenance. He had the Art every Night to produce a luminous Body like the Moon from the bottom of a Well, which diffuſed its Light to ſeveral Miles diſtance. Laſtly, As he was skilful in the Art of War, he went into the Field at the Head of an Army; but *Mohadi* purſuing him by one of his Generals, he retir'd into a Fortreſs that was almoſt inacceſſible. Finding himſelf beſieg'd, he poiſon'd all his Aſſociates and burnt them, and afterwards ‖ threw himſelf into a great Tub of *Aqua fortis*, preſuming that it would be believ'd that he was return'd to Heaven, becauſe his Body could not be found; but a Woman who had hid her ſelf to avoid Death, gave up the Place, diſcover'd the Secret, and in the *Aqua fortis* they found the Impoſtors Hairs unconſumed. *Abulpharages* * calls this Impoſtor *Almokanneus*. He ſays, that he caſt himſelf into a Funeral Pile, that totally conſumed him; and that having promiſed his Diſciples to appear again, that Sect, inſtead of being undeceiv'd by his Death, perſever'd in their Error, and expected him a long time. I know not whether the Jews are to be charg'd with the Diſgrace of ſo ſcandalous an Event; for the Tranſmigration of Souls, which was the Fundamental Point of this Impoſtor, was very common among the *Perſians*; and there's no need of going up as high as the Goſpel, to find Jewiſh Doctors that believ'd it. Moreover this Impoſtor did not teach that the Deity reſted upon him, as the *Schekinah* had done upon the Prophets; He imagin'd a ſtricter Union of the Divinity with *Adam*, and afterwards with himſelf. Laſtly, *Abulpharages* has not deriv'd the Origine of this Impoſtor from the *Jews*.

IX. *Aaron*, ſurnamed the Juſt, ſucceeded to the Caliphſhip after the Death of his Brother † in the Year 786, and was one of the greateſt of the Arabian Princes. He loved Men of Letters, but inſtead of giving them an implicit Belief, he exactly weigh'd whether their Deciſions comported with the good of the State: *You are more learned than I*, ſaid he, once, to one of his Caſuiſts, who would have put him upon a falſe Step, upon pretence of obſerving the Muſſulman Law: *But I have more Prudence and Underſtanding than you.*

X. *Charlemagne* thought it convenient to make an Alliance with this Prince: He believ'd it might be of uſe to him to make a Diverſion in the Empire of the Eaſt, that no body might think of diſputing with him the Conqueſts he made in the Weſt. He had, perhaps, vaſter Views, to which the Caliph's aſſiſtance was abſolutely neceſſary.

In order to render his Embaſſy more acceptable, he made choice of *Iſaac* a Jew, whom he ſent to *Perſia*, with the Counts *Lancfrede* and *Sigiſmond*. A French Hiſtorian ſays, ‖ that theſe three Embaſſadors were ſent to the Caliph, * whom *Aventin* calls *Amaromurmulus*. Both theſe Hiſtorians are miſtaken. *Aventin*'s Error proceeds perhaps from this Caliph's taking the Title *Emiralomara*, Prince of the Faithful, which he has made a proper Name, as afterwards was done in *Spain* by that of *Miramolin*. *Iſaac* was ſent by *Charlemagne*, and was left with the Charge of the whole Commiſſion, becauſe the two other Embaſſadors died by the way. 'Tis admir'd that this Emperor ſhould chooſe a Jew for this Employ, when he had ſo many Subjects in his own Dominions qualified to diſcharge it. *Iſaac* doubtleſs was thought the propereſt Man to negotiate † with a Prince, who had great Commerce with his Nation diſperſed in his Dominions, and who hated the Chriſtians. *Iſaac* knew beſt the ſtile and ways of the Orientals, by means of his diſperſed Brethren, and who were in credit at *Aaron*'s Court.

This Jew ſucceeded in his Negotiation, ‖ if the deſign of it was to kindle a War in the Eaſt; for whilſt *Charlemagne* aſſum'd the Title of Emperor of the Weſt at *Rome*, *Aaron* advanc'd upon the Frontiers of the Empire. *Conſtantine* ſet out likewiſe to withſtand him; but his Mother *Irene*, by a deteſtable Treaſon, cauſing him to return to *Conſtantinople*, deprived him of his Eyes and Life. *Nicephorus* afterwards broke the Peace with an high Hand, telling him, *It was a Woman who had the Weakneſs to pay a Tribute, which by right ſhould have been exacted from him.* *Aaron* wrote back to this Prince, *I have receiv'd your Letter, you will underſtand the Anſwer before you are able to read it.* And marching at the ſame time at the Head of his Army, he carried his Conqueſts to the very Gates of *Conſtantinople*. As he

† Herbelot. p. 412. ‖ An. 779. * Abulp. p. 146. † *He was called* Moſes. ‖ Du Hailan Hiſt. de France, l. 4. p. 175.
* Aventinus Annal. Boior. l. 4. p. 224. † An. 797. ‖ An. 800.

burnt

burnt and plunder'd all Places where he pass'd, a Woman stopp'd him * by her Complaints: *Don't you know*, says he, *what the* Alcoran *says, that a place where Princes pass in Arms, is always destroy'd? I know it*, answer'd the afflicted Woman, *but the Houses of Princes who ruin others are destroy'd, because of the Injustices they permit.* The Caliph, touch'd with this Remonstrance, commanded † his Officers to repair the Loss the Woman had sustain'd by the passage of the Army. The War continued, and *Nicephorus* lost a Battle against the Caliph, who could not be induced to lay down his Arms after he had taken them up. The Historians who commend *Charlemagne* for his Moderation, and maintain that he might have conquer'd the Eastern Empire, had he made his Attack on *Pannonia* and *Thrace*, whilst *Aaron* march'd on the other side, will not easily be convinc'd that this was the true occasion of *Isaac*'s Embassy. But not to examine whether *Charlemagne* contented himself with the Western Empire, or whether time has bereft us of the Circumstances which gave a check to the Passion of this Conqueror; it must be confess'd, that there can be no imaginable reason of State, which oblig'd this Prince to send Ambassadors to *Persia*, unless it was that of making a Diversion in the Empire of the *Greeks*, who were highly provok'd at the taking the West from them. Besides this Embassy was neither for Religion, since we are assur'd that *Aaron* continued making Martyrs; nor purely for Honour, since the Correspondence betwixt these two Princes was great, and of long continuance.

XI. 'Tis said the second Subject of the Embassy was the Possession of the Holy Land, which *Charlemagne* demanded of the Caliph. It was not proper for a Jew to demand *Jerusalem* and *Judea* for the Christians. Historians vary about this Matter. Some say that *Charlemagne* conquer'd it, which is evidently false. Others say, that *Aaron*, pleas'd with the Fineness of the Presents, and especially with the Hunting-Dogs which *Charlemagne* sent him, resolv'd to recompence him with the Cession of *Judea*. *But*, said he, *he will not be able to defend it at such a distance; and if he approach it, the Provinces of* France *will revolt, therefore a Medium must be taken. I'll be the Defender of the Country, giving to him the Revenues, which I will punctually pay to his Ambassadors, when they come to make up Accounts with me.* A French Annalist ‖ says also, that *Zachary*, when he sent to the East, return'd thence with two Monks, bringing *Charlemagne* the Keys of our Lord's Sepulchre, the Keys of the City and the Mountain, with a Standard. The Saxon Poet, who has sung *Charlemagne*'s great Exploits, makes him also Master of *Jerusalem*.

*—— Persarum * denique princeps*
Hunc Aaron idem fuerat cui subditus, Indis
Exceptis, Oriens totus: curaverat ultro
Ejus amicitiæ se fœdere jungere firmo.
Nam gemmas, aurum, vestes, & aromata crebro
Ac reliquas Orientis opes direxerat illi.
Ascribique locum sanctum Hierosolymorum
Concessit propriæ Caroli semper ditioni.

But these Authors are not consistent: For the Monk of St. *Gal* † is the only Person that attributes *Judea* to *Charlemagne*; and besides, he makes *Aaron* argue pitifully, it being an unaccountable thing, for a Prince voluntarily to bestow an entire Province upon a Stranger, and then to make himself his Farmer to defend it, and deliver all the Revenues into his Hands. 2. The Annalist makes *Zachary* bring the Keys of *Jerusalem*. ‖ Mean time this Man was an Almoner, whom *Charlemagne* sent to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* to carry some Offerings in acknowledgment for the Relicks which this Patriarch had sent him by a Monk. It was not in the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*'s Power, to give up the Holy City, because it depended upon the *Sarazens*, who kept it in Slavery: Nor could *Zachary* bring the Keys, since that Office wholly belong'd to *Isaac* the Jew, who was Ambassador to *Aaron*, and return'd with the Presents of this Prince. 'Tis better therefore to limit the Caliph's Donation to the Keys of the Sepulchre as *Eginhard* does *, who was most likely to know it best. *Aaron* understanding *Charlemagne*'s Devotion for the *Messiah*'s Sepulchre, permitted his Envoys to enter in it, and to offer their Presents and Devotions, and sent *Charlemagne* the Keys of it, to signifie that he might enter it when he pleas'd. This was a Civility that had no Consequence. But the Poets and Historians have magnified the Present, by saying that *Charlemagne* became Master *of the Holy Sepulchre, of the Mountain, of* Jerusalem, *and all* Judea. Thus Historians amplifying upon one another, proceed from Absurdity to Absurdity.

XII. Lastly, The Caliph † loaded *Isaac* the Jew with magnificent Presents for *Charlemagne*, sending with him an Ambassador, who arriv'd with that of the *Emir* of *Africa*. These Presents consisted in an Elephant called *Bubalas*, of an extraordinary bulk. Historians have thought themselves oblig'd to notifie his Death in their Annals, as a considerable Event ‖. There were some Monkeys, a Clock, and some Garments. *Isaac* was oblig'd to wait in *Africa* till his Master sent him a Ship to convoy all this Equipage, and arriv'd not till the Emperor was at *Aix la Chapelle*; at which place he receiv'd *Aaron*'s Ambassadors. They complain'd to *Charlemagne* of the ill Reception they had met with in all the places they had pass'd, and gave this Prince to understand, that his People were wanting in their Respect to him. He satisfied them by cashiering, as they say, all the Counts and Abbots who had used them ill. *Isaac* was sent back with them to *Persia*, which is a full Confirmation that this Jew succeeded in his first Commission, and that his Credit was great at the Caliph's Court.

The Learned of all Religions, and of every Profession, were well receiv'd at this Court. He carried an hundred Men of Wit with him in all his Journeys, which were frequent, because he had taken for his Device, *Pilgrim* and *Warrior*. 'Tis said of him, that one day reading these Verses of the Arabian Poet *, *Where are the Kings? Where are the rest? They have gone the way that thou art going: O thou! that makest a great account of the World, tho' it be nothing, and thinkest those happy who possess its Glory; take immediately what thou hast a mind to take of it, for Death puts an end to all.* He cried out, *By God this Man seems to talk of me.* He wept when he reflected upon the Frailty of Life, and died a little time after. He stain'd his Kingdom with Blood by the Death of the Children of *Bermac*, who had been his Viziers seventeen Years, and had merited this Elogy of a Poet, *Children of* Bermac, *O! what good have you done the World! and how much more would you have done! The Earth was your Spouse, at present she is your Widow.* He redoubled his Affection for the Christians, when a Physician of that Religion had saved his Life, by bleeding him in a

* An. 802. † An. 804. ‖ Annales Francor. Auctiores. p. 19. * Poetæ Saxonici Annal. de Gestis Caroli Magni. l. 4. An. 802. Ind. IX. p. 167. † Sangellensis de Gestis Caroli Mag. l. 2. apud Canis Lect. Ant. t. 1. p. 407. ‖ Annales Fuldenses An. 800. p. 539. * Eginhart Vita Caroli Magni. p. 7. † An. 801. Annales Rerum Gestarum a Carolo Magno. ‖ An. 810. Vita Caroli Magni & Monach. Engolism. p. 85. * Valtier. Hist. Mah. l. 2. p. 128.

Fit

ſit of Apoplexy; and the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was alſo a Phyſician, had cur'd a fine *Egyptian* Lady, with Water which he had brought from that Country. He reſtor'd to him the Churches, which the *Jacobites* had taken poſſeſſion of. Laſtly, The Eaſtern *Jews* enjoy'd a profound Tranquility in his Reign, and made their Synagogues and Academies flouriſh.

XIII. His Son *Amin* ſucceeded him, in the beginning of the Ninth Century; but this Prince was ſo weak, and addicted to his Pleaſures, as to neglect State-Affairs. His Brother *Mamoun*, fearing to be aſſaſſinated, revolted againſt him, and cauſed his Generals to march even to *Bagded*. News was brought him, that the Enemy was at hand; they found him Angling, and receiv'd this for his Anſwer: *Let me alone; for* Kouter *has already caught two great Fiſhes, and I have taken nothing.* When they would oblige him to take Arms, to animate the Beſieged at *Bagded*, he gave them to underſtand, they were troubleſom, becauſe he was playing at Cheſs, and was ready to give the Checkmate. The *Arabians* relate, That being in the Caſtle of the *Gold-gate*, when *Tahar* march'd to beſiege him, he took a walk by Moon-ſhine, and ſent for a ſinging-woman, who chanted theſe Verſes: *I am at the end of my Life; my Officers and Relations cry in blood. What Omen is this!* ſaid he; *Can't you ſing ſome other Air?* The Songſter continu'd: *Weep their departure; my Eyes, weep their departure: The loſs of Friends deſerves plenty of Tears. O God of reſt and motion, how ſpeedy are our Deſtinies, and how often do they ſurprize us! The Night and the Day, and the Revolutions of the Stars in the Spheres of Heaven never change; but Royalty leaves a King; tho' it be fix'd to the World, it rapidly paſſes from one to another. Great God! Thou alone poſſeſſeſt an immoveable Throne, for ever; without Succeſſor, and without Rival.* The Caliph provok'd by theſe Songs, curs'd the Songſter; who retiring, broke a Glaſs that the Caliph was fond of. He took that for an ill Preſage: *Don't you ſee*, ſaid he to his Favourite, *what this Girl has done, and how the Glaſs is broke! I believe my Buſineſs will be done in a few hours.* He thought he heard a Voice replying from the Banks of the River: *The Buſineſs you talk about is concluded:* And indeed he was aſſaſſinated two days after.

Mamoun, on the contrary, was a Prince eminent for noble Actions. He was a Lover of Learning, and endeavour'd to bring it into the Eſteem of the *Arabians*, who had neglected it till that time; and in order to ſucceed in it, he caus'd all the good Books of the Jews to be tranſlated into that Language.

This created ſome troubles to this Prince from his Nation, which had already irkſomely beheld his endeavours to change their Black Habits into Green. They even rebell'd againſt him for this difference of Habits, becauſe Black is the Colour of the *Abaſſides*, and Green that of the *Ommiades*, the Succeſſors of *Aly*. The Introduction of foreign and ſpeculative Sciences, occaſion'd another † ſubject of diſcontent againſt him; but yet he always lov'd them. *Maſhalla*, a great Jewiſh Aſtronomer, appear'd at his Court with mighty Reputation. He had made himſelf known before to that of *Almanſor*. He had ſeen ſeven Caliphs on the Throne, and ſtill preſerv'd his Fame; but it was chiefly in the Reign of *Mamoun* that he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf. He was look'd upon as the *Phœnix* of his Age; and the Prince, who was much devoted to this Science, had a paſſionate love for him. 'Twas alſo in his Reign that the famous Impoſtor *Mouſſa*, the Son of *Amram*, appear'd: He aſſerted, That he was *Moſes*, the great Jewiſh Legiſlator, whom God had miraculouſly rais'd from the dead.

XIV. Laſtly, The *Excellents* continu'd to render famous the Academies of *Sora* and *Pundelita*. We have * a Catalogue of theſe Academical Heads; but as it contains only Names obſcure and little known, it would be uſeleſs to inſert them here. We only obſerve a Misfortune, that hapned in the beginning of the Ninth Century at *Sora*; in which there was no Profeſſor for two Years: which Diſorder was not cauſed by Perſecution, ſince *Abumea* taught publickly at that time at *Pundelita*. But theſe Doctors were divided, and theſe Diviſions, raiſed by Pride and Ambition, prevented the Election of a Head. *Abumea* ‖ ſent his Son, *Cohen Tſedek*, to *Sora*, where his Party carry'd it, and the Chair was filled. This Family preſerved its Intereſt in the Nation, after the death of its Head, ſince *Abraham* his Brother ſucceeded him at *Pundelita*; and ſo Father and Son, Unkle and Nephew, were for a long time Heads of the two Univerſities.

XV. *Mamoun*, when he dy'd, preferred his Brother *Motaſſem* before his own Son *Abbas*; and this Son, who at the inſtigation of ſome Lords, had at firſt a deſign to aſſume the Caliphſhip, yielding to his Unkle's Remonſtrances, not only took an Oath of Fidelity, but obliged all his Party to do the ſame. *Motaſſem* was the firſt, that added the Name of God to his own. As Chriſtian Princes call themſelves Kings, *by the Grace of God*; he would be called *Motaſſem Billah*, that is, a Prince preſerved by *the Grace of God*. Diſguſted with *Bagded*, by the frequent Seditions of its Inhabitants, he drew nearer to *Syria*, where he built *Samarah*, or *Sermeurai*, which became the Capital of theſe Caliphs. He governed his Dominions with a great deal of Juſtice, and won a Battel againſt the Emperor *Theophilus*, which coſt the Chriſtians above thirty thouſand Men. He alſo defeated *Babek*, that famous Impoſtor; who liking neither Judaiſm, nor Chriſtianity, nor any of the known Sects, had inſtituted a Religion of Pleaſure and Jollity. He was ſo powerful, that all the Forces of the Empire were employed againſt him.

Vathek * declared himſelf openly † againſt the *Jews*, for two Reaſons; one was, That they had managed the Revenues of his Predeceſſor; and being diſſatisfied with their Adminiſtration, he taxed them, and ſqueezed great Sums out of them. Moreover he perſecuted thoſe who did not receive the *Alcoran*, and even the Muſſulmans, who would not acknowledge the Creation of this Book. He was a paſſionate Lover of Women; but upon the ſenſe of approaching Death repented. *Death*, ſaid he, *is common to all; it ſpares Kings no more than their Subjects.* He commanded them to roll away his Quilt, and to lay him upon the Floor, and in that State of Humility, he cried, *Great God, whoſe Kingdom laſts for ever, have pity upon a poor Prince whoſe time is at an end.* They left him in this poſture, to inſtal his Succeſſor. Mean time, a Lizard that came out of the Garden eat his Eyes, which was not perceived, till they went to waſh his Body. The Defenders of the Traditions added to the Alcoran, formed an Inſurrection againſt him at *Bagded*, and the day was appointed to dethrone him; but he prevented them, and took off the Head of the Leader of this Rebellion, who would never acknowledge the Creation of the Alcoran. This Prince was a Lover of Learned Men, and particularly of

† Ann. 831. Ann. 841. * R. Gane, Iſemach, David. ‖ Ann. 574. *which is the Year* 814. * *He is alſo call'd* Vathe Cobelle.

Aſtronomers, who deluded him concerning the duration of his Life; and he was ſo Charitable, that no Beggar was ſeen in his Capital, nor in the reſt of his Dominions in his Reign.

Motarakel * met with Oppoſition upon his Claim of the Caliphſhip, after the Death of his Brother; for there was a Deſign to ſet the Son of *Vathek* on the Throne: but it being repreſented, that it would be a Diſgrace to the *Muſſulmans*, to have a Perſon at the Head of them unqualify'd to ſay the Publick Prayers, becauſe *Mohammed* was too young; *Motarakel* was appointed Succeſſor. He rigorouſly treated the Followers of *Aly*, and forbad the Pilgrimages that were made to his Tomb.

He declar'd himſelf likewiſe † againſt the Jews: For he order'd, that all who were in his Empire ſhould were a Leathern Girdle, as a Mark of Diſtinction. He excluded them from all Offices of the Divan, and the Government, which is an Argument, that they were admitted in it till that time. He forbad them having Iron Stirrups to their Saddles, and to ride upon Horſes, permitting them only the uſe of Aſſes and Mules. This Prince not only degraded them ‖ of all the Honours they had enjoy'd, but ſtigmatiz'd them with Notes of Diſtinction and Infamy; and what was of worſt conſequence to them, *Motarakel*'s Law ſpread it ſelf not only thro' his Empire, but into the Neighbouring Dominions. In fine, it has ſubſiſted: For it is obſerv'd at this day in moſt Places where the *Turks* command. 'Tis ſaid this Storm was rais'd by the Chriſtians. The *Batiſhua*, whoſe Name ſignifies the *happineſs of Jeſus*, or of the Chriſtians, were ſucceſſively from Father to Son the Caliphs Phyſicians. But the prodigious Wealth the Son had heap'd together, exciting either the Avarice, or the Jealouſie of *Motarakel*, he diſgrac'd him. The Fault of a private Perſon reflected upon the whole Body; and the Jews who had, it may be, ſome of their Nation over-rich at Court, were involv'd in the ſame Misfortune. It might alſo be ſaid, that *Honain*, the famous Interpreter of *Syrian* Books into *Arabic*, another of *Motarakel*'s Phycians, was a Jew rather than a Chriſtian: He came from *Hira*, a ruin'd City, where different Tribes were retir'd, to have the freer Exerciſe of their Religion. Its certain, that if there were ſome Chriſtians in that place, there was alſo a prodigious number of Jews. Beſides, theſe People were call'd *Ebaddi*, that is, *Servants of God*, becauſe they only worſhipped the Creator of Heaven and Earth, in oppoſition to the other Sectaries, call'd *Abdi*, *Servants of Men*, becauſe they worſhipped Creatures. *Honain* went by the Title of *Ebaddi*; and indeed he was ſuch an Enemy to the worſhip of Creatures, that he ridicul'd thoſe that ſaluted an Image of Chriſt, and ſpat upon it. Laſtly, he was call'd *Rabbin*. 'Tis true, *Abulpharages* ſays, * that he was Excommunicated by the Chriſtians for having diſhonour'd an Image. But *Motarakel* was not ſo fond of theſe latter, as to give up his Phyſician to them. *Abulpharages* therefore might be miſtaken in this Circumſtance, and the Diſgrace both of the Jews and Chriſtians might proceed equally from the Phyſicians of their Religion, who were grown too potent.

XVI. They had another Misfortune in this Caliph's Reign. Faction † was re-kindled in one of their Academies. *Menachem*, the Son of *Joſeph*, was one of the *Excellents*, and ſaw himſelf ſole Preſident at *Pumdebita*, when the People went about to give him a Partner, called *Matthatias*: He could not bear this Competitor. Each made their Party. The Diſputes were violent, but at laſt *Menachim* carry'd it. He dy'd two Years after, and left the Place and Authority to *Matthatias*, who enjoy'd it a much longer time. Thus, we ſee, that Oppreſſion and Miſery can't hinder the Paſſions from playing their Game, and running their uſual lengths. Ambition never dies; it thrives and lives in the Souls of the Wretched, as well as in thoſe of Princes; and Men purſue little degrees of Honour, when they can't obtain ſhining Poſts.

XVII. *Motarakel* was kill'd by his Son. This cruel Prince had an Iron Stove, all pointed within, which he caus'd to be heated in proportion to the Puniſhment he deſign'd for the Offenders, and when the Sufferer cry'd, *have pity on me*, he anſwer'd, *Pity is a meanneſs of Soul*. His Vizier dy'd in this Stove, after forty days torture. He ſpared not his own Son *Moutaſſer*; who tir'd with theſe Hardſhips, caus'd him to be kill'd. He was not long a Gainer by his Parricide. Being tormented with cutting Remorſes, he thought he ſaw his Father reproaching him with his Crime. His Brother *Mothas* was as unfortunate as he; for the *Turks* and *Egyptians* which he had in pay, revolting againſt him, ‖ entred into his Palace, dragg'd him from his Throne by the Feet, expos'd him to the Sun, and beat him with their Battle-Axes, till he had ſign'd his Depoſition. They contriv'd his Death ſoon after; either by debarring him of Drink, or by giving him Poiſon with Water and Ice. *Mothadi*, who ſucceeded him, was quickly depos'd by *Mothamed*, a weak Man, addicted to his Pleaſures, who was abſolutely govern'd by his Brother and Nephew. 'Twas in his Reign that *Egypt* was diſmembred from the Caliphſhip. *Akmed* refuſing to depend upon him, was declar'd a Rebel, and order'd to be curs'd in all the Moſchs of the Empire. But this hindred not a new Dynaſty's being ſet up in *Egypt*, and the beginning of a Succeſſion of new Caliphs. 'Twas * in the ſame Reign too, that the *Carmathian* Sect aroſe, the Head whereof pretended, That Chriſt had appear'd to him, and taught him a great many things.

This Prince, who dy'd in the Year 891. ſent for Jewiſh Doctors, to conſult them upon an ancient Monument, which was diſcover'd on *the Hill of the Lover mad with Love*, a Place in *Syria*, There † were in this Tomb ſeven Bodies, amongſt which was that of a young Man, whoſe Face and Lips were as ruddy as if he had been alive. Near the Sepulchre was an Inſcription engraven upon a Stone, which could not be decypher'd. *Mothamed*, inquiſitive to know what it contain'd, offer'd it to the Jewiſh Doctors, who were oblig'd to confeſs their Ignorance. The Chriſtians and *Arabians*, which he ſent for afterwards, were equally unſucceſsful.

XVIII. Amongſt the *Arabian* Jews appear'd a Man, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Predictions, call'd *Albumanaſſer*, who having long ſtudy'd the Courſe of the Stars, imagin'd that Events depended upon their Conjunction and Influences. He excepted not ſo much as the Law and Religion from this General Rule. He maintain'd, That the Jewiſh Church was born under the Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; and that the ſame Conjunction was to produce Anti-Chriſtianiſm. He particularly foretold, that the Year 1460. ſhould be fatal to the Chriſtian Religion, and that it ſhould periſh at that time. But the Event has given the lie to his Prophecy, and diſcover'd the Vanity of that Science. This Man dy'd in the Year 886.

* An. 846. † An. 853. ‖ Bibl. Orient p. 640. * Abulph. Dyn. IX. p. 171. † An. 861. ‖ An. 869. * Abulph. p. 175. † *Chronicle of the* Abaſſides, ad An. 276. *of the* Hegyra, 879. Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p. 638.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The History of the Jews *in the* Empire, Italy, Spain, France *and* Germany, *during the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.*

I. *The Controverſie about Images: Whether the* Jews *cauſed them to be pluck'd down.* II. Abdalla *cauſes them to be mark'd in the Hand.* III. Nicephorus *favours them. Whether the* Attingans *were* Jews. IV. Michael *the Stammerer was a* Jew. V. *An Edict of Death againſt the* Jews, *related by* Photius. VI. *Revolutions in* Spain. *A falſe* Meſſiah. *The Caliphs favourable to the* Jews. VII. Toloſe *beſieged by the* Sarazens. VIII. *Whether the* Jews *deliver'd up the City to them, and cauſed all the* Chriſtians *to be murder'd.* IX. *This Accuſation proved to be falſe.* X. *What there is of Truth in his Story.* XI. *The Credit of the* Jews *at* Charlemagne's *Court. The* Jews *ſell them their conſecrated Veſſels.* XII. Sedecias *the Magician.* XIII. *They flouriſh'd under* Lewis *the* Debonnair. XIV. Agobard's *reſiſtance of the Emperor's Commiſſioners.* XV. *This Biſhop's Remonſtrances inſignificant at Court.* XVI. *Their Authority under* Charles *the Bald, who was poiſon'd by* Sedecias. XVII. Bourdeaux *deliver'd up to the* Normans *by the* Jews. *The Faults of an Hiſtorian of this Province.* XVIII. *The Law Suit of the* Jews *and* Chriſtians *at* Toloſe, *concerning Boxes o'th' Ear.* XIX. *Obſervations upon the Truth and Falſhood of this Plea.*

I. THE Queſtion about Images occaſion'd violent Commotions in the Empire. Not only the Divines engag'd in it; the Church divided; Councils were call'd, and made contrary Deciſions; but Perſecution alſo broke out; the People revolted, and flew to Arms, and the Controverſie drew after it Torrents of Blood. The Blame of all theſe Miſeries is caſt upon two Jews we have already mention'd, who after they had deceiv'd *Yeſid* in the Eaſt, came into *Cilicia*, and from thence into *Iſauria*, a Province of the *Leſſer Aſia*, over againſt the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Fatigued with their Journey, and the Heat of the day, they ſat down near a Fountain to reſt. * A young Man of the Country, who was leading an Aſs loaden with ſmall Wares, which he ſold in the neighbouring Villages, came and ſat down with them. The Jews having fix'd their Eyes upon him, foretold him that he ſhould one time or other be Emperor, and all the Recompence they requir'd for their Prediction was, that he would take away all the Images of the Chriſtians, becauſe they did not underſtand the Second Commandment of the Law, which only condems Idols, but ſays nothing of Images.

'Tis in vain to charge the Jews with this ſorrowful Event, it being evident they were no ways guilty of it, and moſt of the Facts upon which this Accuſation is built are falſe. One would think that *Leo Iſauricus* could not be ſuppoſed to conceive that there was any harm in worſhipping Images, unleſs he had learn'd it from the Enemies of Chriſtianity. 'Tis abſurd to accuſe theſe two Jews of not underſtanding the Second Commandment; as if it were not always believ'd in their Nation, that all Adoration paid to an Image is forbidden; or that the Prophets had diſtinguiſh'd between the Images of Saints that might be worſhipped, and the Idols of Heatheniſm that muſt be broken. 'Tis ſuppos'd farther, that theſe Aſtrologers and Diviners hated Images more than Chriſtianity it ſelf, and more than they loved Preferments and Dignities. 'Tis not the Character of Aſtrologers and Soothſayers to neglect their Fortune, or to ſacrifice it to an Article of a foreign Religion. It ſignified little to the Jews, whether the Chriſtians had Images, or broke them, ſince to them they are a Subject of Scandal, or rather of Triumph againſt Chriſtianity. 'Tis no wonder that they accuſe the Chriſtians of Idolatry, and impugn their Worſhip; but they are not much concern'd to have it aboliſh'd, whilſt all the Fundamental Articles of this Religion are ſtill remaining. But not to inſiſt upon theſe Reflections. *Leo* was not in *Iſauria* at the time theſe Jews muſt have ſought a retreat there; for though he was originally of this Country, *Juſtinian* had carried him into *Thrace* with his Family. He never uſed there the Trade of a Pedlar that goes from Village to Village, ſince he had left the Country before he was arriv'd to a fit Age for Traffick. It was not the Prediction of the Jews, but *Juſtinian*'s Order that engag'd him in the Military Art; ſince this Prince put him in his Guards in the Year 705. † Laſtly, *Leo* having aſcended the Throne, commanded the Jews and *Montagnards* to embrace Chriſtianity. The *Montagnards* or *Manichees* choſe rather to be burnt with their Temples than to obey; but the Jews were Baptiz'd and receiv'd the Communion. As their Converſion was hypocritical, they endeavour'd to contradict the notorious Advances they had made towards Chriſtianity, by waſhing in common Water, and eating common Food immediately after the Sacrament. This is an odd Fancy; however it is enough to ſhew, that great Violence was uſed againſt the Jews of the Grecian Empire, and that *Leo Iſauricus* was of all the Emperors, the moſt cruel Enemy of that Nation; which is enough to diſſipate the Accuſation alledg'd againſt the Jews, of having overturn'd the Empire, by the Hatred its two Doctors had infuſed againſt Images. And indeed how is it probable, that *Leo* who had been ſo much oblig'd to the Jews, and muſt have remembred the Promiſe he had made them, ſhould be their Perſecutor in the very firſt Years of his Reign? Princes, I confeſs, eaſily forget the Services of their Inferiors: But how could theſe two Jews, who had foretold this Emperor of his Exaltation, forget likewiſe this piece of Service, eſpecially if they were oblig'd by his Laws to abandon their Religion as others did? Why would they permit their Nation to be perſecuted, and why would they ſuffer themſelves, for three Years together, before they preſented themſelves to the Emperor, and deſired the Performance of his Promiſe? This does not ſeem probable. The Jews then might be glad of an Event, that divided the Chriſtians upon a Point of their Law, but they ought not to be charg'd with the Event it ſelf. What I have ſaid is purely for the ſake of Truth; for it matters little whether *Leo* pull'd down Images by the advice of the Jews, or by his own Motion; but an Hiſtorian ought to ſeparate Truth from Falſhood.

* Theophan. An. 715. p. 336. Sigebert. An. 724. p. 545. Zonaras t. 3. p. 48. Cedren. Ann. in Leone. Maimb. *Hiſtory of the* Iconoclaſts, l. 1. † Theoph. An. 685. p. 327.

II. They found themſelves involv'd in the Deſolations of *Jeruſalem* and *Syria*. *Abdalla* the Son of *Aly*, whom moſt Authors metamorphoſe into a Caliph, though he was but his Nephew's General, traverſing *Judea*, commanded the Chriſtians to ſhave their Beards and wear long Caps. Arriving at *Jeruſalem*, he would have all the Jews, as well as Chriſtians, to be mark'd in the Hand, to diſtinguiſh them from Muſſulmans. Moſt of the Chriſtians ſo mark'd, being unable to bear this Diſgrace, or elſe fearing a more violent Perſecution, withdrew themſelves to the Territories of the Roman Empire. But the Jews, who were as much afraid of *Leo Iſauricus* as of the Caliphs, continued in the Lands ſubject to their Obedience. 'Tis even ſaid, that they enter'd into *Abdalla*'s Train, that they might inrich themſelves with the Spoils of the Chriſtians. Indeed this General had always a conſiderable Number of them in his Army, to whom he ſold the Church-Plate and Furniture he had plunder'd. 'Tis ſaid too that they violently exaſperated him againſt the Monks, which he hated to the laſt degree. They were miſerable every where; for *Leo*'s Officers were not much more favourable to them; and eſpecially the Governour of *Thracia* made it his Paſtime to burn their long Beards, cauſing Pitch to be ſtuck to them and ſet on fire. *Theophanes* has || placed this Event in the Reign of *Leo* IV. and at the time of his marrying *Irene*: But he ſhould have fix'd it ten Years later than he has done *.

III. *Nicephorus* aſcended the Throne in the beginning of the Ninth Century; and finding himſelf overwhelm'd with important Affairs, and ſtreſs'd by *Bardanes*, who was in Rebellion againſt him, 'tis ſaid that he forſook God, to confide in the Devil; that he called the *Manichees* and *Attingans*, famous Magicians, to his Court, making an advantageous uſe of them to ſtrengthen himſelf on the Throne, ſince it was by their means that *Bardanes* was beaten. Theſe *Attingans* were Jews, if we will credit the generality of Chriſtians, who charge this unhappy Nation with a new Crime. But *Nicephorus* declaring againſt Images, was ſufficient to draw ſeveral black Calumnies from the Pens of Writers bigotted to this Worſhip. Theſe Hiſtorians are guilty of want of Judgment; for by conſtantly ſetting the Jews at the Head of the Enemies of Image-worſhip, they put us in mind how ſeverely it is forbidden by the Law. 'Tis, withal, giving too much Efficacy to Magicians, and Power to the Devil, to make him Arbiter of the Fate of Empires, and Succeſs of Battles. And in reality, the *Attingans*, who are but little known, were neither Jews nor Magicians. Some maintain that they adminiſter'd the Sacraments with theſe words, *Take, eat, and I am the living Water*. 'Tis not eaſily conjectur'd in what their Error conſiſted; for the Words of Conſecration of the Bread and Water, were never uniform in the ancient Church. *Zonaras* † aſſerts, that the *Attingans* profeſſed Sooth-ſaying, and that one of them promiſed the Empire to *Michael* the Bald: But he diſtinguiſhes them from the Jews; and *Paul* the Deacon with greater Exactneſs ſays, that they were *Manichees* ||. So that they can't be confounded with the Jews. 'Tis only true that *Nicephorus* protected them, and that they were unmoleſted in his Reign.

IV. *Michael* the Stammerer was ſtill more favourable to them than *Nicephorus* *. 'Tis even ſaid, that he was half a Jew. This Prince came from *Amorium* a City of *Phrygia*, in which a great variety of Sects and Sectaries had taken Sanctuary. 'Tis pretended, that *Michael* borrow'd ſomething from all theſe Sects, which he had known and ſtudied in his Youth; That he had taken Baptiſm from the Chriſtians, which he ſubſtituted in the room of Circumciſion; but otherwiſe, he generally obſerv'd all the Jewiſh Ceremonies; for which reaſon *Zonaras* calls him, *The Common-ſhore of all Religions*. But there is no great ſtreſs to be laid on the Characters Hiſtorians give us of this Prince. One ſingle paſſage will ſuffice to diſcover the reigning Paſſion of that time. *Theodore Studite*, whom they have made a Saint, who perform'd Miracles, ſaw *Michael* make his way to the Throne by a Murder, and a villainous Outrage upon the Emperor's Perſon; and yet he cry'd him up for a *Joſias* and a *David*, as long as he had hopes of this Uſurper's countenancing Image-worſhip; but when he ſaw them fail, he made a Monſter of him. Who can chooſe but deplore the Inconſtancy of Man's Mind, that is ſo often perverted by Intereſt, that inſtead of blaming Vice, or praiſing Vertue, colours the one and blackens the other, according to its Hopes or Fears? Thus *Michael* the Stammerer's Toleration of different Sects, and particularly of the Jews, has cauſed him to be call'd the *Common-ſhore* of Religions, tho' he publickly profeſs'd Chriſtianity; never ſeparated from the Orthodox, and his Indulgence was rather an Argument of his Equity, than of his Irreligion.

V. *Photius* † ſays, there was a Law in his time, that ſentenced the Jews to death, when they uſurp'd the Goods of the Church. If that be true, their Condition was quickly changed, after *Nicephorus* and *Michael*'s death, who had treated them ſo kindly. *Balſamon*, who has commented this paſſage of *Photius*, denies that there were any ſuch Law, becauſe it is not found in the *Baſiliques*. 'Tis certain, that *Conſtantius* forbad the Jews, upon pain of Death, to marry a Chriſtian; and *Theodoſius* the younger menaced them with the ſame Puniſhment, if they circumciſed their Chriſtian Slaves. 'Tis therefore true, that there was a capital Puniſhment decreed againſt them long before the ninth Century, and theſe Laws are to be met with in the *Theodoſian* Code ||. Moreover new ones might have been made in *Theodoſius*'s time, relating to the Jews Incroachments upon the Goods of the Church. 'Tis alſo highly probable, that the Empereſs *Theodora*, when ſhe eſtabliſh'd the Worſhip of Images, and puniſh'd with the utmoſt Cruelty all that refuſed to adore them, might extend her Violence to all that abominated this Worſhip. The Jews could not be left out in this Perſecution, and the Penal Laws relating to them were ſtretch'd, to give a Pretence to puniſh them.

VI. 'Tis not known what they did in *Italy*; and *Spain* furniſhes but a very ſlender account. The *Sarazens* had entred and reduced it to their Obedience. *Moſes*, or *Muſa*, the Governour of *Africa*, upon the Invitation of the Chriſtians, ſent one of his Generals, named *Tarck*, into *Spain*, who making his deſcent at the foot of the Mountain *Caſpe*, gave it its name; hence it is call'd *Gibal Tar* at this day, or the Mountain of *Tarck*. *Roderick* loſt his Life and Crown that was given him in the Year 712. *Moſes*, taking that advantage, paſſes his Army into *Spain*, and puſh'd his Conqueſts not only to *Toledo*, but beyond *Saragoſſa*. But as he depended upon *Ulic* the Caliph of *Damaſcus*, he was recalled ſome

|| Theoph. An. 759. p. 376. * An. 769. † Zonar. t. 3. p. 103. || Paul Diac. l. 22. p. 552. * An. 820. † Phot. Nomocan. Tit. 9. p. 123 & 124. || Cod. Theodoſ. l. 16. Tit. 8. l. 6. An. 339. & Tit. 9. l. 4. p. 249.

time

time after. *Conſtantine Porphyrogenites* aſſerts, that * *Muſa*, *Moavius* the Caliph of *Syna*'s Nephew, having conquer'd *Spain*, made it a particular Principality, which he tranſmitted to his Succeſſors, and that the *Sarazens* of this Country were call'd *Mabiates*. This Remark is manifeſtly falſe; For *Spain* was not made a Particular Kingdom, nor was it an Hereditary Government; and it was wreſted from the Houſe of *Moſes*, by the Murder of his Son *Abdaloiſis*. The Governour of *Spain* was nominated but for three Years. The Governour of *Africa* had the Right of this Nomination, perhaps, becauſe he had made the Conqueſt of it; but this Governour himſelf depended on the Caliph of *Damaſcus*. Laſtly, He is miſtaken about the Origine of the Name which the *Sarazens* brought into *Spain*, for they did not derive it from *Moſes*, but *Moaviah*, the Son of *Heſcham*, who took Sanctuary in *Spain*, when the *Ommiades* were maſſacred in the Eaſt, and he laid the Foundations of a particular Monarchy with his Son *Abderame*. Mr. *de Marca* thinks † the opprobrious Name of *Maranes* came from hence, which is given the *Spaniards*, and ſignifies *Mahometans*. His Conjecture is much more reaſonable than that of *Mariana* and *Baronius*, who have taken this Name from *Maranatha*, known in the Jewiſh Church. But 'tis ſtill more probable, that the *Sarazens* were called *Marvenites* or *Maranites* from *Marvan* II. who reign'd at *Damaſcus* in the Year 745, and gave many Governours to *Spain*.

A Jew was reſolv'd to take Advantage ‖ of this Revolution, and of the Wars the new Governours made upon the *French* in *Languedoc*; he * was call'd *Serenus*, and pretended to be the Meſſiah. He found in *Spain* abundance of People diſpos'd to believe him, and to follow him into the Holy Land, where he was to eſtabliſh his Empire. *Ambiſa*, who was then Governour, made advantage of this Deſertion, and ſeized all the Eſtates they had vacated by their Extravagance. 'Tis not ſaid how far *Serenus* carried theſe credulous Souls, but it is moſt probable that ſome died by the way, and that the reſt return'd into their Country, to bewail the loſs of their Eſtates, which they had too lightly quitted.

The Houſe of the *Ommiades*, which enjoy'd the Caliphſhip in the Eaſt, ſent Governours and Troops hither to confirm their ancient Conqueſts, and to make new ones. This Family was ruin'd by that of the *Abaſſides*, which made a general Maſſacre of all that belong'd to it. *Abdalrahman*, whom we call *Abderaine*, who muſt not be confounded with a General of the ſame Name, who was defeated by *Charles Martel*, had the good Fortune to eſcape into *Spain* with his Father. *Moavius* acknowledg'd him Caliph in all the Weſt †. He reigned there a long time, and began to build the famous Moſch ‖ of *Cordua*, which his Son finiſh'd by the help of the Chriſtians, which he order'd from *Narboneſe Gaul*, to work upon the ſumptuous Temple of his Prophet. In the Reign of this Caliph *, appear'd *R. Jüda*, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in his Nation by his Learning. As he had ſtudied Philoſophy, he ſought the cauſes that hinder'd the Sea from overflowing the Land, and he publiſh'd a Treatiſe of it, which got him a great Reputation. He publiſh'd alſo an Arabian Dictionary, and tranſlated many Books of that Language into Hebrew; which ſhews not only that this Man was learned, and that the Sciences flouriſh'd then in the Spaniſh Synagogues, but alſo that theſe firſt Caliphs were more favourable to them than to the Chriſtians, who were forced to labour upon the Building of a Moſch, after having taken the Materials from them.

VII. As *Languedoc* was added to *Spain* ever ſince the *Viſigoths* were Maſters of it, that Province was the firſt expos'd to the Incurſions of the *Arabians*, who had defeated the *Viſigoths*. In the firſt Years of their Conqueſts, they made themſelves Maſters of *Narbonne*, and came and beſieg'd *Toloſe*. 'Tis aſſerted that the Jews, who had made a particular Treaty with them, aſſiſted them, upon condition that all the Chriſtians ſhould be murther'd, that were in the Town after it was taken; but this Fact deſerves to be examin'd.

VIII. 'Tis ſaid, that the Jews of *Toloſe* were weary of the Tyranny of the preſent Biſhop. As the miraculous St. *Sylvin* died in the Year 715, we cannot conjecture the Name of his Succeſſor, who by his Tyranny reduced the Jews of his Dioceſs to ſo great Extremies. 'Tis pretended that they call'd in the *Sarazens* from *Spain*, and promiſed to deliver up the City, upon condition, that having maſſacred all the Chriſtians upon their entrance, the Traitors ſhould be permitted to enjoy ſeveral Priviledges, and an entire Liberty. The *Sarazens* took *Narbonne* in their March, and advanced as far as *Lions*, deſtroying all that fell into their hands. *Vaifier*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, vainly endeavour'd to oppoſe their paſſage; he was defeated and loſt his Life. After his Death, the Victor beſieg'd *Toloſe*, took it, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, except the Jews, to whom he religiouſly perform'd the Promiſe he had made them. But *Charlemagne* having won three Battles over *Abderame*, and retaken the City of *Toloſe*, was reſolv'd to puniſh the Traitors for their Baſeneſs, and all the Blood they had caus'd to be ſpilt. They were condemn'd to Death, and the Inſtruments of their Puniſhment were already prepared, when the Cries and Groans of ſo many poor Wretches mov'd *Charlemagne*, and oblig'd him to commute the Puniſhment. Inſtead of a general Execution, he was contented with the Heads of the Principals in the Treaſon, and to order for the future, that all the Jews living at *Toloſe*, ſhould receive a box of the Ear thrice a Year at the Gate of a Church, that ſhould be appointed by the Biſhop, and pay for ever a Fine of thirteen Pounds of Wax.

One would think there was no conteſting a Fact related by a great many Hiſtorians, and ſupported by ſenſible Monuments. Beſides, they alledge three Proofs of the Truth of this Event. The Patent of *Charlemagne*, produced by *Theodard* in the Reign of *Charles* the Bald, when the Jews, who deſir'd to be freed from ſo ſcandalous a Puniſhment, pleaded not guilty to the Accuſation of Treachery enter'd againſt them. Beſides *Folcrand* Biſhop of *Toloſe*, in the Year 1181, gave a Sentence about the Weight of 44 Pounds of Wax, which the Jews were oblig'd to pay by vertue of *Charlemagne*'s Order. Laſtly, Another Biſhop of *Toloſe* gave the Canons of St. *Sernin* the Fine, which the Jews paid, to exempt themſelves from being box'd three times a Year; and the Inſtrument of that Donation, taken from the Archives of St. *Sernin*, ſeems indiſputable.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Proofs, we find much Difficulty in admitting this Event; for the Hiſtorians don't acknowledge that *Toloſe* was taken by the *Sarazens*. *Iſidore de Badajos*, who lived a little after this Siege, and who writ the Chronicle of the *Sarazens* in *Spain*, aſſerts, that the Inhabitants of *Toloſe*, having call'd in *Eudes* Duke of *Aquitain*, he beat the Enemy, kill'd *Zema* their Leader, and

* Καὶ ὁποωιάξας, &c. vide Copy. † Marca *Hiſt. of* Bearn. l. 2. c. 2. p. 137. ‖ An. 724. * Marca. ibid. p. 138. *In the Year of Chriſt* 756, *of the* Hegira 139. ‖ An. 788. * An. 763.

forced

forced the reſt of his Troops to make a ſcandalous Retreat. Beſides we ſee a Manuſcript Chronicle † of the Abbey of *Moiſſac*, which relates the Defeat of the *Sarazens* that beſieged *Toloſe*; and if the taking of *Toloſe* be falſe, the Jews can no longer be accus'd of ſurrend'ring it to the Infidels; in order to the cruel and barbarous Pleaſure of having the Chriſtians Throats cut, and becoming Maſters of a City by a general Maſſacre.

IX. It were eaſie to demonſtrate more perſpicuouſly the Falſhood of this pretended Treachery, in ſpite of all the Monuments that remain of it. But I will only inſiſt upon two Obſervations, 1. 'Tis ſaid that *Abderame* who commanded the Infidels, beat the Army of *Vaifier* Duke of *Aquitaine*, that he kill'd him, and afterwards, finding his Children in *Toloſe*, put them to death. In the mean time it is known, that Count *Eudes*, who is ſuſpected to have invited the *Sarazens*, was then Duke of *Aquitaine*, and that he was in the Battle which *Charles Martel* gave them many Years after the Siege. *Vaifier* lived not till a long time after, and was kill'd by *Pepin* at *Perigueux*, or by his own Soldiers, as he fled from this Prince. His Children as well as his Widow were found in *Xaintes*, where *Pepin* put them under a ſtrict Confinement. How ſhall we reconcile what all the Hiſtorians relate of *Vaifier*, with his death, happening after his Defeat by *Abderame*, *Jeſid*'s General of the *Sarazens*, in the Year 720?

Secondly, 'Tis ſaid that *Charlemagne* having retaken *Toloſe*, was contented to puniſh the chief of the Traitors, and commuted the Puniſhment of the reſt, which is evidently falſe and impoſſible. And indeed they fix the taking of *Toloſe* to the Year 715, or ten Years later. *Catel* is miſtaken, for *Jeſid* was Caliph in *Syria*, when one of his Generals enter'd *Aquitaine*, and this Prince came not to the Throne till after the Death of *Omar*, which was in the Year 101 of the *Hegyra*, and 719 of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and he died in the Year 723. It can't then be ſaid, that *Toloſe* was beſieg'd in the Year 715 or ten Years after, but in the Year 720 of our Lord. Whatever way we reckon the Years and Conqueſts of this Caliph, it is impoſſible that the Jews, who had betray'd the City in the beginning of the eighth Century, ſhould be alive, when *Charlemagne* made War againſt the *Sarazens* fifty Years after, and that he ſhould then go about to puniſh the Authors of the Conſpiracy. Beſides it is falſe, that *Toloſe* continued ſo long in the *Sarazens* hands. *Hunoud* was Duke of *Aquitaine* when *Charlemagne* came into it, and oblig'd him to fly into *Gaſcoyne*.

X. There are but two things true in this Story; One, that *Toloſe* was beſieg'd by the *Sarazens*. 'Tis believ'd alſo, that to ſtreſs it the more, they built the Caſtle of *Caltelmoron*, the Footſteps whereof appear at this day; but they were oblig'd to raiſe the Siege. Secondly, The Jews were ill uſed at *Toloſe*, and buffetted in the Perſon of their Syndick; but this was done in hatred to the Nation, and without their being guilty of the imputed Crime of betraying the City, in order to maſſacre all its Inhabitants. They have feign'd the Treaſon, the better to authorize the Puniſhment and the Infamy.

XI. *Charlemagne* had great Conſideration for them. They boaſted in his Reign the having the Liberty of purchaſing the Sacred Veſſels, and whatever was moſt pretious in the Treaſures of the Churches and Abbies. *Charlemagne* underſtood with Scandal, that the Biſhops and Abbeſſes gave grounds to theſe Accuſations, and ſeverely prohibited his Clergy from running into ſuch a criminal Exceſs; but he did not exact any Reſtitution on the Jews, nor reſtrain'd them in their Commerce; nor indeed was it juſt, that they ſhould bear the Puniſhment of the Avarice and Profanation of the Biſhops, who voluntarily made theſe Sacrilegious Sales, to conſecrate the Money to their Pleaſures.

XII. They had ſtill greater Intereſt at the Court of *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*. He had ‖ *Sedecias* for his Phyſician, the moſt famous of all Magicians. For which reaſon * a modern Author fails not to cite him, to prove the Effects of Magick to be not only poſſible, but alſo true and real. *Pharaoh*'s Magicians were but Apprentices in compariſon of this Jew; for he diverted *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, and all his Court, by ſwallowing a Man, whoſe Hands and Feet he had cut off, and afterwards reſtored him alive again. The Hiſtorian † ſays, that he one day eat in preſence of the Court a Load of Hay, with the Carter and Horſes. He flew in the Air like *Simon Magus*, and ſhew'd an hundred Tricks of this nature; which are admir'd by thoſe that believe every thing, and who ſcruple to admit a Grain of Scepticiſm in all the Facts, where the Devil is concern'd.

XIII. 'Tis only true, that the Jews had frequent Audience of the Emperor, and ſo great an Acceſs to his Perſon, that the Courtiers and the Princes of the Blood liberally preſented them, and ſent their Wives rich Dreſſes to ſollicit their Protection. The Emperor gave them liberty to build new Synagogues, and granted them very advantagious Edicts. So powerful a Protection bred Jealouſie, and great Diſorders in the Church of *Lions*.

Agobard, ‖ who was Biſhop of it, had forbidden his Flock to ſell Chriſtian Slaves to the Jews to be carried into *Spain*, and to keep the Sabbath. On the contrary, he commanded them to reſt on Sunday. It can't be doubted, but this great Biſhop had a Power to make ſuch Laws as theſe for the Government of the People which God had put under his Care; but he did what is uſual with able Men, when inveſted with Authority; he thought he had liberty to exceed the Bounds of his Juriſdiction, or to give it a greater Extent than it had; for he forbid the Chriſtians to buy Wine of the Jews, and to eat with them during Lent, under Pretence, that when the Wines the Vintners ſold was ſpoil'd, or made unclean by falling to the Ground, they carefully took it up, and kept it for the uſe of the Chriſtians. They ſold them alſo what Meat they thought not good for themſelves, either becauſe the Gall was wanting, or the Lungs grew to the ſides of the Beaſt. I don't know how ſo ingenious a Man as *Agobard*, came to take ſuch vain Pretences, he that was at other times ſo moderate, as to be unwilling to prejudice the Life and Health, or even Riches of the Circumciſed who lived in his Dioceſs. They complain'd of theſe Laws to *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, who being provok'd againſt *Agobard*, and the Citizens of *Lions*, ſent three Commiſſaries to take Informations. The Biſhop was much ſurpriz'd to ſee them arrive at his Houſe. Some Inhabitants, who probably were guilty of more capital Oppreſſions, betook themſelves to flight. The Biſhop having more Authority, waited the Conſequences of the Inqueſt, which was not to his Advantage, ſince the Jews were reſtor'd to the Poſſeſſion of their Priviledges, and the Market of Saturday was changed to another day of the Week, that the neceſſity of Trading that day might not oblige them to violate the Sabbath. The Emperor had in his turn the Power of making Re-

† Catel. *Hiſt. of* Languedoc. ‖ An. 815. * Dandini de ſuſpectis de Hæreſi. † Chronicon Hirſaugienſe. ‖ Agobardus de Inſolentia Judæor.

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gulations relating to the Polity. In the mean time *Agobard* was enflam'd; he queſtion'd whether theſe were the true Orders of the Emperor; though he could not doubt of it, ſince his Seal was put to 'em. He accus'd his Miniſters of Corruption: He charged the Jews with ſtealing frequently Chriſtian Children, in order to ſell 'em; and of doing things which it was not lawful for him to ſpeak. He related this upon the declaration of a Fugitive of *Corduba*, who ſaid, that they had ſold him in his Youth.

XIV. Theſe * Accuſations were not believ'd at Court, and his Remonſtrances had no effect. *Evrard*, the Emperor's Commiſſary, continu'd to protect the Jews, and to mortifie the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, who omitted nothing to ſupport what he had done. He wrote a ſecond time to the Emperor, and ſent him a Treatiſe of the *Jewiſh Superſtitions*, ſign'd by two Biſhops he had joyn'd with him, to give greater Weight and Authority to his Book. He endeavour'd to prove in this Piece, that we ought to have no Commerce with Hereticks; and particularly with the Jews, beeauſe there is no Sectary, but what has ſome Article of Faith in common with the Church. If the former have Errors, they have alſo a mixture of Truth; whereas, if the Jews believe that *Jeſus Chriſt* was crucify'd, they deſtroy the Effect of his Death, and deny it. He impertinently alledg'd the Example of St. *Paul*, who entred not the Synagogues, ſave in the firſt Years of his Apoſtleſhip; but who abſolutely ſeparated from them afterwards, to lodge with *Silas* among the Faithful: For it ſuffices, that St. *Paul* did not break off all, even Eccleſiaſtical Commerce with the Synagogue the very firſt day, to conclude from thence, that we may have Correſpondence with them. Beſides, the Fact is evidently falſe; ſince this ſame Apoſtle, when in the laſt Years of his Life he was Priſoner at *Rome*, had the complaiſance to ſend for the Jews of this great City, to give them an account of his Conduct, and to juſtifie himſelf to them, upon the Complaints that might have been ſent againſt him from *Jeruſalem*. Laſtly, *Agobard* cited the Example of St. *Peter*, who would not receive *Clement* to his Table, becauſe he was not Baptiz'd. He confeſs'd, that this Example, tho' taken from an *Apocryphal Book*, nevertheleſs to him appear'd good, becauſe the Ancient Doctors ſometimes made uſe of theſe *Recognitions* of St. *Clement*. He afterwards attack'd certain Doctrines, or rather Allegorical Expreſſions of the Rabbins, which aſcrib'd to God a Body, and *ſtiff and inflexible Fingers*, becauſe he never acts with the Hand. They made him inhabit a Palace ſeated upon a Throne, ſupported by four Beaſts. They attributed to him a thouſand Thoughts, which became ſo many Devils, becauſe they could not have their Effect. He accuſes them of maintaining, that the Letters of their Alphabet were eternal, and that the Law was written many Years before the Creation of the World; but it muſt not be imagin'd that they were ſo ſtupid. The Jews at that time ſaid, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was a young Man, educated in *John Baptiſt*'s School, who made many Diſciples; one of which had a Head ſo hard, as to be call'd *Peter*, a Stone: That his Diſciples gather'd together upon a Feaſt day, went to meet him, made him a kind of a King, and cried *Hoſanna*; but that afterwards *Tiberius* condemned him to perpetual Impriſonment, becauſe he had ly'd, in promiſing, that his Daughter, who was a Virgin, ſhould lie in, and ſhe only brought forth a Stone. As it was perceiv'd in the Priſon that this Jeſus was a Magician, he was condemn'd to the Gibbet, and his Head was cut off with a Stone: His Enemies committed him to the cuſtody of a Jew, who bury'd him near a Current of Water; the Water roſe in the Night, and carry'd away the dead Body, which could not be found again, tho' it was ſought after almoſt a Year. *Pilate* being convinc'd that he was riſen from the dead, commanded all the Jews to worſhip him upon pain of Damnation in Hell. Here you have a new Imagination concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*; which under all its Falſhood and Diſguiſe, would be ſomewhat more advantageous than the reſt, ſince it confeſſes the Reſurrection of the *Meſſiah*, and that he was worſhipped by Publick Authority, from the firſt Year after his Death. *Pilate* alſo accus'd the Jews of having *kill'd him purely out of jealouſie*, which deſtroys the Accuſation of Magick: But there is no neceſſity of going to the bottom of this Matter.

XV. *Agobard* * made a Journey to Court, either being ſent for, or that he was willing to ſollicite more effectually againſt the Jews, whom he look'd upon as his Perſonal Enemies. He had Audience of the Emperor, but it was only an Audience of Leave; being permitted to return to his Dioceſe without giving him any Satisfaction. The fruitleſneſs of this Journey redoubled his Grief. He was afraid of provoking the Court, by Baptizing of Heathens, who were in the Service of the Jews, and who ſometimes took Refuge in the Churches, to turn Chriſtians. One would think that there was no difficulty in this. The Seal of Chriſtianity can't be deny'd him who underſtands and believes it; and there is nothing more immediately belonging to a Biſhop, than the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm. The only Difficulty that could raiſe the Outcries of the Jews, and oblige the Courtiers to maintain them, was the Price of Slaves, which was loſt by their embracing of Chriſtianity; but *Agobard* remov'd this, by offering to pay them the Price of the Purchaſe. However, this Biſhop, who was already mortify'd, and afraid to bring new Troubles upon his hands, durſt not undertake it without advertiſing the Court. We don't know what Anſwer he receiv'd, but we have reaſon to conclude, it was not acceptable, ſince the Letter he wrote to *Nebudius* Biſhop of *Narbonne*, *the Pillar and Firmament of the Church*, was a very Splenetick Epiſtle.

He exclaims in it againſt his Enemies; maintaining, that all thoſe who ſtill liv'd under the Law, are cloathed with a Curſe as with a Garment; that the Malediction enters into their Bones, their Marrow, and their Bowels, as Water and Oil flow into Human Bodies. He ſaid that the Jews "were "curs'd both in City and Country, at the begin- "ning and the end of their Life; that their Flocks, "the Meats they eat, their Granaries, their Cel- "lars, and Magazines are curs'd". What Choler poſſeſſes the Souls of Holy Biſhops! Let us deplore the Weakneſs of the greateſt Men. They tranſgreſs the Bounds of their Juriſdiction, without thinking of it, and afterwards are provok'd with the reſiſtance that is made to 'em: They grow hot with Paſſion, which the jealouſie of their deſpis'd Authority irritates: By this means they incapacitate themſelves for the Diſcharge of the Duties of their Place, and loſe their Credit both with their Princes and the People.

The Protection the Jews found at *Lewis*'s Court, againſt one of the moſt Learned Biſhops of his Age, made them flouriſh in *France*. 'Twas ſaid openly at Court, that the Poſterity of *Abraham* and the Patriarchs ought to be reſpected. Even ſome Chriſti-

* Id. Ep. Bernardi & Eaoſ. Ep. de Judaicis Superſtitionis. † Agobardi conſultatio ad Proceres de Baptiſmo Judaico.

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ans neglected Sunday, and religiously observ'd Saturday, because God had signify'd it to be the Day of his Rest. People chose rather to go and hear the Sermons of the Rabbins, than those of the Curates and Monks; who being at that time ignorant and blockish, gave little Edification. Lastly, a Deacon of the Palace, nam'd *Putho*, or *Paudo*, quitted his Post in the Christian Church, to enter into the Synagogue.

XVI. The Jews being thus Potent at the Court of *Lewis*, maintain'd themselves in that of *Charles the Bald*. *Sedecias*, that famous Impostor beforemention'd, was his Physician: It was he that poison'd him. *Charles* was infinitely hated, and *Sedecias*, say they, meant to deliver the Kingdom and Empire of him. But these Ideas of the Publick Good have not usually so great an Influence, as the Presents or Sollicitation of a particular Person, that conspires against the Life of his Prince. In effect, its known, that *Boson* (tho' *Charles*'s Brother-in-law) and a great many of the Lords, corrupted *Sedecias*, and oblig'd him to shorten his Life by Poison.

XVII. 'Twas in this Prince's Reign, that the *Normans* began their Incursions, and ravag'd the Goasts of *France*; and the Jews, who were potent in *Aquitaine*, are accus'd of countenancing them, and traiterously surrendring *Bourdeaux*. *The Jews*, says an Historian, * *an Infidel Nation, that hates nothing so much as the Christians, even when they receive 'em into their Cities, gave up the City of* Bourges *to the* Normans, *which was plunder'd, and burnt with the Village of* Metulle. *The City* Perigeux *run the same fortune at the same time, and the* Aquitains *gave these Plunderers leisure to return home, loaden with inestimable Booty.* This Historian has committed three considerable Faults in his Narration: For, 1. He places this Event under the Reign of *Lewis the Debonnaire*, tho' it hapned not till the Year 848. when *Charles the Bald*, his Son, govern'd *France*. 2. He makes the City *Bourges*, the Capital of *Berry*, to be deliver'd to the *Normans*, instead of that of *Bourdeaux*, which is in *Aquitaine*. An ancient Historian found in the Charter-house of *Montdieu*, whom the Historian of *Normandy* has pretended to Copy by, translating him, says in expres terms, That *Bourdeaux* was taken by the *Normans*, because the Jews in it deliver'd it up. This Translators Fault is the more sensible, in that he complains, that the *Aquitains* suffer'd the *Normans* to reimbark and load their Vessels with their Spoils. 3. Lastly, He insinuates, that the City *Perigeux* was also betray'd by the Jews, notwithstanding they had no hand in its Misfortune. There are some, who would have much ado to believe 'em guilty of the loss of *Bourdeaux*, upon the Testimony of a single unknown Writer †; for in the Chronicle of St. *Vandrille* ‖, where the taking of *Bourdeaux*, and its Duke *William*, is observ'd, there is no mention of the Treason of the Jews.

XVIII. We have said, that they were accus'd of delivering *Tolose* to the *Sarazens*, when they besieg'd it; and that, as a Punishment for this Crime, they were box'd three times a year. The Punishment was more scandalous and ridiculous than cruel. Nevertheless, they complain'd of it, and demanded of *Charles the Bald* a re-hearing of the Trial. The King nam'd for Revisors, *Richard* Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Sisebode* Archbishop of *Narbonne*, who call'd a Provincial Council. The Bishops were only Witnesses. There was not one Person found to plead the Cause of the Christians, and to answer the Plea of the Jews: But the Bishop of *Tolose* making a Sign to a young Lad, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Narbonne*; this Youth, nam'd *Theodard*, produc'd the Charters of *Charlemagne* and *Lewis the Debonnaire* against the Jews. They reply'd, That the Punishment of the Fathers ought not to descend upon the Children; and that as those who were present had no hand in the Crime, they ought to have no share in the Scandal. To their Reasons they join'd Humiliation and Entreaty, which caus'd the Decision to be put off. A formal Process only was form'd, and sent to the Emperor. Whether he dy'd at this time, the Affair was not determin'd; at least they continu'd to box the *Syndic* of the Jews a long time after.

XIX. A pretty ancient Author, has thought the Plea of *Theodard* a genuine piece, and inserted it into his Life. In the mean time, we are oblig'd to observe three things; one, That *Richard*, who was made President of this Assembly, was not Duke of *Aquitaine*: For *Ranulph* was Governour of this Province, and *Richard*, who assisted at the Council of *Pavia*, and at *Charles*'s Coronation, had only the Title of Count. Again, *Bernard* Bishop of *Tolose* is not known from any ancient Monument; and those that speak of him, have recourse to the Story of the Plea which he put young *Theodard* upon. It can't be imagin'd, what the Bishops conven'd from all the Province did there; since the Council was not Judge, and the Emperor had referr'd the Information and Decision to two Commissioners; one whereof was a Layman, and the other an Ecclesiastick. Lastly, * There is no probability that the Jews, who were powerful at *Lewis the Debonnaire*'s Court, would not have obtain'd a Revocation of *Charlemagne*'s Order; or that this Prince would have granted a new Charter for their Buffeting. This is related in the Life of *Theodard*, Archbishop of *Narbonne*; but it was not written till long after his Death, upon uncertain Reports, and was found so full of Contradictions, that no body has ventur'd to print it: Only an Extract has been made of it in the particular Office of the Feasts of the Diocese of *Montaubon*, where *Theodard* was born. We need only observe Pope *Stephen*'s Decree, to give us a very wretched Notion of this Life. Indeed this Pope says, that *he went to the Council of* Troies *by Order of King* Odon. Whereas the Council of *Troies* was not call'd by *Stephen*, but by Pope *John* VIII. Nor was it King *Odon*, but *Lewis* that assisted in it. Lastly, *Theodard*, mention'd by the same Decree, was not then Bishop of *Narbonne*, but *Sisebode*, the same Prelate who had been Judge of the Jews, therefore no great weight is to be laid upon *Theodard*'s Life. The Jews were box'd at *Tolose*: They attempted to make use of *Sedecia*'s Credit with *Charles the Bald*, to be exempted from this Disgrace; but they could not obtain it: For this Custom subsisted in the following Ages, as appears by the Sentence of *Folcrand*, given in the twelfth Century. The Author of *Theodard*'s Life, who saw it done, has stuffed his Narrative with a great many Fabulous Circumstances, as thinking to embellish it; and 'tis this which discovers its Falshood. The Christians were Apish thus to box every year the *Syndic* of the Jews; and 'tis not conceivable, that a long Succession of Bishops religiously observ'd so ridiculous a Pastime: But that alters not the Truth of a Fact, and a Custom supported by Publick Monuments. We know too, that at *Beziers* they had a Custom to throw Stones at the Jews, from the Eve of *Palm-Sunday*, to the last Feast of *Easter*; and they were forc'd to redeem themselves by a Tribute, which they pay to the Bishop. Lastly, 'Tis no wonder, that the Jews, tho' potent at Court, should be obnoxious to the effects of Popular Hatred in particular Cities.

* Du Moulin's *Hist. of* Normandy, p. 38. † Incertus Author de Gest. Norman. apud du Chêne, p. 2. ‖ Fontanellensi Chronici Fragmentum, p. 388. * Catel's *Hist. of* Languedoc, l. 3. p. 519.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The State of the Jews in the Eaſt, during the tenth and eleventh Centuries; in which their Academies were ſhut up, and the Princes of the Captivity aboliſhed.

I. *A General Idea of the State of the Jews, during the tenth Century.* II. David *the Head of the Captivity. His Reign and Pride. The Tranſmigration of Souls believ'd.* III. *The Heads of the Academy and of the Captivity equal in Power.* IV. *A Man might exerciſe both theſe Offices at the ſame time.* V. *They were Elected and Depos'd by Plurality of Votes.* VI. *The Number and Proſperity of the Jews at* Pheruts Schibbur. VII. Hay, *a Deſcendant of* David. *His Works.* VIII. Cader's *Perſecution of the Jews.* IX. Ezechias *the Head of the Captivity.* X. *The Schiſm of* Aaron *and* Moſes *in his Reign.* XI. *The time in which they liv'd.* XII. Capel's *Conjectures about* Aaron. XIII. *The Caliph's harmleſs: The Sultan's Perſecutors. The Ruin of the Nation in the Eaſt.* XIV. *This Event related by* Salomon *the* Son of the Rod. XV. *The Confutation of his Relation.* XVI. Sultan Gela le Doullat *deſtroys 'em.* XVII. *Heads of the Captivity after this Perſecution.* XVIII. *A Conſequence drawn from hence for the Explication of* Jacob's *Oracle.* XIX. *The Falſity of this Conſequence.* XX. *The Religion of the* Druſes *unknown.* XXI. *Their Head a Perſecutor of the Jews in* Egypt.

I. THE Tenth Century, which is in ſuch Diſcredit with the Chriſtians, was not ſo unreputable to the Jews. Inſtead of deploring the groſs Ignorance that overſpread Chriſtianity at that time; they boaſt, that they never had ſuch *Excellent* Doctors as then. They erected a new Academy in the Eaſt; becauſe thoſe which had ſubſiſted for many Ages, were not ſufficient to contain the numbers of Profeſſors and Scholars. The *Arabians* apply'd themſelves to ſtudy, in ſpight of the Oppreſſion, which deſtroy'd the Authority of the Caliphs. There appear'd amongſt 'em able Phyſicians, and ſubtle Logicians; and notwithſtanding they had experimented the Vanity of Aſtronomical Predictions, yet they ſtudiouſly cultivated this Science, that was uſeful at Court. The Jews imitated the *Arabians*: An Inclination and Genius for Learning, which had been extinct, reviv'd among them: However, their Quiet was interrupted, by the Diviſions that aroſe between the Profeſſors and Heads of the Captivity. They even ſaw theſe Academies tumble down; and the whole Nation being expell'd the Eaſt, was forc'd to ſeek a new Refuge in *Spain* and *France*. They underwent freſh Misfortunes thro' the Zeal of the *Cruſaders*; who made it a piece of Devotion to Maſſacre all the Jews, before they proceeded to the Conqueſt of *Judea*: Which is the Subject we are going to relate.

II. *David* was the Prince of the Captivity: A haughty Man, who govern'd his Nation with *the Authority of a King*. The Jewiſh Hiſtorians * complain'd, that his Predeceſſors buckl'd under the Caliphs, and paid them Tribute; but that *David* recover'd all his Privileges, and inforc'd them like a King. There were two things that might contribute to this Exaltation: The long Reign of *David*, who was Head of his Nation above thirty Years, and the Weakneſs of the Caliph *Moctader*, who then rul'd. He was not only Young, but depended ſo upon his Officers, that they depos'd him twice; and he had been abſolutely depriv'd, but that they could not find any Perſon in the Family of the *Abaſſides* to ſubſtitute in his Room. The Weakneſs of the Government, gave *David* opportunity to raiſe himſelf, and affect a ſtately Pride. He caſt Troubles and Diviſions into the Academy of *Pundebita*, by carrying his Authority too high. The Jews had elected *Misbiſcher*, and made him Preſident of their College: *David* choſe another; and the jealouſie of theſe two Profeſſors, who had different Privileges, encreas'd the Diſorder. The Diviſion was violent for five Years, and there was no way to appeaſe it, but by forming two different Schools in the ſame Place.

That of *Sora* was ſo fall'n from its ancient Luſtre, that no body could be found, either willing or able to teach in in. *David* ſent for one nam'd *Jom Tob*; but he being no ingenious Man, inſtead of raiſing the drooping Academy, left it as empty as he found it. They were then forc'd to ſeek out the Rabbi *Saadias*, to fill the Vacancy, and draw Scholars to the Place. *Saadias* at firſt diſcharg'd his Poſt with great Succeſs. One of his principal Cares, was to cure his Nation of the Error about the Tranſmigration of Souls, that had been diſpers'd among the *Perſians* for a great many Ages; and was ſtill preſerv'd in the Eaſt, notwithſtanding the frequent Revolutions that happen'd there, both in the Empire and Religion. The Jews, who believ'd it in our Saviour's time, were ſtill as fond of it as the *Arabians*; and *Saadias* found it very difficult to reclaim them: However, he made ſome progreſs; but the Prince of the Captivity deſiring him to ſign a Regulation he had made againſt the Laws, the Doctor refus'd him ſo unjuſt a Demand. This Refuſal, which *David* did not expect, incens'd him very much: He upbraided *Saadias* with his Ingratitude, and ſent his Son to threaten him with the loſs of his Head, if he did not obey his Orders; but the Rabbi advertiſing his Scholars of this Inſult, they mutiny'd againſt *David*, and attacking him in a Body, beat him ſoundly. The Nation divided after the Example of its Heads; and every one engag'd in a Party. *Saadias*'s Faction ſo far prevail'd at firſt, as to get *David* depos'd, and *Joſeph* his Brother proclaim'd Prince of the Captivity; but his Authority laſted not long. *David*, ſupported by his Creatures, reſum'd the Government; *Saadias* was conſtrain'd to fly, and ſeek a place of Retirement; in which he continu'd ſeven Years: 'Twas in this Sanctuary, that he compos'd moſt of the Works which have perpetuated his Name after his Death. He came out of it at laſt to be reconcil'd with his Prince; but he had the happineſs to ſurvive him, aud to have the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Academy.

III. We may learn from this Event, that the Power of the Heads of the Academy, was almoſt equal to that of the Princes; ſince the latter could not enact any Laws, but what were ſign'd by the Profeſſor. Moreover, there hath been frequent

* Ganz Tſemach David, p. 130.

Inſurrections againſt each other. *Saadias*, tho' a Stranger in the Eaſt, withſtood *David*, the haughtieſt and moſt potent Prince the Nation had ſeen for many Ages.

IV. Theſe Heads of the Academy, might at the ſame time be Princes of the Captivity, though this did not always happen. And indeed *Hay*, one of the *Sublimes*, was at the ſame time Head of the Academy, and Prince of the Nation. Beſides, the Title of Prince is often given to the others. They ſay, * that ſuch a one *reign'd* alone in the Academy; and that *the Empire of* Raf Nehemiah, *Head of* Pundebita, *in the middle of the tenth Century, laſted eight Years:* The Titles of Reign and Empire only relating to their Inſtruction. Laſtly, We commonly find in the Jewiſh Chronicles, the Names of theſe Heads of the Academy, whilſt we ſee no Prince of the Nation. Will you ſay, that the Doctors being more ſollicitous for the Chain of the *Cabala*, and the Succeſſion of Perſons, who have preſerv'd Tradition, than for the remembrance of an Authority ſo long ſince aboliſh'd, have preferr'd the Names of the Profeſſors, before thoſe of the Princes? This Conjecture may have ſome Solidity in it; but yet it removes not the difficulty which ariſes from the ſo frequent ſilence of the Hiſtorians, as to the Princes of the Captivity; for no body can ever accuſe the Jewiſh Nation, of voluntarily forgetting any thing that might be ſerviceable to its Glory.

V. The Princes of the Nation, and the Heads of the Academy, were Elected by a Majority of Votes. The Example of *David*, depos'd by *Saadias*'s Intrigues, proves, that the Power of the Princes, was neither Abſolute, nor Independant on the People. Beſides, the Government was not Hereditary in a Family; and tho' the Son ſometimes ſucceeded the Father, yet this rarely happen'd. The ſame thing muſt be ſaid of the Heads of the Academy: The Prince contributed to their Election, by his Authority in the Nation; but the Doctors gave their Votes: The Vote alſo and Inclination of the People was heard, tho' not always. We find an Inſtance of it in the tenth Century; when there was a Profeſſor wanting at *Pundebita*. A very rich Merchant offer'd himſelf as a Candidate for the Place; part of the People were for *Nehemia*, others declar'd for the Merchant, named *Aaron*; and this laſt was choſen. But the other ſucceeded him † ſeventeen Years after.

VI. The Nation was in ſo flouriſhing a Condition at that time, that nine hundred thouſand Jews were reckon'd in the City of *Pheruts Schibbur*. This Name ſignifies *the rupture of Sapor*; and according to this Etymology, *Sapor* ſhould be acknowledg'd for the Founder of this City; and amongſt many Kings of *Perſia* of this Name, it might be attributed to *Sapor* II. who took *Valerian* Priſoner, and treated him ſo cruelly: For this Prince not only enlarg'd his Kingdom by many Conqueſts, but alſo built a great many Cities in them, and call'd them by his Name. Some give this honour to a Rabbin, ‖ call'd *Schiabbour*, or *Sapor*, who founded the Academy. In the mean time it was not the Academy, but the City it ſtood in, that bore this Name. It was ſituated five Miles from *Babylon*; and if it had nine hundred thouſand Jews in it, it muſt have been vaſtly Peopled by that Nation, and alſo of prodigious Extent; for there are very few Cities in the World that contain within their Walls ſo many Inhabitants. Perhaps 'tis an Hyperbole of the Hiſtorians *. *Scherira*, who was made Preſident of this School, kept it flouriſhing † for thirty Years together. He was a mortal Enemy of the Chriſtians, and particularly of the Monks, whom he wrote againſt, and call'd them *Forgers*. He was the more acceptable for it to his Diſciples, who commonly look upon theſe Outrages, as ſo many Acts of Zeal. *Scherira* finding himſelf overloaden with Years, reſign'd his Place to his Son *Hay*, the *moſt Excellent of all the Excellents*.

VII. 'Tis pretended, that this Doctor deſcended in a direct Line from *David* the Prophet, and King of *Judea*. For a Proof of it, they affirm, that he had a Lion in his Scutcheon, which was alſo in the Arms of the ancient Kings of *Judea*. But his principal Glory did not accrue from ſo Illuſtrious a Birth: He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in his Nation by a great many very different Works, which he Publiſh'd upon *Purchaſes, and Sales, and Wages*. He has one upon the *Interpretation of Dreams* ‖. Another contains his Anſwers upon the Book of *Jetſira*, or the Formation; in which we find the way they formerly wrote the Name of *Jehovah* at *Jeruſalem*; which being ſingular I will here inſert.

The Chriſtians ſay, that each Circle repreſents the Light, and that as three of them are found in all the parts, *Hay* meant to explain by them the Trinity of Perſons; each of which may be conſider'd as a Circle of Light; for *the Son is the Light that enlightens every Man that comes into the World*. *Hay* was a Poet, and ſome of his Verſes are ſtill remaining; in which * he inſtructs a Man in the Duties of Piety. Laſtly, he was a Cabbaliſt; and not only explain'd the Terms and Art of the *Cabbala*, but his Treatiſe concerning the *Voice of God in Power*, is alſo full of Cabbaliſtick Principles. He had *ſo great a Reputation, that they came from the Eaſt and Weſt to conſult him*. He became Head of the Academy of *Pundebita*, as well as of *Pheruts Schibbur*; in which he had been Profeſſor from nine and twenty years of Age. It ſeems too that he was elected Prince of the Captivity. But happening to draw upon him the jealouſie of his own Nation, both he and his Father fell into deſperate Diſgrace.

VIII. The Caliph, who then reign'd, was call'd *Cader*. Tho' he was of the Houſe of the *Abaſſides*, he liv'd privately with a † Neighbouring Prince, who reign'd in the Marſhes, that are form'd by the Waters of the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. But the Sultan having depos'd *Thai*, ſet him upon the Throne. He quickly ſhew'd himſelf worthy of the Empire he was rais'd to. He reform'd the Abuſes that were crept into the State; and extended his Care as far as *Egypt*; where he prov'd to the *Fathemites*, that reign'd there, that they were not *Aly*'s Family, as they boaſted. *Cader*, who liv'd eighty one Years, and reign'd above forty, reſolv'd alſo to give a check to the Jews, who had made too great Advantage of the precedent Troubles, and uſurp'd an undue Authority. *Scherira* and *Hay* were accus'd to him as Men of Wealth and Power, who govern'd the Nation; they were put in Priſon. The Caliph fleec'd 'em of all their Wealth, and caus'd *Scherira* to be hang'd, who muſt have been above a hundred Years old. *Hay* had the good fortune to

* An. 959. † An. 959. ‖ U. Bibl. Oriental. *at the Title* Schiabbour, p. 763. * Ganz Tſemach David, p 129. † An. 997. ‖ *It was Printed at* Venice *with other like Pieces of* Salomon Jarki, &c. Bart. B. R. t. 2. p. 387. * Eruditio intellect. ex Prov. C. 3. edit. Conſtantinop. An. 1532. U. Bart. ibid. † Babacdulla.

eſcape

escape this Violence. He went on with his Lectures in the Academy, and taught there till 1037. This was the last of the Excellents.

IX. After *Hay*'s Death, *Ezechias* was elected Prince of the Captivity, but his Reign was short and miserable *, for when he had reigned two Years, the Caliph arrested him with all his Family, and put them to death, except two Sons that fled into *Spain*. The Academies were shut up, and the Learned oblig'd to seek a Sanctuary in the West, whither the persecuted People follow'd them.

X. 'Twas in the Reign of *Ezechias* that the Schism † arose between the Children of *Asher* and *Nepthali*, who are thought to be the first *Masoreths*. At least, they are the first Grammarians who applied themselves to review and correct the Scripture. Father *Simon*, well vers'd in this Subject, who saw *Aaron*'s Manuscript and printed Corrections, has no esteem for them, believing them to be later than the *Masora*, and pretty modern. We ought not to judge of them by the Noise or Schism these two Masters raised in the Nation; for People often divide in the Schools upon Niceties of Grammar. But if their Corrections be trifling, the Authority of the Hebrew Text is the greater for it; for 'tis a Proof that the original Text had so long preserv'd its Integrity, and stood in need of no great Correction.

XI. *Aaron* and *Moses* must needs have lived || in the Eleventh Century; for they not only taught in *Babylon*, whose Academies were shut up, but *Maimonides*, who lived in *Egypt* in the following Century, drew his Plan upon that of *Ben-Asher*; he lived therefore many Years before *Maimonides*, since his Corrections had already been approved in *Egypt*; and if we make these *Revisors* ancienter than the Eleventh Century, we have still less reason to upbraid them with their Novelty. Tho' they are call'd the Children of *Asher* and *Nephthali*, it is not to be imagin'd they took their Name from their Parents, but from the Tribes they pretended to be of, whose Remains were preserv'd in the East.

XII. *Capel* was of opinion *, that *Aaron* was of *Tiberias*, which being the place of his Birth, and the Academy where he taught, it took his part against the Eastern Jews, who preferr'd *Moses*'s revision. But we can't conjecture which was his Country; and the Jewish Historians only insinuate that he taught in the East under *Ezechias* the Prince of the Nation. He retir'd perhaps to *Tiberias*, upon account of their Persecution in the East, and then it was that the *Tiberias* Doctors gave him the Preference above *Moses*, as he had preferr'd their Academy and City before all the rest he might have fled to. 'Tis evident that the Dispute was not about the Points, as *Capel* thought, but about the Words of the Law.

XIII. The Persecution, which continued in the East, intirely ruin'd the Affairs of this Nation. We can't absolutely charge this Persecution upon the Caliphs; for *Cajem*, who then reigned, was too great a Lover of Literature and Learned Men, to ruin flourishing Academies, out of which were frequently drawn Physicians, Astrologers, and Interpreters of Dreams. But there had happen'd above a Century before, a considerable Change in this Monarchy; for the House of the *Buides* had usurp'd the Supreme Authority. *Buia*, the Head of this House, pretended to descend from *Cosroes* an antient King of *Persia*; yet he was very poor, when he dream'd that *a great Fire issued from his Belly, which having cover'd a great Country, flew up to Heaven, and divided it self into three Fires, which the Nations of the Earth adored*. An Astrologer predicted to him, that these three Fires were his three Children which should reign one after another; and he confirm'd his Prediction when he had examin'd the Scheme of their Nativity. These three Sons of *Buia*, after several turns of Fortune, enter'd in *Mardavige*'s Service, who made War upon the Caliph *Moctader* †, wherein they signaliz'd themselves, and obtain'd many Victories over him. *Mardavige* being kill'd in the Bagnio, and leaving no Children to succeed him, *Aly* the eldest of *Buia*'s Sons seeing himself at the Head of a victorious Army, push'd on his Fortune, conquer'd *Persia*, and laid the Foundations of a new Dynasty, which lasted One hundred twenty seven Years ||. These new Sultans grew so despotical at *Bagdet*, that nothing was done but by their order. The Caliphs absolutely depended on them, whom they raised to the Throne, and deposed as they thought fit. One of these Caliphs was deposed by them in the Year 945. *Mothi*, who succeded the depriv'd Caliph, is hardly known, because he was not so much as allow'd to have a Visier, being oblig'd to be content with a Secretary, who took the Accounts of his Revenues. *Thay* his Son, to whom he left the Caliphship, after a voluntary Abdication, was depriv'd by the Sultan *Baha Aldoulat*, who entring his Chamber upon pretence of paying his Respects to him, afterwards had him dragg'd from his Throne by suborn'd People, who kept him Prisoner till they had carry'd off the Treasures of the Palace. He had the Misfortune to survive his Grandure † a long time, and to be oblig'd to lead a private Life, seeing another reign under his Nose. One of these Caliphs depos'd by the Sultans, and by the *Emir Al Omera*, or Generalissimo of the Troops, who was like the *Maires du Palais* in *France*, was reduc'd to so miserable a Condition, as to beg his Bread at the Gates of the Moschs, and to desire them that pass'd by, to remember that he had been their Caliph. The House of the *Abassides* which had always favour'd the Jews, being sunk from its Authority, the Sultan *Gela le Doulat*, who reign'd by the Name of *Cajem*, resolv'd to extirpate them; and to that purpose shut up their Academies, which have never been open'd since. He banish'd the Professors, or oblig'd them to banish themselves, and to translate their Academies into the West. He kill'd the Prince of the Captivity with his Family. The People also suffer'd extreamly in this Persecution, which in all appearance was so bloody, as to reduce the Jews to a handful of Men; to disperse them into the Desarts of *Arabia*, and to drive them into the Western World.

XIV. The Jewish Historians say *, that the Babylonish Lords, being jealous of the Grandeur wherewith the Prince of the Captivity appear'd among them, began to fear the Exaltation of some one of *David*'s Family, who should seize upon the Government and the Crown. They gave out, that it would be scandalous for the Masters to be oblig'd to obey their Slaves, and resolv'd to kill him; which Resolution they executed as he pass'd with the *Princes of the Academies*. The News of it was immediately brought to Court, which sent a Detachment of Guards to wrest the Prince of the Captivity out of the Mutineers hands. But they arriv'd too late, and could rescue but a very few People. However the Nation laid hold of this Accident, and resolv'd to have no Prince for the

* Ganx An. 797. p. 131. † An. 1037. || An. 1037. * Capell Arcanum Punctuationis. † An. 930. || An. 932 *and ended in* 1056. † 69 *Years*. * Salomon Ben Virgæ Schevet Juda, p. 307.

future, that they might no more excite the Jealouſies of Potentates, and to wait till God ſhould pleaſe to ſend them a Prince, who might give them an intire Deliverance.

XV. I queſtion whether the thing happen'd as it is related by this Hiſtorian. 'Tis true there were then at *Babylon* three different Factions, that of the *Abaſſides*, who held the Caliphſhip, and ought to have been Maſters, but who daſtardly ſubmitted to the General of their Troops. The Houſe of the *Buides* made a ſecond Party; the Generaliſſimo was of this Houſe, and govern'd with a more abſolute Authority. Laſtly, The *Selgiucides* made a third, which was a Family of *Turks* that came from the Banks of the Caſpian Sea, who having paſs'd the *Gehon*, came and ſettled at *Chorazin*, where they grew ſo formidable, as to ruin the Houſe of the *Buides*, and make themſelves Maſters of the Caliphſhip.

Whatever way we turn our Thoughts, we can't ſee how the Prince of the Captivity could have provok'd the Jealouſie of theſe Factions, or theſe Heads of them. We have already ſaid, that the Caliph *Cajem* came of a Family that lov'd the Jews. He honour'd Men of Learning, and during a Reign of 45 Years, he ſtill ſtoop'd under his Generals, and was even a Priſoner ſome time. *Togrul* came to take him out to conduct him pompouſly to the Palace upon his Mule, whilſt he march'd on foot, with his hands ſometimes upon the Stirrup, and ſometimes upon the Bridle, which oblig'd *Cajem* to give him the Title of Pillar, and to ſay to him, *Mount on Horſe-back, you that are the ſtrongeſt Support of Religion.* But notwithſtanding all theſe Appearances of Reſpect and Submiſſion he kept him under.

XVI. The Sultan *Gela le Doullat*, the Head of the ſecond Faction, had nothing to apprehend from the Jews: What could they do to this General, who had always great Armies ready to march under his command, and who govern'd ſo happily, that there was no likelihood of a Revolution during his Life? And yet it was he that put to death the Heads of the Captivity, and baniſh'd the Jews; for the *Selgiucides* came not to *Bagdet* to the aſſiſtance of the Caliph *Cajem* till the Year 1055, above fifty Years after the Ruin of the Academies. It might be imagin'd, that the frequent Troubles that happen'd at that time in *Bagdet*, which was plunder'd, and taken and retaken ſeveral times, gave occaſion to fear, leſt the Jews ſhould take ſome advantage of them. But without examining the Condition of this Nation, whoſe Power in the Eaſt doth not ſeem formidable enough to have raiſed theſe Suſpicions, this Conjecture can't be advanc'd, ſince the Troubles did not begin till after their Ruin and Diſperſion.

If the Prince of the Captivity had been kill'd alone upon a tranſient Commotion, and the Guards ſent to his aſſiſtance had ſtop'd it, the Academies would ſtill have ſubſiſted after his death, and we might have ſeen ſome Excellents in the Eaſt, as before. But the Academies being ruin'd, their Heads baniſh'd, and the People diſpers'd, 'tis ridiculous to ſay, that the Princes Dignity was aboliſh'd upon deliberation, in order to ſecure themſelves from the fatal Effects of Jealouſie.

XVII. 'Tis here they put an end to the Heads of the Captivity, and the Eaſtern Academies; but I queſtion whether they be not miſtaken, for *Benjamin de Tudela*, who travelled in the following Century into the Eaſt, to pay a Viſit to his Brethren, ſtill found a Prince of the Captivity among them. *Petachia*, who went from *Ratisbonne*, with the ſame Deſign, and in the ſame Century, found a Prince of the diſpers'd Nation at *Bagdet* in *Perſia*. His Name was *Samuel*, and he aſſerts that he traced his Genealogy as high as the Prophet of that Name. For a Proof of it, he produced a genealogical Book he had. From hence we infer two things; Firſt, That the Heads of the Captivity were not of *David*'s Family, as is ſuppoſed, ſince the Prophet *Samuel* was of the Tribe of *Ephraim*. Secondly, That the Princes of the Captivity were not abſolutely aboliſh'd in the Eleventh Century. Notwithſtanding the Perſecution which the Jews then ſuffer'd at *Bagdet*, and in the neighbouring Provinces was ſo violent, that the Nation had much ado to rear its Head again. The Princes of the Captivity were rarely ſeen afterwards, and preſerv'd only the Name without Authority. They might have ſome School in the Thirteenth Century, which they ſtyl'd an Academy; but thoſe of *Sora* and *Pundebita*, and all the reſt which had made a Figure, were abſolutely ruin'd in the Year 1039.

XVIII. Great Advantage is taken from this Misfortune. The Chriſtians conclude from it againſt the Talmudiſts, that the Meſſiah is come. The truth is, *Jacob* having foretold, that the Scepter ſhould not depart from *Judah*, nor the Law-giver from betwixt his Feet, till *Shiloh* came; the Talmudiſts have eluded this Propheſie, by ſaying, that the Scepter ſignified the Authority of the Princes of the Captivity at *Babylon*, and by the Law-giver was meant, the Children, or *Hillel*, or the Heads of the Academies which taught the Law. The Rod or the Scepter denotes the ſupreme Authority, and the *Law-giver the inferior Power, that was obtain'd from the Kings of* Perſia. But the Heads of the Academies being aboliſh'd, and the Power given by the Caliphs to the Prince of the Captivity, extinct in the Perſon of *Zacharias* the Son of *David* * in the Year 1039, it can no longer be ſaid, that the Jewiſh Nation have either Head or Law-giver remaining; and if the Meſſiah was to appear after the Abolition of theſe Heads, he muſt have been come a great many Centuries before.

XIX. There is ſome reaſon for taxing the Talmudiſts with their Error. As they lived at a time wherein their Nation enjoy'd ſome Proſperity in the Eaſt, and foreſaw not their Declenſion, nor the Ruin that happen'd a long time after; they thought to ſtop the Chriſtians mouths by boaſting of their Heads of the Captivity, to whom they gave the Title of Prince (with greater Pomp than reality) as well as to their Profeſſors, as if they had been the Legiſlators of *Iſrael*. We have reaſon to inſult their Admirers upon the Falſhood of this Anſwer. But that is the only conſequence that can be drawn from this Revolution; for at the bottom there is no probability, that *Jacob* deſign'd to ſpeak of the Kings of his Poſterity when it was in Bondage, nor of Princes, who only had the Name and ſhadow of Authority over a Fugitive People. They liv'd in Subjection to the Infidels, paid them Tribute, and bought their Liberty. Is this to hold the *Scepter* or *Rod* in their hands? And can it be ſaid, that it was always a Man of the Tribe of *Judah* that govern'd, whilſt the other Tribes carried away by *Salmanaſſar* were much more numerous and potent than this?

XX. The *Jews* underwent a freſh Perſecution in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Hakim*, the third Caliph of the Houſe of the *Fathimites*. His Father had left him young in the Hands of a Tutor in the Year 996. He was a Man of a weak Head, who ſuffer'd

* V. Bartol. B. R. t. 2. p. 385.

himſelf

himſelf to be won by *D. Arar* an Impoſtor, who was kill'd notwithſtanding his Intereſt with the Caliph. After his Death another Impoſtor named *Hamzah* ſucceeded him, and perſwaded *Hakim* that he was God. There has even been a Catalogue made of ſixteen thouſand Perſons who acknowledg'd him for the Supreme Deity: And from hence was form'd the Religion of the *Druſes* or † *Dararіah*, which remains to this day, though it be ſo little known, that they were believ'd, not long ſince, to be deſcended from the *Druides*, or a Count of *Dreux*, and other French-men, who follow'd *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* to the Conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*. The Affair ſtands thus.

Hakim could not own *Aly*'s Predeceſſors as lawful Caliphs; and therefore he caus'd them to be excommunicated. His Maſter *Hamzah* afterwards put it into his Head to aboliſh Mahometiſm, and ſet up a new Religion, whereof himſelf ſhould be the Head: He perſwaded this extravagant Prince that he was the great God, who had taken the Figure of a King, to manifeſt himſelf to Men. He feign'd that this God, whom he call'd *Albar* ||, had created the World, mingled with young and old: Some imagin'd they were the Fathers of others, and ſhew'd the Tombs of their Anceſtors. Some were found created in Veſſels upon the Sea, carrying Merchandiſes from one Shore to another. Men being created, God gave them *Adam the Purified* for their Law-giver, who was otherwiſe call'd *Chantil*. He preach'd 120 Years, and reduc'd the Nations, particularly the *Arabians*, to the *Faith of the Unity*. But God having oblig'd the Devil, call'd *Arath*, to follow this Religion, and to reſpect *Adam* as his High Prieſt, the Devil made a Schiſm with part of Mankind. *Adam*, to ſupport himſelf, took *Enoch* to his aſſiſtance, call'd *Adam the Criminal*, and *Seth* ſurnamed *Adam the Forgetful, and Material*. But however the World forſook the Unitarian Religion, and follow'd the Devil. God being provok'd, ſent *Noah*, who took poſſeſſion of the High Prieſthood, and taught the Adoration of *nothing*. His Religion laſted till *Abraham*, who made a new one, which ſubſiſted till *Moſes*, who taught Men to worſhip what was inviſible. *Jeſus* came afterwards, who attempted to reunite all Men to his Religion. He reign'd till *Mahomet*, who ſet himſelf againſt all Religions to eſtabliſh his own, and made Men worſhip a Lye; but at laſt *Hakim*, or the great God, came into the World to procure the Adoration of all the Earth, to which purpoſe he had brought back the firſt *Adam*, who was the Impoſtor *Hamzah*, who compoſed a very polite Arabian Book, in which he included his Syſtem. He gave himſelf the Name of *Supreme Legiſlator, the Cauſe of Cauſes, the Word, God, Immediate Collector*. He permitted all Inceſtuous Marriages, and ſuppreſs'd ſome Feaſts; the Faſt of *Rhamadhan*, and the Pilgrimage to *Mecha*. The better to act his part, *Hakim* went every Morning upon the Mountain *Moccatam*, where he boaſted to have ſecret Conferences with God. There it was that his Siſter, fearing the Conſequences of his Extravagance, caus'd him to be kill'd. But as the Murther was ſecret, *Hamzah* made uſe of that Circumſtance to publiſh, that this Deity had diſappear'd, and was retir'd behind the Wall of *Alexandria*, from whence he ſhould hereafter return again; and the *Druſes*, who are at this day Maſters of Mount *Libanon*, *Berithos*, and ſome Maritime Cities of *Syria*, wait for him, as the *Jews* do for the *Meſſiah*.

XXI. *Hakim* declar'd himſelf an Enemy both to the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. He order'd the former to wear a Mark, by which they might be known: He caus'd their Synagogues to be demoliſh'd, forc'd them by Baſtinado's to quit their Religion and to turn *Druſes*. But being unconſtant, he quickly chang'd his Opinion, and permitted them to return to their old Religion. This Prince dyed in the Year 1026 in *Egypt* where he reign'd.

† *Mr.* Harbelot *in his* Bibl. Orientale, *calls this Sect* Dararіah, p. 418. *but Mr.* de la Goix, *in his Tranſlation of the* Kitab Almakaid, *calls them* Druzes. || Kitab Almakaid.

CHAP. V.

The State of the Jews *in the Weſt, during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. The Perſecutions in* Spain.

I. *A general Account of the Government of the Caliphs in* Spain. II. *Of the State of the Chriſtians.* III. *That of the Jews. The Hiſtory of* Moſes *clad with a Sack.* IV. *The* Talmud *tranſlated into* Arabick. *The Diviſion of the Synagogues. Magnificence of the* Rabbins. V. *Revolutions in the Caliphſhip.* VI. *The Arrival of the* Marabethons *in* Spain; *their Original.* VII. *Their great Intereſt at Court.* VIII. *Ended by a Maſſacre.* IX. *A new Maſſacre by the Chriſtians, ſtop'd by the Biſhops and Pope.* X. *Their Tranquility in the Reign of* Alphonſo. XI. Peter I. *oppoſes the Violence that was deſign'd them at the time of the* Cruſadoes. XII. *Learned Men numerous among them.* Cophni *a famous* Rabbin. XIII. *The five* Iſaacs; *The Diſputes of two* Iſaacs. XIV. *The Diſputes about the Study of the Sciences formerly condemn'd.* XV. *The Anathema's againſt that Study taken off.* XVI. Gerſciom *the Light of the Captivity of* France. XVII. *His Diſciple* Jacob *the Son of* Zecar. XVIII. Judas Albarcellonita *writ upon the Times.* XIX. Moſes *the Preacher. The Original of the Jewiſh Sermons.*

I. THE Diviſions and Wars that troubled *Spain* during the Tenth Century, gave the *Jews* of this Country a great deal of Reſt and Tranquility. *Abdalla*, who was Caliph there, had the Mortification † to ſee his Uncle rebel againſt him, and make powerful Efforts to wreſt the Empire out of his Hands. But being defeated, he was oblig'd to take Sanctuary among the Chriſtians, where he caus'd himſelf to be baptiz'd, purchaſing his Quiet and his Life by a feign'd Converſion. *Abderame* III. often enter'd the Territories of Chriſtian Kings, and fought many bloody Battles, which were not advantagious to either Party, becauſe each claim'd the Victory; re-aſſembling their Forces, ſoon after began the War again with new Vigour. This Prince, whoſe Reign laſted above fifty Years, had at laſt ſo reduc'd the Number of his Enemies, that they could find no Soldiers. They propos'd to purchaſe a Truce, or to retire before his Army, which was eighty thouſand ſtrong. But the boldeſt Counſel having prevail'd, the Chriſtians, who were but a handful of Men, encounter'd them with that Courage, that the *Arabians* betook themſelves to flight, leaving the Field of Battle with their

† An. 954.

their Spoils. His Son *Hakim* * renew'd the War again, † and beſieg'd the City of *Leon*; but the Inhabitants defended themſelves ſo vigorouſly that he was forced to raiſe the Siege. ‖ *Heſcham* had the famous *Almanſor* for his General, who had this Title given him upon account of the great Victories he had obtain'd both over the *Spaniards* and *Arabians*. Theſe latter, though the Caliph's Subjects often rebell'd againſt him, one of his Officers had the Inſolence to give out that he was dead; cauſing a Body to be bury'd in the Tomb of his Anceſtors, in order to cheat the People. He uſurp'd his Place, and reign'd, till a Faction being convinc'd that their old Caliph was alive, drew him out of his Priſon, and reſtor'd him to the Throne. But he fell from it a ſecond time by a new Commotion, that happen'd at *Toledo* and *Corduba*: He quitted *Spain*, and went to live in *Africa* after a Reign of thirty three Years. Such was the Condition of the *Arabians* in *Spain*, who were continually at War with the Chriſtians; and who, beſides theſe Wars, were divided, and in frequent Rebellions againſt their Caliph.

II. Neither were the Chriſtians more at reſt: *Ordoin* King of *Leon* had ſo exaſperated *Caſtile* *, that it reſolv'd, after his death, to form it ſelf into a Republick. And it actually divided the Government between two Perſons, one whereof took care of the Civil Policy, and the other had the Command of Military Affairs. *Froila the Cruel* drew upon him the Hatred of the People by the Barbarity of his Reign, which laſted not above fourteen Months. Diviſion enter'd into the Family of Chriſtan Princes, as well as into that of the *Arabians*. *Sanctius*, who pretended to the Crown, was oblig'd to take Sanctuary with *Abderame*, where he took Phyſick to bring down the Protuberance of his Belly, the exceſſive bigneſs whereof, ſeem'd an Obſtacle to the pleaſing of the People, and the re-aſcending the Throne. *Abderame* bringing him back afterwards with a potent Army, oblig'd his Competitor to go off by a ſhameful Flight. In the Reign of *Ramides* a new Diviſion happen'd, which forced him to give up part of *Caſtile* to his Uncle, and the City *Compoſtella* for his Capital. He preſently nam'd a Perſon of Quality to be the Biſhop of it: But his ſcandalous Debaucheries, at a time when the World was hardly ſcandaliz'd at any thing, cauſing his Expulſion, his Father call'd the *Arabians* to reſtore him. This kindled a Civil War; *Compoſtella* was often taken and re-taken. At laſt the Chriſtian Clergy, which might have given a good Example to the *Jews*, help'd to ſcandalize them by their conduct. So that they confirm'd themſelves the more in their Infidelity, becauſe they had no external Succor to get out of it.

III. Beſides, the Faith of this People was ſupported by the Authority and Number of *Rabbins*, which was conſiderable at that time †. Beſides, thoſe who were Natives of *Spain*, Providence furniſh'd them with a famous one, *viz.* Moſes *Clad with a Sack*. This Man having left the Eaſt, and being taken by Privateers, and carry'd with his Son upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, was ranſom'd by the *Jews* of *Corduba*. This was done out of Charity, without any knowledge of his Merit. But putting himſelf in the corner of a School, as a Lay-man, and a Beggar, who had no other Habit than a Sack, wherewith he wrap'd himſelf up to cover his Nakedneſs, he argued ſo profoundly upon all the Queſtions that were propos'd, that the Preſident of the School, full of Admiration, yielded his place to him. He was created Judge of the Nation with a good Salary. But yet having a greater Inclination to dye in his Country, he reſolv'd to return thither; but the Caliph would not ſuffer him for a reaſon of State. The Talmud was then very little known in *Spain*, and when any Controverſie aroſe, the Synagogues ſent their Deputies to *Bagdet* to have it decided. This is ſo true, that the Prayer which the Spaniſh Synagogues recited in the Days of Affliction, and particularly on that of Expiations, were compos'd by *Armiſſim* Head of one of the Academies of *Babylon*. *Hakim*, who was Caliph in *Spain*, and did not like his Subjects paſſing frequently into the Eaſt, where the *Abaſſides*, the Enemies of his Houſe, reign'd, and who had deſtroy'd it, was overjoy'd at *Moſes Clad with a Sack*, teaching the Talmud to the *Spaniards*. He retain'd him in order to ſtop the courſe of theſe Deputations, which gave him perhaps ſome Suſpicion. *Moſes Clad with a Sack* reign'd a long time, and *Enoch* his Son ‖ *aſcended his Throne*.

Thus it is the Hiſtorians change a judicial Seat into a Throne, the Authority whereof extended but over ſome Fugitives, and was purely precarious.

IV. *Haſchem* II. King of *Corduba*, whom the *Jews* call *Aſchaſez*, did a great deal more than his Father; for he order'd the Talmud to be tranſlated into *Arabick*; whether he had the Curioſity to learn what was in a Book ſo cry'd up by the *Jews*; or whether he meant to make it more common in the Nation, in order to prevent the Pilgrimages to *Bagdet* and *Jeruſalem*.

R. Joſeph, *Moſes*'s Diſciple, undertook this great Work *, and very ſucceſsfully accompliſh'd it; but he grew ſo haughty upon it, that he could no longer bear, that *Enoch* ſhould be preferr'd to him to be Judge of the Nation. He quarrell'd and broke with him; their Diviſion made a Noiſe; the Synagogues engag'd in it; but *Enoch* had the more numerous Party. 'Tis even ſaid, that ſeven hundred Men came out daily mounted on ſeven hundred Chariots, ſumptuouſly cloath'd after the Faſhion of the Arabian Lords, to accompany *Nathan* the Son of *Enoch*, and Grandſon of *Moſes*. *Joſeph* was excommunicated by this Aſſembly; he appeal'd to the King; but *Haſchem* would not meddle with this Affair, either out of Policy, or becauſe living in dependence upon his *Hageb* or grand Chamberlain, he was not at liberty to protect his Favourites. *Joſeph*, depriv'd of the Protection he expected from Court, left *Spain*, and took the Road of *Bagdet*, where he thought to find a Retreat near the famous *Hay*; but he gave him to underſtand, that he could not receive him, becauſe he was excommunicated by the Spaniſh Synagogues. He remain'd therefore at *Damaſcus*, where he died without being able to obtain a Revocation of the Sentence which had been pronounc'd againſt him.

V. The Diviſions of the *Sarazens* increas'd more and more in *Spain* during the Eleventh Century. There had been a long time a Deſign to dethrone that Branch of the *Ommiades* which reign'd there. Their Weakneſs had ſo diſguſted the People, that after they had chang'd their Maſter, they ſwore never to admit any Man more of this Family. The Uſurpers were not much more ſucceſsful, for the People were quickly involv'd in a new Search of a Sovereign. One of the *Ommiades*, who ſurviv'd the Ruin of his Houſe, offer'd himſelf to them. They repreſented to him, that by attempting to aſcend the Throne, he incurr'd a certain Death. But Ambition got the better of the

* Mariana *calls him* Alaca. † An. 965. ‖ An. 976. * An. 1006. † An. 967. ‖ An. 997. * Canz Tſemach David. p. 130.

Love

love of Life; *Kill me to morrow*, ſaid he, *provided you make me this day a King.*

VI. The greateſt Revolution happen'd by the Family of the *Morabethons*, whom *Mariana* calls *Almoravides*. We have ſpoken of the *Homerites*, who were originally Jews, and who embrac'd Chriſtianity in *Juſtinian*'s Reign. The *Morabethons* were Deſcendants of theſe *Arabian Homerites:* Their frequent Commerce with the Muſſulmans, gave them an inclination that way, rather than to the old Religions they had profeſs'd. But as their inclination to rob was their predominant Paſſion, they preſerv'd but ſome faint Footſteps of Religion and Mahometiſm. One of theſe Barbarians having made a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, brought with him a Doctor who reform'd them to a certain degree; but when he came to forbid them Murder, Robbery, and Adultery, the majority rejected him. This diviſion caus'd a War. The Alchoran was cited, which commands the putting to the Sword all that refuſed to receive it. *Abubecre* being choſen General, ſubjected *Mauritania*: His Nephew *Joſeph* built *Morocco*, extended his Conqueſts into *Spain*, whereof he made himſelf Maſter, and his Family reign'd there till the twelfth Century.

Alphonſo VI. King of *Caſtile*, conſented to the calling this *Moor* into *Spain*. He did not come thither himſelf, but ſent one of his Generals; who quickly broke with the King of *Seville*, who, tho' a Muſſulman, was *Alphonſo*'s Father-in-law. The War broke out betwixt theſe Muſſulmans. The *Africans* defeated theſe *Spaniards*, and ſeized their Cities, after the Death of their King, who was kill'd in the Fight. *Aly* their Head, * declar'd himſelf *Prince of the Faithful*, or *Emir Alomara*, from which they have coin'd the word *Miramolim*. The *Moors*, *Alphonſo*'s Vaſſals, in hopes of great Aſſiſtance from this new Prince, refus'd to pay their uſual Homages and Tributes. *Alphonſo* then repented that he had brought over ſuch troubleſome Gueſts, who invaded his Territories, and kindled ſo dreadful a War, that Chriſtianity was within a hairs-breadth of being ruin'd. But *Alphonſo* by his undaunted Courage, retriev'd it from the Precipice. Let us ſee what the Jews did during all theſe Revolutions.

VII. The beginnings of them were advantageous to this Nation; for *R. Samuel Levi* became † Secretary and Miniſter of State to the King of *Granada*, who afterwards made him *Prince of his Nation*, and he employ'd his Credit at Court, in protecting it. He even ſcatter'd his Bounties among Foreigners: For the *African*, *Egyptian* and *Babylonian* Doctors, were his Penſioners. The Jews had the ſatisfaction to ſee his Son || ſucceed him in his Poſts; and the only thing which moderated their joy, was the Haughtineſs of this young Man, whom his Riches had rendred Proud; whereas his Father had preſerv'd his Humility in his greateſt Exaltation.

VIII. An unexpected turn of Affairs diſturb'd the Repoſe and Tranquility they enjoy'd. *Joſeph Hallevy*, * one of the Learned Men of that Age, ſet up for a Converter of the Muſſulmans. The Tranſlation of the *Thalmud* into Arabick, which was made ſome Years paſt, facilitated this deſign; but it miſcarry'd. The King of *Granada* could not bear this Inſult of a tolerated Religion againſt the Eſtabliſhed. The Converter was put in Priſon, and hang'd. The Perſecution began by the King's Order; in which fifteen hundred Families in this one Kingdom ſuffer'd very much. This Calamity was the more ſenſibly felt, becauſe Proſperity had made them Rich and Powerful: *he † who has not heard of the Glory, the Splendor and Proſperity in which they liv'd, is ignorant of what is moſt notorious.* They were apprehenſive, leſt the Neighbouring Kings ſhould imitate ſo dreadful an Example: But the Violence was quickly ſtopp'd, and went no farther than the Kingdom of *Granada*. The Jews believe, that God had caus'd them to lament this Revolution beforehand; becauſe they had for a long time faſted in the *Spaniſh* Synagogues, the ninth of *December*, on which day the Perſecution began.

IX. They ſuffer'd from the Chriſtians another Revolution; which would have been fatal to them, if the Biſhops and Pope had not help'd them. *Ferdinand* declar'd War with the *Sarazens*, incited by his Wife, who was a devout Woman, and deſirous to enlarge the Bounds of Chriſtianity: He attack'd them in ſpight of the Infirmities of his great Age, and return'd victorious. As Devotion was the greateſt Ingredient in this War, it was reſolv'd, before the Chriſtians march'd againſt the Infidels, to put the Jews of the Kingdom to the Sword; but the Biſhops made a vigorous oppoſition, and by their Remonſtrances, allay'd the impetuoſity of the People, the Army, and the Queen. Pope *Alexander*, who then || held the *Roman* See, and was re-cogniz'd and preferr'd in *Spain*, to *Honorius*, who likewiſe boaſted of being the true Pope, wrote to theſe Biſhops to commend them for what they had done. *What we have heard related of you, is much to our ſatisfaction; which is, that you have defended the Jews, who live amongſt you, againſt the violence of thoſe who deſign'd to kill them, as a Prelude to their War with the* Sarazens. *Theſe People, hurry'd by a blind Paſſion, would rob thoſe of their Lives, on whom God perhaps will beſtow Salvation and Immortality.* He alledg'd to them the Example of *Gregory the Great* *, who repreſs'd ſuch an unbecoming Zeal, and hinder'd the pulling down of the Synagogue. Laſtly, he repreſented to them the difference betwixt the *Sarazens* and the Jews; whereof the former perſecuted the Chriſtians, and baniſh'd them out of the Cities whereof they were Maſters: Whereas the others were always ready to ſerve them as their Slaves. It has been doubted, whether this Letter was addreſs'd to the Biſhops of *France* or *Spain*; but the frequent Wars of the latter with the *Sarazens*, are a ſufficient Evidence, that *Alexander* II. writ to the Spaniſh Prelates.

X. The Revolution, which happen'd by the *Moors* of *Africa*, of which we have already ſpoken, compleated their recovery from their Confuſions. The Neceſſities of the State, which was inveſted on all ſides, permitted not *Alphonſo* to oppreſs the Jews; being oblig'd to cultivate, and grant them ſome Privileges, to procure their Money and Aſſiſtance. He put them in Offices, and allow'd them to be Judges of the Chriſtians. *Gregory* VII. † who extended his Juriſdiction and Privileges over all Kingdoms, did not approve of this Conduct of *Alphonſo*. This Prince had ſent to the Pope, a Preſent *worthy of the Giver, and of St.* Peter, *to whom it was offer'd:* But notwithſtanding this Teſtimony of his Devotion, he was cenſur'd, for having *ſubjected the Chriſtians to the Jews, who are their Maſters; for having oppreſs'd the Church, exalted* || *the Synagogue of the Devil, and deſpiſed Jeſus Chriſt by pleaſing his Enemies. Alphonſo* did not execute the Pope's Orders; being too much engag'd with the *Moors*, to think of drawing new Enemies upon his hands. 'Tis even ſaid, that he * loſt the Battle and his Life, near

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* An. 1091. † An. 1027. || An. 1055. * An. 1064. † Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 8. || An. 1064. * Alexand. II. Ep. 34. p. 1138. † Greg. VII. p. 1. l. 9. p. 2. p. 277. || An. 1080. * *In the Year of the* Hegyra 479, *of* Jeſus Chriſt 1086. Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Tit. Morabethoun.

Badajox;

Badajox; where he was defeated by *Joseph*, who had pass'd from *Africa* into *Spain*, to revenge the Treachery of his General *Aly*. Christian Authors give him a much longer Life; making him reign to the beginning of the twelfth Century. He survived *Sancho* his Eldest Son, whom the *Sarazens* killed at the Siege of *Yvosco*: But during his Reign he permitted the Jews quietly to enjoy their Privileges, without hearkning to the Remonstrances of *Gregory* VII. against them.

XI. *Peter* I. his Grandson, had not more regard to the Exhortations of *Nicolas* of *Valencia*. The *Crusado* being publish'd in *Spain*, as in other Christian Kingdoms, *Peter* resolv'd to engage in this War against the Infidels. *Nicolas* represented * to his King, that it was in vain to go in quest of Foreign Enemies so far, when he had so many at home. He represented to him, that the Jews had such an inveterate hatred to the Christians, that they would not salute them save by a *middle Salutation*. This is an obscure Term, the Mystery whereof is this: When a Jew saw a Christian at a distance, he said, † *The Gods and Goddesses destroy thee*; when he was near, he wish'd him *a long Life, and great Prosperity*; but when he was out of reach of being heard, he resum'd his Malediction, praying *God to open the Earth under his Feet, to swallow him up alive, like* Corah, *or to drown him in the Sea, like* Pharaoh. There is something ridiculous in this Discourse of *Nicolas*, who brings a Jew *invoking the Gods and Goddesses*: He added, that this Nation was hideously infatuated; and to prove it, produc'd an Oration in Hebrew, made at the Walls of *Jerusalem*, in the Name of *Joseph*, who would oblige the Besieg'd not to hold out to the last Extremity. The King maintain'd, that Violence ought never to be us'd, because People return to their Error, the very moment their Fear is remov'd. Cast, said he, a Stone into the Air, with an Engine, and it will fall again, as soon as the force of the Machine is spent. Violence, which throws the Mind out of its Centre, whether it will or no, can have no lasting Effect. A Rabbin, whom he consulted, confirm'd him in his Design, by the Parable of a Father, who taking a Journy, gave two precious Stones to his two Sons: "They "disputed, said the Rabbin, concerning the value "of each, and came to consult me; I referr'd 'em "to the Judgment of their Father, since no body "could better understand their true worth and pre-"ference than he, and yet they affronted me". The King expressing his resentment of this Insult, which he thought to be real; the Rabbin told him smiling, *Esau* and *Jacob* are Brothers, and have each a Religion, which they highly esteem; let us refer the Judgment to God, who knows their Excellence. The King believ'd him, and *Nicolas* found himself oblig'd to give the Prince an Elogy of that Nation, and its Learning. However, the *Crusaders* kill'd the Jews in several Parts of *Spain*.

XII. This Country had abundance of Jewish Doctors in the eleventh Century. *Samuel Cophni*, born at *Corduba*, publish'd a Commentary upon the Pentateuch, the Manuscript whereof is in the *Vatican-Library*: Those that have read it, esteem it as a fine piece, but confess it has a great many Allegories. He had a Dispute with a Divine of his Nation, and dy'd in the Contest, in the Year 1034.

XIII. At that time appear'd the five *Isaacs*. There has been a long time a talk of three *Henries*, three Bishops, accus'd of *Jansenism*; whose Catechism made a great noise in *France*, in the last Century. But here were five Doctors of the same Name in *Spain*, who were all famous for their Works. One of them was call'd *Isaac Alphesi*, as coming out of *Africa*, from the Kingdom of *Fez*, into *Spain*; and I doubt not but he came with the *Morabethons*, who had made their irruption some Years before, and reign'd then over the *Arabians*. He pass'd for one of the most Learned Men of his time, and became Prince of the *Exile* in *Spain*. His Epitaph, written in Spondaic Verse, which shews, that at that time they observ'd Quantity, after the manner of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, was a most noble one: *Engrave*, said the Author ‖, *upon this Stone, that the Light of the World is extinct: say, that in this Monument rests the source of Wisdom: Come ye Daughters of* Sion, *and lament; the World is bury'd, and faln into blindness: Weep and groan, for the Ark and Tables of the Law are broken with this Doctor.* The second of the *Isaacs* was the Son of *Baruch*. He deriv'd his Genealogy from the ancient *Baruch*, *Jeremy*'s Secretary; and pretended, that his Family, which came into *Spain* in *Titus*'s time, had subsisted there till then. He understood Latin, Greek and Arabick. He had study'd the Mathematicks, and was so eminent in this Science, that the King of *Granada*, call'd *the Mathematician*, for his passionate love of it, sent for him to Court, to be instructed by him. He was receiv'd there with such Applause, and liv'd with such Satisfaction with the *African Sarazens*, that he forgot his Country, and continu'd there to his Death, which happen'd in the Year 1004. He had a violent Quarrel with the first of the *Isaacs*, surnam'd *Alphesi*. They could not be reconcil'd, whilst they liv'd; but at the hour of Death, one of them gave an Example of Repentance, and the other of Charity. *Isaac*, the Son of *Baruch*, dy'd first; and finding himself ill, he sent his Son to beg his Enemy's Pardon, and to throw himself into his Arms, as into those of a Patron and a faithful Friend: The Son obey'd; *Alphesi* receiv'd him into his House, treated him as his Child, and continu'd teaching him, to his Death, the Mysteries of the Law. These are edifying returns, which comfort those they have scandaliz'd; but never repair the Mischief, and unlucky Impressions made by a notorious Rupture.

XIV. Another more general Division arose: It seeming to be the Fate of flourishing Academies, to beget and breed Disputes. There are never more Contests and Controversies, than where there are many Learned Men. The Scandal of these Disputes are often *causelessly* cast upon their Religions: There is not one but would have its Doctors united in opposing the Enemy; but this is the common method of Human Understanding. The ignorant, who follow the common Road, and make no new Discoveries, occasion no Disturbance; but bold Wits, by penetrating into Mysteries, and endeavouring to discover hidden Truths, open an unknown Track, and thereby stir up the Spleen, Jealousie, and Resistance of others. The Learned Rabbins multiplying in *Spain*, in the eleventh Century, gave Birth to many Controversies; that we speak of, respected the Study of the Sciences, whereof the Talmudists design'd to rob their Scholars, to oblige them to an implicit Submission to their Principles. They maintain'd, that the Study of Languages, and Human Sciences, was condemn'd from the Emperor *Titus*'s time, lest the People, dispers'd among the Nations, should be drawn into their Idolatry, by the Charms of the Politeness of their Writings. The *Postille*, annex'd to the Text of the *Misnah*, contains a Malediction, pronounced against him who keeps a Hog, or *teaches his Son Greek*; as if it was equally impure to feed an un-

* An. 1096. † Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 73. ‖ Apud Ganz Tsemach David, p. 134.

clean

clean Beaſt, and to give Men a good Education.

XV. Theſe Laws were not always religiouſly obſerv'd. It was impoſſible for the Jews, who dwelt in *Egypt*, not to ſpeak Greek; for thoſe of *Rome*, not to underſtand Latin; and for the *Spaniards*, mingled with the *Sarazens*, not to make a continual uſe of Arabick. *R. Salomon*, who taught at *Barcelona*, in the eleventh Century, prevail'd ſo far, as to have theſe rigorous Decrees of the Fathers temper'd, but he durſt not aboliſh them. He pronounc'd an Anathema, and a Sentence of Excommunication, againſt all that began to ſtudy Greek before twenty Years of Age. The Bounds being once remov'd, *R. Nar* ſet himſelf above the Anathema, which *Salomon* had decreed againſt the young Students, and reſtor'd them to a full liberty. They apply'd themſelves therefore to the Languages and Mathematicks, and other Sciences, which produc'd a conſiderable number of great Men.

XVI. *France* was not ſo fruitful in famous Rabbins as *Spain*; and we might even complain of its Barrenneſs, during all the Centuries which we have examin'd; there being not above five or ſix Doctors to be found, who were of any Note. The moſt famous was *R. Gerſon* *, whom ſome will have to be born in *Germany* at *Ments*. However, he was a Frenchman, or at leaſt, publiſh'd his Book of *Conſtitutions* there. 'Tis probable, he had leſs reſpect paid him in his Life-time than after his Death; for they heſitated a long time about the Reception of his Collection of Laws †, which began not to be in vogue, till the middle of the thirteenth Century. He was afterwards call'd the *Light of the French Captivity*. Thoſe who make him live in the beginning of the ninth Century, are manifeſtly miſtaken; for tho' it be not agreed about the Year of his Death, which happen'd, according to ſome, in 1028, and, according to others, forty Years later; yet, at leaſt, it is indiſputable, that he liv'd in the eleventh Century.

XVII. One of his chief Diſciples, was *Jacob*, the Son of *Jekar*; a great Muſician, and who deeply ſtudy'd Caſes of Conſcience. The ſucceeding Doctors ‖ conſtantly quote his Deciſions with Approbation; and they are receiv'd as Laws that can't be tranſgreſs'd without Sin. 'Tis ſaid, he dy'd the ſame Year as his Maſter. *Salomon*, who had ſtudied under theſe two great Maſters, made ſome Figure. Chronologers are not agreed however upon this Article; for ſome make him ſtudy in the Year 1140. in the middle of the twelfth Century; and others make him die thirty five Years before.

XVIII. He had another famous Diſciple, whom the Lawyers call *Albarcellonita*. This was *Judas*, a *Barcelona* Doctor, who writ a Treatiſe upon the *Privileges of Women*. He publiſh'd another upon the Times; wherein he Hiſtorically recounted the different ways the Jews had reckon'd the times. Their firſt *Epocha*, was that of their departure from *Egypt*. They * began another at the Creation of a King, becauſe the Form of the Government was then chang'd. There was a third upon *Alexander* the Great's entring into *Jeruſalem*; which was follow'd to the tenth Century of the Chriſtian Church: For *Scherira*, who liv'd at that time, oblig'd his Nation to calculate the Years from the Creation of the World. He alſo publiſh'd Sermons.

XIX. *Moſes Hadarſcian*, that is to ſay, the Preacher, was alſo one of *Gerſon*'s Diſciples. They began at that time to make Sermons in the Synagogues, which had been much neglected hitherto; and perhaps *Gerſon* introduc'd this Cuſtom, ſince we find two of his Diſciples, who became famous by their Preaching. *Moſes*, who came from *Narbonne*, was doubtleſs the moſt eloquent; having the Title of Preacher given him by way of Excellency. They have multiply'd this Doctor into three; for, beſides him we ſpeak of, they have imagin'd † two others of the ſame Name, and attributed to them the ſame Work under the ſame Title of *Bereſchit Rabba*. The difficulty ariſes from *Galatin*'s having cited many Paſſages of this Book, as favouring the Chriſtians, which are not at preſent to be found in it. But there is no neceſſity of multiplying Authors of one and the ſame Book. It ſuffices to obſerve, that *Galatin*, who has quoted the Paſſages of *Bereſchit Rabba*, was a Plagiary, who copy'd a more ancient Author, call'd *Raimond*. And it was no wonder for the Jews, who were gravell'd with the Objections drawn from this Book, to have expung'd them out, whilſt *Galatin*, who conſulted not the Originals, knew nothing of it. This Man liv'd in the middle of the eleventh Century, and dy'd in the Year 1070. with the Glory of leaving the famous *Salomon* the Lunatick his Diſciple.

* *Or* Gerſcium. † An. 1240. ‖ V. Ganz. * Plantavit apud Bart. Bibl. Rabb. t. 3. p. 41. † Bart. ib. t. 4. p. 69.

CHAP. VI.

Criticiſms upon the Suppoſititious Joſeph. *The Wars and Maſſacres of the Jews in* England.

1. Joſeph *the Hiſtorian was a Frenchman, and liv'd in the eleventh Century.* II. *The advantageous deſcription he makes of himſelf.* III. *The Praiſes that the Doctors give him.* IV. *The Chriſtians divided in their Opinions.* V. *Fables concerning the erection of the Cæſarſhip and Empire at* Rome. VI. *The time in which* Joſeph *muſt have liv'd.* VII. *His Family, Brethren and Works.* VIII. *The time in which his Work was known.* IX. *The Actions of* Alexander, *copy'd from an ancient Book. An Extract of theſe two Books.* X. *The Birth of* Alexander *the Great.* Nectanebor *was his Father.* XI. *His firſt Eſſays in the Army. The Death of his Father.* XII. *His Conqueſts in* Africa *and* Aſia. XIII. *The Prodigies he diſcovers: Birds that ſpeak Greek: Men without a Head.* XIV. *Whether* Joſeph *tranſcrib'd the Deeds of* Alexander. XV. *Errors about the Family of the* Herods. XVI. *Falſhoods concerning the Roman Hiſtory.* XVII. *Concerning* Judea. XVIII. *Blunders concerning his own Age.* XIX. *An enquiry concerning this Author.* XX. *His Country: He was of* Bretany. XXI. *Whence this Province took its Name.* XXII *Proofs of the Impoſture.* XXIII. *The Coronation of the falſe* Veſpaſian. XXIV. *'Tis that of* Otho I, *or* II. XXV. *The time in which* Joſeph *liv'd.* XXVI. *The Motives of his Work.* XXVII. *The Jews numerous in* Germany. *The Prodigies of that time.* XXVIII. Gotheſcalk *makes War againſt them.* XXIX. *A Maſſacre upon the account of the* Cruiſadoes. XXX. *The Emperor's and St* Bernard's *oppoſition.* XXXI. *The time when this Maſſacre was perpetrated. A Reconciliation of the* Arabian, *Jewiſh and Chriſtian Hiſtorians.* XXXII. *A general Perſecution.*

I. *Joseph* the Historian, the Son of *Gorian*, is one of the Doctors that *France* brought forth in the Synagogue in the Eleventh Century. 'Tis indeed degrading him to make him born in *France*, and depriving him of a venerable Antiquity to place him so late, since he pretends to have lived at the time of the Siege of *Jerusalem*. But before we give the Reasons of our Conjecture, let us examine his Character and Works.

II. In order to prepossess his Nation in his behalf, he represents himself "as a Prince, a King, "a Priest; God had re-united the Priesthood and "Empire in his Person to carry on the War. *I am*, said he, * *that Priest who has received an Unction for the War*; *that* Joseph *full of the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding*; *of the Spirit of Counsel and Might*; *of the Spirit of Science, and of the fear of God*; *he that gave his Life for the People of God, for his Sanctuary, and for his Nation.*

One of his Soldiers cried out to him one day; *Thou art the Man of God*; *blessed be* Jehovah *the God of* Israel, *who has created the Soul which thou beareſt, and has filled it with Wisdom:* And when he was taken, they wept in the Enemies Army, as they enquir'd of one another, *Is this that Man so formidable among the* Jews, *and to the* Romans? *How was he taken, who alone cast Terror into our Army, and has filled the Universe with the Fame of his Valour?*

Titus did him the same Justice as the Army; he highly commended him, and after the taking of *Jerusalem*, exalted him above all the Priests and Levites of his Nation.

III. 'Tis no wonder for a Man to crown himself with his own hands; but the Publick seldom praises these Self-Commenders. But yet *Joseph* has had the good Fortune, or the Art, to impose upon his Nation. *R. Tham*, † who publish'd his History of the *Jews* ||, says, that *all the Words of* Joseph Gorionides *are Righteousness and Truth*; *There is not one single Falshood in his Writings*; *he comes nearer to the ancient Prophets, than to any Writer that has appear'd. The Hand of the Lord rested upon him, whilst he composed his Work, and his words are almost the words of a Man of God.* The *Rabbins*, who quote him, mention him with an Elogy; and tho' it is own'd that he committed a Fault, by making himself * above two hundred Years old when he wrote the History of the Siege of *Jerusalem*, yet they cry up his Birth, the noble Actions he perform'd, as General of his Nation, against the *Romans*; *his Wisdom, his Prudence, the Uprightness of his Mind, and his Heart, and his Fidelity in History.* If he sometimes contradicts the Talmudists, the Doctors are charged with the Care of reconciling them, rather than so useful a Work should be rejected.

IV. Some Christians have also been dazled by these Elogies, and have mutilated the piece, for fear the Faults of it should be discover'd. Others reject it as spurious. Let us illustrate a Fact, which divides Men even in Christianity; and to do it with the greater Exactness, let us give an account of this Work so little known at present; because the Hebrew Original was very scarce, and the Version which *Munsterus* made of it, was curtail'd above half, or rather was only a very imperfect Abridgment †.

V. *Joseph Gorionides* says, || That he lived when *Julius Cesar* seiz'd upon the Empire the third time. "*Alexander* the Great had extended his Conquests "over *Italy*, and taken *Rome*. *Imperius* the Son of "*Ptolomeus Philadelphus* King of *Egypt* seiz'd on it "long after, and there establish'd his Cesarship, "or his Empire; and this Government lasted till "*Antoninus*, or *Antony*, *Cleopatra*'s Gallant, infringed "the Rights of the People which rebelled. Having "expell'd *Antony*, they bound themselves in an "Oath, as they had done in *Tarquin*'s time, the "first of the *Cesars*, never to suffer any more *Cesars*. "In the mean time *Julius* having obtain'd of the "Senate, the Command of the Armies in the West, "as *Pompey* had of those of the East, this young "Hero, at nineteen Years of Age, beat the *French* "and the *Britains*, and in four Years subdued all "the Kings of the West; he return'd to *Rome* "proud of his Victories, and intimated to the "Senate, that he had a mind to be made *Cesar*. "The Senate oppos'd him, by a long Oration re-"lated by *Joseph*; but *Cesar* recurred to Violence, "threaten'd all the Senators with the loss of their "Heads, vanquish'd *Pompey*, and reign'd.

VI. *Joseph* * was already very old, when this Revolution happen'd in the Republick; for he was born 134 *Years after the Cesarship, which the* Greeks *call* Imperiosia †, had been instituted among the *Romans*, and he was 51 Years old when *Julius Cesar* was born. *I have seen*, says he, *this* Julius, *who is the first King whom the* Latins *call* Imperius, *or the first* Cesar, *he that restored the Cesarship a third time among the* Romans ||. He was also contemporary with *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, *a Prince among the Jews.* A Man ought to know the time in which he lived, and this distinctly specifies it: He was 51 Years old when *Julius Cesar*, the first of the Emperors, came into the World.

VII. And yet his Father, whose Name was *Gorion*, was also very old; for he surviv'd the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and came out of it when *Titus* had taken it. We must not therefore confound this Priest, the Historians Father, with another *Gorion*, whom the Zealots kill'd at the beginning of the Siege of *Jerusalem*. *Joseph*, who foresaw that this was a likely Fault to be committed, has added two Letters to this Martyr's Name, calling him *Gorinion*. His Mother, *the discreetest of all Women*, had had twenty Boys, of which the *Romans* and the Assassins kill'd eighteen. *Bonias*, who was the nineteenth, was left by *Titus* at *Jerusalem*, *where God did great matters by his means.* The Talmudists ascribe Miracles to him, but they change his Name, and call him *Nicodemus* the Son of *Gorion*. *Joseph* was a Priest, but however consecrated himself to the War; nevertheless he apply'd himself to study, and composed a great many Books in *Julius Cesar*'s time. At the request of the Senate, he publish'd a great Book, intituled, *Joseph* *. This was *a Chronicle*, or *Roman History*, giving a particular account of Transactions, whilst the Consuls govern'd the Republick; and not content with relating past Events, he carried his Views to Futurity, and foretold to this great City, what should happen till its total Ruin. He did not pretend to be a Prophet, but related what he had learn'd from the *Wise Men*, who had lived near the Prophets and Heathens, who are *true and faithful in their Conjectures.*

This Work † was follow'd with that Wisdom, in which he spoke only of the Wise Men and Doctors, who had preceded him.

He made || the Apology of his Nation and Family against the Heathens, as the Greek *Josephus* has done in his Books against *Appion.*

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* Josippon sive Josephi Ben Gorionis, Historiæ Judaicæ libri sex, p. 309,346. † Tham Præfat. Ed. Constant. præfixa. p. 4. || *At* Constantinople *in the Year* 1540. * Ganz Tsemach David An. 4757. p. 85 & 95. † V. Gagnier præf. in Josippon. || Josippon l. 6. c. 43. p. 189, 190, 191. * Ibid. 189. & l. 3. c. 15. p. 97. † ראוסיא אמס Imperiosia. Ibid. l. 3. c. 15. p. 100. || *The first time by* Tarquin, *the second by* Ptolomy *King of* Egypt, *whom he also calls* Imperius, *and the third by* Julius Cesar. * Id. c. 36. p. 171. & Tham pref. † Page 237. || Page 243.

Lastly,

Laſtly, He publiſh'd the Hiſtory we ſpeak of, which is ſo much the more conſiderable, that it may be look'd upon as a Chronicle † of what was done in the time of the ſecond Temple. The Author was perſwaded, that he ſhould be look'd upon for the future as the *Prince of Hiſtorians*; and be immediately rank'd after the Sacred Writers. He ſet himſelf above *Livy*, who has confounded the Times by ſpeaking of *Eupator*, before *Antiochus* his Father, and who advances ſeveral things he could not prove. He produced the Teſtimonies of a great number of Authors he had read; Beſides "*Livy*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Strabo*, *Porophius* ||, that is "*Oroſius*, or *Porphyry*; he had ſeen the Book of *Cai-* "*nan*, the Son of *Enos*, thoſe of the *Medes*, the "*Macedonians* and *Perſians*; the Letters *Alexander* "the Great writ to *Ariſtotle* during his Expedition "to the *Indies*: The Books of the *Greeks*, that of "*the Alliances of the Romans*; a Work of *Kirker* or "*Cicero*, who had been an Eye-witneſs of what "*Pompey* caus'd the Prieſts to ſuffer at the Taking "of *Jeruſalem*. He had before him the *Calendar*, "which *Julius Ceſar compos'd for the uſe of the* Greeks "*and* Nazarenes: The *Chronicle* of the *Roman* "*Ceſars*; the *Collection of Roman Priviledges*, which "*Veſpaſian* kiſs'd the day of his Coronation in pre-"ſence of *Gorionides*. Great Information might be drawn from all theſe Works, which are moſt of them loſt!

VIII. As important and excellent as this Hiſtory was, being written upon ſuch fine Memoirs, the World was unbleſs'd with it for a long time. The Author of the *Midraſchim*, or Commentaries upon the Chronicles, is the firſt that ſeems to have quoted it: But this Author, whoſe Name was *Mattanot*, the Son of *Niſſim*, and who wrote at *Toledo*, is not very ancient. *Saadias*, one of the *Excellents* of the * Tenth Century, ſeems alſo to have known it; but both theſe Teſtimonies are obſcure and doubtful. 'Twas in the Twelfth Century that *Garchi* †, *Aben Ezra* ||, and ſome others, * produced *Joſeph* and this Work, which had remain'd unknown for the ſpace of a thouſand Years. We ſhall eaſily diſcover the Reaſons of it in the ſequel.

IX. One of the moſt remarkable parts of this piece, proceeds upon the Birth and Conqueſts of *Alexander* the Great. *Joſeph Gorionides* pretends to have taken them from this Prince's Genealogy, written by the *Egyptian Magi*, the Year immediately after his death.

There is indeed a Book entitled *The Actions of Alexander*. But this Work which *Joſeph Gorionides* ſeems to have copy'd, ſince theſe two Authors agree in moſt of the Facts, is in Latin, and could not have been written by the *Egyptian Magi*, immediately after *Alexander*'s death. Beſides this Book continued buried in the Engliſh Libraries, whence Mr. *Gagnier* procured it to collate it with his Tranſlation of *Joſeph*: An unknown Work, and that lay ſo long neglected, ought to have no great Authority with the Learned. But however, let us ſee what account it gives us of this Prince, whoſe *Actions* are ſo famous; by that we ſhall be able to judge of the Character of theſe two Writers.

X. *Alexander* was not the Son of *Philip*, but of *Nectanebor* King of *Egypt*. This Prince finding *Artaxerxes* going to declare War againſt him, choſe rather to conſult the Devils, than to raiſe an Army. He learnt by Magick, wherein he was extraordinarily vers'd, that he ſhould be defeated: To prevent this Misfortune, he left *Peluſium* and came ſecretly to *Antioch*, where he chang'd his Habit, and equipp'd himſelf like a great *Babyloniſh* Lord. Being thus diſguis'd, he went into *Macedon*, the Capital of the Kingdom of that Name. Here he fell in love with *Olympias*, who ſolaced her ſelf with him in *Philip*'s abſence, who was at the Head of his Army. He crept into her Bed, in the form of a Serpent, having firſt perſwaded her that a God would make her a Viſit to ask that Favour. Leſt her great Belly ſhould be ſuſpected by *Philip*, *Nectanebor*, by the help of certain Herbs, ſent this Prince a Dream, informing him of the Conception, and of the Victories of the Child that was to be born of *Olympias*. He wrought a ſecond Miracle; for a Serpent hinder'd the Inhabitants of the City, beſieg'd by *Philip*, from making their defence; and ſo he took it without the loſs of his Soldiers. There was an Earthquake, and ſeveral other Prodigies at this Prince's Birth, in order to breed a Terror in *Philip*'s Breaſt, who could not be cured of his jealous Suſpicions, and was doubly provok'd, when he perceiv'd that the Child reſembled neither Father nor Mother. However *Nectanebor* was made Preceptor to young *Alexander*, who was willing to grow a Magician like his Maſter. To this end he was to leave the City, and contemplate the Stars in a ſolitary place. 'Tis not known upon what Provocation, but *Alexander* threw his Tutor into a Ditch, inſulting him upon his Art. *Nectanebor* maintain'd that he foreknew he was *to dye by the Hand of his Son*, and diſcover'd to *Alexander* how that he was his Father. His filial Affection was rouſed too late, and had no other Effect, than to hoiſt *Nectanebor*'s Corps upon his Shoulders, and † carry it to *Olympias*, who order'd it to be buried.

XI. *Alexander* was of a vigorous Conſtitution; his Hair was like a Lions Main; one of his Eyes was black and the other blue; his Teeth were very acuminous; his Voice reſembled Thunder; and he was a Lion in his ſtrength. When he had broke *Bucephalus*, he deſir'd of his Father the Command of an Army, with which he went to fight *Nicholas*, a King of a Province of *Peloponneſus*, which *Joſeph* calls *Andrias*. He kill'd the King in a Battle, enter'd his capital City, and return'd to *Macedon*, where he found his Father going to divorce *Olympias*, to marry another Wife; but he oppos'd it. *Armenia* and *Chorazan*, two neighbouring Provinces of *Macedonia*, being revolted, *Philip* ſent his Son to reduce them to their Obedience; in which he was ſucceſsful; but at the ſame time *Cabronius* King of *Britany*, appear'd at the Head of a numerous Army to take the City of *Macedon*; and to carry away *Nebiaras Alexander*'s Mother, with whom he had been long in love. *Philip* was reſolv'd to repel the Enemy; but *Oſanias* King of *Agania*, giving Battle, *Philip* ſounded a Retreat; they purſued him almoſt to *Macedon*, where he was routed, loſt his capital City, and was wounded in the Head. *Alexander* || ſpeeded to his aſſiſtance and kill'd *Oſanias*, having firſt beaten his victorious Army. From thence he paſs'd into the Field, where his Father remain'd after his Wound, and acquainted him that he had reveng'd him. *Philip* died full of comfort, after the News of his Son's Victory, who had reveng'd him on his Enemies.

XII. After *Philip*'s death, *Alexander* ſeeing himſelf King of all *Greece*, form'd the greater Deſigns:

† *He calls the firſt and the laſt of theſe Works* חיבים דברי Divre Hajammim, *the Commentaries of days.* || פורופיוס Porophius, Joſippon, p. 27, 57, 75, 76, 92, 94, 100, 104, 106, 182. * Saadias Gaon Comment. in Danielem, An. 936. † 1140. || An. 1156. in Daniel. * Abraham Ben Dior. in Cabbala. An. 1161. Conath *printed it at* Conſtantinople *in* 1490, *and 'tis this Edition that* Munſter *had.* Tham *did it afterwards. It is now publiſh'd entire* יוסיפון Joſippon ex Hebræo Latine, vertit Præfatione & notis illuſtravit Johannes Gagnier. † Cap. 7. p. 54. || Cap. 8. p. 58, 59.

To this end he ſummon'd his Council, and exhorted his Subjects not to truſt in Humane Force, but *to confide ſolely in the bleſſed God*, * *who would overthrow his Enemies.* The Council oppos'd his Deſign of marching againſt the *Barbarians*, but *Alexander* gave no ear to their Remonſtrances. He paſs'd into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Italy*. He was receiv'd at *Rome* with great Acclamations, as a *Lord and Maſter*. Being acknowledg'd Emperor he paſs'd into *Africa*, which he conquer'd in a little time. *Lybia* and *Barbary* ſubmitted to him; From thence he went to *Media*, croſs'd *Euphrates*, and ſubdued *Bactriana*. *Darius* thought to ſtop him by menacing Letters; but *Alexander* gave him Battle, *in which he loſt an hundred and nine thouſand Foot; But he kill'd an hundred and twenty thouſand of the Enemy, and took four thouſand Princes.* He advanc'd next to the River *Aſtargan*, whoſe Ice was ſo ſtrong that the Chariots paſs'd over it. Here *Alexander* diſguis'd himſelf, and went to *Darius*'s Court as *Alexander*'s Ambaſſador. *Darius* entertain'd him at Table; but as he was perceiv'd to pocket all the golden Cups his Liquor was filled in, they were going to arreſt him; but he anſwer'd in an haughty ſtrain, that his Maſter preſented thoſe who ate at his Houſe with all the Veſſels they made uſe of. His deſign was to make his eſcape, and with this Preſent to Bribe the Porter, who would have prevented it; his Plot took effect; and when too late, they underſtood † *that it was* Alexander. He repaſs'd the River upon the Ice, which thaw'd immediately after; ſo that the Horſe ſent after him could not take him. A Battle was fought ſoon after, which *Darius* loſt; one part of his Army going to paſs the River which was frozen, was drown'd, by the Ice's diſſolving in an unexpected manner. The Officers kill'd their King, who expir'd in *Alexander*'s Arms.

XIII. *Alexander*, having conquer'd ‖ *all the Earth*, paſs'd into the Deſarts beyond *Media*, where he found Men, call'd by the *Greeks* פיתיקיש *Pithæcos*, or *Apes*. He diſcover'd further in a Forreſt, Giants of an extraordinary Figure. Theſe were wild Aſſes which the Author turns into Men, and calls *Peraim* *. Fire was ſet to the Forreſt, and the Aſſes ſcamper'd away. Going on further, they perceiv'd Trees that began to ſhoot up from the Earth at Sun-riſing, and continued their growth for ſix Hours, but then ſunk into the Earth again. The *Perſians* uſe them for Perfumes, to honour their Gods, when they conſult them. *Alexander* order'd his Soldiers to cut off ſome of them; but thoſe who attempted it were cruelly beaten, without diſcovering the Hand that ſtruck them. *Theſe were Cocks that vomited Fire againſt thoſe that went to take them: Theſe were Birds that ſpoke Greek, and Men without Heads* †. He enter'd *Acarmania*, where he found People ſo wiſe, that all that they beg'd of him was *Eternal Life*. *I can't give it you*, anſwer'd *Alexander, and I ſhould be happy could I procure it for my ſelf. Well!* reply'd theſe *Barbarians, You'll plunder, burn and depopulate the Univerſe, and afterwards dye without knowing the Heir that ſhall poſſeſs it. What Extravagance is this! We*, ‖ ſaid *Alexander, are only God's Miniſters, Executors of his Decrees; and as the Leaf of a Tree does not move without the breath of the Wind, ſo we can do nothing without God.* Laſtly, *Alexander* went to the *Indies*, where he ſaw ſpeaking Trees. He diſguis'd himſelf like a Merchant, and appear'd in this Habit at *Porus*'s Court, where he learnt that Elephants could not be conquer'd but by Fire. He immediately caus'd brazen Statues to be made that were hollow; they were heated within, and then driven by Engines towards the Elephants, who took them for Men, *and burnt their Mouths and Teeth in going to devour them.* There are a multitude of other Prodigies, which *Alexander* gives an exact account of to his Maſter *Ariſtotle* in the Letters he wrote to him, whereof *Joſeph* * pretends here to give a Copy. From hence he march'd into the Country of Women, or *Amazons. He meant to ſoar up to the Clouds, and to deſcend into the abyſſes of the Sea*; but being return'd to *Babylon*, *Antipater* poiſon'd him.

XIV. *Joſeph* ſeems to have copied a Latin † Author whoſe Manuſcript is diſcover'd; but we can't be aſſur'd that the Latin Hiſtorian is more ancient than the Hebrew *Joſeph*. They both boaſt of extracting their Hiſtory from the *Egyptian Magi*; However they are the only Perſons who have known theſe *Actions of Alexander* written by *Magi*. The Latin Author wrote in the Age of barbarous Latin, and without determining which is the others Tranſcribing; 'tis certain they lived after the *Saxons* had driven the *Britains* out of *England*, ſince they bring *Alexander* into *Britain*. Tho' the Latin Author is not quite ſo ſtuff'd with fabulous and ridiculous Stories, yet he introduces ſpeaking Trees. *The Sun-tree began his Diſcourſe in Indian Language, and ended it in Greek. The Moon-tree did the contrary, for it ſpoke Greek in the beginning, and concluded her Harangue in Indian.* The *Jews* apologize for their *Joſeph*, ſaying, That theſe Stories are not found in the German Edition: And no wonder ſince *Munſter* mutilated it. 'Tis ſufficient that theſe Fabies are found in the Original printed at *Conſtantinople*, which ‖ has been tranſlated much more faithfully than by *Munſter*.

XV. This Author is more exact, when he copies the true *Joſephus* * in the *Wars of the Lord*, as he calls his laſt Book, which contains the Hiſtory of the Rebellion againſt the *Romans*, and the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem*; but yet he loſes his way ſometimes.

In the firſt place, he did not know the Hiſtory of the *Herods*, and their Succeſſion. In effect, he ſays, that *Herod* the Great, conferr'd the High-Prieſthood on *Ariſtobulus* his Brother-in-Law, only becauſe *Marc Antony* demanded this Youth of him, being charm'd with his beauty. He even menaced him with a † terrible War, unleſs he conſented to the quenching this his criminal Flame. *Herod*, to prevent the Crime, and Conſequences of his refuſal, depoſed *Ananetus*, and ſubſtituted *Ariſtobulus* in his room. He wrote afterwards to *Marc Antony*, that *an High-Prieſt could not leave the Province, without cauſing a Sedition among the People, and that the Senate had already oppoſed his demand*; which ſatisfied *Antony*. We can't imagine where the Hebrew *Joſeph* had this Romance; for it was not the Love of Vertue, but the Fear of the People, that oblig'd *Herod* to beſtow the firſt Dignity of the Church upon *Ariſtobulus*. This Hiſtorian introduces the Deputies of *Judea* pleading againſt *Archelaus* before *Auguſtus*, and maintaining that *he ought not to reign over them, becauſe the People had not elected him*: As if *Judea*, ſubjected to the *Romans*, had been an elective Kingdom, and the Election belong'd to the People. They added, ‖ *That he had loſt his Senſes*; *That he was a Fool and a Madman*; *and that it was eaſily obſerved in his Eyes.* But notwithſtanding this,

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* *The Author of the* Actions of Alexander, *does not ſpeak of this truſt in God alone*; *'tis* Gorionides *who put this Harangue into* Alexander's *Mouth*, p. 60. † Cap. 9. p. 64, 65, 66. ‖ Cap. 10. p. 69. * פראים. † צכסיים Acarmania, p. 74. ‖ Cap. 11. p. 75. * Cap. 13. p. 92. † Ex M. S. Bodleiano N. E. D. 2. 8. Incipit liber de Geſtis Alexandri. *Mr.* Gagnier *has printed this Manuſcript on the ſide of* Joſeph Gorionides, p. 40. ‖ *By* Gagnier. * Lib. 6. p. 189. † *See* Antony's *Letters*, Lib. 6. c. 51. p. 217. ‖ Joſip. Lib. 6. c. 61. p. 270.

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he reign'd nine Years in *Tranquility*; but he was * *impriſoned, conducted to* Rome *loaden with ſteel Chains, and died there.* Whereas *Archelaus*, it is certain, did not dye at *Rome*. He adds, that his Brother *Antipater*, ſurnamed *Herod*, ſucceeded him; that he reign'd *ten Years in Peace; but afterwards he went and conquer'd* Spain, † *becauſe the King of that Country had ſtolen away his Brother's Wife.* This Conqueſt is chimerical, and the occaſion of it ſeems ſo much the falſer, becauſe it is ridiculous to make *Herod* leave *Judea* to revenge the Rape of a Siſter-in-Law in *Spain*, ſince he himſelf had carry'd off his Brother *Philip*'s Wife. His Son *Agrippa* is made to ſucceed him in *Judea*, ‖ *and twenty three Years after* Agrippa II. *in whoſe Reign happen'd the War and Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem. This latter ſerved ſome time in *Veſpaſian*'s Army; but the Emperor going for *Rome*, oblig'd *Agrippa* to follow him, with his Son *Monbas*, upon pretence, that he countenanced the Rebellion of his Nation. *Veſpaſian* was no ſooner crown'd, but he cauſed *Agrippa* and his Son to be put to death: Our Hiſtorian, who was preſent at the Execution, complain'd to *Veſpaſian* of the Injuſtice of it; but the Emperor anſwer'd him, *That when the Army was deliberating about making him Emperor,* Agrippa *went to all the Colonels to cry him down as a Perſon unfit to command; and his Calumnies made ſuch Impreſſion upon his Officers, that they waited upon the* Patron, *before whom they accuſed him of ſeveral Crimes he had never committed.* One would think there was no gainſaying an Evidence * who relates the Diſcourſe he had with *Veſpaſian:* Yet we know that *Agrippa* II. was not *Herod Antipater*'s Son, and *Agrippa* II. was never married, and *Monbas* is an imaginary Son. Beſides the holy Father פחרון Patron, is abſurdly introduced in this event, ſince the Pope had nothing to do in the Election of Emperors. Laſtly, *Agrippa*, always faithful to the *Romans*, and to *Veſpaſian* as well as *Titus*, never oppoſed their Elevation. He lived quietly in their Reign, inſtead of dying a violent Death; and the Medals we have produced are a demonſtrative Proof, that he prolong'd his Life till *Domitian*'s Reign.

XVI. His Ignorance in the Hiſtory of the Roman Emperors, is ſtill more manifeſt: For he gives *Ceſar* the Right of the *Ceſariate*, and *Imperioſia*, or ſupreme Authority, which *Imperius* the Son of *Ptolomy*, the King of *Egypt*, had poſſeſs'd at *Rome:* He makes him to be *kill'd in the Temple of* Jupiter †, *whilſt he was ſedately ſaying his Prayers.* However nothing is more notorious, than that *Ceſar* was murder'd in the Senate. He makes *Marc Antony* Emperor and Collegue of *Auguſtus*. *Nero*, according to him, was not aſſaſſinated; but ‖ *the Fire of the Lord fell upon him, whilſt he was hunting with ſome Perſons of his Court, and kill'd him.* Vitellius *was a Fool, wicked, cruel, and given to Drunkenneſs.* The *Romans* complain'd of *this Belial's being made their Maſter. Veſpaſian* * ſent two of his Generals to expel him; the Battle was fought in *the midſt of* Rome, *and* Vitellius *was kill'd there with fourſcore thouſand brave and choice* Romans. Here is a heap of Falſhoods put together; for *Ptolomy* had not eſtabliſh'd the *Imperioſia* at *Rome*. *Marc Antony* was one of the Triumvirs, but is never reckon'd among the Emperors. *Nero* was not ſo happy as to meet with an unexpected and eaſie Death; He complain'd that he *had neither Friend nor Enemy that would kill him:* 'Tis true an Earthquake, and Thunder and Lightning, aſtoniſh'd him in his Flight, but he was not ſtruck by it, and he fell w th his own Hand. *Vitellius* † died not in a Battle with fourſcore thouſand choice Men. That Tragedy has no Foundation in Hiſtory; and eſpecially it is ridiculous to make the *Romans* call him *Belial*, who never made uſe of this word, which was conſecrated by the Orientals to the Honour of their Gods.

XVII. The Hiſtorian farther ſays a great many things relating to his Nation and himſelf, that ſhock all Probability. How many Conjectures and Blunders has he about the Name of *Jeruſalem?* "It was formerly, ſays he, called *Tſedek*, Juſtice, "from whence one of its Kings, named *Jehuram*, "took the Title of *Melchiſedec*. *Abraham* changed "this Name, and called the *Place of the Sanctuary* "Jeruſalem, or *God ſhall ſee it.* He *ſhall ſee* Salem ‖, "that is, *a perfect place.* 'Tis moreover call'd *Jeru-* "*ſalem*, becauſe the Erroneous * שלי find there the "Doctrine which the holy Angels teach them. "This Name was given it, becauſe of the Sins of "*Error* it committed; it being better for it to be "puniſh'd for Sins of *Error*, than thoſe committed "through *Pride.* Laſtly, The Lovers of the Law "ought to enjoy Tranquility; and the *Tranquility* "*of the World* † have their Habitation therein. This is the Original of its Name.

He produces *Auguſtus*'s Complaints to the Jews, about *Macedonia*'s *concealing* Brutus, *and wrapping his Iniquity, as an Adultereſs hides her Lover under her Veil.* We here alſo find the Letters of the Refugees of *Aſia*, aſſerting, that *Auguſtus*, and *Antony* his Collegue, had given Order as far as *Britain* ‖, *which is ſituate upon the Coaſts of the Ocean, and beyond the Indian Sea*, to releaſe all the Jewiſh Slaves of both Sexes, and to take their Ranſom out of the Emperor's Treaſures. This pretented *Joſeph* * has exaggerated what he had heard of the Freed-men of his Nation, of whom we have already ſaid enough.

He maintains, that he was call'd *Joſippon* by an honorary Appellation, as being *anointed with a Military Unction*, to command in *Galilee*. He boaſts, that a Soldier came up to the Wall to kill him with a poiſon'd Arrow; but being terrrified by his Voice, they caſt upon him a Bucket of boiling Oil, which ſcalded off his Skin: However he run away without his Skin, *crying out, and weeping in the midſt of the Roman Army, till he died.* It would be a new ſort of ſight to ſee a Man running full ſpeed without his Skin.

XVIII. Laſtly, It ſeems the Hiſtorian was not acquainted with himſelf; he actually ſays, he was born 134 Years after the Ceſarſhip, called by the Greeks *Imperioſia*, was eſtabliſh'd at *Rome*; and that he was fifty one Years old when *Julius Ceſar* was born, in the 188th Year of the Ceſareat: His Chronology is bad, for he muſt have been fifty four Years old. But a Miſtake of three Years ought to be indulged in ſo extravagant a Calculation, as that we are going to make. *Julius Ceſar* became Emperor at twenty three Years of Age, and *Joſeph* † was then ſeventy four Years old. *Ceſar* reign'd four Years and ſome Months. He was therefore kill'd in *Jupiter*'s Temple, before he was compleat eight and twenty: *Auguſtus* reign'd fifty ſix Years; and thus *Joſeph* was at *Auguſtus*'s death an hundred thirty four Years and five Months old. Here is a Man already advanced to a great Age, and yet he ſurvived the Ruin of his Country, which happen'd not till fifty five or ſix Years after. 'Tis true he paſſes over all the Succeſſors of *Auguſtus* till *Nero*,

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* Cap 65. p. 288. † ספלר Sepharad, *that is*, Spain. Ibid. ‖ Ibid. * Lib. 6. c. 77. p. 343. † נוביס Jovis l. 6. c. 46. p. 200. ‖ Lib. 6. c. 75. p. 333. * Cap. 77. p. 340. † Suet. l. 7. in Vitellio, p. 168. Joſippon, p. 333. ‖ ארישלם Videbit Salem ſeu perfectum. * ירושלם *This word being divided, makes* שלי errans qui invenit in te חוראה doctrinam. † צולם שולי ישליו Tranquilli Mundi. ‖ Lib. 11. c. 27. p. 204. * Cap. 67. p. 293. † Lib. 6. c. 82. p. 362.

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as if there was no *vacuum* to be fill'd up. But nevertheleſs, he makes *Herod Antipater* reign eleven Years, *Agrippa* I. twenty three, and *Agrippa* II. twenty; and this laſt dy'd after the taking of *Jeruſalem*. He was therefore above an hundred eighty ſix years of Age when he made War, and couragiouſly ſuſtain'd Sieges in *Galilee*. He was carry'd Priſoner to *Rome*, where he liv'd many Years.

His * Father was an hundred and three years old at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, and his Mother eighty five. *My Father*, ſaid he to the Beſieg'd of *Jeruſalem*, *and my Mother are among you; the former is an hundred and three Years of Age, and my Mother is fourſcore and five.* Here then is a Son, that came into the World an hundred Years before his Mother. This is not all; for having forgotten his own Age, as well as his Father's, he makes himſelf then but ſixty Years old, tho' he was born fifty four Years before *Julius Cæſar*.

XIX. An Hiſtorian of this Character, deſerves not perhaps to be ſo long inſiſted upon, to ſhew what he is: Yet ſince he is rank'd immediately after the Prophets, it will not be amiſs to enquire into theſe three things. 1. What Country he was of. 2. What time he liv'd in. And 3. What induc'd him to this Impoſture.

XX. *Scaliger* † thought, that *Joſeph Gorionides* was a Native of *Tours*, becauſe he often mentions the *Loire*, *Amboiſe* and *Chinon*, Cities of *Touraine*; which went not by theſe Names, till after the ſixth Century ‖. 'Tis certain he was a Frenchman; and therefore, as the true *Joſeph* makes the *Galatians* attending *Herod* I. his Funeral Pomp; this Author introduces his Countrymen the *Franks*: But he ſpeaks ſo often of *Britany*, that I am perſuaded he was of this Province. In effect, he carries the Original of the *Britans* up to *Japhet*; for * *the Children of* Riphat *are the* Britains *that inhabit* Britany *by the* Loire; *whoſe Waters, as well as thoſe of the* Seine, *fall into the Ocean, which is the great Sea.* The affectation of giving ſo venerable an Antiquity to the Inhabitants of a particular Province of *France*, before the reſt, gives reaſon to ſuſpect it was his Birth-place. In deſcribing the Extent of the *Roman* Empire, he always ſpeaks of *Britany*, as if it were of conſiderable Conſequence in that vaſt Monarchy, of which it was but a very inſignificant Part: He marches *twenty thouſand Britains* to the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, under the Command of *Titus*: He might know the *Loir*, *Amboiſe* and *Chinon*, as well as *Normandy*, which were in his Neighbourhood: He might alſo know the *Engliſh*, whom he deduces from *Thiras*, and praiſes their Country, Courage and Strength; as alſo that of the *Scots*. 'Tis no wonder that he was a *Britain*, ſince the Jews were potent in that Province; which ſome time after was ſo horribly *burthen'd* with them; *that they ruin'd the Nobles, the Merchants, and all the meaner ſort of People, by the Uſuries permitted them; which oblig'd the States to meet and petition Duke* John *to expel them.*

XXI. 'Tis ſaid indeed †, that this Province took its Name from a King of the *Gauls*, call'd *Britannus*, a Co-temporary with *Abimelec* and *Hercules*; who entertain'd this Hero in his way to *Spain* to fight *Gerion*, and gave him his Daughter *Celte*, from whom came the *Celtes*; but this is carrying us to the Fabulous times, and giving us Romances for Truth. *Britany* receiv'd not its Name till after the *Saxons* Conqueſt of *Great Britain*. This Iſle then chang'd its Name, and its Inhabitants took that of *Engliſh*, whom the ſpurious *Joſeph ridiculouſly deduces from* Thiras ‖ *the Son of* Japhet.

Thoſe who were able to croſs the Sea, gave the Name of their Country to the Place of their Refuge; and 'twas in the Year 690, that this Province was call'd *Britany*. So that the falſe *Joſeph* could not have liv'd before the end of the ſeventh Century. There is moreover an Ordinance produced of *Alain the Long*, made the preceding Year, in which he entitles himſelf King of the *Britains*, and complains, that Juſtice was ill-exercis'd in his Kingdom of *Britany*. But whatever Antiquity this Charter may pretend to, it carries ſo many marks of Forgery, that it is impoſſible to attribute it to *Alain the Long*; and the ſigning of it by nine Biſhops of that Province, is a ſufficient Proof of its Falſity.

XXII. Moreover the Counterfeit *Joſeph* * ſpeaks of the *Bourguignions*, the *Bulgarians*, and the Inhabitants of *Cracovia*, which furniſh new Arguments for the Impoſture of his Piece. He introduces in it the Kingdom of *Choſar*, whoſe Inhabitants deſcended from *Thogarma*: In the mean time we have ſeen, that this is an imaginary Kingdom. Laſtly, he ſpeaks of the Coronation of the German Emperours, which he deſcribes, as if that Ceremony had been obſerv'd for *Veſpaſian*.

XXIII. " This Prince (ſays he) † being arriv'd " at *Rome*, aſſembled all the Senators to Elect an " Emperour, according to cuſtom. *Joſeph*, whom " *Veſpaſian* had impriſon'd, procured leave of his " Guards to ſee the Pomp; of which he obſerved " all the following Circumſtances. The Senators " went to take *Veſpaſian* in the *Temple of God*, and " conducted him with Drums and Trumpets to the " Palace-Royal, which is in the Suburbs, towards " the Sea; and this little Suburbs is capable of " containing in its Court a hundred thouſand " Troopers. Seven Kings, choſen by the *Roman* " Senate, carrying the Crown, which they receiv" ved from the Emperor, marched before him. " Two of theſe Princes preſented him a white " Horſe: Two others held a Ladder of pure Gold, " which he made uſe of to mount his Horſe: Two " others went by the Emperor's ſides; and the ſe" venth walked on Foot before him, carrying his " Sword. This laſt King having commanded ſi" lence, order'd *Veſpaſian* to be acknowledg'd *Cæ" ſar*, becauſe it was *the great God Jehovah who had* " *eſtabliſh'd him.* They pray'd God to main" tain *the Right of the Cæſarſhip*, to ſtrengthen *the* " *preſent Cæſar*, and the People anſwer'd, *Amen.* " The Emperour ſpoke afterwards, the People an" ſwering a ſecond time, *Amen.* Two Horſemen " ſcatter'd handfuls of *Flowers of Gold*, that is to " ſay, of *Florins*. Two Perſons were choſen, one " whereof held the firſt place after the Emperor, " and the ſecond was Generaliſſimo of the Troops. " When they came into the Suburbs, where the " Palace ſtands, the Emperor ſet his Foot upon " the Ground, reſting upon the Shoulders of ſe" ven Princes. They plac'd him upon a riſing " ground: They preſented him the Book of the " *Roman Privileges*; he kiſs'd all the Pages of it; " laid the Book upon his Head, and ſwore to ob" ſerve thoſe Privileges, without violating one of " them. They ſhut up the entrance of the Sub" urbs, till he had ſworn the Obſervation of the " Privileges, which were peculiar to him; after" wards they open'd the Gates. All the preſent " Kings preceded him, or followed him on Foot, " till he was ſeated on a Throne, erected in the " Palace. There the Kings came to kiſs his " Feet. The ſeven Principal Officers of the Em-

" pire

* Cap. 85. p. 383. † Scal. in Etench. Trihær. Serar. c. 4. ‖ Ambaſia Kainan. * Joſippon l. 1. c 1. p. 1. † Argentré Hiſt de Bretagne, l. 1. p. 7. ‖ Thiras inſunt אנגלים Angleſi p. 2. * Ib. p. 1. † Lib. VI. c. 77.

" pire appear'd next: Each of theſe had twenty " four Lieutenants; each of theſe Lieutenants had " an hundred and twenty Sub-Lieutenants; and " each of theſe hundred and twenty Sub-Lieute- " nants had under him four hundred Subaltern " Officers. Above all theſe Officers is the *Father*, " whom the Greeks call *Patron*, who preſents to " the Emperor a Sceptre of gilt Wood, and lays " on his Head a Bag of Duſt: He puts on his Fin- " ger a Ring made of a Dead Man's Bone, and " in his left Hand a gilded Globe: He crowns " him, and eſtabliſhes him King; the Emperour " kiſſes the *Patron's* Hand, and receives of him " the Diadem, added to the Crown, as a Mark " of the Empire. The *Patron* cries, *Long live the* " *King, our Lord, our Cæſar*; the People anſwer, " *Amen*: The *Patron* kiſſes the Emperor's Mouth, " ſits at his right Hand, entertains him at Supper " with the ſeven Princes, and the ſeven Officers, " who made him Emperour."

XXIV. Theſe Ceremonies were not obſerv'd at *Veſpaſian*'s Coronation; nor did the Author deſign to deſcribe the Coronation of *Charlemagne*, as is commonly believ'd; for the Empire was not Elective whilſt poſſeſs'd by his Poſterity. Beſides, there was not at that time the Form which *Joſeph* gives; who ſpeaks of ſeven Kings ſerving the Emperour, and being his Principal Officers, who took upon them the Right of Elections. 2. The *Normans*, whom *Joſeph* knew began not to ravage the Coaſts and Provinces of *France*, till the time of *Charles the Bald*; nor was it till the tenth Century, that Province took the Name of its Conquerours. 3. The *Cravates*, or *Croatia*, was not known in *Veſpaſian*'s or *Charlemagne*'s time; and *Cedrenus*, who wrote in the eleventh Century, is the firſt that mentions it. 4. Laſtly, Gold Florins were not in uſe in *Charlemagne*'s time. *Villani* affirms, that they were coin'd at *Florence* but in the thirteenth Century; but as ſome of them have been diſcover'd of the Year 1067. we muſt neceſſarily believe them of a more ancient date. All theſe Characters are a ſufficient Evidence, that the Hebrew *Joſeph* liv'd not till the end of the tenth, or rather in the eleventh Century; and that the Coronation of the Emperour, he has given a Deſcription of, is that of *Otho* I. or of his Son *Otho* II. The firſt of theſe Princes was crown'd at *Rome*, at the end of the tenth Century, with a great deal of Pomp. || The Princes, and the principal Officers of the Empire, who follow'd him, appear'd at his Coronation. As it was the Nobility, and the Repreſentatives of the People, and of the Cities, who then elected the Emperours, he had ſome reaſon to make thoſe ſubordinations of ſeven *Princes, Prefects, Lieutenants, and other Perſons*. *Otho* receiving the Imperial Diadem, ſwore to preſerve the Privileges of the Church of *Rome*, and alſo to reſtore what had been taken from her. The *Pope* performed the Ceremony of the Coronation; and this Conſent of the *Patron* has been thought ſo neceſſary, that *Baronius*, and ſome other Hiſtorians, begin to reckon from thence the Years of *Otho*'s Empire, tho' he poſſeſs'd it a long time before. *Otho* II. was crown'd ſome time after with the ſame Ceremony. All this agrees with *Joſeph*'s Account, who betrays himſelf, by making the Heathen Romans ſpeak like Jews and Chriſtians: In effect, they demanded the Benediction of the Supreme God, and *Joſeph* makes the Idolatrous People anſwer *Amen*.

XXV. In fine, we have already obſerv'd, that *Salomon Jarchi* is the firſt that has cited the Hebrew *Joſeph*. This Rabbin writ in the Year 1140. *Aben-Ezra* and *Abraham Ben Dior*, who gave vogue to his Work, liv'd in the ſame Century. 'Twould be a Miracle for this Book to have remain'd three or four hundred Years unknown to a Nation, for whom it was written. But if it was not finiſh'd till towards the end of the tenth Century, or rather in the beginning of the eleventh, 'tis no wonder it began not to be known till an hundred Years after.

XXVI. The Motive of this Impoſtor is eaſie to be diſcover'd: For having found the Hiſtory of his Nation well wrote, and little known to thoſe it was compos'd for, he reſolv'd to publiſh one like it in Hebrew, under his Name. Little Credit would have been given to a Modern Writer, ſo far remov'd from the Events which he related; and therefore he took the Name of *Joſeph*, calling himſelf the Author of a Book, of which he was little more than the Tranſlator. In the mean time, that he might not be confounded with the Greek Hiſtorian, whoſe Name he took, he made himſelf the Son of another Father; taking the Name *Gorionides*, which was an Illuſtrious Family. He was a Plagiary of the true *Joſeph*, even to the Name of the Family which he deſign'd to counterfeit. This Artifice ſucceeded; for as his Work was written in Hebrew, it has bury'd the other *Joſeph*; who is neglected in his Nation, and conſider'd as a Foreigner, becauſe he wrote in Greek; whilſt this Impoſtor is extoll'd to the Skies, and even the Chriſtians are deceiv'd by him. We thought it neceſſary to give an exacter Account of the Author and his Book, becauſe he is often cited. Let us return to the Body of the Nation.

XXVII. It was extremely multiply'd in *Germany*; it had even built Synagogues in moſt of the conſiderable Cities, particularly in *Triers*, *Cologne* and *Ments*. It had penetrated even to *Franconia*. This People paſs'd from thence into *Bohemia*; where, in the eleventh Century, they perform'd ſuch conſiderable Services to the Chriſtians, againſt the irruptions of the Barbarians, that they were allow'd the Privilege of a Synagogue. They enter'd into *Hungary*. 'Tis ſaid, they were terrify'd by abundance of Prodigies, which happen'd at the beginning of the eleventh Century; and fearing that the end of the World was at hand, they deſpair'd of ſeeing the Meſſiah arrive, and turn'd Chriſtians. 'Tis certain, that that Age was very much infatuated with Prodigies, and that the People and Hiſtorians themſelves relate a great number of them. The Dead return'd every Night, and the Voyage from the other World to ours, was not ſo rare nor ſo difficult as is ſaid. Pope *Benedict* XII. return'd from thence mounted on a black Horſe, and acquainted a Biſhop, that he was in miſerable torture, becauſe all his Alms-deeds had been only the fruits of his Extortions; and that to repair them, he ought to oblige his Brother to diſtribute the Money, in a Cheſt he had in reſerve. The Nuns undertook to make Drawers, which no body could wear, without being in love with them; and the Biſhop of *Triers* found a Monaſtery of his Dioceſe, where all the Nuns were employ'd in making theſe Drawers. Such was the Genius of that time. They believ'd things that were moſt incredible; they vented a thouſand Prodigies that happen'd in the Heaven and Earth, which threatned the World with abſolute Deſtruction. Whether the Jews were terrify'd and converted by them, as is ſaid, is more than I know. Here follows ſomething that is more certain.

• An. 962.

XXVIII. A Prieſt * nam'd *Goteſcal*, who liv'd in the eleventh Century, put himſelf at the head of fifteen thouſand Robbers, he had gotten together in *Germany*, and declar'd War againſt the Jews. So Pious a pretence, procur'd him the Veneration of the People, and the Protection of Kings. He run over *Franconia* in a little time; from whence he paſs'd into *Hungary*, where he had at firſt an entire liberty to exerciſe his Cruelties; but when it was perceiv'd, that under the pretence of Religion, this Army plunder'd and raviſh'd the Wives of the Chriſtians. they ſurpriz'd them in their Debaucheries, and *Goteſcal* was kill'd, with the beſt part of his Troops. So tragical an end hinder'd not the Count of *Linenguen* from making the ſame Attempt. He ravag'd a part of *Germany*, by declaring himſelf a Perſecutor of the Jews; but attempting to paſs into *Hungary*, he found the Paſſage ſtopp'd: Being reſolv'd to force it, he vigorouſly attack'd thoſe that kept it, and puffed up with the happy Succeſs, he already divided the Kingdom with his Conſpirators; when the *Hungarians* attacking them unexpectedly, as they were deliberating, put 'em to the rout. The Emperour *Henry*, who was then at *Ratisbonne*, declar'd himſelf in favour of the Jews, reſtor'd them to the Places from whence they had been expell'd, and made their Plunderers refund. But this was a freſh Source of Injuſtices; for the Innocent were accus'd of being enrich'd with the Spoils, in order to have the pleaſure of fleecing them. The Hiſtorian of the Jews is miſtaken, in attributing this act of Clemency to *Henry* V. for they were indebted to his Father for it, who had then ſuch mighty Diſputes with *Gregory* VII. about Inveſtitures.

XXIX. The *Cruſades* † rekindled a freſh Zeal againſt the Jews. They complain, that theſe Votaries paſſing to *Cologne*, *Ments*, *Wormes* and *Spiers*, committed a Maſſacre, from the Month of *April* till *July*, in which were ſtab'd and drown'd five thouſand Perſons; and that the number of thoſe, who were forc'd to abjure the Religion of their Fathers, can't be reckon'd. They don't exaggerate the matter; on the contrary, the Hiſtorians ‖ amplifie the number, with the addition of hideous Circumſtances. They aſſert, that fourteen hundred of them were burnt at *Ments*; and as in all likelihood, there was Reſiſtance and Diſorder, half the City was reduc'd to Aſhes. Thoſe of *Wormes* at firſt retir'd to the Biſhop, but he would not receive them, unleſs they turn'd Chriſtians; the People ſuffer'd them not to deliberate long: Some embrac'd Chriſtianity, which they abjur'd as ſoon as the Form was over; others kill'd themſelves. Something like this happen'd at *Triers*. * The Women ſeeing the *Cruſaders* coming, took Knives, and run them thro' their Childrens Bellies, ſaying, *It were better to ſend them thus into Abraham's Boſom, than to abandon them to the Chriſtians.* Others loaden with Stones threw themſelves into the River, and were drown'd; ſome fled to the Biſhop's Caſtle: *Egilbert*, who was in it, preach'd them a Sermon, by which they were converted; but the Year following, all of them, except one, return'd to the Judaiſm they had deſerted. The Biſhop of *Spire* had more Humanity; for he not only receiv'd the Fugitives to his Houſe, but caus'd ſome of their Perſecutors to be hang'd. The Miſchief went ſo far, that the *Bavarian* Annaliſts † reckon twelve thouſand that dy'd in that Country; and others affirm, that the number of thoſe who periſh'd in *Germany*, was almoſt incredible.

XXX. This was only the firſt Croiſade. Another was made fifty Years after ‖. *Rodolphus* *, who was commiſſion'd to Preach it upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, did it with great Succeſs. As it was one of the Articles of his Religion and his Preachments, that the Enemies of Chriſtianity were firſt to be taken off, and thoſe ſtab'd who were near at hand, before they went to ſeek 'em in Foreign Lands; the People edify'd by his Exhortations: But the Miſchief was not ſo great, becauſe part of 'em took their flight betimes, and retir'd to *Nurimberg*, and other Cities depending upon the Emperor, under whoſe Protection they found more Security. We muſt even do juſtice to St. *Bernard* †, and acknowledge, that *Rodolph*'s Doctrine did not pleaſe him. He wrote ‖ to the Archbiſhop of *Ments*, whom this Hermit had enflam'd by his Preaching, to prove to him, that he ought to look upon the Perſecution of the Jews as inhumane, and that the Hermit ſpoke without having any Vocation, either from God or Man; and therefore he advis'd, that he might be ſent back to his Deſart.

XXXI. It is not agreed about the time, when the firſt of theſe Croiſades happen'd, which deſtroy'd ſuch a vaſt number of the Circumcis'd. Our Authors place it in the laſt Year of the eleventh Century, and the Jews in the Year 1096. or according to their calculation, in the Year 856. They even find a great Myſtery in it; for they maintain, ‖ that the Word *they have conſum'd or deſtroy'd*, ſignifies a number of 56, and that multiplying it by tens, it makes 856; ſo that God had mark'd out this Year for the Deſtruction of his People in *Spain*. The *Arabians* alſo ſay, that their Aſtrologers had foretold a great Deluge for the Year 492 of the *Hegyra*. This Deluge never happen'd; but the Chriſtians overflow'd *Judea*, under the Caliph *Moſtadhaher*, who had but the name of it, becauſe the Sultan *Selgiuſides* govern'd him; and this Year of the *Hegyra* is the 1098. of the Chriſtian Church. But its eaſie to reconcile all theſe Hiſtorians, tho' different in their Calculations. The Jews are in the right, for 'twas after the Council held at *Clermont*, in *November*, 1095, that the Croiſading Confederacy was made. They aſſembled their Troops the next Year, and made a general Maſſacre of the Jews, in all the Places where theſe Aſſemblies were form'd. Nor are the *Arabians* deceiv'd; for tho' *Tancred* and *Godefroy de Bouillon*, had form'd the Siege of *Nice*, in the Year 1097, 'twas not till the Year following that *Judea* was depopulated, and *Jeruſalem* was not taken till 1099, as our Hiſtorians ſay.

XXXII. This Perſecution, kindled by the *Croiſades*, was univerſal. It was felt not only in *Germany*, but in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. The publick Cry was; *Come, let us maſſacre them in ſuch a manner, that the Name of* Iſrael *ſhall be no more remembred.* The Chriſtians kill'd great numbers of them; but they were ſtill more; who being driven to deſpair, by the Violence that was done them, kill'd themſelves: And with theſe Executions ended the eleventh Century. Thus it is that *R. Ganz* concludes the account of the Perſecutions his Nation ſuffer'd, *becauſe the Odour of all theſe Sufferings is too bad.*

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* Mutius Chronicon German. l.xv. & l.xvi. p. 123. & 126. Piſtor. Hiſt. Germ. t. 3. An. 1089. † An. Mund. 4856. Chriſt. 1096. Schialſchelet Hakkabala, p. 110. ‖ Additiones ad Lambert Schafnaburgenſem. Hiſt. Germ. Piſt. t. 11. p. 253. An. 1096. Bertholdi Conſtantienſis Appendix ad Herm. apud Vurſtil. t. 1. p. 375. * Hiſtoria Treverenſis apud Dachery Spic. t. XII. p. 236. † Aventinus Annal. Boior. l. v. p. 361. ‖ An. 1144. * Otto de geſtis Friderici I. l. 1. c. 37. apud Vurſtil. t. I. p. 428. † D. Bernard Ep. 133. t. I. p. 133. ‖ An. 1146. ‖ בדל Ganz Tſemach David, p. 133.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A General Account of the Nation in the Eaſt and Weſt, during the twelfth Century; taken from Benjamin *of* Tudela's *Voyage to all the Synagogues.*

I. *The Deſign of* Benjamin *and of this Chapter.* II. Pethora *upon the Banks of* Euphrates. *The City of* Balaam. III. *The Synagogue of* Eſdras *in* Meſopotamia. IV. *The State of the Jews at* Nineveh. V. *The Academy of* Pundebita *ruin'd.* VI. *Antiquity of* Bagdet. VII. *The Caliphs Power in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* VIII. *The Name of the Caliph that then reign'd there.* Benjamin *confuted.* IX. *The Protection the Caliph* Moſtanged *gave the Jews.* X. *The Heads of the Captivity in the twelfth Century, and their Power.* XI. *He had not the Power of Life and Death at* Bagdet. XII. *The Jews numerous near ancient* Babylon. XIII. Ezekiel's *Tomb, and Peoples Devotion for that Monument.* XIV. Jechoniah's *Tomb at* Coufa. XV. *The State of the Jews in* Egypt. XVI. *Whether there was a Rebellion there.* XVII. *That matter explain'd.* XVIII. Benjamin *confuted.* XIX. *The terrible Declenſion of the Jews in that Country.* XX. *The Deſcription of* Judea. *The ſmall number of Jews at* Jeruſalem. XXI. *Their Superſtition for that City.* XXII. *The true Situation of* Scunem. *Its Deſcription.* XXIII. *The State of the Jews at* Aſcalon. XXIV. *In the upper* Galilee, *and the decay of* Tiberias. XXV. *The Deſcription* Aben-Ezra *gives of it examin'd.* XXVI. *Mount* Parnaſſus *till'd by the Jews.* XXVII. *Of the City* Thebes. XXVIII. *Whether* Benjamin *could paſs thro'* Valachia. *Why he ſpeaks of it.* XXIX. Jehiel *Superintendant of the Pope's Finances.* XXX. *The Prince of the Nation at* Capua. XXXI. *The Fabulous Original of ſome Cities of* Italy. *Jews that dwelt in them.* XXXII. *The* German *Jews very charitable.* Bohemia *the new* Canaan. XXXIII. *The Deſcription of ſome Cities of* France, *and of the Jews that were in them.* XXXIV. *A general Reflection upon theſe Travels.*

I. BEnjamin of *Tudela*, a Native of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, in which that City ſtands, liv'd in the twelfth Century. He travell'd into all the Places, where he thought there were Synagogues, to inform himſelf about the State of his Nation. As he was very fond of it, he omits nothing, that can any ways raiſe its Luſtre and Reputation. He ſometimes deviates from the known Geographers and Hiſtorians. He has even imagin'd new Countries: But for all this, he is a very proper Perſon to give a general Account of the Sate of the Jews, both in the Eaſt and Weſt, during the twelfth Century. We ſhall not follow him in the Road he has taken, that we may not change our Method; but ſhall begin with the Banks of *Euphrates* and the Eaſt, before we examine what he ſays of the Weſt, whence he ſet out.

II. Upon the Banks of *Euphrates*, was the City *Pethora*, famous for the Seat of *Balaam*. Indeed, the Scripture ſays, That he had his Habitation upon *Euphrates*, and was ſent for ſo far to Curſe the People of God. *Benjamin* * imagin'd, he ſaw in this City, a Tower which *Balaam* had built, which anſwer'd to all the Hours of the Day; becauſe he fancy'd, that *Balaam* was a Magician, an Aſtrologer like the antient *Chaldeans*: Whereas the Scripture deſcribes him as a Man that knew the Deity, and receiv'd Inſpirations from it. Beſides, good Senſe might have dictated, that a Magical Tower, built ſo many Ages ago, could not have ſubſiſted till his own.

III. He paſs'd into *Meſopotamia*, where he ſaw a Synagogue, which *Eſdras* had built, when he left *Babylon*, to return to *Jeruſalem*; which is ridiculous. For to what end ſhould this Holy Man, who had no other Thoughts in his Head, than of bringing back the People to their Country, have attempted to confirm theſe People in *Chaldea*, by building a new Temple, when he was upon his return, and was taken up with the Thoughts of gathering Money for the re-building *Jeruſalem*, and its Temple? *Benjamin* found the Place where *Abraham* dwelt deſerted; there being only ſome Muſſulmans, who came ſometimes to perform their Devotions there. From thence he went into an Iſland, made by the *Tigris*; where there is a fine City built by *Omar*, the Son of *Abdallec*, one of the firſt and happieſt Caliphs: Since in his Reign, which laſted but ten Years and an half, the Muſſulmans took thirty ſix thouſand Cities, or Caſtles, and built fourteen hundred Moſchs. *Benjamin* ſays, the City was ſituate at the Foot of Mount *Ararat*, four Miles from the Place where the Ark reſted. The Remains whereof *Omar* took to re-build a Moſch. Here was another Synagogue of *Eſdras*, and 4000 Jews inhabited the Iſle of *Tigris*. 'Tis not to be conteſted, that there was there a City, and neighbouring Synagogue, and 4000 Jews. It muſt only be obſerv'd that the City which *Omar* built, was not ſituate at the Foot of *Ararat*, but at the Mouth of the *Tigris*, to hinder the *Perſians* from going to the *Indies* by the *Perſian* Gulph, which City was call'd *Baſſorah*. Beſides, tho' it could be ſuppos'd, that the Ark ſtill remain'd to the twelfth Century of the Church, could its rotten Planks be fit to build a Moſch with? Let us content our ſelves therefore with believing, that there were Jews, and a Synagogue there, becauſe they enjoy'd an entire Liberty of Conſcience.

IV. He found another 7000 at *Almozal*, which anſwers to the ancient *Nineveh*; the one having been built from the Ruins of the other, upon the oppoſite Bank of the *Tigris*, and being only ſeparated by a Bridge. There was *Zaccheus*, a Deſcendant of the Houſe of *David*; there was alſo a famous Aſtronomer, call'd *Beren Alpherec*, who *ſerv'd as a Chaplain to King Zin-Aldin.* 'Tis not eaſie to be conjectur'd, how a Jew could officiate to a Muſſulman; for *Zin-Aldin* was of that Religion, and Brother to *Noraldin* † King of *Syria*; whom the Muſſulmans reverence, not only as one of their moſt Illuſtrious Conquerours, but as one of their greateſt Saints, becauſe he had an ardent Zeal for his Religion; and 'twas he who firſt ſet up a Chamber of Juſtice againſt the Violences of the great Lords. But perhaps this Jewiſh Aſtronomer, did not ſcrupulouſly weigh the difference of Religions, but conform'd his own to that of the Prince he ſerv'd.

V. *Benjamin* ||, before he arriv'd at *Bagdet*, paſt thro' *Rohobod*, where he found 2000 Perſons of his Nation. *Carchemis*, famous for the defeat of *Pha-*

* Benjam. Itinerar. p. 159. † *He ſucceeded his Father in the Year*, 1149. || Benjam. p 62.

raoh Necho, and ſituate upon the Banks of *Euphrates*, contain'd five hundred of them. *Pundebita* was but two days journey from hence. But this City, ſo well known, had chang'd its Name, being then call'd *Aliobari*, or *Alnebar*. He diſcover'd here ſome Footſteps of the Grandeur of his Nation; for there was the Tomb of *Boſtenay*, that Prince of the Captivity, who had marry'd a Daughter of the King of *Perſia*. He obſerv'd alſo thoſe of two Illuſtrious Doctors, with the Synagogues they had built before their Death; but it was no longer that flouriſhing Academy, peopled with a vaſt number of Scholars, whoſe Heads had made ſuch a Noiſe in former Ages: There were only 2000 Jews in it, ſome whereof apply'd themſelves to the Study of the Law. There were alſo ſome Schools, but empty.

The ſame thing had befel that of *Sora*; of which the Author * is contented to revive the Remembrance, and to call to mind, that many Heads of the Captivity, deſcended from the Houſe of *David*, had made their Reſidence there. Laſtly, He only celebrates the City and Academy of *Nahardea*, by the Superſtition its Inhabitants had to build the Synagogue of the Earth, and Stones they had brought from *Jeruſalem*. But the Academies were entirely deſtroy'd.

Nunc ſeges eſt ubi Troja fuit.

The great Men were no more in this Country, and the Law ſeem'd to have been fled for Sanctuary to the Weſt. If there were afterwards any Doctors, their Names are ſcarce known, nor their Authority reſpected. The Sciences have a Fugitive Habitation, like Men: They not only retire with them when they are expell'd; but diſappear in certain places and times, whilſt the Nations which poſſeſs'd them, make no change in their Abode. People fall into Ignorance and Barbarity.

Sed revocare gradum ſuperaſque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus hic labor eſt.

The Authors of the *Talmud*, and the *Excellent* Doctors, were no longer found at *Sora* and *Pundebita*, in *Benjamin*'s time; nor even in other Places, where there were ſtill a great many Jews: And indeed he found 10000 at *Obkera*, the Foundation whereof he aſcribes to *Jechonias*; tho' a Captive King was not in a Condition to build a City; he paſs'd from thence to *Bagdet*, the Capital of the Sovereigns.

VI. The *Perſians* aſcribe a great Antiquity to this Capital City of *Babylonian Irack*, which was formerly *Chaldea*. They pretend, it was built by the *Perſian* Kings of the firſt Dynaſty; tho' it be indiſputable, that *Almanſor* laid its Foundations: It was afterwards the Reſidence of the ſucceeding Caliphs. *Benjamin* makes a magnificent Deſcription of their Palace and City. The Reigning Caliph was inveſted with a Supreme, and even Deſpotical Authority. He kept his Brothers chain'd in their reſpective Palaces, becauſe they had conſpir'd againſt him: His Subjects hardly ever ſaw him, tho' he was extraordinary civil to others: The Pilgrims, that paſs'd that way, earneſtly deſir'd a Look of him; but inſtead of ſhewing himſelf, he caus'd a Skirt of his Robe to be hung upon the Window, that every body might ſee it, and a Lord of his Court came out crying to theſe Pilgrims, *Go in Peace, for our Lord, the Light of the Iſhmaelites, is favourable to you*; which fill'd them with joy.

VII. He was Supreme, in Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Authority. The People believ'd him almoſt equal to *Mahomet*; *and he held the ſame Rank among the Muſſulmans, as the Pope has among the Chriſtians.* At the Faſt of *Ramadan*, he came out of his Palace, clad with ſumptuous Habits; having among theſe Ornaments, a piece of black Cloth upon his Head, to ſignifie, that all his Glory was only Vanity, and that Joy is quickly chang'd into Sorrow: He was attended by all the great Lords of his Court, and a vaſt multitude of People, which came that day from far to have the Satisfaction of ſeeing him: When he arriv'd to an Oratory near the Gate of the City, and had receiv'd the Acclamations of the People, he kiſs'd his Robe to give a Bleſſing, and aſcending into a Lobby of the Chappel, preach'd the Mahometan Law to them; he kill'd a Camel, pieces of which he diſtributed to his Principal Officers, who look'd upon it as an extraordinary Favour. *Benjamin* † calls this the Muſſulmans *Paſſover*, but this Word muſt not be taken in a ſtrict Senſe; for the Muſſulmans do not celebrate the Feaſt of the Jews; and it muſt not be wonder'd at, that the Caliph cut the Throat of a Camel, for the Head of his Sect us'd to eat the Fleſh of this Animal. The Ceremony being over, the Caliph return'd alone to his Palace, by the Banks of the *Tigris*, which was cover'd with thouſands of Barks, and the Ground he had trod was ſo conſecrated, that no body durſt walk in the Place where he had ſet the Sole of his Foot.

VIII. The Caliph, tho' thus inveſted with the Political and Sacred Power, nevertheleſs, earn'd his Livelihood by his Labour. The *Arabian* Authors, ſpeaking of the Auſterity of theſe Princes, ſay ſuch things as would put Chriſtian Monks to the Bluſh, and ſhew, that we are very remote from what is call'd *Repentance and Mortification*. He that *Benjamin* ſpeaks of, work'd in a Palace enrich'd with Columns of Silver, Gold and precious Stones; and made Coverlets, which were ſold at the Market, with his Seal upon them: He maintain'd his Houſe with the Money that he got by his Labour. However, *Benjamin* is miſtaken in the Name of the Prince who then reign'd, ſince he calls him *Achmed*; or rather, we muſt ſay, it is a Fault of the Tranſcriber ‖; for he could not be ignorant of the Name of him that reign'd at *Bagdet*, when he travell'd thither. However, it was neither *Achmed*, nor *Caphits*, nor *Muctbephi*, as is ſaid, who had then the Caliphſhip. *Muctbephi*, who is probably the ſame with *Mettaki*, dy'd in the Year 1159. *Moſtanged*, his Son, reign'd till 1170. which was probably the Year that our Traveller arriv'd at *Bagdet*. Two things ſtrengthen this Conjecture: One, that *Moſtanged* was in reality a worthy Man, who lov'd Juſtice, and could not be prevail'd upon by Gold or Silver, to ſhew favour to Criminals, and eſpecially to Calumniators; becauſe he was reſolved *to purge his Kingdom of that Peſt*; which agrees with the Praiſes that *Benjamin* beſtows upon the Probity of the reigning Caliph. Moreover, this Prince's Brother and Mother conſpir'd againſt him, and ſuborn'd ſome Women to aſſaſſinate him; but the Conſpiracy being diſcover'd, he caus'd the Women that were to commit the Murder, to be thrown into the *Tigris*, and confin'd the Prince and Princeſs. *Benjamin* relates * the ſame thing, except that he gives him many Brothers, who conſpir'd againſt him, whereas he had only one.

IX. 'Twas under the Protection of *Moſtanged*, who reign'd ten Years, that the Jews then liv'd

* Benjam. p. 81. Suria. † Benjam. Itin. p. 68. L'Empereur Not. in Benjam. p. 187. ‖ Abr. Zachutus in Juchaſin f. 149. Conſt. L'Empereur Not. p. 185. Herbelot Bibl. Orient. *Title of the* Abaſſides. * Benjam. Itin. p. 72. &c.

peace-

peaceably at *Bagdet*. He lov'd them, and had many of them in his Serviee; he perfectly underſtood their Language and wrote it; and had alſo ſome knowledge of their Law. There were but a thouſand Inhabitants of this Nation, and the Error of *Iſaac* the Son of *Arama*, which makes him ſay, there were many thouſand Jews, would be a groſs one, were we not accuſtomed to ſee theſe Gentlemen magnifie whatever contributes to the Glory of the Synagogue. There were few Inhabitants, but yet twenty eight Synagogues, and ten Tribunals or Councils, at the head whereof were ten eminent Perſons employ'd only upon the Affairs of the Nation, and called the *ten Otioſi*. Above theſe ten was the Head of the Captivity. He that had then that Poſt, was a Deſcendant of *David*, and his Name was *Daniel*. The Jews gave him the Title of *Lord*, and the Mahometans that of *Lord, the Son of* David. His Authority extended over all the Jews, which were in the Dominions of the Caliph, the *Prince of the Faithful*; and from *Syria* to the *Iron Gates* and the *Indies*. The Author repreſents this Prince of the Captivity, as a kind of Sovereign, for the Mahometans were oblig'd to reſpect him, as well as the Jews; and he that meeting him on the Road, refuſed to riſe and ſalute him, received a hundred Stripes. A hundred Guards march'd before him when he paid a Viſit to the Caliph, crying, *Prepare the way for the Lord, the Son of* David. The Nation was oblig'd to have their Preachers and Doctors from him, who gave theſe Impoſition of Hands. That he might ſupport his Dignity, the Merchants of his Nation raiſed an Impoſt in the Fairs, and paid him a kind of Tribute: Some Proviſions were alſo ſent him from the remote Provinces. *Daniel*, beſides this, had his Patrimony and Lands that were given him. He kept a Table, and had Hoſpitals where he maintain'd the Poor. But he was forced to buy this Grandeur and Liberty, by a Tribute paid to the Caliph, and by rich Preſents to the principal Officers of his Court. I queſton whether the Dignity of the Prince of the Captivity was ſo conſiderable at that time, as *Benjamin* makes it ||. He has perhaps repreſented it in its ancient Luſtre; but as his Nation was reduced very low by the Perſecution of the preceding Century, which ruin'd the Academies, and diſpers'd the principal Inhabitants out of *Perſia* into the Weſt, there is no probability that this Prince was then ſo conſiderable.

X. This Obſervation is of great moment, not only becauſe it ſhews that there was ſtill a Prince of the Captivity in the Twelfth Century, tho' they had been aboliſh'd a hundred Years before; but farther we learn *, that this Head of the Captivity had only a Power borrow'd from the Caliphs, which he did not exerciſe till he had receiv'd Impoſition of Hands from the Infidel Prince, as the Popes could not enter upon the Poſſeſſion of their Dignity, till they had ask'd the Conſent and Approbation of the Arrian Princes, on whom they depended for their Chair and See.

The *Rabbins* will by no means have their Head ſubjected to the Eaſtern Princes; maintaining that we abſurdly diſpute them the Power of Life and Death, which they have ever enjoy'd in this Country. They ſay † that there are Laws in the Talmud, that ſerve for a Rule to the Judges of *Babylon*. They reckon a great many Witneſſes among the *Rabbins* that confirm this matter. They quote *Strabo*, who affirms, that the Egyptian Jews poſſeſſed a large part of *Alexandria*, where they judged of the Differences of the Nation, and annull'd or confirm'd Contracts; and exerciſed the ſame Authority as in an abſolutely free Commonwealth. Why ſhould not the ſame thing be done at *Babylon?* For *Origen* ‖ ſaid long ſince, that the Kings of *Aſſyria*, contented to have ſubjected ſo numerous a Nation, left them the liberty of inflicting Death upon ſuch as deſerved it. He proved it by the Example of the Roman Empire, wherein, after the Ruin of the ſecond Temple, they ſtill continued to judge according to their Law; and tho' the Dead Warrants were executed in ſecret, yet the Emperor was ſtill acquainted with them; and by this he proved the Truth of the Romance of *Suſanna*, which *Africanus* conteſted with him. *Sulpitius Severus* * ſays the ſame thing; and if the Princes of the Captivity had the Power to raiſe an Impoſt upon all the Oriental Nation, Why ſhould any body attempt to diveſt them of that of puniſhing Malefactors with Death? Laſtly, † Modern Chriſtians commonly eſpouſe their Intereſts, and with *Origen* maintain, that this Right belong'd to them.

XI. The Priviledge given to the Jews, and of which they boaſt, would be extraordinary, if they had poſſeſs'd it; for it was never heard, that a Victorious Nation ſhould give the niceſt part of Supreme Authority to thoſe they have vanquiſh'd, and ſtill retain among them, that they may keep them in ſubjection and low. A Nation is often ſuffer'd to live by its own Laws, as to Civil Rights, without allowing it one of the Rays of Soveraignty. The Jews had a particular reaſon to inſiſt upon this Liberty for the Civil Government, becauſe his Religion was concern'd in moſt of the Suits and Queſtions that happen'd, and this Religion was only known by its Profeſſors. But when this kind of Liberty is allow'd a People, the Rebels and Criminals are ſubject to the Sword of the uſual Magiſtrate, who alone has a right to puniſh them. The Caliphs and the Eaſtern Kings are no leſs jealous of their Sovereignty than Chriſtian Princes, who whilſt they allow the tolerated Jews ſome Judges to decide the Differences of private Perſons, have always deprived them of the Power of Life and Death. *Strabo*, who aſſigns a particular Magiſtrate to the Jews of *Alexandria*, only grants him the Power of cancelling or ratifying Contracts. *Africanus* reaſoned conformably to the common Practice of Kings, when he denied that the Captive Jews in *Babylon* had a Right of inflicting Death on thoſe that were brought before the Tribunal. At leaſt he was ignorant of this Priviledge, and *Origen* mentions it but as it were trembling, and by the aſſiſtance of an ill-grounded Conſequence. He confeſſes, that if the Jews of *Egypt*, ſubject to the *Romans*, ſometimes paſſed Sentences of Death, it was only done *in ſecret and huggermugger, and that they had not an entire Liberty in this particular.* If the Jews had only a purchas'd Toleration, and puniſh'd Malefactors only in ſecret, it cannot be hence concluded, that they had a Power of Life and Death. Beſides it does not follow, that if this Priviledge was purchas'd in *Egypt*, that they could do the ſame thing at *Babylon*; and tho' the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, who paid Tribute to the *Romans*, might have had this Right, thoſe the *Aſſyrians* had carried into their Land might not have enjoy'd it. But the *Romans* did not permit the *Jews* the Power of Life and Death, either at *Rome*, or in their own Country; and therefore they cry'd in our Saviour's time, *It is not lawful for us to put any Man to death:* And the Toleration that a Governour bribed by

‖ Benjam. p. 74. * Ibid. p. 72. † Joſeph. Ant. l. 14. c. 12. p. 478. ‖ Origen. Ep. ad African. p. 144. * Sulpit. Sever. Hiſt. l. 11. c. 2. † Dru. Not. p. 179.

Money, and winking upon a ſecret Uſurpation, might have given, proves not that they had an eſtabliſh'd Right in *Aſſyria*, as *Origen* pretends. Laſtly, The Import which the Prince of the Captivity levied upon his Nation, was rather a Mark of Submiſſion than of Supreme Authority, ſince it was to pay the Tribute due to the Caliph and his Miniſters, and but a ſmall part of it went to ſupport the Dignity of his Office, and to maintain the Poor who travelled there.

The honeſt Jews acknowledge this want of Power, and *Benjamin*, who had travelled in this Country, confeſſes that his Nation was Tributary, that the Synagogues were kept up but by vertue of a Patent, which the Caliph gave at his Promotion, and that the Prince of the Captivity received his Power from him by Impoſition of Hands. *Maimonides* maintains, that it was one of the Fundamental Precepts of the Law, *that they could not inflict the Puniſhment of Blood, either at* Babylon, *or any other place, except in the Land of* Iſrael. In reality the Doctors imagine, that it would have been a Violation of the Law, and a Hardſhip upon them, for the Caliph to have oblig'd them to exerciſe this Right of Life and Death, ſince it is a ſtanding Maxim among them, that Death cannot be inflicted, nor a Sovereign Tribunal erected, ſave in the Holy Land: *Juſtice is not exerciſed out of the Land, and there is no Judgment where there is no Prieſt.*

David Kimki, deploring the Miſeries of his Nation foretold by the Prophet *Hoſea*, cries out, That he ſaw in his time the Accompliſhment of the Oracle, and thoſe days of Exile, in which there was neither Prince nor King of the Houſe of *David*; but on the contrary, they were ſubject to the Nations, and lived under their Obedience.

Laſtly, *Abravanel* obſerves, that *Iſaiah* ſpeaks of a new Misfortune that was to befal them, (*viz.*) *That they ſhould have neither Kingdom, nor Sovereignty, nor judicial Sceptre*, which is ſufficient to prove, that ſince the Conqueſt of *Judea* by the *Romans*, the Jews, deprived of Juriſdiction in their own Country, had no greater in the Eaſt. But to reſume the road of *Benjamin* ||.

XII. Leaving the Province of *Bagdet*, *Benjamin* paſſed through *Reſen*, where he found near five thouſand Jews, who perform'd their Devotions in a great Synagogue. He proceeded towards the ancient *Babylon*, where was *Nebuchodonozor*'s Palace, grown the Habitation of Owls and Reptiles. But ſome Leagues from thence were a thouſand Jews, who ſaid their Prayers in the open Air, or in the Chamber which *Daniel* built for his Oratory. There was ſtill to be ſeen the Fiery Furnace, into which *Nebuchodonozor* caſt the three Hebrew Children. *Hila* is but five Miles from it, where there are four Synagogues and ten thouſand Jews. A little farther are diſcover'd the Foundations of the ancient Tower of *Babel*, built immediately after the Flood. Laſtly, You come to the Tomb of *Ezekiel* upon the Banks of the River *Chobar*; where there are ſixty Towers with a Synagogue in each of them. Near this place is another Edifice built by *Jeconias* when *Evil-merodach* gave him his Liberty. This Palace fronts *Euphrates* on one ſide, and has the *Chobar* on the other. Thirty five thouſand Jews were employ'd in this great Work for the Service of their Prince: His Picture was ſtill ſeen in the Roof, and thoſe of all the Officers who accompanied him, and *Ezekiel* brings up the rear. This Prophet's Tomb, which was preſerv'd, drew People from all parts. The Heads of the Captivity viſited it every Year with a numerous Train. 'Twas a Place of Devotion not only for the *Jews* but for the *Perſians*, the *Medes* and abundance of *Muſſulmans*, who came to bring their Preſents, and pay their Vows to the Synagogue. They reverence it as a ſacred thing, and therefore the Armies, whether vanquiſh'd or victorious, never touch it. A Lamp burnt night and day upon this Tomb, and the Head of the Captivity and of the Counſels of *Bagdet* furniſh'd Oil. There is a rich Library, and all that die Childleſs, augment it by ſending their Books. Here was alſo ſeen the Original of *Ezekiel*'s Prophecies written by his own Hand.

XIII. The Hiſtory of the Prophet * is ſo little known, that it is hard to diſcover what is true from what is falſe in this Relation. He had his Viſions upon the Banks of the River *Chobar*, and a pretty ancient Author affirms, that he was kill'd by the Governour of his Nation, being provoked with his Cenſure of him, and was buried in the ſame Cave with *Abraham*'s Anceſtors. He adds, that the People came there in ſuch Swarms to pay their Devotion, that the *Chaldeans* fearing ſome Revolt, reſolved to fall upon them and maſſacre them. But the dead Prophet wrought a Miracle by dividing the Waters of *Chobar*, and ſupplying the People that had paſs'd it with Proviſions, leſt they ſhould periſh with Hunger. This Narrative is ſomewhat different from *Benjamin*'s, for inſtead of the Devotion which *Jeconias* ought to have had for the Prophet, he finds that he was martyr'd by his own Nation, and by his Prince's order. Beſides, this lofty Building, raiſed by the ſame *Jeconias* upon this Prophet's Tomb, vaniſh'd, and dwindles into two Caves; and if there was no Palace, nor Library, when this Author (whoſe Work is confounded with that of *Epiphanius*) writ, it cannot be aſcribed to *Jeconias*, nor can they ſpeak of his Pictures, which the Air and Time would have worn out many hundred Years ago, nor of the Original of *Ezekiel*'s Prophecies. An Author, who lived in *Conſtantine*'s time, inſtead of burying *Ezekiel* on the Banks of *Chobar*, has placed his Tomb in *Bethlehem* among thoſe of *Jeſſe*, and *David*, and *Salomon*, but this is a falſe Account. 'Tis true then, that *Ezekiel* was buried upon the Banks of *Chobar*, and that the Jews have always had a great Veneration for his Tomb. They have even preſerv'd it to this day, there being ſtill fifteen Leagues from *Bagdet*, a place where *Ezekiel* is ſaid to be buried, whither the Remains of the Jewiſh Nation go in Pilgrimage.

XIV. *Couſa* had for ſome time been the Capital City of the Caliphs; but they had changed their Reſidence. However *Benjamin* † coming there, found near ſeven thouſand Jews, who had but one Synagogue: He imagin'd he alſo ſaw there the ſtately Tomb of *Jeconias*; but 'tis to be feared, that he took the Sepulchre of ſome Muſſulman Lord, for that of a Captive King, as it often happens at *Rome*, where they draw the Relicks of ſome Heathen Idolater from his Tomb, and recommend them to be worſhipped by the People for thoſe of a Saint. He paſs'd from thence to *Thema*, where the *Rechabites* lived, to whom he aſſigns the Sovereignty of a great and ſpacious Country. But we have ſufficiently confuted this Fiction.

XV. *Egypt* is one of the places where the Jews have ſubſiſted longeſt; they were numerous in the Twelfth Century, and *Benjamin* || paid them a Viſit. He computes thirty thouſand of them in one ſingle City upon the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, which he calls *Chuts*. He ſaw two thouſand Jews, and two Synagogues at *Miſraim*, at preſent *Grand Cairo*. There was ſome Diviſion among thoſe who

|| Benjamin. Itin. p. 78, 80, &c. * Epiphan. de Viris Prophetar. t. 11. p. 241. † Benjam. p. 81, 82. || Ibid. p. 114, &c.

inhabited

inhabited it. The occaſion was frivolous, for ſome who came from *Judea*, dividing each Section of the Law, finiſh the reading of it but once in three Years, whilſt the other ancient Inhabitants of *Egypt* read it all in one; as was done in *Spain* and other places. Here reſided the Head of all the Synagogues of the Country, who created the Doctors, and ſupported the Intereſt of the Nation with the Caliph.

Our Traveller was far from forgetting the Land of *Goſhen*, where the *Iſraelites* dwelt ſo long. He thought he could obſerve ſome Tracts of their ancient Buildings; many Jews were retir'd thither; two hundred were in one place, five hundred in another, and near three thouſand in the City of *Goſhen*; as many at *Alexandria*, and very few at *Damiette*.

XVI. This Author * ſays, that *Aly* the Son of *Abitaleb*, reign'd then in *Egypt*, whoſe Subjects were all Rebels, as having thrown off the Yoke of the *Abaſſides*. An ingenious Commentator had already obſerv'd, that there was then no *Aly* in *Egypt*; and according to his Calculation *Alphez* or *Faiez*, the Son of *Hafer*, reign'd at that time. He builds upon the Teſtimony of another Jewiſh Hiſtorian, who has given a Catalogue of all the Egyptian Caliphs from the Year 1116, to the Year 1177. The Liſt this Author gives is very exact, but the Commentator's Calculation is not ſo; he forgot that the Years of the *Arabians*, and their *Heigra*, are Lunary; and in granting that *Alphez* died in the Year 556 of the *Heigra*, he ſhould have made his Son ſucceed him in the Year 1160 of our Lord; and thus it was impoſſible he ſhould reign, when *Benjamin* came into *Egypt*. This Caliph was *Adhed*, with whom the Family was extinct. It's neceſſary therefore to explain this matter.

XVII. The *Fathimites*, who pretended to deſcend from *Fathima*, the Daughter of *Mahomet*, and *Aly* her Husband led *Egypt* into Rebellion, uſurp'd it from the Family of the *Abaſſides*, which reign'd at *Bagdet*, and founded a new Dynaſty. 'Twas properly in the Year 972 that *Moſes* entred *Egypt*, and that they abſolutely caſt off Allegiance to the Caliphs of *Bagdet*, but four of his Predeceſſors had already conquer'd *Africa* and *Sardinia*. They enjoy'd the Caliphſhip till the Year 567 of the *Hegira*, that is, till the Year 1171 of the Chriſtian *Æra*. Indeed, in the Reign of *Adhed* the Son of *Alphez* or *Faiez*, the *Franks* or the *Cruſaders* having ſeiz'd *Grand Cairo*, ſome Lords wrote to the Sultan *Norandin*, who was then Maſter of *Syria*, to ſend them Succours. He put *Scirgouch*, the beſt of his Generals, at the Head of fourſcore thouſand Horſe, and expell'd the *Franks*. This General dying two Months after this Defeat, *Saladin* his Nephew ſucceeded to his Poſt of prime Miniſter and General of the Army. He made uſe of this Authority to call a Synod of Muſſulman Doctors againſt *Adhed* the Caliph of *Egypt*. Theſe Doctors declaim'd againſt the Vices of the *Aliades*, and pronounced *Adhed* unfit to reign. Immediately † his Name was expung'd from the publick Prayers; for 'tis the Cuſtom to pray for the Emperor and his Succeſſor in the Friday's Devotions, and in the *Khotbath*, which is a kind of Homily, or Sermon, which the *Iman* makes to the People. The Muſſulman-Service was eſtabliſh'd after the Mode of the *Abaſſides*. Money was coin'd in the Name of *Muſtadi*, Caliph of *Bagdet*, who was of that Houſe. *Adhed* knew nothing of his Fall, becauſe he was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper of which he died, before he could be inform'd of what was done againſt him. *Abulpharages* || adds to this Event many different Circumſtances, but which alter not what is eſſential to it. He owns that *Faiez* died in the Year 556 of the *Hegira*, and *Adhed*, his Son, in the Year 567, that is, in 1171.

XVIII. According to all theſe Hiſtorians, we cannot juſtifie *Benjamin* of *Tudela*; for if he came into *Egypt* in 1171, *Aly* did not then reign. *Adhed* was ſtill Caliph, at leaſt he muſt have been a Witneſs of the Revolution, which then happen'd in favour of the Houſe of the *Abaſſides*, and of the Caliph of *Bagdet*. If he came the Year following, his Error is ſtill more groſs, for then there was no Rebellion. The *Egyptians* were already return'd to the Obedience of their ancient Maſters, and the Families of the *Aliades* or *Fathimites* was extinct, in the Perſon of *Adhed* lately dead. This Ignorance is the more manifeſt, becauſe it was a hard thing not to know, at that time, the Hiſtory of the famous *Saladine*, who having conquer'd *Egypt*, made himſelf Maſter of *Syria*, won the Battle of *Tiberias* over the Chriſtians, and retook *Jeruſalem*. It ſtill grows more apparent, becauſe this Traveller makes *Aly* the Son of *Abitaleb* to reign in his time in *Egypt*. This *Aly* was Son-in-Law to *Mahomet*, and Husband to *Fathima*, and never reign'd in *Egypt*. His Deſcendants did not eſtabliſh themſelves there till the 362d Year of the *Hegira*, or *Mahomet*'s flight, many Ages after his death.

This is not the only Fault to be cenſur'd in this Deſcription of *Egypt*, for *Benjamin* * places the Land of *Goſhen*, and a City of the ſame Name, pretty near to *Alexandria*; whereas the Scripture gives it another Situation. He finds thirty thouſand Jews in an unheard of City, which he calls *Kouts*. He is no more to be believ'd, when he affirms he ſaw *Joſeph*'s Granaries at *Miſraiim*, *Ariſtotle*'s Academy of a ſumptuous Structure at *Alexandria*, round which were twenty Schools, becauſe People came from all corners of the World to hear this Philoſopher; and yet *Joſeph*'s Granaries were long ſince deſtroy'd; and *Ariſtotle* ſet up no Academy in *Egypt*, for it was at *Athens* in the *Lycæum* that a great Concourſe of Scholars appear'd, which render'd *Greece* ſo famous.

XIX. Moreover *Benjamin* does not mention *Avi-Joſeph*, a famous *Rabbin* of *Alexandria*, who wrote a Treatiſe concerning *the Intelligences, which moved the Heavens, and the Judgment of the Stars*. And yet he flouriſh'd in the Year 1150, and perhaps at the very time of *Benjamin*'s Travels. Nor does he ſpeak of *Maimonides*, who lived at that time, and whoſe long ſtay at *Cairo*, gave him the Name of *Moſes the Egyptian*, yet there have been few Men more famous than he. He had alſo a mighty Intereſt in this Country, and contributed greatly to the Glory of his Nation, which had loſt much of its ancient Luſtre; for whereas formerly near a hundred thouſand Jews were reckon'd in the City of *Alexandria*, there was in the Twelfth Century but a very ſmall number diſpers'd in the Provinces of *Egypt*.

§. *A Continuation of* Benjamin's *Travels.*

XX. It is time to come into *Judea*. The Author went to *Tyre*, where he found four hundred Perſons of his Nation, moſt whereof were Glaſs-makers; this was a gainful Trade, becauſe the Tyrian Glaſs was then in great vogue, and tranſported far and near by the Sea-fairing Jews. However there were ſome that were learned, particularly in the Talmud, and an *Egyptian* call'd *R. Ephraim* was the moſt Eminent.

The *Samaritans* had abandon'd their Capital City, but there were two hundred at *Ceſarea*, and a hundred

* Benjam. p. 115. † Bibl. Orient. p. 342. || Abulphar. Dynaſt. 9. p. 262 & 266. * Benjam. p. 121.

at *Sichem*, which they made the See of their Religion. They had Priests descended of *Aaron*'s Family, who never match'd into other Families, that they might more certainly preserve the Succession of the Priesthood. They offer Sacrifices upon Mount *Gerizim* in all their Solemn Feasts, and affirm, that their Altar was built with the Stones the Tribes plac'd in the *Jordan*, when they pass'd this River under *Joshua*'s Conduct. They are very Superstitious about Washings, and the choice of their Cloaths: They religiously preserve those which they wear to the Synagogue, and never put them on on other days. The Author pretends, that they are distinguish'd from the rest of the *Israelites*, by their wanting three Letters in their Alphabet, and in the Names of *Abraham*, *Isaac* * and *Jacob*. But *Scaliger* affirms, that it is a Calumny; that the *Samaritan* Alphabet is as compleat as that of the Jews, and that he had seen the Names of the Patriarchs written with all their Characters. Indeed, it can't be conjectur'd for what reason they should leave out these three Letters; and 'tis a very poor Advantage, which the Jews, who hate them, endeavour to have over 'em.

XXI. 'Tis an astonishing thing, that *Jerusalem*, where God had put his Temple and Name, and which the Jews ought to consider as his Habitation, is almost entirely abandon'd by that Nation. Our Author found not above two hundred Persons, who were for the most part Diers of Wool, and who every Year purchas'd the Privilege of the Monopoly of that Trade. They liv'd all together under *David*'s Tower, and made there a very little Figure. The Wonder increases, when we consider, what remains of Superstition they have for that Sacred City; for, upon a wrong Notion, that there was one of the Walls of the most Holy Place remaining, they went to make their Prayers before that Wall, as if the Place was more Holy than another.

Benjamin, and the Jews guilty of this Superstition, are ignorant of their own History, and that of the *Romans*, who made War with them; for they might have learn'd, that there was nothing remaining of that ancient Wall of the Temple, since it was raz'd to the Foundations. The Author is mistaken, when he fancy'd, that he saw the Canal, near which they kill'd the Sacrifices; 'twas another ridiculous Superstition to go and write his Name there: He also impos'd upon himself, in thinking, that he observ'd the Stables of *Solomon*, and affirming, that the Universe had not a Building like 'em. *David*'s Tomb, found fifteen Years before this Voyage upon Mount *Sion*, is another Chimera: They tell, that the Workmen upon this Mountain, cunningly separating from their Comrades, discover'd a Palace supported with Pillars, cover'd with Gold and Silver; they saw a Sceptre and Crown of gold, which was that of *David*; on the left hand was *Solomon*'s Tomb: They had a great desire to enter into it, but a furious Wind laid the Workmen upon the Ground, at the Gate of this Palace. The Patriarch of *Jerusalem* consulted a Pharisee, nam'd *Abraham*, who inform'd him, that these were the Tombs of the Kings of *Judah*; as if the Patriarch could not have imagin'd it as well as a Pharisee, who is brought into the Story, only to give it a little more probability; because *Benjamin* pretends to have had it from his own Mouth. The greatest Wonder is, that the Patriarch, instead of taking the Treasure from the Tomb, order'd it to be walled up; because the two Workmen who had discover'd it, fell sick, which induc'd him to believe, that God was not willing, that any one shou'd move the Ashes of these Kings, nor enrich himself with their Spoils. But this is evidently false; for the Tomb of the Kings of *Juda* were discover'd long before, and Treasures so often drawn from it, that it was in vain to search after them in the twelfth Century. It is not even probable, that the *Romans*, who had min'd every where when they took *Jerusalem*, to get out those who were hid in these Subterranean Vaults, should have been ignorant of the place of the Kings Tombs; and that the Soldiers knowing it, should have been so Superstitious, as not to enrich themselves with the Spoils of a Jewish King, who was dead long before: Nor do we see, how such a Scruple could be fastned upon the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*; and therefore *Benjamin* is oblig'd to introduce a Miracle.

XXII. If *Jerusalem* had so few Jews in it, the rest of the *Holy Land* was still more depopulate. *Benjamin* found two of them in one City, twenty in another, most whereof were Diers. He says, that *Schunem* was one of the Cities that had the greatest number, wherein he reckon'd three hundred: But he seems not to have known its Situation; for he places it in the Neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, tho' it was very far from it, near the Mountain *Gilboa* and *Kison*. There was no need of going into this City, to be acquainted with it; for from hence it was the fair *Shunemite* was taken, and given to *David* to revive him in his old Age. Here it was *Elisha* found that charitable Woman, who lodg'd him, and whose Charity was so happily recompenc'd, by the Preservation of all her Estate, which had been confiscated to the Princes Demesnes. This first Fault of *Benjamin* draws another after it; for he places *Shilo* and *Ramah* near *Shunem*, tho' these two Cities are remote from it. These Faults of the Traveller, proceeded, no doubt, from his not marking upon the Spot, the Situation of the Cities where he was; and that trusting to his Memory, and composing his Relation perhaps at his leisure, after his Return, was often deceiv'd by it. However, we are oblig'd to criticise all these things, for the Information of the Readers, who might be misled by his Authority.

XXIII. *Ascalon*, built some Leagues from that whereof the Holy Scripture often speaks, and which belong'd to the *Philistines*, contain'd five hundred and fifty three Persons; the greatest number was made up of *Samaritans*, the least of the *Caraites* who rejected Traditions, and the rest were Rabbanists.

XXIV. 'Twas in Upper *Galilee*, that the Nation was in greatest Repute, after the Ruin of *Jerusalem*. The Scripture calls it, *Galilee of the Gentiles*; and 'tis a pretty common Error to believe, that this Name was given it, because the Gentiles there, were confounded with the Jews. For could this Province have been the Theatre of our Saviour's Miracles, and have been preferr'd before the rest, for the Preaching of the Gospel, if it had been full of Idolaters, when he would hardly suffer his Disciples to go to *Samaria*; and who knew that the Hour appointed for the calling of the Gentiles was not yet come? 'Tis still a more manifest mistake, to think it had this Name from its beginning very populous, and that the Word *Gentiles* signifies, the multitude of its Inhabitants. But it was in the Neighbourhood of the Gentiles; they border'd upon it, and it lay in the way from *Judea* to their Territories. Thus there was at *Jerusalem* a Gate of *Ephraim*, which you was to pass thro' to go to that Tribe. 'Twas into *Galilee* that the Jews retir'd, after the Destruction of the Holy City. The Academy of *Tiberias* grew Famous

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by

by the Doctors that profeſs'd there, and there the *Jeruſalem Talmud* was compos'd: Tho' it was much decay'd from its Luſtre in the fourth Century, yet St. *Jerome* procured an ingenious Man from thence, with whom he worked upon the Tranſlation of the Chronicles. A great many other Changes happened in it from that time to the twelfth Century, for *Benjamin* found hardly any Jews in *Galilee of the Gentiles*. He ſaw at *Tiberias* but fifty Perſons of his Nation, a Synagogue, and ſome ancient Tombs. In fine, he only celebrates it for its excellent Waters and hot Baths. 'Tis ſaid, that the Well, which opened at the Prayer of *Miriam*, the Siſter of *Moſes*, in the Deſart, ſhut up when ſhe died, and was miraculouſly conveyed to *Tiberias*. The Waters of this Well ſtop every Saturday; but the moment that the Sabbath is ended they renew their Courſe, and run and mingle themſelves with the Rivulets, that flow naturally in this place; and thoſe that have the good Fortune to draw the Water in the moment of the mixture, reap ſurprizing Advantages from it, ſince it cures Ulcers, and many Diſtempers: 'Tis certain, the Hot Baths of *Tiberias* are very wholſom. It may be ſeen in another place, what we have ſaid of the Jews Superſtition for theſe Waters on the Sabbath-day.

XXV. *Aben-Ezra* gives a different Account of *Tiberias* than *Benjamin de Tudela*: For having travell'd there twenty five, or thirty Years after him, he ſays, that he conſulted the *Doctors that were in it*. So conſiderable a Change could not have happen'd to this City in ſo little a time, to reſtore an Academy, and get Doctors together; and it is not probable, that *Benjamin*, who on all occaſions does ſo much Honour to his Nation, deſign'd to leſſen the Luſtre of *Tiberias*.

Theſe two Travellers may be reconcil'd, by obſerving, that there was a Synagogue, and by conſequence, ſome Rabbins who manag'd it; and theſe perhaps were the Doctors *Aben-Ezra* conſulted in his Travels. This City having loſt its Walls, continu'd a long time expos'd to the perpetual Excurſions of the *Arabians*, who often pillag'd it; till *Solyman* wall'd it in. This Advantage made it more Populous. The Author of a Letter, entitl'd, the *Genealogies of the Righteous of the Land of Iſrael*; and who is pretty modern, ſays, There were in his time two kinds of Academies, ſituate without the Gates of *Tiberias*, one ſmall, and the other very mean. In effect, Rabbi *Juda Zona*, who from a Jew turn'd Chriſtian, and dy'd at *Rome* in the middle of the laſt Century, perform'd his Studies in one of the Academies of *Tiberias*. There was another much more famous Academy at *Sapheta*; but *Benjamin* does not mention it, which makes it reaſonable to believe, it was not yet erected.

XXVI. *Benjamin* paſs'd thro' *Greece*, and found Mount *Parnaſſus* (which had been ſo long the Manſion of *Apollo* and the *Muſes*) inhabited by two hundred Jews; who cultivated it, and ſow'd Pulſe upon it. They had ſome Rabbies, over them, who are rarely Poets; and I queſtion whether their living upon that Mountain ever inſpir'd them with a deſire to Verſifie. Poverty drove them thence, or perhaps they were guilty of ſome Sedition upon this Sacred Place, which prevents their living upon it; for they dare not *at preſent ſettle themſelves, but at ſome Leagues diſtance from it*.

XXVII. There were three hundred Jews at *Corinth*. *Thebes*, ſo well known in Antiquity, but infinitely decay'd in the twelfth Century, fed two thouſand Jews, Silk-workers and Diers. The Rabbins there were ſo learned, that none but thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, came up to them. I queſtion, however, whether this be true; for we ſhall produce in the Weſt abundance of Learned Men, of greater Merit than thoſe of *Thebes*, who are little known by their Works. Two of the moſt Ingenious were *Samaritans*; but 'tis a queſtion, whether they had not renounc'd their Schiſm and Opinion, to engage in the Study of Traditions, ſince they taught the Rabbaniſts. As deſolate as the City of *Thebes* then was, yet it was more deſolate afterwards: It has at preſent but four thouſand Chriſtians and Muſſulmans in its Precincts; and the Jews have diſappear'd long ago. There were ſome at *Patras*, at *Lepanto*, and in moſt of the Cities of the Empire, but their number was inconſiderable, there being reckon'd but fifty in one, and twenty in another.

XXVIII. *Benjamin* leaving * *Greece*, arriv'd at *Ægriphon*, a great City, ſituate on the Sea-Coaſt, where Merchants rendezvous'd from all Parts of the World, and wherein were two hundred Jews. 'Tis ſuppos'd, this was the ancient *Chalcis*, in the Neighbourhood of *Negrepont*. From thence he went to *Fabaſteriſa*, another ſtately City, containing a hundred Jews: There were as many at *Robenica*, which is but a days Journey remote from it, and about a half from the *River of Dogs*, *Cunopotamus*; thro' which he entred into *Valachia*, in his way to *Conſtantinople*. We can't well underſtand this Road; for *Valachia* does not border upon *Greece*, nor is in the Road to *Conſtantinople*. But he has not perhaps related his Travels as he made them, and he would not loſe the opportunity of ſpeaking of a Place, whoſe Inhabitants ſeem'd ſo many Jews; becauſe they took the like Names, and had more Humanity for this Nation, than the reſt; for theſe Barbarians unmercifully kill'd the *Greeks*, but only rob'd the Jews that fell into their hands. This is not the only difficulty; for the Cities of *Jabaſteriſa* and *Robenicas* are unknown: Nor was *Seleucia* in the Neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*; if there was in his time a City of this Name, he is to blame to confound it with that built by *Seleucus*, *Alexander*'s Succeſſor; and he ought to ſeek it a great way farther off in *Aſia*. However, the Jews liv'd quietly at *Seleucia*, under the Dominion of *Manuel Commenes*, who allow'd them a Head of their Nation, depending immediately upon him; which was the thing that drew a great many Perſons to this Place; but they were only Labourers and Artiſts, who ſhelter'd themſelves under the Shadow of this Authority. Laſtly, *Benjamin* arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*. This City is too well known to talk of his Deſcription of it, and of the Palaces, which had no need of Torches and Lights, becauſe the Luſtre of the precious Stones, wherewith certain Apartments were adorn'd, was ſufficient to illuminate them. Inſtead of confuting ſuch like Stories, we muſt inſiſt only upon what he ſays of his Nation. He obſerves, that there were there about two thouſand Jews, Silk-Weavers and Merchants. Beſides this, there were five hundred *Caraites*, who liv'd peaceably with the other Jews; but however, were ſeparated from them by a Wall, to prevent their Communication. They were all plac'd in the Suburbs of *Galata*, or *Pera*, upon the Banks of the *Streights*; which Habitation had been long ago aſſigned them by *Theodoſias*; for which reaſon, theſe Suburbs were called by the *Frenchmen*, *Jury*. They had thitherto preſerved † the Privilege of depending only upon the Governour of the Suburbs; but *Manuel* deprived them of this Privilege, and ſubmitted them to the common Judges. Tis even probable, that this Prince had

* Benjam. p. 19, 20, 22. † An. 1171.

already

already done it, when *Benjamin* came there; ſince he repreſents his Nation as very odious in his Reign, tho' his Phyſician, who was a Jew, did all he cou'd to protect them. It was not only unlawful for 'em to ride on Horſeback into the City; but the *Greeks* would riſe in Crouds to uſe them ill, and beat them when they were there: They broke open their Doors; they defil'd their Waters; they pelted 'em with Mire and Dirt; which makes him ſay, that they were under a moſt ſcandalous and ſevere Slavery: Yet they have continu'd there ever ſince that time.

XXIX. *Benjamin* paſs'd into *Italy*: He obſerv'd, that at that time, the *Genoeſe* enrich'd themſelves by the Pirates they ſent to Sea. The Burghers being divided one againſt another, had almoſt all of them Towers in their Houſes, from whence they made War: They reckon'd ten thouſand of theſe Towers in *Piſa*, deſign'd for the ſame uſe. Theſe two Cities had but very few Jews in them. He came to *Rome*, which he repreſents as the Capital of the *Edomites*, and the Pope, as the Head of their Religion, whom he makes a *great Prince*. We ſhall not relate all he ſays of this City, which is ſo well known: His Relation is mingl'd with ſo many Fables, that we can't tell how to copy them; let us only obſerve, that there were a great many learned Rabbies that did Honour to their Nation, and that *R. Jehiel* was Intendant of the Pope's Finances.

XXX. There were Jews alſo at *Capua*, * where reſided the *Prince of the Nation*. There were Doctors *wiſe and famous over all the Univerſe*; and yet there were but three hundred Inhabitants of this Nation. 'Tis a wonder, there ſhould be a Prince to ſuch a handful of Jews at *Capua*; for it does not appear, that the reſt of *Italy* acknowledg'd him for their Head; and tho' he ſhould have rul'd over all that part of the Nation diſpers'd there, his Empire would not have been very large. We may learn from hence, that we muſt not be dazzled, when we find in theſe Gentlemens Writings the faſtuous Titles of *Prince and Ruler*, *Throne and Empire*. *Benjamin* is miſtaken in making *Capua* to be built by King *Capys*: For beſides that the Origin of this ancient City is uncertain, we muſt know, that that which bears the Name at preſent, was built by the *Lombards*, upon the Banks of *Vulturnus*, at ſome diſtance from the other.

XXXI. He gives a much more Fabulous Origin to the City of *Puzzuolo*, and has committed three or four Faults in ſpeaking of this City and its Neighbourhood; for he confounds it with *Safrento*, as if theſe two Cities made but one before. He pretends, that *Puzzuolo* was built by *Hadar Ezer*, who fled before *David*. This Prince of *Tzoba* was beaten by the King of *Iſrael*: But 'tis making him fly like Lightning, to ſend him from *Syria* and the Banks of *Euphrates*, into *Italy*, to ſeek a Retreat, and to build a City. Laſtly, proceeding from one Blunder to another, he aſſerts, That it was *Romulus* that made the Subterranean way beyond *Puzzuolo*, when this Founder of ancient *Rome* was apprehenſive of *David* and *Joab*'s Purſuit of him. Could *Romulus* be afraid of *David*, who was dead 300 Years before; and make him a Sanctuary againſt *Joab*'s Army, who not only was not in being, but had carry'd his Arms into *Italy*? He ariv'd at *Naples*, where he found five hundred Inhabitants of his Nation: There were a hundred more of them at *Salerno*; amongſt whom the Prieſt *Solomon*, the Greek *Elias*, and the R. *Abraham* of *Narbonne*, were of the greateſt eminence. There were Jews alſo at *Malfi*, *Benevento*, *Aſcoli*, and *Trani*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*; which is the Rendezvous of thoſe who embark for the Pilgrimage of *Jeruſalem*. He only found one at *Corfu*; but the number was greater in *Sicily*: He reckon'd two hundred at *Meſſina*, five hundred at *Palermo*; and in all theſe Places they paid no Tribute.

XXXII. *Benjamin* alſo run thro' *Germany*; where the Jews were diſpers'd in all the great Cities: He found them Civil, and Obliging, and Zealous for their Religion: They receiv'd Strangers, and invited them to drink with them; they rais'd themſelves to a pitch of Mirth at their Tables, as hoping their Deliverance would come in the twinkling of an eye. They believ'd, that their Miſtruſts and Sollicitudes about the delay of it, ſerv'd only to retard it. Laſtly, they exhorted one another to remain conſtant to the Law, to weep over the Ruin of *Sion*, and to wait patiently till the voice of the *Turtle ſhould recal them*. They mean, by this Expreſſion taken from the *Canticles*, that God ſhall call them to appear at *Jeruſalem*, but *thoſe who are unconcern'd for the re-eſtabliſhment of the People, ſhall never ſee the Deliverance, nor riſe again with Iſrael*. He penetrated into *Bohemia*, which was call'd the *new Canaan*, becauſe its Inhabitants ſold their Children to all the Neighbouring Nations.

XXXIII. Laſtly, This Traveller viſited the Synagogues of *France*; of which we muſt alſo give an Account in few words. He entred this Kingdom by way of *Barcelona*; which he repreſents as a little City, where yet *Greek* and *Egyptian* Merchants met for Traffick. The number of the Jews was inconſiderable here, as well as at *Gironne*; but there were three hundred at *Narbonne*; at the Head of which was the Rabbi *Calonymus*, deſcended in a right line from *David*; Rich and Potent, eſpecially in Lands, which had been given him by the Lords of the Country, in recompence for the Services he and his Anceſtors had done. This City was look'd upon as the Centre of the Nation and the Law.

Montpelier was then full of Mahometans, Greeks, Chriſtians and Jews; which ſhews, that this City had at that time a great Commerce with the remoteſt People. In the Neighbourhood was *Lunel*, where the Holy Aſſembly ſtudy'd the Law Day and Night. *Meſchullum*, the Preſident of it, had five Sons, all of good Abilities; and one of them profoundly vers'd in the Study of the *Talmud*, faſted often. The Strangers, who came to ſtudy there, were maintain'd. *Beaucayre* had alſo its Profeſſors; one of which, call'd *Abraham*, diſburs'd out of his own Pocket, all that was neceſſary to maintain ſix poor Scholars, for fear that Poverty ſhould diſturb their Application. Laſtly, there were in the twelfth Century Synagogues at *Arles*, *Marſelles*, and not only in Cities, but even in Burroughs. The Author † concludes with *Paris*, where *Lewis* reign'd. There was alſo an Aſſembly much addicted to the Law, and abounding in Charity, for it receiv'd all the Jews that came there, as ſo many Brothers.

XXXIV. There is no need of enlarging in reflections upon theſe Travels, which perhaps are already grown too long. We will only obſerve, that the Jews were very low in the Eaſt, in the twelfth Century; that they had not been able to reſtore themſelves, ſince the Miſery that befel 'em above a hundred Years before: For they were found only in a ſmall number, upon the Banks of *Euphrates*, and in the ancient Cities; where ſometimes there were reckon'd nine hundred thouſand. The Cruſaders did not ſuffer them to ſettle again in *Judea*. Thus they were miſerable in all the places where they had appear'd with greater Luſtre,

* Benjam. p. 14. † P. 130.

and

and particularly in the Holy Land. 'Tis true, they were at the ſame time ſcatter'd over all the Weſt, but they were not numerous in each City. Thoſe who dwelt upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, were uneaſie at that time, that the Meſſiah did not appear, and *Benjamin* gives us ſufficiently to underſtand, that he was not able to comfort them upon that Article, by all that he had related to them, concerning the State of their Nation in the Eaſt. The Uneaſineſs and Sollicitudes muſt have been much more greater ſince that time: The Delays are long enough to deprive them of all hope, and to conquer the Incredulity of the hardeſt Hearts. But the time of their Vocation is not yet arriv'd; and God is pleaſed to let us ſee, that nothing but his Grace alone can conquer the Infatuation of the Mind: It reſiſts and repels the livelieſt Notices, till God is pleaſed to touch it. The Jews had then abundance of Doctors, who by ſtudying the Scripture, and the meaning of the Divine Oracles, might eaſily diſcover that the Meſſiah was come long before. But on the contrary, this long Succeſſion of the Learned, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the People in their Error, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the great Men that flouriſh'd among the Jews *in the Twelfth Century.*

I. *An account of the Learned* Rabbins. II. *The Elogy of thoſe of the Twelfth Century.* III. Aben-Ezra, *in what time he lived.* IV. *His Character.* V. *The Controverſie about Traditions diſcuſs'd under* Alphonſo. VI. Abraham Hallevy, *whether he was hang'd. Three learned Men of that Name.* VII. Maimonides *his Fidelity to his Maſter.* VIII. *His Flight and Intereſt in* Egypt. IX. *His Skill in Phyſick.* X. *His Academy. A Miracle of his dead Body.* XI. *His Works.* XII. *The Diviſion they cauſed. The Judgment that ought to be made of them.* XIII. *The Schiſm between the Synagogues of* Spain *and* France. XIV. Moſes Kimki *was a* Spaniard. XV. David Kimki *his Son.* XVI. Salomon Jarki *was not of* Lunel. *An Academy in this place.* XVII. *His Knowledge and his Works.* XVIII. Jacob *of* Orleans; *an Abbreviation of the* Rabbins *Names, Examples.* XIX. Rabbins *famous in all Sciences.* XX. *The Daughter of the Prince of the Captivity in the Eaſt, very learned.* XXI. Jews *Generals of the Army.* XXII. Aſmouil *turns Muſſulman; writes againſt his Nation.*

I. THE Twelfth Century was very fruitful in able Doctors: Perhaps no body will care to ſee their Catalogue, becauſe thoſe who are reckon'd Oracles in the Synagogues, often appear but very ſlender Genius's to ſuch as read them without Prejudice. The Chriſtians require too much of the *Rabbins*, and the *Rabbins* perform too little for the Chriſtians. Theſe ſeldom read Books compoſed by a Jew, without being prepoſſeſs'd in his behalf; They imagine that they muſt needs find in him, an exact Knowledge of the ancient Ceremonies and obſcure Events; in a word, that he will bring the Solution of all the Difficulties of Scripture. But why all this? becauſe a Man is a Jew, does it follow that he knows the Hiſtory of his Nation better than the Chriſtians, when there are no other aſſiſtances than the Bible, and the Hiſtory of *Joſephus*, which the Jews hardly ever read? To imagine that this Nation has certain concealed Books, which do not come to our notice, and that theſe Gentlemen have read them, is to deceive ones ſelf, for they quote no Monument that is ancienter than Chriſtianity. To ſuppoſe their Tradition is more faithfully preſerved among them, is to feed our ſelves with Fancies: For how was that Tradition likely to be convey'd from Place to Place, and from Mouth to Mouth, for ſo many Ages and frequent Diſperſions? We need only read a *Rabbin*, to know his violent Fondneſs for his Nation, and how he diſguiſes Matters of Fact, to accommodate them to his Prejudices. On the other hand the *Rabbins* give us much leſs than they might do; they have too great Advantages over us, for being Maſters of the Sacred Language from their Birth, they might be able to furniſh us with Notices for the Explication of the obſcure Terms of Scripture; and as they are oblig'd to practice certain Ceremonies of the Law, they might thereby teach us the meaning of the ancient ones. They do it ſometimes; but often inſtead of ſearching for the literal Senſe of the Scriptures, they hunt after myſtical Meanings, which make us loſe the ſight of the drift of the Writer, and the Intention of the Holy Ghoſt. Beſides they fall into an exceſſive Particularization of Ceremonies, for the ſake of which they have buried the Spirit of the Law.

II. Were we to make a choice out of theſe Doctors, thoſe of the Twelfth Century ought to be preferr'd before the reſt; for they were not only ingenious, but have furniſh'd us with great helps for the underſtanding of the Old Teſtament. In this number may be reckon'd *Nathan*, Head of the Academy at *Rome* in the beginning of the Twelfth Century, who * has explain'd all the Terms of the Talmud, and ſo exhauſted the Subject, that thoſe who came after him, were oblig'd to be his Plagiaries; even the great *Buxtorf* is blam'd for not quoting him often, though he made great uſe of his Obſervations. There is a Diſpute about the Name of his Family, and the time he lived in; but 'tis almoſt certain that he died at *Rome* in the Year 1106.

The Hiſtory of the Nation being for the moſt part connected with that of theſe learned Men, 'tis neceſſary to make them known: We ſhall not here produce barren Names, the knowledge whereof is inſignificant, but ſhall confine our ſelves to Perſons and Facts that deſerve our notice.

III. *Aben-Ezra* † is call'd *the Wiſe* by way of Excellency: *Genebrard*, who makes him live in the Year 1240, is palpably miſtaken. Neither do I ſee, that the Hebrew Chronologers and *Bartolocci*, who follow'd them, do notifie the time of his Life with ſufficient Exactneſs; for they bring him into the World in the Year 1070 or ten Years later. Whereas he died in the Year 1174, being Seventy five Years old. He intimates as much himſelf, when foreſeeing his Death, he ſaid, That as *Abraham* left *Charan*, being 75 Years of Age, he alſo at the ſame time departed from *Charon*, or *from the Fire of the Anger of the Age*. He changed but one Letter in the word *Charran* to make this ‖ Alluſion. He muſt

* *His Books are call'd* Aarùch. † Ganz Tſemach David, p. 132 & 138. ‖ *Inſtead of reading* Mecharan *from* Charran, *he read* Mecharon from the Fire of the Anger, *and added the word* Hagnolam, the Anger of the Age.

therefore have been born in the Year 1099. He travelled, as believing that was neceſſary to be a great Proficient in Learning: He died at *Rhodes*, and order'd his Bones to be carried into the Holy Land.

IV. This was one of the greateſt Men of his Age and Nation; as he was a good Aſtronomer, he made ſuch happy Diſcoveries in that Science, that the ableſt Mathematicians made no ſcruple to eſpouſe them. He excell'd in Phyſick: But he eſpecially diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Explications of Scripture. Inſtead of following the vulgar Method of his Predeceſſors, he ſtuck to the Grammatical and Literal Senſe of Holy Writ, which he explain'd with ſo much Penetration and Judgment, that the Chriſtians themſelves prefer him to moſt of their Interpreters: He led the way to our Modern Criticks, who affirm that the People of *Iſrael* did not paſs through the Red Sea, but made a Circuit at low Water, that *Pharaoh* might follow them and be drowned; but this is not one of his beſt Conjectures. He durſt not abſolutely reject the *Cabbala*, tho' he knew its Weakneſs, becauſe he was afraid of embroiling himſelf with the Authors of his time * who were very fond of it, and even with the People, who look'd upon the Book of *Zohar*, ſtuff'd with theſe ſorts of Explications as an excellent Work: He only declar'd, that that Method of interpreting Scripture was not certain, and that if we reſpected the *Cabbala* of the Ancients, yet we ought not to add new Explications to them, nor proſtitute the Scripture to the Caprices of Humane Wit.

V. Notwithſtanding all his Caution and Reſerve, he could not forbear embarking deeply in the Queſtion of Traditions, which was diſcuſs'd with a great deal of Heat, in the Reign of *Alphonſo* ſurnamed *the Fighter*, becauſe he had been preſent at fifty Battles. *Aben-Ezra* calls thoſe *Sadduces*, who then impugn'd the uſe of Traditions, but 'tis believed they were the *Karaites* which he confounded with theſe ancient Hereticks, becauſe they had the ſame Opinion upon this Controverſie. *Aben-Ezra* did not run the length of the Traditioniſts Exceſs, but he upbraided the *Karaites with rejecting them, deſpiſing Authority, and allowing too much to Reaſon like the Chriſtians.* Theſe words have drawn a Cenſure upon him, for one ſays †, that he did not underſtand the *Karaites* Opinion, who only rejected falſe Traditions, whilſt they follow'd the true; and that this *Rabbin* inſinuated, that Chriſt ought not to have innovated in Point of Religion, but was oblig'd to follow the Tradition of the preceding Fathers.

The Queſtion, then in debate, is changed; for when a Man ſays, that the *Karaites* rejected falſe Traditions, and embraced the true, he touches not the head of the Difficulty: For no body is ſo fooliſh, as to reject what he believes to be true, and to believe what is evidently falſe. But the Diſpute turned upon three things, 1. The *Karaites* would have no new Precepts added to the written Law, vented under the Title of the Oral Law, and Traditions which *Moſes* had confided to the Doctors, as the Proteſtants would have no certain Worſhips and new Laws tack'd to the Goſpel, upon Pretence that the Apoſtles had deliver'd them to their Favourites by word of Mouth, without daring to write them. 2. From this firſt Principle aroſe another; for *Aben-Ezra* and his Party objected to their Adverſaries the *Authority of the Fathers*, by the Succeſſion and Mouths of whom Tradition was handed down; and 'twas doubtleſs to defend this Principle with greater ſucceſs, that *Abraham Hallevy Ben Dior*, a Doctor at *Peſcara*, compos'd at that time the Book of the *Cabbala*, in which he inſerted the Names of all the Doctors, who had receiv'd Tradition and preſerv'd it thitherto, which many others in imitation of him || have continued. This ſecond Principle drawn from the Succeſſion of Perſons, and the Authority of the Fathers, was oppos'd. And for this reaſon *Aben-Ezra* charg'd the *Karaites with the Contempt of Authority*. The Proteſtants meet with the ſame Reproach, when they refuſe to ſubmit to the Authority of the Fathers. 3. As the Principles of the *Karaites* hung well together, they ſaid that a Man's own Reaſon ought to be conſulted for the underſtanding of the Scripture, inſtead of blindly following that of others; and *Aben-Ezra*, upon the account of this third Principle, taxes them *with giving too much to Reaſon*. The Fault of this Doctor then conſiſted not in imputing to the *Karaites* ſome Opinions which they had not; but in oppoſing juſt and reaſonable Opinions. Mr. *Simon*, who would not have the *Karaites* to be like the Proteſtants, is oblig'd to change their Principles, and at the ſame time he breaks their Chain and Connexion; whereas we repreſent this Controverſie in its natural State. There were doubtleſs, at that time, Chriſtians that reaſoned like the *Karaites*. They muſt eſpecially have rejected the Succeſſion of Perſons, when they diſputed with the Jews, who ſhewed them a *Chain* of Doctors which had never been interrupted: It was, particularly, the Principle of the firſt Chriſtians, who would not have Religion depend upon the Succeſſion of Perſons, and the Tradition of Doctors.

VI. *Aben-Ezra* was not the only Perſon who maintain'd this Controverſie. *Abraham Hallevy* before mention'd, was one of the moſt zealous *Rabbaniſts*. There were three learned Men of this Name at that time. *Judas Hallevy*, a Native of *Cologne*, who after many Conferences with *Rupert*, embraced Chriſtianity, and taught Latin a long time in his Country, under the Name of *Herman*. Another *Judas Hallevy*, a good Poet, who compoſed the Dialogue with the King of *Cozar*, whom ſome make the Father-in-Law, others the Coſin-german of *Aben-Ezra*. Laſtly, *Abraham Hallevy* * put himſelf at the Head of the Rabbaniſt and Traditioniſt Party, and maintain'd it with greater Heat and Cunning, than Ingenuity: For perceiving himſelf unable to anſwer the Reaſons of the *Karaites*, he employ'd the Credit he had with *Alphonſo* VII. *the Fighter*, to whom he had done great Services, and asked for all his Recompence, that Silence might be impoſed upon his Adverſaries, which he eaſily obtain'd; and the Controverſie ended by the Sovereign's Injunction.

I don't know whether *Hallevy* exhauſted his Intereſt with the King by this Requeſt, but † an Hiſtorian of his Nation affirms, that *Alphonſo* being provok'd againſt him, threaten'd to hang him unleſs he turn'd Chriſtian, and that perſevering in his Religion, he was hanged. *Bartolocci* || ſays that this Fact is falſe, perhaps out of Indignation, that a zealous Hero for Traditions, and whom he had highly characteriz'd, ſhould be hang'd. But the Argument he alledges againſt this Event is weak, for he maintains, that the King of *Spain* never

* Skinner's *Letters*. Uſher's *Lett.* 105. An. 1625. † Simon Crit. *of the Old Teſtament*. || Hallevy Ben Dior *made the Book, or* Sepher Hakkabala, *which began at* Adam. Ghedalia *made the Chain of the* Cabbala. Schalſchelet Hakkabala. Abraham Zacuth *wrote the* Juchaſin, *or the Treatiſe of* Families. David Ganz *publiſh'd the* Tſemach David, *the Branch or Poſterity of* David, *which contains alſo the* Rabbins *Names*. * *He was born in the Year* 1090, *and died in the Year* 1140. † Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 7. || Bartol. B. R. t. 1. p. 21.

forced

forced the Jews to turn Chriſtians, with the Menaces of capital Puniſhment, which was ordain'd only againſt relaps'd. But without examining the Matter, *Alphonſo* might have arreſted *Hallevy* for ſome particular Crime, and refuſed afterwards to give him his Life, unleſs he abjured his Religion. At leaſt we ought not to deny, what an Hiſtorian advances only upon ſo general a Proof.

VII. *Maimonides* * appear'd in the ſame Century. *Scaliger* aſſerted, that he was the firſt of the Jewiſh Doctors, that left off playing the Fool like *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*. And indeed he found a great deal of Folly in the Study of the *Gemara*. He regretted that mis-ſpent time, and applying himſelf to more ſolid Studies, had dwelt much upon the Scripture. He underſtood Greek, had read the Philoſopers, and particularly *Ariſtotle*, whom he often quotes. He occaſion'd ſuch violent Commotions in the Synagogues, that thoſe of *France* and *Spain* excommunicated one another on his account. He was born at *Corduba* in the Year 1131. He boaſted of his deſcent from the Houſe of *David*, as did moſt of the Spaniſh Jews. *Maimon*, his Father, and Judge of his Nation in *Spain*, reckon'd a long Train of Perſons among his Anceſtors, who had ſucceſſively enjoy'd this Poſt. 'Tis ſaid he was admoniſh'd in a Dream, to break his Reſolution of a ſingle Life, and to marry a Butcher's Daughter who was his Neighbour. *Maimon* feign'd perhaps a Dream, to cover a ſcandalous Love Intrigue, and introduced a Miracle to colour his Infirmity. The Mother died in Child-bed with *Moſes*, and *Maimon* married again. I do not know whether the ſecond Wife, who had many Children, hated young *Moſes*, or whether he had in his Youth, *a cloudy and heavy Genius*, as is ſaid. But his Father upbraided him with his Birth, beat him often, and at laſt turned him out of doors. 'Tis ſaid, that finding no other Lodging than the Covert of a Synagogue, he ſpent the Night in it, and when he wak'd, found himſelf a Man of Senſe, quite different from what he was before. He put himſelf under the Diſcipline of *Joſeph* the Levite, the Son of *Megas*, where he made great Progreſs in a little time. He had a deſire of ſeeing his Country again; but when he returned to *Corduba*, inſtead of entering his Father's Houſe, he taught publickly in the Synagogue, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the Hearers: His Father, who own'd him, went and embraced him, and took him home. Some Hiſtorians will have this Event to be falſe, becauſe *Joſeph* the Son of *Megas* was but ten Years older than *Moſes*; but that is a childiſh Reaſon, for a Maſter of thirty Years old, may tutor a Scholar that is but twenty. But it is much more probable, that *Maimon* inſtructed his Son himſelf, and afterwards ſent him to ſtudy under *Averroes*, who was then in great Reputation with the *Arabians*. This Diſciple had an exemplary Devotion and Fidelity for his Maſter. *Averroes* loſt his Intereſt through a new Revolution that happen'd among the Moors in *Spain: Abdi Amoumen*, a Captain of a Troop of Banditti, who pretended to deſcend in a direct Line from *Houſſain* the Son of *Aly*, dethron'd the *Marabouts* in *Africa*, and afterwards entered *Spain* in the Year 1144, and in a little time made himſelf Maſter of this Kingdom. He cauſed Search to be made after *Averroes*, whom he ſuſpected for the great Credit he had at the *Marabouts* Court. This Doctor took Sanctuary among the Jews, and truſted the Secret of his Retreat to *Maimonides*, who choſe rather to ſuffer all, than to expoſe his Maſter's Life, by diſcovering the place where he was conceal'd. *Abulpharages* ſays alſo, that *Maimonides* changed his Religion and turned Muſſulman, inſomuch that having ſettled his Affairs, he paſſed into *Egypt* to live at liberty. His Friends have denied the Matter, but *Averroes*, who would have his Soul to be with the Philoſophers, becauſe *Mahometiſm was the Religion of Hogs, Judaiſm that of Children, and Chriſtianity impoſſible to be kept*, had inſpired his Diſciple with no great Zeal for the Law. Beſides, a *Spaniard*, who went to perſecute this Doctor in *Egypt*, even to the end of his Life, ſo highly upbraided him with this Weakneſs, that the Affair was brought before the Sultan, who adjudged, *that whatever is done involuntarily, and by violence, in matter of Religion, ought to go for nothing*; from whence he concluded, that *Maimonides* never was a Muſſulman. Nevertheleſs it was condemning him, and deciding againſt him, at the ſame time that he ſeemed to acquit him; For he declared the Abjuration was true, but innocent, becauſe the Will had nothing to do in it. Laſtly, We have reaſon to ſuſpect, that *Maimonides* forſook his Religion from his looſe Morals upon this ſubject, for he not only permits the *Noachides* to relapſe into Idolatry, if neceſſity require, becauſe they have receiv'd no command to ſanctifie the Name of God; but he alſo maintains, that it is no Sin to Sacrifice to Idols, and to renounce a Man's Religion, provided he do it not before *ten Perſons*; for then he was to dye rather than renounce the Law; but *Maimonides* † believed this ceaſed to be a Sin, when it was committed in ſecret. This Maxim is very odd, it being no longer Religion, that we are to love and defend at the peril of our Lives, but the preſence of ten *Iſraelites*, that ought to be feared, and which only makes it Criminal. There is reaſon to ſuſpect, that Intereſt had dictated to *Maimonides* ſo extravagant a Maxim, and that having abjured Judaiſm in ſecret, he thought to pacifie his Conſcience, and to skreen himſelf under this Diſtinction. However it muſt be own'd, that moſt of the Doctors are not nice in this particular, ſince *R. Simeon* ‖ determines, "That if the Idolaters pro-
" miſe you Life, on condition you'll commit an Act
" of Idolatry, you ought to accept the Condition
" and the Life; ſince the Law does not ſay, you
" ſhall dye for theſe Laws, but you ſhall live by
" them.

VIII. However it be, *Maimonides* left *Spain* and retired into *Egypt*, where he remain'd the reſt of his days, which has given him the Name of *Moſes the Egyptian*. He continued a long time without employ, ſo that he was reduced to the Trade of a Jeweller. Nevertheleſs he ceaſed not to Study, and he then compleated his Commentary upon the Miſnah, which he had begun in *Spain* at 23 Years of Age. *Alphadel*, the Son of *Saladin*, being returned to *Egypt*, after he had been expell'd thence by his Brother, underſtood *Maimonides*'s Merit, and choſe him for his Phyſician: He gave him a Penſion. *Maimonides* affirms, that this Employ abſolutely took him up, for he was oblig'd to go every day to Court, and to ſtay there a long time if any Body was Sick. When he return'd home, he found abundance of People who came to conſult him. However he ceaſed not to labour for his Benefactor, for he tranſlated *Avicenna*, which Work is ſtill to be ſeen at *Bologna*, made by *Alphadel*'s order in the Year 1194. It is entituled, Abenſara, *tranſlated by our Maſter* Moſes *the Son of* Maimon, *whoſe Memory*

* *He was called* Moſes, *and was* Maimon's *Son, but he is more known by the Name of his Father. He is called* Maimonides. *He is alſo called* Ramban. *This is an Abbreviation of theſe four words,* מיימון בן משה רבי Rabbi Moſes, Ben Maimon. *Some make him born in* 1133. † Maim. Fundam. Leg. c. 5. §. 2, 3, 6. p. 54, 58. ‖ Havoda Zara, Fol. 27.

be bleſſed. The three Letters אל"ף put at the end of his Book, puzzle the Criticks: One of them * conjectures, that they ſignifie, *for this reaſon let Amen be ſaid.* But why ſhould not *Amen* be clearly expreſs'd, without ſuch a long Periphraſis? 'Tis better to read, *La-Jehovah Adonai, to the Lord our God.*

IX. It gave the *Egyptians* jealouſie to ſee *Maimonides* ſo Potent at Court. To rout him from thence, the *Egyptians* demanded an Experiment of his Art: In order to this, they preſented him with a Glaſs of Poiſon; which he drank, without fearing the Effect, becauſe he had the Antidote; but having oblig'd ten Phyſicians to make Trial of his Poiſon, they all dy'd, becauſe they had not the Specifick Antidote. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that other Phyſicians ſet a Glaſs of Poiſon by the Sultan's Bed, to perſuade him, that *Maimonides* had a deſign upon his Life, and that he oblig'd him to cut his Veins, as *Nero* did *Seneca.* But he had learn'd, that there was in Human Body, a Vein which the Phyſicians did not know, which being not cut, the whole Maſs of Blood could not be diſcharg'd: He ſav'd himſelf by this unknown Vein, and his Diſciples carry'd him away, when he was thought dead, and conceal'd him; and 'twas in this Retreat that he compos'd the greateſt part of his Works. This Circumſtance does not agree with the Hiſtory of his Life.

X. The truth is, he not only protected his Nation at the Court of the new Sultans, who eſtabliſh'd themſelves upon the Ruin of the *Aliades*, but he founded an Academy at *Alexandria*, whither many Diſciples came from *Egypt*, *Syria* and *Judea*, to ſtudy under him. There had been a great many more, if a new Perſecution which hapned in the Eaſt, had not prevented Strangers from coming there: It was ſo violent, that part of the Jews were oblig'd to turn Mahometans, to eſcape it; and *Maimonides*, who could not inſpire them with Conſtancy, found himſelf reduc'd, like a great many others, to turn falſe Prophet, and to promiſe his Religioniſts a Deliverance, which did not come. He † dy'd in the beginning of the thirteenth Century, and order'd, that he ſhould be bury'd at *Tiberias*, where his Anceſtors had their Sepulchres. A vaſt Company of *Egyptians* and Jews ſwell'd up the Funeral Pomp, as far as the *Holy Land*, but being attack'd by Robbers, they left the dead Body, and made their Eſcape. The ſame thing happen'd to it, as to *Boniface*, Biſhop of *Ments*, and many other miraculous Saints; for the Robbers attempting to lift this dead Body, to throw it into the Sea, found it ſo heavy, that they could not move it from the Earth, and thirty Men in vain endeavour'd it.

XI. This Doctor compos'd a great many Works. He Commented the *Miſnah:* He made one call'd the *Strong Hand* ‖, and the *Doctor of doubtful Queſtions.* 'Tis pretended, he wrote in Phyſick as well as Divinity, and in Greek as well as Arabick; but that theſe Books, which bear his Name, are very rare, or loſt. He tranſcrib'd with his own Hand, the *Pentateuch*, upon a very correct Copy, which had been preſerv'd at *Jeruſalem*, even before its Deſtruction. He adds, that the Spirit of God mov'd him to go into *France*, to *Challons* in *Burgunay*, where, he had underſtood, he ſhould find a Copy of the Law, written by the Hand of *Eſdras*: He was not diſappointed in his Expectations: He collated this Copy with that at *Jeruſalem*, and found, that they perfectly agreed; he drew another by it, which he deliver'd to his Diſciples to tranſcribe, and ſpread abroad. But tho' this Narrative be attributed to *Maimonides*, yet R. *Azarias* looks upon it as ſuſpected, becauſe *Maimonides* mentions not this Journey, nor the collating of theſe two ancient Copies, in a Work where he could not have omitted it. Will any one ſay, that this Journey was undertaken after the compoſing of the *Halachot * Siphre Thorah?*

He is accus'd of having deſpis'd the *Cabbala* to his old Age; but they ſay, that finding at that time at *Jeruſalem* a Perſon well skill'd in this Science, he apply'd himſelf diligently to that Study. R. *Chaiim* affirms, he ſaw a † Letter of *Maimonides*, expreſſing his regret, that he had not penetrated further into the Myſteries of the Law; but 'tis believ'd, that the Cabbaliſts have forg'd this Letter, that they might not ſeem to have been deſpis'd by a Man whom they call *the Light of the Eaſt and Weſt*: He had ſome knowledge of theſe Matters, ſeeing he ſpeaks of the *Mercava*, or *Chariot*, and of *Bereſchit*, and that he ſubmitted himſelf to the Law of the *Myſticks*, of not explaining theſe Works ‖, except in the preſence of a few: But if he had ſtudy'd theſe Matters, 'tis manifeſt enough, that he did not love them, ſince he never went to the bottom of them, and contents himſelf with drawing *a Drop from the Sea.* He dy'd at ſeventy Years of Age, either in *Egypt*, or the *upper Galilee*, where he was buried: He was lamented by the *Egyptians* as well as the Jews, and the time of his Death was call'd a Year of *Lamentation.* However, he was ſuſpected by the Doctors of his Nation for two Works, which we have already mention'd; the *Hand, or his Repetition of the Law*, upon which he had labour'd for twelve Years; and the *Doctor of doubtful*, or confus'd *Queſtions*, *Moreh* * *Nevochim*, which he compos'd when he was fifty Years old. There was a great deal of Oſtentation in this laſt Title; for he alluded to a Saying of *Pharaoh*, who ſeeing the *Iſraelites*, who had the *Red-Sea* before them, the high Mountains on their ſides, and his Army purſuing them in the Rear, cry'd out, *Nevochim Hem, they are entangled*; and he fancy'd, that as the ancient *Moſes* had deliver'd the People from this Perplexity, ſo he who bore the ſame Name, ſhould deliver the ſame People from the Confuſion and Labyrinth, that was occaſion'd by ſeveral Paſſages of the Law, which they did not underſtand. This was a good Piece; for the Author does not implicitly follow the Doctors +, and inſiſting principally on the literal Senſe of Scripture, he has often hit upon the right. He was not ſo rais'd above Prejudices (tho' he impos'd it on himſelf as a Duty, and a kind of neceſſity) as not to have inſerted in his Work, a great many things obnoxious to the Cenſure of exact Criticks; but 'tis ſo difficult for a Man abſolutely to diveſt himſelf of the Notions he has ſuck'd in with his Milk, and which ſeem eſſentially connected with the Religion he profeſſes,

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* Apud Montfaucon Diar. Ital. c. 27. p. 402. † *In the Year of the* Hegyra, 605. *of* J. Chriſt, 1208. *Others ſay he dy'd in* 1205? *and others much ſooner in* 1201, *and yet he liv'd Seventy Years.* ‖ *He calls this Book,* יד חוקה Jad Hazzakah, Manus fortis: *But* Vorſtius *obſerves, that the Word* יד *makes the Number Fourteen, being compos'd of Four Books. 'Twas Printed at* Venice *in the Year* 334, *or* 1574. *There is another Book, entitled,* יד יוסף Jad Joſeph, *which is a Commentary upon the Pentateuch, Printed by* Athias. * היכה *This Word ſignifies* way, *but the Talmudiſts take it in a Metaphorical Senſe, for the Conſtitutions or Deciſion of the Book of the Law; and the firſt of theſe Treatiſes is call'd* The Grounds of the Law, Vorſt. Præf. ad eum lib. יבורי חחורה † Clavering Præfat. ad Maim. ‖ Maimon. Fundam. leg. c. 4. § 17. p. 49. 23. * מורה נבובים Doctor Perplexorum, a Buxtorf. Latin. redditus. † Solus nugari deſiit. Plin. de Diod. Sicul.

that

that we ought to admire the good Senſe and Equity of thoſe who make part of the Sacrifice, and pardon them what is wanting to make it perfect.

XII. Theſe Works were receiv'd with mighty Applauſe by a great many Doctors. *Judah Alcharisi*, who liv'd at that time, and was a great Poet, undertook the Tranſlation of his Commentaries upon the *Miſnah*, at the Requeſt of the Rabbins of *Marſeilles*, who did not underſtand Arabick. He alſo turn'd *the Doctor of doubtful Queſtions* into Hebrew; but *Maimonides* was not ſatisfy'd with the Verſion, and diſapprov'd it: However, by this we ſee, that his Works were in great Requeſt, which caus'd him afterwards to be call'd *the Glory of the Eaſt, and the Light of the Weſt*. Thoſe of *Montpellier* cenſur'd him with a great deal of Bitterneſs and Violence. *Salomon*, who preſided over that Synagogue, obſerv'd three things. 1. That *Maimonides* having ſtudy'd under the famous *Averroes*, had embrac'd the Principles of the Peripatetick Philoſophy, and frequently introduc'd it in his Works; which did not agree with the Religion of the Cabbaliſts, who would not be oblig'd to reaſon juſtly, and have bounds preſcrib'd to their Imagination. 2. As he diſtinctly ſpecify'd the end of the Rights and Ceremonies of the Law, he gave a great Advantage to the Chriſtians; becauſe he ſhew'd thereby, that the end of this Inſtitution having ceas'd, the Laws were to be aboliſh'd. Laſtly, He treated of the Operations of God, in a manner well enough adapted to the Scholaſtick Divinity; and therefore the Dominicans have thought it their Intereſt to give vogue to this Work, inſtead of condemning and burning it. A learned * *Engliſhman*, who has lately publiſh'd two Treatiſes of this Author, compares him to *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Abravanel* to *Scotus*. The latter over-ſubtilly ſought for Arguments in every thing, and often tires his Reader inſtead of convincing him; but *Maimonides*, who is more ſolid, *more nervous and ſtrong*, is contented to produce a ſmall number of convincing Reaſons.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that he had commonly very abſtruſe Ideas; and having ſtudy'd Metaphyſicks, made too great a uſe of them. He maintain'd, that all the Faculties were Angels, and fancy'd, that he explain'd more clearly hereby the Operations of God, and the Expreſſions of Scripture. It is not ſtrange, ſaid he, to admit what ſome Doctors ſay, That an Angel enters into the Mother's Womb, to form the *Embryo* (though theſe ſame Doctors declare an Angel to be a conſuming Fire) inſtead of acknowledging rather, that the Generative Faculty is an *Angel?* 'Tis for this reaſon that God ſpeaks often in Scripture, and ſays, *Let us make Man after our Image*: Becauſe ſome Rabbins had concluded from this Paſſage, that God had a Body, tho' infinitely more perfect than ours; he maintains, that Image ſignifies the Eſſential Form, which conſtitutes a thing in its Being: All this is very ſubtle, but doth not remove the difficulty, nor diſcover the true meaning of the Words of God. He believ'd, that the Stars were animated, and that the Spheres of the Heavens liv'd. He ſaid, that God never repented but of one thing, which was the confounding the Good with the Wicked in the Ruin of the firſt Temple. He was perſuaded, † that the Promiſes of the Law, which ſhall always laſt, reſpect only a Temporal Felicity, and ſhall be accompliſh'd in the Meſſiah's Reign. He maintains, that the Kingdom of *Juda* was reſtor'd to the Poſterity of *Jeconias*, in the Perſon of *Salathiel*; tho' St. *Luke* ‖ poſitively aſſerts, that *Salathiel* was not the Son of *Jeconias*, but of *Neri*.

XIII. *Salomon* diſſembled, till ſuch time as the *Doctor of doubtful Queſtions* came out: But he and the Rabbins of *Montpellier* loſt all patience, when they ſaw him explaining himſelf ſtill more preciſely than he had done in the *Strong Hand*. They ſet up for Defenders of the *Talmud*, which *Maimonides* evidently deſerted. The Rabbins *David* and *Jonah*, who ſtudy'd then at *Montpellier*, in ſtrict Confederacy with their Maſter, ſet themſelves to oppoſe his Doctrine. They omitted nothing that might diſcredit the Author, and render him ſuſpected: They burnt his Books, and Excommunicated thoſe that read them, and addicted themſelves to the Study of Philoſophy. This was a Declaration of War, in which every body engag'd. The Rabbins of *Narbonne* were the firſt that entred the Liſts for *Maimonides*. They Excommunicated their Brethren of *Montpellier*. Theſe being exaſperated, and fearing to be overwhelm'd by a greater Authority than their own, engag'd the Synagogues of *France* in their Intereſts, and oblig'd them to anathematize the Synagogues of *Languedoc*. The Spaniſh Doctors came into the Aſſiſtance of their Countrymen. The famous *Kimki*, who was at the Head of them, becauſe his Native *Narbonne* depended then upon *Spain*, labour'd vehemently to ſupport *Maimonides*'s Reputation, and to make Peace; but he found Reſiſtance. The two *Abrahams*, who taught then at *Peſcara*, a little City of *old Caſtile*, appear'd among *Maimonides*'s Enemies. One ſaid contemptuouſly, that he was *a Young Man*; the other, call'd *Harravad*, writ ſo ſtrongly, that his Adverſary was forc'd to own his Defeat. *This is the only Man that has conquer'd me*, ſaid *Maimonides*; but at the ſame time in a Prophetick manner, he gave him notice, that he ſhould not finiſh his Work; and he actually dy'd the ſame Year. *Judas*, a Phyſician, and Head of the Synagogue at *Toledo*, choſe alſo rather to engage in the Intereſts of the French Rabbins, than in thoſe of his own Nation. His Zeal for the *Talmud*, permitted not any one to give him a blow. He wrote violently againſt *Kimki*, who defended *Maimonides*; but the latter manag'd his Intrigue ſo well in *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, as to have the better of his Enemies; and oblig'd the Synagogues of that Country, to Excommunicate thoſe of *France*. The Rabbins of *France* thunder-ſtruck with this unexpected blow, buckl'd, and revok'd the Excommunications they had fulminated againſt the Synagogues of *Spain*. All that was done at *Monipellier* was annull'd. They conſented even to cancel the Epitaph which was engraven upon *Maimonides*'s Tomb, becauſe it was there declar'd, that he was *Excommunicated*. This War among theſe Divines laſted forty Years; and even then was not perfectly extinguiſh'd, ſince ſome Doctors a great while after ſet themſelves againſt *Maimonides*, cenſur'd his Works, and confuted his Opinions. But the Schiſm they had raiſed, expir'd in the Year 1232.

XIV. We have ſpoken of *Kimki*, one of the zealous Defenders of *Maimonides*; but 'twas not that which gave him his greateſt Luſtre and Reputation. His Father, *Joſeph Kimki*, was a violent Enemy to the Chriſtians, and frequently exclaim'd againſt them in *the Battles of the Lord*; in the *Treatiſes of Faith and Alliance* againſt the Hereticks, for ſo he calls the Chriſtians. 'Tis diſputed, whether he was a *Spaniard*, or a *Frenchman*, becauſe his Son *Radak*, that is, R. *David Kimki*, is call'd a *Provincial living at Narbonne*, and that that City *is in the Kingdom of France*. *Bartolocci* * removes the difficulty,

* Clavering Præf. ad Moſis Maimon. Tract. duos. † Skinner's *Lett.* 102. ‖ Luke 3. 27. * Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 4.

by

by saying, that *Kimki* might have liv'd some time at *Marseilles*, but that he was originally a *Spaniard*, since there were always Persons of that Name and Family, at the Head of the Synagogues of *Arragon* and *Castile*. It were easier to remark, that this Doctor, tho' living at *Narbonne*, was nevertheless a *Spaniard*, since this City was subject to the Kings of *Castile*, and join'd to *Spain*. In effect, * *Pedro de Lara*, Count of *Narbonne*, was in *Alphonso* VIII's Train, as one of his Vassals; and 'twas he that resolutely withstood that Prince's Design of imposing a Tribute on the Nobility of his Country; who were so affected with that Act of Courage, that they engag'd themselves by an Indenture, to give *Peter* and his Children a Breakfast every Year.

XV. *David*, the Son of *Joseph Kimki*, was a greater Man than his Father. The Jews alluding to his Name, which signifies a *Miller*, or full of Meal, say, there is *no Meal without a Miller*; that is, there is no true Science without *Kimki*. He apply'd himself much to the Study of Grammar; and tho' he borrow'd Part of his Grammatical Observations from an *Arabian*, call'd *Abud Valid Marum*, who had written before him on the same Subject; yet he so embellish'd his Work, as to make it appear a new one. He did not inherit his Father's Hatred to the Christians, at least he speaks of them with greater Moderation. *Genebrard* took the pains in a particular Treatise, to answer all that was found in *Kimki*'s Commentary on the Psalms, prejudicial to Religion; but these Observations were neither important nor necessary. This most useful Commentary, for the understanding of the Royal Prophet, has been translated, and Christian Divines have a high Esteem for all the Products of his Pen; for which reason, most of his Commentaries have been inserted into the Bibles of *Venice* and *Basil*. His Brother *Moses*, who was also a learned Man, compos'd † *The Garden of Pleasure*, wherein he treated of the Estate of the Souls; but it was never Printed, and the Manuscript is only to be seen in the *Vatican* Library.

XVI. There has not been a Family more fruitful in Learned Men, than that of *Salomon Jarki*, or *the Lunatick* ||. *Bartolocci* * says, that this famous Man was born at *Lunir*, *a City of Aquitaine*, where, according to *Gregory the Great* †, the Jews had settled themselves. He adds, that others will have him to be born at *Treves*, or *Troies*, *Cities of Provence and Languedoc*. Here are as many Faults as Words, as we have already observ'd. For, 1. There is no City in *Languedoc* call'd *Lunir*; and the Author meant *Lunel*, where the Jews had at that time an Academy, which *Salomon Jarki* made more famous. 2. The Jews were not settled in this Country in *Gregory the Great*'s time; and this Pope wrote not to the Bishop of *Lunel*, since that was never an Episcopal See, but to the Bishop of *Luna*, a City of *Italy*, which was often headed by Illustrious Prelates. *Verecundus*, who follow'd Pope *Vigilius* in his Voyage to *Constantinople*, was Bishop of *Luna*; and *Victor*, Bishop of the same Place, assisted at the Council of *Rome*, which was held under *Symmachus*. 3. *Salomon* was born at *Troies*; but 'tis absurd to place this City, or that of *Treves*, in *Languedoc* and *Provence*, where they never were.

XVII. This famous Rabbin was of *Champagne*, and liv'd in the twelfth Century. He left his Country to travel to the *Holy Land* and *Persia*. He particularly dedicated himself to the Study of the *Talmud*. His Method of Teaching was particular. He made a Collection of abundance of Difficulties he had heard decided in his Travels; upon his return to *Europe*, he entred into all the Academies, and disputed against the Professors upon the Questions they handled, and afterwards threw upon the Floor a Sheet of his Collections, where the Controversie was decided without the Name of the Author. 'Tis pretended, that a Collection was made of these loose Sheets, scatter'd in innumerable Places, and that the Glos on the *Talmud* was compos'd from them. His Commentary upon the *Gemara* has been thought so full of Learning, that he was call'd the *Prince of Commentators*. His Notes upon Scripture are crowded with Fables, and Talmudical Visions, which makes him esteem'd by some and despis'd by others. He marry'd his three Daughters to three Learned Men. R. *Meir*, the first of his Sons-in-law, had three Sons, *every one Illustrious*; one whereof wrote upon the Glos of the *Talmud*, and the Collection of his Grandfather's loose Papers. *Salomon* || dy'd at *Triers*, Seventy five Years old, and his Body was carry'd to *Prague*, where he has his Tomb.

XVIII. *France* moreover produc'd at that time *Jacob of Orleans*, commonly call'd *Rath*. 'Twas the peculiar Custom of the twelfth Century, to abridge the Names of the Doctors, and to compose another of them, commonly of the initial Letters of the true Name. The R. was always in the Front, to denote the Title Rabbin: Thus *Maimonides* was called *Ramban*; *David Kimki*, *Radak*; *Salomon Jarki*, *Raschi*; his Son-in-law R. *Juda*, Son of *Nachan*, *Rivan*; his Grandson *Samson*, *Risbam*.

Tham, another of his Grandsons, who writ upon the Glos of the *Talmud*, and dy'd in *Champagne*, was call'd *Rath*; which same Name was given to *Jacob of Orleans*, because he is commonly confounded with him; whilst we can't guess at the reason, unless it were, that they both compos'd the same Work. The latter was kill'd in the Year 1190. and his Writings perish'd with him.

XIX. The Jews therefore had Men in this Century, who distinguish'd themselves in all the Sciences. They had excellent Grammarians, as *Kimki*: They had famous Poets, as *Juda Alcharisi*, *Hallevy*, *Joseph Hadaiian* of *Gorduba*: They had Astronomers, *Abraham Chiia*, *Abraham Nasi*, and the great *Aben-Ezra*: They had * famous Professors, and the *French* especially boast of *Isaac the Old*, *Hazzescen*; who had sixty Disciples, so vers'd in the *Gemara*, that they could dispute upon all Subjects propos'd to them, and draw Arguments out of it against it self. *Juda* of *Paris*, who made much Noise in the following Century, was one of his Disciples. Lastly, besides common Divines, they had some Cabbalists.

XX. The Synagogue likewise brought forth learned Women in the twelfth Century. The fondness for long Pilgrimages was a reigning Distemper at that time with the Jews as well as the Christians. *Petachia* † made one to all the Synagogues of his Nation; who relates, that he knew *Samuel*, the Head of the Captivity in the East, who had a Daughter very learned in the Law, and in the *Talmud*. She had a great number of Disciples, to whom she read Publick Lectures; but lest any one of her Scholars should fall in love with her, she made her Lectures at a Window, behind the Lattice, so that she was heard, but not seen.

XXI. They had Generals, as well as Learned Men; for *Dom Salomon*, the Son of *Jechaia*, flou-

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* Catel *Hist. of* Languedoc. l. 4. p. 595. † Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 4. || *Father* Simon *would have him call'd* Isaaci, *the Son of* Isaac; *but he is better known by the Name* Jarki. *He is also call'd* Raschi. * Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 4. p. 178. † Gregor. I. Ep. l. 3. Ep. 21. || An. 1180. * V. Ganz Tsamach David, p. 134, 138.

rish'd,

riſh'd then in *Portugal*. He was a Philoſopher, but at the ſame time acquir'd ſo great a Reputation by his Valour, that the King made him Lieutenant-General of the Army, the firſt Poſt in the Camp. He diſcharg'd the Truſt repos'd in him very happily, and commanded the Army with great Succeſs. The Grandees of the Kingdom grew jealous of his Proſperity, and endeavour'd to render him ſuſpected to the Prince; but he eluded their Calumnies by an exemplary Modeſty. Not content to practiſe it himſelf, † he infus'd it into his Nation by his Example and Laws; for he oblig'd them not to appear in the Streets on Horſeback, becauſe that Pomp offended the People; and he forbad the uſe of Silk Garments.

XXII. Laſtly, They had * alſo famous Deſerters: For *Aſmouil*, or *Samuel Ben Jehoadah*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, and a Phyſician by Profeſſion, quitted the Synagogue, wherein he was born, and threw himſelf among *Muſſulmans*. To prove the Sincerity of his Converſion to the Religion of his Maſter, he wrote againſt the Jews, in the Year 1174. He accus'd them of having corrupted the Law of *Moſes*. This Accuſation was receiv'd with Applauſe by the *Muſſulmans*; who continue it againſt the Jews, and are ſo convinc'd of the Truth of it, as to forbid tranſlating or citing any Paſſage of *Moſes* Law from Jewiſh and Chriſtian Copies. They complain eſpecially, that there is no place in theſe Copies, where mention is made of the Reſurrection of the Dead and the Life to come, Alms and Prayer. Theſe Accuſations might have been furniſh'd them by *Samuel*, who invented them out of Hatred to a Nation he had deſerted. But 'tis much more probable, that the Alterations of the Law he complain'd of, reſpected the falſe Interpretations of the Talmudiſts.

† An. 1190. ‖ Scholſchelet Hakkabala, p. 55. * Hebelot Bibl. Orient

CHAP. IX.

Of the falſe Meſſiahs that appear'd in the Eaſt and Weſt, in the Twelfth Century.

I. *The Falſe Meſſiahs numerous.* II. *A falſe Meſſiah in* France, *in the Year* 1137. III. *In* Perſia. *Open War.* IV. *In* Spain, *authoriz'd by a Doctor.* V. *A Forerunner of the Meſſiah in the Kingdom of* Fez. VI. *An Artifice of an* Arabian, *who promiſes to riſe from the dead.* VII. *A Leper cur'd pretends to be the Meſſiah.* VIII. *A Perſecution in* Perſia. IX. *An inviſible Impoſtor in* Moravia. X. *An unknown Meſſiah.* XI. Eldavid; *at what time he liv'd.* XII. *His Birth, his Actions, his Inviſibility.* XIII. *His Father-in-law betrays him, and delivers up his Head. A Perſecution againſt the Jews in* Perſia. XIV. *A Story like it in* Spain *enquir'd into. 'Tis the ſame with the foregoing.*

I. THeſe flouriſhing great Men, prevented not the appearance of ſeveral Impoſtors; and if the Nation acquir'd ſome Glory by the Learning and Merit of its Doctors, it alſo diſgrac'd it ſelf by its Credulity for eight or nine Falſe Meſſiahs, who all found Followers and Abetters. 'Tis true, if we ſtrictly enquire into moſt of thoſe Men, whom the Chriſtians admir'd in the twelfth Century, and which they have reverenc'd ſince like Saints, we might apply to them, what *Maimonides* ſaid of a falſe Meſſiah, that *if they had Sincerity, they wanted Judgment; and if they feared God, they had no Prudence* *. Hiſtorians have preſerv'd the remembrance of a Mad-man, who for ten Years ran in the Fields and Foreſts; having no other Cover than the Canopy of Heaven, no other Garment than his Skin, nor other Food than that of the Beaſts. He reckon'd it one of his greateſt Temptations, that being bury'd in the Snow, a Hare came to warm himſelf by his Breath: He was tempted to catch this Hare and careſs her, but by the Grace of God he ſurmounted the Temptation. St. *Bernard* and the People admir'd this Anchoret, becauſe he ſaid he lov'd God, tho he was a Madman. All have their Follies, tho' of different kinds; and whilſt a Man laughs at thoſe of others, he makes no Reflection upon his own. Let us ſpeak of the Jews Infatuation, for the falſe Meſſiahs in the twelfth Century.

II. The firſt appear'd in *France*, in the Year 1137. but there is no mention of the Place of his Manifeſtation, nor of its Succeſs; but yet it can't be doubted, but that he engag'd the Jews which follow'd him to make unlawful Aſſemblies; ſince *Lewis* the Young, who then reign'd, had the Synagogues pull'd down, and ill-treated the *Saints* of *Iſrael*. *Maimonides* †, who liv'd thirty Years after this Impoſtor, affirms, That the *French*, into whoſe hands he fell, *kill'd him.* But the Execution did not ſtop there; for with him they maſſacred the *Holy Aſſembly:* And another ‖ Jewiſh Hiſtorian complains, that *For this Impoſtor's Fault, they had levell'd a great many Synagogues in France*, where he appear'd.

III. The Year following *, another Impoſtor appeared in *Perſia.* The Army that follow'd him was ſo numerous, as to venture to march in Battalia againſt the King. This Prince † oblig'd the Jews in his Dominions, to ſummon their Meſſiah to lay down his Arms. In vain they ſollicited this falſe Meſſiah, and demanded Proofs of his Vocation. He was reſolv'd to offer no other than the Succeſs of his Deſigns, of which he appear'd too confident to lay them aſide. He pretended to be moved at the ſight of the Children which the Mothers brought to him, half ſtarv'd, and who look'd upon him as the Cauſe of their Deſtruction, and of all thoſe little Creatures. He propos'd to the King of *Perſia*, to pay the Charges of the War, and to permit him to march back his Troops in ſafety. The Jews, who made theſe Propoſals to the Prince, were amaz'd that he accepted them. The Money which this falſe Meſſiah demanded,

* Alber trium Fontium Chron. An. 1135. p. 274. † Maimon. Ep. de Auſtali Regione apud Vorſtium Not. in Tſemach. p. 293. ‖ Salomon Ben Virgæ Schevet Juda, p. 169. * An. 1138. † Salomonis fil. Virgæ Tribus Juda, ſive Hiſtoria Judaicæ gentis, p. 169. & Lent de Pſeudo-Meſſ. Judæor. p. 36.

was

was paid, and his Troops diſmiſſed; but the King, who had nothing farther to fear, oblig'd the diſarm'd Jews to pay it him again: 'Tis ſaid alſo, that this Impoſtor loſt his Head.

IV. *Maimonides* ſpeaks of a third Meſſiah, who he ſays, appear'd * ten Years after. He was a *Spaniard*, born at *Corduba*, who drew upon his Nation a Perſecution in all that Country in the Year 1157. The Credulity of the Spaniſh Jews was more excuſable than that of others; becauſe they had one of their famous Doctors, who authoriz'd the Whims, wherewith they fed themſelves about the coming of the Meſſiah. He wrote a Book on purpoſe to prove that it was at hand. He proved it by the Motion of the Stars. *Maimonides* ſays, that *the Juſt and the Wiſe of his Nation*, look'd upon him as a Madman; But the Juſt and Wiſe are always the ſmalleſt number. This Man muſt have had ſome Reputation, tho' he loſt it by the Event. We commonly believe thoſe who flatter our hopes, when they are Men of parts.

V. Ten Years after another proclaim'd the coming of the Meſſiah, and declared that he would appear at the Years end. The Prediction proved falſe, and was a new ſource of Miſeries and Perſecutions to the credulous People. It might however be ſaid, there were two Impoſtors then, who acted in conſort, one whereof called himſelf the Fore-runner, and the other the Meſſiah. At leaſt *Salomon* † *the Son of the Rod* obſerves, that there was a Man that Year, in the Kingdom of *Fez*, where the Fore-runner had preach'd, *who call'd himſelf the Meſſiah*. However, as *Maimonides*, then living, mention'd only one Impoſtor, it is better to follow him, and to ſay, that the Spaniſh Phyſician has ill expreſs'd his thought.

VI. The ſame Year 1167, an *Arabian* perſwaded the Jews, that he was ſent by the *Meſſiah* to call them together, and to lead them to him. *Come along with me*, ſaid he, *let us go all together to meet the Meſſiah, for he hath ſent me, that I may ſhew you the way. Maimonides* aſſerts, *That he feared God, but that he wanted Prudence. That Man rather wanted Judgment than Honeſty* ‖. He pretended to work Miracles, and Miracle-makers commonly conceal the Fraud under the Mask of I know not what natural or affected Simplicity, but they are never the leſs Rogues for it.

The Jews doting upon this Man, conſulted *Maimonides* to know what they were to do. He foretold them what Miſeries this Impoſture would bring upon the Nation, and adviſed them to reduce the weak Man to a ſober Senſe; but his Counſels were not regarded. The Impoſtor was follow'd by great Crouds of People, and taken at the Years end. The King asking him what were the Motives of his Impoſture? he boldly maintain'd, that what he did was *by the Order of God*; and declar'd, that if they cut off his Head, they ſhould *quickly ſee him riſe again*. The King, amaz'd at his Confidence, was reſolv'd to make the trial. They took off his Head, and found that this was an Artifice of this Cheat, who preferr'd an eaſie Death before the cruel Torture they would have put him to. The Nation ſuffer'd for his Wickedneſs, for his Followers were perſecuted, and all the Nation ſeverely fined. Nevertheleſs the Infatuation was too ſtrong to be cured, and a great many remain'd perſwaded, that this Man would come from his Grave, and riſe again as he had promiſed, which never happen'd. *Maimonides* *, according to the Maxim of the Jews, who believe Death to be a Satisfaction paid to God, pray'd that this Impoſtor's Death *might be a Propitiatory Sacrifice for him and for all* Iſrael.

VII. A little after, a Leper, who in one Nights time was cured, going to Bed all over Leprous at Night, and riſing found in the Morning, by this Miracle wrought on his Perſon, grew into an Opinion, that he was the Meſſiah. He publiſh'd it to the Jews, who liv'd beyond *Euphrates*, gain'd credit, and drew Multitudes after him. The wiſe Men of the Nation, who were ſenſible that this Cure, as miraculous as it was, was not ſufficient to point out the Meſſiah, undeceived him, and oblig'd him to renounce ſo vain an Imagination. However this ſtir about nothing exaſperated the People, and the Jews were perſecuted afreſh: And one of their † Hiſtorians affirm, that ten thouſand, over-born with the Miſeries they ſuffer'd on this pretended Meſſiah's account, forſook the Law, which has made his Memory odious.

VIII. The Perſecution alſo broke out again in *Perſia*, upon the ſcore of a ſeventh Meſſiah, who had ſeduced ſome of the People in the Year 1174. But he was afterwards look'd upon as a Magician or a Devil.

IX. An eighth Impoſtor was ſeen in *Moravia*: This Man, called *David Almuſſer*, boaſted to have the Power of diſappearing to the Eyes of Men, and making himſelf inviſible when he thought fit. Multitudes follow'd this miraculous Man, who had doubtleſs ſome Art to deceive the People, and ſteal out of their ſight. His Life was offer'd him, provided he would ſurrender himſelf to the Prince, who was willing to ſecure his Perſon, to put a ſtop to the Commotions he had raiſed; but this Promiſe was broke, and when he arriv'd he was ſhut up in Priſon. The Hiſtorians ſay, that he eſcaped by the help of his Art. It was in vain to follow him, and impoſſible to ſeize him, being inviſible in the places where he was. The King's Eyes, who march'd in Perſon, were open for ſome moments, and he had the Mortification to ſee the Man he had deceived, without being able to ſeize him. They were tired with ſuch a fruitleſs Purſuit, and the Nation, which was then numerous in *Moravia*, was commanded to exhibit their Head. Driven by Fear and Intereſt, the Jews found means to arreſt this inviſible Man. He was impriſon'd, and then whether he had loſt or exhauſted his Art, he could not fly, nor eſcape the Hand of the Hangman.

X. There was in the ſame Century a new Impoſtor, whoſe Country and Family, Name and Actions, are unknown. But yet *Maimonides* and *Salomon* Son of the Rod have mentioned him, and ſay, he lived in the time of *Salomon* the Son of *Adrettus*.

XI. But the moſt Famous of all Impoſtors of the Twelfth Century was *David Alroi*, or *Eldavid*. He is commonly placed in the Year 1199 or 1200. But *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, who travelled in the year 1173, having mention'd him as a Man that appear'd ten Years before, it cannot be doubted but that he was ſomewhat elder.

XII. This Impoſtor was born in a City call'd *Amaria*, in which were reckon'd a thouſand Jewiſh Families that paid Tribute to the King of *Perſia*. He addicted himſelf at firſt to the Prince of the Captivity, and to the Head of the Synagogue at *Bagdet*, who was a famous Man, well verſed not only in the Study of the Talmud, but *in the Know-*

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* Maimon. Ep. de Regione Auſtrali apud Vorſtium, p. 293. Judæos in Maſſilia agentes apud Vorſt. in Ganz Tſemach, p. 292. Regione, p. 293. Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 169.

† Salomon Schevet Jehuda, p. 169. ‖ Maim. Ep. ad

* Maimonid. ibid. † Maimonides Ep. de Auſtrali

ledge

ledge of Magick, ſo common among the Chaldeans. When he had learn'd ſome Secrets, he gain'd the Jews, the Inhabitants of a Mountain called *Haphtan*, and excited them to take up Arms, and to that purpoſe deluded them with the ſhew of ſome falſe Miracles. The King of *Perſia* being inform'd of this Inſurrection, and the Conqueſts *Eldavid* made, was afraid of him, and ſummon'd him to appear immediately at Court, with a Promiſe, that if he could prove himſelf the Meſſiah, he would ſubmit to him, and acknowledge him to be a King ſent from Heaven. *Eldavid*, contrary to all Expectation, preſented himſelf, and maintain'd to the King that he was the Meſſiah. He was put in Priſon, and they waited to find him miraculouſly eſcap'd out of it. The thing ſo happen'd, as the King was deliberating about the nature of the Puniſhment to be inflicted on him, news was brought that *Eldavid* was eſcap'd; Couriers were immediately diſpatch'd after him, who related that they had heard his Voice, without ſeeing him, or being able to take him. The King, who believ'd that his Guards had been corrupted, march'd at the Head of his Army as far as the Banks of the River *Gozan*; there he heard *Eldavid*'s Voice, who cried *O Fools*, but no body could ſee him: He was perceiv'd a moment after, dividing with his Cloak the Waters of the River, and paſſing over it. The Prince's Faith was ſtagger'd; he was afraid it was the Meſſiah; but his Officers re-aſſur'd him, by perſwading him it was all Legerdemain. The Army paſſed the River without finding the Criminal.

XIII. The King wrote immediately to all the principal Jews in his Kingdom, to oblige them to deliver up *Eldavid*, upon pain of being maſſacred without Mercy, if they did not do it. *Zacheus* the Prince of the Captivity, wrote to him to ſave the Nation, by ſurrendring himſelf; but he laugh'd at this requeſt, and would not make himſelf a Sacrifice for the People. He continued his Diſorders, till his Father-in-Law, tempted by the Promiſe which *Zaid Alladin* made him, of ten thouſand gold Crowns, invited his Son-in-Law to Supper, made him Drunk, and cut off his Head, which was ſent to the King of *Perſia*. This Prince did not ſtand to his word, but demanded that all *Eldavid*'s Followers ſhould be deliver'd up; and upon their refuſal, which was grounded upon the Impoſſibility of the thing, he order'd abundance of Jews to be murder'd in his Kingdom *.

XIV. I know not whether we ought to confound this *David* with another, the Son of *David* mention'd in an ancient Chronicle. This latter was a *Perſian* as the other, and appear'd † in the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. The Jews looked upon him as their King, and formed a great Army under his command; but the Hiſtorian ‖ aſcribes to this Army ſuch an extravagant Deſign, that I queſtion the Truth of the Narrative. They meant, ſays he, to march from *Perſia* to *Cologne*, to take three Magicians of the Nation who were to be there. They had already run over ſome neighbouring Provinces of *Perſia*, when they were oblig'd to return home, and no body knows what became of thoſe Men, who were ſaid to be of a prodigious Stature, nor what they had done. 'Tis only ſaid, that they flatter'd themſelves extreamly with the hopes of their approaching Liberty; and for this reaſon they choſe a King. This Story to me ſeems fabulous, or rather it was taken from the Reports ſpread in the Weſt, concerning the Conqueſts which the falſe Meſſiah *Eldavid* had already made in *Perſia*. The Jews in *Germany*, who credulouſly believ'd his pretended Miracles, imagin'd perhaps, and gave out, that this Deliverer ſhould march with an Army from the Heart of *Perſia* to the Weſt, to deliver them from the Yoke of the Chriſtians; and the German Hiſtorian has eſpouſed this Tradition. 'Tis very probable therefore, that this laſt Meſſiah muſt be one and the ſame with the former called *David*.

* Salomon Ben Virgæ Hiſt. Judaic. p. 62. † An. 1222. ‖ Fragm. Hiſtor. incerti Auth. An. 1222. apud Vorſt. Hiſt. Germ. t 2. p. 89.

CHAP. X.

Divers Events that befel the Jews in the Twelfth Century in the East *and* Weſt.

I. *The Converſion of* Herman *lately diſcover'd.* II. *St.* Bernard *Protector of the Jews. A Roll of the Law preſented by the Jews to the Pope. The Original of this Cuſtom.* III. Alexander III. *protects them.* IV. Alphonſo *the Good being over-reach'd perſecutes them.* V. *His Fondneſs for a Jeweſs.* VI. *Their number in* Andaluſia. *Whether the Law ought to be written.* VII. *The Sect of the* Speakers *explain'd.* Maimonides *miſtake about their Origine.* VIII. *The Subtilty of the Chriſtians againſt the Philoſophers.* IX. *Their Principles.* X. *The Sect of the* Motazales. XI. *What the Jews borrowed from them.* XII. *Philoſophers preferred.* XIII. *Perſecution in the Kingdom of* Leon. *Conjectures about* Hillel's *Manuſcript.* XIV. *And about the expunging two Verſes from the Book of* Joſhua. XV. *A ſingular Treaty of the Jews with the Biſhop of* Beziers. XVI. Philip Auguſtus *expels them out of* France. XVII. *He recals them. The Reaſons of this.* XVIII. *They obtain Burying-places in* England. XIX. *They are forbidden to be preſent at* Richard's *Coronation. The Outrages committed againſt them.* XX. *A Maſſacre in many Cities: Their Deſpair at* York.

I. ONE of the firſt Events we are to take notice of in the Twelfth * Century, is the Converſion of a Jew of *Cologne*, the Reaſons and Motives whereof have been lately diſcover'd. This Man lived in the Reign of *Henry* V. and, like the Doctors of his Nation, was highly conceited with the Allegorical Senſe of Scripture, and blindly follow'd the Tradition of the Fathers: When he was ſtagger'd by a Dream, which he look'd upon as Divine, he imagin'd he ſaw the Emperor, who had given him a white Horſe, and a golden Girdle, ſeating him at his Table. Theſe imaginary Honours made ſuch an Impreſſion upon his Brain, that he went to conſult a famous Doctor of *Cologne*, whoſe Name was *Iſaac*: This *Rabbin* told him, that the white Horſe ſignified a handſom Woman he was to marry; that the Gold Girdle was an Emblem of the Wealth he was to acquire in a ſhort time; and his Treatment at the Emperor's Table, promiſed him great Reputation and Honour in the Synagogue. The Jew interpreted his myſterious Dream quite another way; for he diſcover'd in it the Honour that God did him, in communicating

* An. 1106.

his Grace, and calling him to his Communion. But this is probably what determined him without reference to his Vision. He had lent Money to the Bishop of *Munster*, which oblig'd him to wait upon him in his Bishoprick. He found a Man there, who offer'd to prove the Truth of the Christian Religion, by handling a hot Iron, without receiving any damage; but the Bishop being more judicious, would not exercise the Iron, nor permit his Official to make so doubtful a Proof. But *Herman* enter'd into Conference with *Rupert* Abbot of *Tuy*; being shock'd by his Instructions, he *fasted after the Christian and Jewish manner*, he eat no Flesh, like the Christians; and continued his Fast till Night, like the Jews. In the mean time Grace delay'd its coming, and even when it arriv'd, he was desirous to retire secretly, and carry away his Brother, but he wander'd about, and could never find the Gates of *Ments* to go out of the City, till he had cross'd himself, which gave him the Prospect of a very large and wide Cross. He was baptized, but in his Baptism the Devil laid new Ambuscades for him. *Herman* † was minded to come out of the Bath the first time of his Immersion, because it was very cold, and he did not yet understand the three Immersions for the three Divine Persons. He attempted the same thing again upon the second Immersion, and thought it was the Devil who went to hinder the Consummation of the Ceremony. This rather proves, that he did not yet know the Trinity, nor the Ceremonies of Baptism. However this Conversion went for a voluntary one, and *Herman* not only continued in the Christian Religion, but entered into the Order of the Regular Canons of St. *Austin*.

II. St. *Bernard* not tolerating and persecuting the *Albigeois*, at the same time took the Jews part, and not only would not have them prosecuted; but repressed the violent Zeal of some Persons bent upon their Destruction, and justified their Excess of Usuries, which they demanded of the Christians. He grounded his Behaviour upon the words of a Psalm, where God speaking of the Jews, forbids *killing them*. He ‖ farther alledg'd, that their future Conversion render'd the present Toleration of them absolutely necessary; and that in reality, if their Usuries were complain'd of, there were a great many *baptized Jews* and *Christians*, who were guilty of a more scandalous Extortion. This Letter of St. *Bernard* was of the greater Importance, because it was sent into all Nations *. It was read in the Assembly of Princes at *Spires*, where they were debating about the *Croisades*. It was read also in another Assembly held in *Bavaria*. Lastly, There are Manuscripts of it, importing, that it was written to the *English*; which gives reason to conjecture, that it was sent to the English Bishops. Thus the Abbot of *Clairvaux* extended his pious Concern for the Jews to the remotest places; and by a Whim, or rather by an unexcusable Fault of Judgment, (tho' it was common enough) protected some of the Erroneous, whilst at the same time he authoriz'd the greatest Violences against others; as if the latter could not have been converted by Lenity, and that the Recal was reserved only for the Jews, who had continued so long in their Obduration. 'Tis said it was the same St. *Bernard* that byass'd Pope *Innocent* II. in their Favour; for as he was very serviceable to this Pope, who was oblig'd to fly into *France*, 'tis thought that he inspir'd him with those Sentiments of Gentleness and Equity, which was so much the more necessary, because he found himself in a foreign Kingdom, where he had need of Toleration and Assistance. The Jews got him wholly in their Interests, when † he made his entry into *Paris*, for they mingled themselves with those that walked solemnly to meet him, ordering a Roll of the Law to be carried before them, which they presented him with a great deal of Respect. The Pope courteously receiv'd them, praying God to remove the Vail that cover'd them, and hindered them from perceiving the Truth which the Law contain'd. I do not know whether this Ceremony produced so advantagious an Effect to the Jews, as to oblige those of *Rome* to observe it; or whether the Pope took Pleasure in seeing the Enemies of Christianity pay him their Respects. But 'tis one of the Ceremonies of the Installation of the Popes, which has long continued. The Jews of *Rome* are oblig'd to wait for him in the way to St. *John de Lateran*, and to present him with a Copy of the Law. We read the Form of the Answer which he ought to make. ‖ *I reverence the Law which you have receiv'd of God by* Moses, *but I condemn your Explications of it, because you wait for the* Messiah, *which the Apostolical Church believes to be Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns with his Father and the Holy Ghost.*

III. Some time after they had occasion for Pope *Alexander* the Third's Protection, who granted it them so much the easier, because the Rabbin *Jehiel* was Superintendent of his House and Finances. The People of *Italy* bastinadoed the Jews in several places, and hinder'd them with Stones from celebrating their Feasts. They made their Complaints to the Pope, who granted them his *Protection* *, prohibiting any from taking away their Synagogues, and disturbing them with Insults, as they celebrated their Sabbaths, or exercised their Religion. But at the same time he order'd, that they should not have the Privilege to cite Church-men before a Civil Tribunal, nor take Possession of the Churches by vertue of Pawn or Sale. The Corruption must have been prodigious, when the Christians pawn'd or sold their Churches and Temples to the Jews.

Under so advantagious a Protection, the Circumcis'd flourish'd in *Italy*, till the end of this, and even in the following Century. † *Cossi* a little Borough of the *Milanese*, grew famous by a multitude of Illustrious *Rabbins* it sent out of it. *Monza*, the City where the Kings took the Iron Crown, produced many others. *Ricina Nova*, in the March of *Ancona*, had the same Honour.

IV. The beginnings of *Alphonso* the Eighth's Reign in *Spain*, were not to their Advantage. ‖ He was yet a Child, when his Father *Sanchez* the Desired was kill'd by the *Sarazens*: He ascended the Throne young. Moreover, as he was good, he was easily over-reach'd. *Joseph* the Jew was his first Minister * of State, who grew so potent, as to have his Coach and Guards: The Lords of his Court were often his Officers. *Gonzales*, an Officer under him, having committed some Fault that deserved that he should be disgraced for it, resolved to destroy his Benefactor and his Master. He declared to the King, he had the Secret of procuring him vast Sums; in order to which he demanded of this Prince eight Heads of the Jews at his own choice, which were granted him. Hereby he found an Expedient at once to satisfie two Passions, his Avarice, and Hatred of the Nation. He chose eight considerable Persons, whose Heads he lopp'd

† Hermanni Opusculum de sui Conversione Carpzovio editum. ‖ Bern. Ep. 222. t. 1. p. 133. Not. p. 41. * An. 1155.
† An. 1146. ‖ Pontif. Rom. p. 47. * Concil. Lateran. III. Append. Pars 20. c. 1. p. 1640. † V. Bartol. Bibl. R.
‖ Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 98. * An. 1170.

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off, and confiſcated their Eſtates to his own Profit; he made himſelf an advantagious Amends for what he had given to the King: He thought it a good Market, and therefore offer'd a more conſiderable Sum, upon condition of having a greater number of Heads given up to him. But this Offer was not accepted, becauſe the King choſe rather to reap the Profit without the Effuſion of Blood, by obliging the richeſt of the Synagogue to ranſom their Lives. They did not ſtop there, for * it was debated in Council, whether they ſhould all be expell'd the Kingdom, and their Effects ſeiz'd on, wherewithal to ſupply the Charges of the War, without burthening the People with new Impoſitions. The Opinions were divided in Council, which gave the Jews time to deliberate among themſelves, and to offer a conſiderable Sum of Money. They pretend this Deliverance was owing to their Piety, and the Vehemence of their Prayers. No doubt they were very urgent in ſo imminent a Danger; but their Money was more efficacious than their Faſts and Prayers. They were at the higheſt pitch of Joy, when they ſaw *Gonzales* fall into Diſgrace with the King, who cauſed him to be arreſted Priſoner, notwithſtanding his great Services and Victories he had won; for his Priſon and his Fall eſtabliſh'd their Tranquility.

V. Moreover, *Alphonſo* grew ſo deſperately in Love † with a beautiful Jewiſh Woman, as to Sacrifice his Glory, and the Intereſts of his Kingdom, to her. The Lords of his Court, ſcandaliz'd at it, uſed both Friendſhip and Violence to diſſipate the Charm. They kill'd the Miſtreſs, and made a Repreſentation of a kind of Apparition to the Gallant, that preach'd Chaſtity and Repentance to him: They even ſay, that God concern'd himſelf in it, and that the Victory which the Moors obtain'd over *Alphonſo*, was an exemplary Judgment of Heaven, to revenge a deſpiſed Bride.

Quicquid peccant Atridæ plectuntur Achivi.

The Jews took advantage of this happy Juncture, and grew ſo potent, that *R. Eliakim*, who then lived, and wrote at that time a Ritual of the Ceremonies obſerved in all the Synagogues, and which is call'd the *Cuſtom of the Univerſe*, reckon'd twelve thouſand Perſons of his Religion in the City of *Toledo*.

VI. They were alſo very numerous in *Andaluſia*, where they very much apply'd themſelves to Learning: But Study ſerved only to diſturb the Union of the Divines, who were then divided into three different Sects, which ‖ *Maimonides*, who then lived, has diſtinguiſh'd, and which he look'd upon as an unhappy Conſequence of the Deſtruction of the Sanhedrim.

Indeed, whilſt that Tribunal remain'd, the Oral Law was not written, by which they avoided the Diverſity of Opinions, the Difficulties and Errors that ariſe from the Text of a Book, or from the different Readings of the Copiers. They were contented then to whiſper in the Ear of the Wiſe, whatever was great and ſublime in Religion, and the thing depended abſolutely upon the Sanhedrim. 'Tis thus Men reaſon, who would be wiſer than God, or that prefer their Imaginations before the Precepts of the Law. For did not God ordain, that his Law, which contain'd all that was eſſential in the old Religion, ſhould be written? And if he had reveal'd Myſteries, why would he have them conceal'd?

Beſides *Maimonides* does not diſſemble, that this Precaution occaſion'd a great Miſchief; for the Tenets of Religion wear out of the Memory of Men when they are not written, and leave only ſome faint Tracks behind not eaſie to be diſcover'd. Something of it, ſaid he, is found in the *Talmud* and the *Midraſchot*, but this is ſo wrapp'd up, that 'tis impoſſible to penetrate them; and moſt Men, wearied with the Labour of this Purſuit, imagine there is no Soul nor Kernel in the Stone which they cannot break; this not only occaſion'd Ignorance, but alſo diverſity of Opinions and Parties, when they argued about the Nature and Perfections of God, or the Creation of the World.

VII. In effect the *Caraites*, and part of the *Excellents*, follow'd the Sect of the *Speakers*. *They had imagined*, ſays *Maimonides*, *the Wiſdom of Words* דברם Devarim, *whence they had the Title given them of* Meddaberim *the* Speakers. *Maimonides* is guilty of two Miſtakes about the Origine of this Sect. 1. 'Twas not the Chriſtians that invented this Wiſdom of Words to confute the Philoſophers; the Glory of it ſhould wholly redound to the *Iſhmaelites*. 2. The Truth is, *Giahed* a famous Muſſulman Doctor, who lived at *Bagdet* * in the middle of the Ninth Century, after he had read the Greek Philoſophers, and drawn all that he thought good out of them, compoſed a Book, which the *Arabians* call *Elma Al Kelam*, *The Science of Words*: And 'twas doubtleſs from the Title of this *Arabick* Book, written by one of the moſt eloquent Writers of that Nation, that the Name of *Speakers* was taken, with whom the Chriſtians are impertinently confounded.

VIII. *Maimonides* pretends that the Chriſtians, who were ſpread over *Greece*, eaſily perceiv'd that their Religion was overturn'd by the Principles of the old Philoſophy, which was admir'd in that Country; and that to remedy ſo great a Miſchief, they imagin'd other Principles to prop up their Faith, and to overturn Philoſophy. *The* Chriſtians, *and the* Iſhmaelites *their Imitators, were leſs concern'd*, ſays he, *to examine Nature and Truth, than to ſupport their Opinions. They imagin'd what beſt ſuited with their Religion, and afterwards determin'd that the thing was ſo; and as they proteſted they had nothing in view but the Search of Truth, they deceiv'd their Poſterity by theſe Proteſtations, who believ'd them upon their Word without Examination.* The *Iſhmaelites*, who prided themſelves in Learning, and who cauſed the Writings of the Philoſophers and Chriſtians to be tranſlated, took from one and the other what beſt ſerved their turn, without troubling their Heads, whether theſe Principles had been confuted.

IX. *Maimonides* † enters into the Particulars of theſe Principles, and he ſays, that the Speakers maintain'd, that the World was compos'd of Atoms, from whence they concluded there was a *Vacuum*. Thus *Epicurus*'s Philoſophy, which *Gaſſendus* has follow'd, had a mighty Vogue among the *Arabians*: They ſaid alſo, that there was nothing in the Univerſe, but Subſtance and Accidents, and that Subſtantial Forms are Accidents; that as Subſtance cannot be without Accidents, Accidents could not ſubſiſt without Subſtance. 'Tis no wonder that *Maimonides*, who was much devoted to *Ariſtotle*'s Sentiments, ſhould reject theſe Principles; but he ought not from thence to conclude, as he does, that the Chriſtians invented them through Intereſt, ſince the Philoſophers had maintain'd them before. Nor ought he to affirm, that the Followers of theſe Principles did not prove God's Unity and Per-

* Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 98. Pars 1. c. 71. p. 133, 134, 138.
† Mariana de Reb. Hiſp. l. 11. c. 18, 19. p. 481, &c.
‖ Maimonides more Nevochim.
* *He died there in the Year of the Hegira* 255, *of the Chriſtian Æra* 868.
† C. 123. p. 148.

fections, the Novelty of the World, and the manner of its Production. For the Christians reason juster than he. But it was easie to make it criminal to the *Caraites*, who deviating from Tradition, and other receiv'd Principles of the Jews, reason like the Christians, upon the Nature of God and his Perfections.

X. There was a second Division in the Nation; for most of the Doctors follow'd the Principles of the *Motazales*, which were opposite to those of the *Assarians*.

The *Motazales* were Separatists among the *Mussulmans*; wherefore this Name has often been given to the *Pharisees*; but 'tis doing them an Injury: For whereas they separated from the rest of Men for Devotion, the *Motazales* were Schismaticks; *Vassel* their Founder having separated from his Master in the Year * 723, upon some diversity of Opinion.

First, The *Motazales* maintain'd, That the Attributes of the Divine Essence ought not to be separated. "God, said they, does not know by a "Science distinct from himself, nor act by a Power "separate from his Essence; but he knows and acts "by his Essence:" Whereas the *Assarians* ascribe to God a Knowledge, a Power, and Life. Some † even took literally what they read in the Alchoran and Scripture, that God sees and hears, that he rises and sits, and has *created all things by his hand*. And they might defend themselves by the Testimony of some Jews, who ascrib'd to God Tears, and the roaring of a Lion.

Secondly, The *Motazales* believ'd with all the Sect of *Aly*, that the Alchoran was created, and consequently was not eternal. They said also, that the *Arabians* could make as good a Book, if they apply'd themselves to it. This Controversie caus'd violent Motions, because the *Abassides* cruelly persecuted those, who deny'd the Production of this Work.

Lastly, They disputed, like the Christians, about the impossibility of losing Faith. The *Chagians* maintain'd, That Faith was destroy'd by the great Sins the Mussulmans committed. The *Assarians* believ'd on the other hand, That a Man always preserv'd the Character of Faithful, in the midst of the greatest Disorders; and the *Motazales* held a Medium; teaching, That Faith was not lost, but yet the Title of Faithful could not be given to him, who commits a gross Sin. Lastly, they had a very hot dispute, about the manner of God's operating, and over-ruling the Actions of Men. The *Motazales* are persuaded, that God ‖ *has only a general Influence over Action; that he leaves Man an entire Liberty, by which he deserves either Recompence or Punishment*. The *Sonnites*, who are reckon'd Orthodox, said on the contrary, that God was the Author of Good and Evil. Some believe, it is making God the Author of Sin, to attribute to him any thing farther than the direction of Events, which they call *Equity*; and others fancy, that by confining God to this direction, they rob him of his Power. Hence *Hamadani*, Head * of the *Motazales*, seeing a *Sonnite* Professor enter, cry'd out to him, *Praise be given to him, who is remote and separate from all Evil by his Holiness*; that is, who partakes not in Wicked Actions: And the other reply'd to him, *Praise be given to him who permits nothing to be done in his Kingdom without his Order*. Hereby he exalted the Power of God, without which nothing is done in the World.

XI. It is not probable that the Jews concerned themselves about the Creation of the Alchoran; but they adopted and followed the Sentiments of *Motazales*, about the Nature of God, his Perfections and Attributes; and believed with these *Separatists*, that God had left Man a full Liberty in all his Actions, and had only a general Influence over Events. Thus doubtless, we are to explain what *Maimonides* said of it; who was so far from looking upon those who took this side, as Schismaticks, that he treats them as Friends and Companions.

XII. In the mean time there was a third Party, who followed the old Philosophers, in all things that were not directly contrary to Religion; and *Maimonides*, who had carefully read *Aristotle*, was one of these.

XIII. Besides this Division, they underwent a Persecution at the end of that Century, † in the Kingdom of *Leon*. *Vorstius* is mistaken, in saying, that it was ‖ in *the Kingdom of* Lyons *in* France, *that* Hillel's *twenty four sacred Books appear'd*: For the dispersion of these Books was caus'd by the Persecution; and the Jews were so far from being persecuted at *Lyons*, that there is *no Kingdom of* Lyons *in France*. The Learned * have a great value for the the Manuscript of the Bible, which goes by *Hillel*'s Name. Some Christians make the Author of it live at the return from the *Babylonish* Captivity; others plac'd him sixty Years before Christ †. The Jews add, that this Copy was preserv'd in the Kingdom of *Leon*, and that the Persecuted People drew it out, and occsion'd its Dispersion. It wants two Verses of *Joshua* ‖; and if this Manuscript had an Antiquity of nine hundred Years, which is given it, there would be room to justifie the *Massora*, which has not reckon'd them; and to confess, that these two Verses ought to be expung'd from the Hebrew and Latin Copies of the Christians. *Cunæus* concludes on the contrary, that we are much oblig'd to the Jews, because being absolute Masters of this Copy, at a time when the Christians understood not a word of Hebrew, it were easie for 'em to have alter'd all the Passages that were against 'em; but yet they have not done it.

XIV. But these Observations are not so important as is believ'd; for these two Verses, which they would have blotted out of *Joshua* upon *Hillel*'s Authority, only teaches us, that Cities of Refuge were given out of *the Tribe of* Reuben, Bezer *with her Suburbs, and* Jahazah *with her Suburbs*, Kedemoth *with her Suburbs, and* Mephaath *with her Suburbs, four Cities*. The Fact reported by *Joshua* is certain, since it is read in the *Chronicles*, from whence *Grotius* thinks it was convey'd into the Book of *Joshua*. Not only the *Septuagint*, or at least the Authors of a Greek Version much ancienter than *Hillel*'s Manuscripts, have related this Division; but have explained it, by observing, that these Cities were Places of *Refuge, situate on this side* Jordan, *on the Coasts of Jericho*. 'Tis reasonable therefore to believe, that this is the more ancient Reading; which Conjecture is the better confirm'd, in that the Tribe of *Reuben* must have had its Cities of Refuge; and having them, it is not probable they would have been omitted by *Joshua*, in the Catalogue he gives of them. But tho' these two Verses were wanting, yet it were absurd to accuse the Jews of suppressing them with an ill design; for this is one of the inevitable Faults of Copyers, when a Manuscript is successively transcrib'd by many Persons. Indeed *Hillel*'s Copy is no longer in being, but only the

* *Of the* Hegyra 125. † Abulpharag. Dyn. IX. p. 105. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. p. 684. ‖ Abulpharag. p. 105. * Herbelot. Hamadani. † An. 1496. ‖ Ganz Tsemach David An. 956. p. 139. Vorst. ibid. * V. Leusden Præf. ad B. Heb. † Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. l. 1. c. 18. p. 116. ‖ Joshua 22. 36, 37.

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Tranſcripts, which *were taken from it* in the Year 1140. as *Ganz* affirms. And therefore we have reaſon to ſay, that they have but an Antiquity of five hundred Years: On the other hand, there is no reaſon to commend the Jews for their Honeſty; for the diverſity of Copies would have created new Difficulties, and 'tis to their Advantage to have no difference betwixt their Copies and ours. But, in reality, tho' they ſhould have corrupted *Hillel*'s Copy in *Spain*, ſhould we have been oblig'd to believe them at a time that the Copies of the Bible were diſpers'd into all Places and Languages? And wou'd *Hillel*'s Manuſcript have carry'd it above all the reſt?

XV. Their Fortune in *France* was pretty much diverſify'd. They were accus'd at † *Paris* for murdering St. *William*; and for their Puniſhment, they were ſentenc'd to the Fire. Indeed they deſerved Death, if they were guilty of that Crime; and if no Innocent Perſon was involv'd in the Fate of the Guilty, they had nothing to complain of, but of their ſelves and their own Cruelty.

They were very hardly dealt with at *Beziers*. On *Palm-Sunday*, every Year, commenc'd a certain Paſtime which pleas'd the People, who were careful to renew it. This People flock'd out at Night, ſcoured the Streets, broke the Jews Windows, and ſtoned all thoſe that fell in their way. The Biſhop having often ſeen this inhumane Proceeding, which was their Preparation for the *Eaſter* Communion, treated with the Jews, and oblig'd them to buy off this Inſult by paying him a Tribute. The Treaty is very ſingular; for the Biſhop ‖ *engaged himſelf and his Succeſſors to preſerve the Jews from Inſults, from War, and Lapidation, by day and by night*, all the time betwixt *Palm-Sunday* and *Eaſter*; declaring, that he would ſhut the Doors of the Church againſt whomſoever, that ſhould break open thoſe of the Jews; and on their part, he obliged them to pay annually to the Biſhop *two hundred Sols de Melgeuil*, which might amount at that time to four Marks in Silver. They paid moreover above four Silver Marks to the Church of St. *Nazarus*, to purchaſe Ornaments. This Treaty was concluded at *Beziers*, in the Year 1160. and this made them pretty eaſie, till they were expell'd under *Philip Auguſtus*.

XVI. This Prince, * at the beginning of his Reign, aſſuming Airs of Devotion, baniſh'd the Jews out of his Kingdom, confiſcated their Eſtates, and only permitted them to ſell their Moveables, and to carry away the Money, which was reducing 'em to the laſt Extremity; ſince the People taking advantage of this Circumſtance, refus'd to purchaſe, or to pay. Hiſtorians even complain, † that they rob'd the Fugitives of their Money, and brought them to ſo great Straits, that a great many had much ado to bear it. Some loſt their Lives, as *Jacob of Orleans*, who was knock'd on the Head in the City that gave him his Birth and his Name.

Rigord, ‖ who wrote the Life of *Philip Auguſtus*, ſays, that by this Exile he revenged the Death of a young Man, nam'd *Richard*, whom the Jews had Crucify'd at *Paris*; and that he was convinc'd by this Example, of what he had often heard the young Princes ſay, that were Educated with him, that the Jews every Year committed ſuch a Murder. This Accuſation often recurs, and all Nations charge this Crime upon the Jews, whilſt no body can conjecture the Original of this Imputation. Hiſtorians vary about this Matter *: *Du Mont*, who continu'd *Sigebert*'s Chronicle, and liv'd at the time of this Murder at *Bec*, from whence he was taken with twelve others, to be preferr'd to an Abbey, aſſerts, that it was not at *Paris*, but at *Pontoiſe* that *Richard* was kill'd; whereas I don't believe there were Jews enough then at *Pontoiſe* to make a Synagogue, and to venture upon ſuch a Murder. The Author of *Faſciculus Temporum* has plac'd this Event in the Year 1166. in which *Philip Auguſtus* was not yet King.

Mille decem decies, ſex decies quoque ſeni.

However, *Richard* was look'd upon as a Martyr. He was bury'd in the Church-yard of *the little Fields*, which ſtill preſerves its Name. He was afterwards remov'd to *Innocents* Church; from whence the *Engliſh* carry'd away his Body, in *Charles* V. Reign, leaving only his Head in the Church, *where it performed Miracles*. This was the Ground of the Pretence to fall upon the Jews. They were ſeiz'd in all the Synagogues, plunder'd of every thing that was moſt valuable, and at laſt expell'd the Kingdom. *Nauclerus* †, who alſo relates, that the Jews aſſembled ſecretly on *Maunday-Thurſday*, and every Year, in hatred to the Chriſtian Religion, they ſacrific'd a Child, aſſigns another more probable Cauſe of this Baniſhment: for it was repreſented to the King, that the Jews were ſo Rich and Potent, that they poſſeſs'd one half of *Paris*, and oblig'd the Chriſtian Slaves to Judaize: Thoſe that temporiz'd, and embrac'd Chriſtianity, continu'd the peaceable Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates; but the others left the Kingdom, and their Synagogues were turn'd into Churches.

XVII. *Philip* did not always remain an Enemy to this Nation: Whether he had only made the Decree of Baniſhment, at the ſollicitation of the Cardinal *de Champagne*, Brother to the Queen Mother, and firſt Miniſter of State, who was reſolv'd to purge *the Kingdom of a Peſt ſo prejudicial to the State*; or was willing to revenge himſelf on Pope *Innocent* III. who had a mind to oblige him to take again the Princeſs *Hembruge*, and caus'd the Interdict to be executed ſo ‖ rigorouſly in the Kingdom, that the Dead continu'd a Week unbury'd, and the Living without Divine Service; or whether, Laſtly, he was ſenſible that the State ſuffer'd too much by loſing ſuch a multitude of rich Merchants and ingenious Artiſts, he recall'd them from their Baniſhment. The Zealots blam'd this Recal of the Enemies of Chriſtianity; the People murmur'd, and only excus'd the Prince upon the Notion of a Fourth Motive that induc'd him to it; which was, to draw Money out of them for the Cruſade; as if it were lawful to do Evil, upon the view of an imaginary Good. However it was, the exil'd Jews return'd *; but for no long time.

XVIII. They were expell'd out of *England* in the beginning of the eleventh Century †, which was one of the great Exiles they complain of, becauſe they were great Sufferers in it. But for all this ‖ they had ſettled again in that Kingdom; and were ſo numerous in *Henry* II. Reign, as to preſent a Petition to him for new Burying-places. They had only one at *London*, whither they were forc'd to carry the ſtinking Corpſes from the remote Countries, or to leave them without Burial. *Henry*, convinc'd of the reaſonableneſe of their Requeſt, * aſſign'd them places to bury their Dead, in all the Cities where they were ſettled.

† Rob de Monte App. ad Chron. Sigeb. An. 1177. p. 661. ‖ Catel. Mem. du Lang. l. 3. p. 523. * Ste. Marth. *Hiſt. of the Houſe of* France, l. VI. p 344. † Al. 1179. al. 1182. An. 1186. Ganz Tſemach, David p 139. ‖ Rigord de Geſtis Phil. Aug. Hiſt. Franc. t. V. p. 61. * Rob. de Monte Append. ad Chr. Sigeb. An. 1180. Piſtor. Hiſt. Germ. t. 2. Faſciculus Temp. lb. t. 3. p. 78. † Naucl. Chron. Genar. 40. t. 2. p. 862. An. 1182. ‖ Spond. An. 1198. n. 9. p. 3. * Ganz Tſemach p. 140. † An. 1020. ‖ Polyd. Virg. l. 13. p. 236. * An. 1179.

XIX. But

XIX. But they ſuffer'd * much under *Richard*, becauſe the Court and People were prepoſſeſs'd with a Notion, that the Jews were all Conjurers; and might commit ſome Witchcraft upon the King, if they were preſent at his Coronation. Severe † Injunctions were given to all the Jews, not to appear at it. Some who came from far and near at a great Expence, to ſee the Ceremony, were reſolv'd not to loſe their Labor nor Money. They flatter'd themſelves they ſhould not be known, becauſe they were Strangers in the City; but they were miſtaken. The Officers having diſcover'd ſome of them at *Weſtminſter*, fell upon them with Staves. They dragg'd them out of the Church half dead; but the noiſe of this Execution being ſpread in the City, ſet the People in an uproar; who broke open the Houſes of the Jews, and kill'd thoſe they met with. Happy were they that found faithful Friends to ſhelter them. The Tumult ſpread from *London* into the Country; from the Capital to the Counties, where great numbers were ſlain. The day after the Coronation, Orders were given to ſtop theſe violent Proceedings; but whether they were ill executed, or that it was impoſſible to put ſuch a ſudden check to the Fury of the People, the Perſecution laſted almoſt all the Year, which was that of the Jubilee. *Trivet* ‖ places this Event in the Year 1190. and ſo does *Genebrard*.

XX. A greater Calamity ſtill befel them when *Richard* Cruſaded. The Jews thought they had purchaſed this Prince's Favour, by the great Sums they had brought into his Treaſury, to ſupport his Expence; but the People reſolv'd to make a general Maſſacre of them. This was perform'd at *Norwich*, where they began. Many of them dy'd at *Stamford* and St. *Edmonds*. The Miſchief was more terrible at *York*; where fifteen hundred had ſeiz'd on the City to defend themſelves; but being beſieged they offer'd * to capitulate, and to ranſom their Lives with Money. The Offer being refuſed, one of them cry'd in Deſpair, That it was better † *to die couragiouſly for the Law, than to fall into the hands of the Chriſtians.* Every one immediately took his Knife and ſtab'd his Wife and Children. The Men afterwards retir'd into the King's Palace, which they ſet on fire, in which they conſumed themſelves with the Palace and Furniture. The People with ſatisfaction entred the deſolate Houſes, loaded themſelves with Plunder, diſcharg'd all their Debts, by burning the Notes they had given to the Bankers. The King with grief beheld the Slaughter, which could not be ſtop'd; and ſo ended the twelfth Century.

* An. 1188. † Matt. Paris, p. 108. ‖ Triveti Chronicon Spicel. Dacher. t. 8. p. 498. * An. 1196 † Matt. Paris p. 111. Polyd. Virgil. l. 14. p. 248.

CHAP. XI.

The Reaſons of the Chriſtians making ſevere and ignominious Laws againſt the Jews.

I. *The Deſign of this Chapter.* II. *The Jews of Zeal and Affection diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt.* III. *The Church ought to perſecute.* IV. *Violence is call'd Gentleneſs; the common uſe of Words chang'd.* V. *The neceſſity of repreſenting the Jews as they are. The Erroneous are neither Murderers nor Poiſoners.* VI. *A juſt Idea of Puniſhments; Exile is no Indulgence.* VII. *A Confutation of* Thomaſſin *concerning the Example of* Avitus. VIII. *Baptiſm is no Grace to the incredulous Jew.* IX. *The Inquiſition is not a reſtoring of the ancient Pennance.* X. *Different Accuſations againſt the Jews, occaſion the making of Laws.* XI. *Their Hatred to the Chriſtians.* XII. Juſtin Martyr *of old accus'd them of it.* XIII. *Their Apology.* XIV. *Whether they Crucified the Chriſtians.* XV. *The Danger they expos'd themſelves to.* XVI. *At what time this Accuſation began.* XVII. *Cruelties purſuant to theſe Accuſations.* XVIII. Peter de Blois *excuſes the Jews.* XIX. *Miracles wrought by crucify'd Children ſuſpected.* XX. *The piercing of the Hoſt.* XXI. *This matter diſcuſs'd.* XXII. *Miracles examined.* XXIII. *Rejected by exact Hiſtorians.* XXIV. *Bleeding Images.* XXV. *A Tempeſt rais'd at* Rome *by one of theſe Images.* XXVI. *The Jews Rebellions.* XXVII. *The Treaſons they are accus'd of.*

I. SInce we are entred upon the Ages, in which the Jews were expos'd to cruel Perſecutions; either from the Fury of the People, who accus'd them of ſeveral Crimes, that they might have a pretence to puniſh them; or from the Authority of Princes, who fancy'd they ought to deſtroy that Nation, whoſe Anceſtors had crucify'd the Meſſiah; and to Violence, added a multitude of Edicts and Declarations, to repeal their Privileges, and to render them odious and infamous: We have thought it proper to make a Collection of theſe Edicts, that the Reader may at one view, take in all the different Methods that have been employ'd in all times, to diſgrace a Nation they deſign'd to deſtroy. Theſe Edicts, had they been diſpers'd through the Body of this Hiſtory, had been loſt and bury'd in it, and it would have been an hard matter to have found them. But as I have endeavour'd ſo to digeſt all the Subjects of this Collection, as that the Reader might, upon occaſion, eaſily recur to them; I thought it neceſſary to make one Chapter by it ſelf, of the Decrees, and Councils, and Declarations, which Princes have publiſh'd in all Ages againſt the Jews. And in order to render it leſs tedious, I ſhall rank them under certain Heads, becauſe the ſame thing has been decreed at different times, but in a different manner. But the better to determin about the juſtice or injuſtice of theſe Decrees, we ſhall briefly examine, whether it be reaſonable to perſecute the Jews. They ſay, that God has diſpers'd them, becauſe he would * *have Witneſſes of his Unity in all Idolatrous Nations.* The Chriſtians maintain, that they have deſerv'd Baniſhment, and other Puniſhments, for their Cruelty in crucifying *Jeſus Chriſt*, and their Obſtinacy againſt him. But more equitable People could wiſh they were more humanly treated. Let us conſider this diverſity of Opinions.

II. † Some think the Jews ought to be paid in the ſame Coin they lent to the Idolatrous Nations. They had a publick Hatred to the Heathens, which was never reſtrain'd, but by neceſſity, or an half

* Cardoſo das Excelencias. † Weemſe *Treatiſe of the four degenerate Sons. The Jew* Sect. b. p. 338, 339.

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Converſion; as was that of the Proſelytes of the Gate. They tolerated theſe; but as they hated the reſt, and murder'd them when they could, we ought alſo to tolerate the Circumcis'd, who have ſome inclination to the Chriſtian Religion, or retain to the Synagogue by the Misfortune of their Birth. But we ought not, ſay they, to have the ſame regard for Jews *of Zeal and Affection*; who hate the Chriſtians, blaſpheme the Meſſiah; becauſe *theſe* * *ſpeak the Language of Aſdod*, and † *thoſe who call themſelves Jews are a Synagogue of Satan.*

III. Others are perſuaded, that the Church alone ought to reign; that Truth has its Privileges which Falſhood can never obtain. 'Tis a Queen that cannot bear a Rival, but ought to aſſault and deſtroy her, wherever ſhe has the Face to appear. The Edicts and Privileges which Neceſſity extorts from the Mouths and Hands of Princes, are no bar to her Privileges, nor ought to be any impediment to her Purſuits. The Erroneous poiſon and kill the Soul; and therefore deſerve the Puniſhment of Murderers and Poiſoners; which is the more juſtly inflicted, as the Death they cauſe is Eternal; and the Soul is more Excellent than the Body.

IV. But others endeavour to ſoften or diſguiſe the Odium of this Notion. They change the common meaning of Words, and colour Violence with the pretext of Charity for the Erroneous. They call it an *Holy Severity.* They ſay, that the Church has always employ'd Lenity; but they ſay withal, that the denying all Liberty of Conſcience, forcing away their Children, Exile and Confiſcations, *are Perſuaſions* || *rather than Violences or Conſtraints. Whatever is done to avoid them is ſtill voluntary and free. Fathers, as we have ſaid elſewhere, Husbands, Maſters, exerciſe gentle Chaſtiſements upon their Children, Wives, and Servants, to reduce them to their Duty. God deals in like manner with Sinners to make them righteous, and with the Righteous to make them perfect. In all this there is no Conſtraint or Violence: They are only ſomewhat ſtrong Perſuaſions; and Liberty is not forced but cured. The Will is not the leſs free, but it grows more ſound. There is no Injury, nor Violence done either to the Mind or Body by the Cure of it, when it is deliver'd from Diſeaſes, and heal'd of mortal Wounds, tho' it be by Pain and Torture.*

A Council of *Paris*, held in the ſeventh Century, conſtrain'd the Jews to receive Baptiſm, under pretence, that they had tranſgreſs'd one of its Decrees. But we are told, that * the only Puniſhment that *this Canon ſpeaks of, is a Favour, and the greateſt of all Favours for a Jew; as granting him the Privilege of being baptiz'd with his whole Family. The Favour is ſo much the greater, becauſe the Sacraments of Confirmation and the Euchariſt are uſually receiv'd with Baptiſm.*

God is bleſſed by ſome, becauſe the Inquiſition, which they think is nothing but a Reſtoration of the ancient Diſcipline of Pennance, was eſtabliſh'd not only in *Italy* and *Spain*, but in *Germany* and *France.*

Laſtly, The Church, which abhors Bloodſhed, for, *Eccleſia neſcit ſanguinem*, and delivers up to the Secular Arm all that it has condemn'd, without permitting its Judgment to be reviſ'd; is, however, ſay they, an indulgent and charitable Mother, who has no hand in the Murder of her Children.

V. I could wiſh the Church, which boaſts to have *Truth* for her Inheritance, and to defend the Rights of it, would not thus trifle with the Ambiguity of Words, but act with more Sincerity.

Firſt: It were to be wiſh'd, that without liſtning to the Dictates of an Humane Paſſion, or the Heat of a Faction, which is term'd a Zeal for God, the Enemies of Religion were always repreſented in their true Light, inſtead of rendring them odious by Metaphorical Terms, and drawing cruel and barbarous Conſequences from them. The greateſt Men have been ſubject to this Fault; but inſtead of imitating them, and making uſe of a Great Name to colour Injuſtice, their Example ought to teach us more Equity. Thus St *Chryſoſtom* being told, That a Woman had been ſtrongly importun'd by a Chriſtian to go to a Synagogue to take an Oath, becauſe he imagin'd it would be more ſolemnly done in that place; fell into violent Heats: He argu'd juſtly at firſt, by telling the Woman, that it was an Error to believe, that Oaths were good, or the better from any particular Place: But at the ſame time he overſtrain'd his Chriſtianity, by aſſerting, That the Goſpel did not allow an Oath to be requir'd of any one. He carry'd his Hatred to the Synagogue farther, in ſaying, † *theſe were Houſes of Lewdneſs, ſo many Retreats for wild Beaſts, and the Habitation of Devils.* And as if it were not enough for a great Biſhop thus to defile his Paper, he adds, that they did not worſhip God in theſe Places, *becauſe they did not worſhip his Son; and that he that knows the Father, knows the Son; and the Worſhip perform'd there terminates on the Devil, becauſe God has forſaken that Worſhip.* Can any one reaſon more pitifully than St. *Chryſoſtom* did upon this account?

What is the meaning of thoſe who ſay, the Erroneous kill and poiſon the Soul? 'Tis a Metaphor indeed, and a Compariſon which a Preacher may employ. But can Divines reaſonably draw from hence a Conſequence for puniſhing Poiſoners, and the Erroneous alike? Or build a Doctrine tending to the Deſtruction of part of Mankind, upon a Conſequence of this nature? A Murderer or Poiſoner kill the Body againſt the Will, and without the Knowledge of the Perſon murder'd: He takes the Poiſon, becauſe he does not know it; or receives a mortal Wound, which he can't ward off: But the Erroneous have the Lamp of Reaſon to diſtinguiſh Truth from Error, and they voluntarily eſpouſe it. Puniſhments ought to be of the ſame Nature with the Crimes. Hereticks that poiſon the Soul, ought to be chaſtiſed with a Spiritual Puniſhment, ſuch as the denial of the Sacraments, and the Spiritual Advantages reaped in the Church, and the Murderer that kills the Body ought to ſuffer a Bodily Puniſhment. Theſe Ideas then ought not to be confounded, and we muſt not ſport with the Equivocation of Words, to eſtabliſh or authorize Perſecution againſt the Erroneous.

VI. They more manifeſtly delude themſelves, who take Puniſhments for *Perſuaſions*, which rob not the Soul of its Liberty. Thoſe gentle Severities, which oblige a Man to baniſh himſelf his Country, and to ſeek a Sanctuary in Foreſts and Caves, or commonly among unrelenting Strangers, where Miſery and Grief eat him up, are contradictory things. If the Church has a mind to puniſh the Erroneous, and believes her ſelf privileg'd to do it, let her ſpeak ſincerely, and authorize, if ſhe dare, Cruelty and Violence; but let her not call Diſgrace, and Pain, and Miſery an Indulgence. Will it not be acknowledg'd, that in civil Society, Exile is one of the ſevereſt and moſt mortifying Puniſhments? And has it not always been ſo? Are not the loſs of Eſtates, confiſcated by the Sovereign, pecuniary Taxes, the depriving of the means of Livelihood, the ruin and ſtarving of a Family cau-

* Nehem. 13. 25. † Apocal. 11. 9. || Thomaſſin Traite Hiſtor. des Edites 11. Part. c. 5. p. 53. * Ibid. 1 Part. c. 49. p. 633, 634. † Chryſoſt. adv. Jud. hom. 1. p. 391. hom. 3. p. 439.

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ſed by Edicts, ſo many cruel Puniſhments in all Nations of the World? Why muſt the Language be changed in Religion? Has the Church a Power to transform, what all Nations think a harſh and inſupportable Puniſhment into Gentleneſs? Shall we ſay, that thoſe Thouſands of Jews that were baniſh'd *Spain*, and periſh'd with Famine and Miſery, did not ſuffer? Or that the Neceſſity of leaving all, and expoſing themſelves to manifeſt Peril of their Lives, ought to be conſider'd as a Perſwaſion which prejudiced not their Liberty? Let People ſpeak plainly; let them diſtinguiſh the Degrees of Puniſhment, or that of Death, from other Puniſhments inflicted by the Church; but let them not ſay at the ſame time, that the latter are only Gentleneſs and Perſwaſions.

VII. Father *Thomaſſin* * authoriſes himſelf by the Example of *Avitus*, who ſaid to the Jews of *Clermont*, *I don't force you by Violence to imbrace Chriſtianity; which is ſo true*, cry'd he, *that theſe ſorts of Menaces, or Puniſhments, are not violent Conſtraints, but Inducements to remove the Impediments to your Inſtruction and Converſion.* Could any thing be more pitifully ſaid, and would it change the Nature of the thing, tho' *Avitus* had ſaid it a thouſand Years before us; or if *Gregory de Tours* † *had related it with Applauſe?* Hiſtorians agree that *Avitus* gave the Option either of Chriſtianity or Baniſhment.

Aut admitte preces, aut, rogo, cede loco.

Let us ceaſe then to ſay, that Baniſhment is a Puniſhment, or acknowledge, that there was Violence uſed in the Converſion of the Jews at *Clermont*. *Avitus* is not to be conſulted about the Nature of his Actions, but we are to judge of it by the Idea that all the World has had of Baniſhment. Was Exile a Puniſhment to the perſevering Jews, who left the City *Clermont*, with their Houſes, Employments and Families? And if it was a violent Puniſhment to them, how did it ceaſe to be ſo in reſpect of others? And how could *Avitus* ſay, without Falſehood, that he did not compel them to imbrace Chriſtianity? His Injuſtice was ſo much the greater, becauſe he not being a Sovereign, but an Eccleſiaſtical Subject of the Kingdom, could not baniſh the Inhabitants of *Clermont*, but by one of thoſe inſolent Attempts too common with Church-men. Father *Thomaſſin* acknowledges it ||, ſince he indeavours to ſuppoſe, that *Avitus* baniſh'd them by a Decree, which he obtain'd by his Intereſt with the Prince; but this is falſe.

VIII. I can't imagine how Men can carry the Fallacy ſo high, as to give the Title of *Grace* to the Sacraments, conferr'd on thoſe that deſpiſe and reject them. Nevertheleſs this Language is attributed to Councils; and purſuant to this Style has been compoſed a vaſt *Hiſtorical Treatiſe of Edicts*, which is nothing but a Series of Sophiſtry and Ambiguity. We can't conceive the meaning of the Council held at *Paris* in preſence of *Clotaire* in the Year 615, conſiſting of 79 Biſhops, which forbad the Jews to have any Imploy in the Militia, or to bring any Action againſt the Chriſtians, and order'd, that if any one violated the Decrees and Ordinance of this Council, * *both he and all his Family ſhould receive the Grace of Baptiſm from the Hand of the Biſhop.* I ſhall not obſerve that this Council cauſed thoſe to be baptized, who did not believe there was any Grace in Baptiſm, ſince it was impoſed upon them againſt their Wills, and as a Puniſhment for the Violation of the Canons. But the Council calls that *Grace*, which it inflicts as a Puniſhment, and can in no wiſe be conſider'd as a Grace, ſince the Sacrament is ineffectual to the Incredulous, and by a much ſtronger Reaſon to thoſe who have an Abhorrence to it. The modern Hiſtorian going farther than the Fathers of the Council, adds, that Baptiſm is *the greateſt Grace that can be conferr'd on a Jew, in as much as Confirmation and the Euchariſt were receiv'd with it at the ſame time.* But on the contrary, the Puniſhment was multiplied in proportion to the Multiplication of the Sacraments; becauſe not only the Jews Horror was redoubled, but his eternal Condemnation was aggravated thereby. The Sacrament is a Grace to thoſe who receive it with Faith; becauſe to ſuch it is attended with a ſaving Efficacy. But 'tis impoſing upon ones ſelf to term it a Grace, for thoſe who acknowledge neither Grace nor Sacraments, and only partake of them by conſtraint to ſave their Lives.

IX. Is it not a very palpable Error, to maintain that the Church imbrues not its Hands in Blood, *Eccleſia neſcit ſanguinem*, when it arms the Secular Power to puniſh thoſe it has condemned? We find Councils appointing the Whip or the *Baſtinado* †, to thoſe who eat with Heretical Clerks. This Puniſhment was common in the Synagogue in our Saviour's days; but is never the more Juſt for being ancient. It ought not to be permitted at preſent, in a Society that is only tolerated; for the Stripes of the Whip, from whatever Hand they come, are unjuſtly given for Errors; and the Legate who ſcourged with his own Hand the old Count of *Toloſe*, dragging him with his Stool by the Neck like a Beaſt, ought to be condemned, inſtead of *meriting Praiſe*.

Laſtly, Can it be ſaid that the Inquiſition is a Reſtauration of the Primitive Penance, and that the Marks it impreſſes, || *have nothing ignominious in them; that all the Priſons, whether of the Inquiſition, or of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, are only places of Penitence, where it is wholly in the Power of the Criminals, to give themſelves, by this means, an Amneſty for all their paſt Crimes, as to Corporal Puniſhments?* If it were not the only Drift of ſome Hiſtorians to dazle, and deceive their Readers, they would draw the Court of Inquiſition in its natural Colours, which would make us abhor it, inſtead of ſaying, *We* * *ought to be cautious, when we ſpeak of the rigorous Tribunals of the Church, leſt we ſhould cenſure what rather merits our Commendation. Lenity*; but a true and ſincere Lenity ought to be practiſed in proportion as the Truth is taught, ſince that Truth is no other ways ſalutary, than in proportion as it is known, and voluntarily imbraced. Corporal Pains and Puniſhments ought only to be inflicted for Faults that diſturb civil Society; and the Church ought to imploy no other Arms againſt the Erroneous, than the Word to teach them, or Excommunication to deprive them of the Sacraments, when they render themſelves unworthy of them, and diſgrace the Church they were Members of with Novelties. As the Church takes only the Care of Souls, it ought only to uſe Spiritual Means; and therefore the ſevere Tribunals of the Church, the Puniſhments which they decree, the Priſons to which the Erroneous are confined; thoſe Puniſhments to which they are condemn'd; thoſe ſanguinary and cruel *Acts* of Faith made from time to time againſt the Jews, where the Inquiſition reigns, are ſo many Acts of Inhumanity and Barbarity, which ought never to be ſeen among Chriſtians.

* Thomaſſ. *Treatiſe of Edicts*, 1 Part, c. 48. p. 631. † Gregor. Turon. l. 5. c. 11. p. 215. || Thomaſſ. ibid. • Concil. Pariſ. An. 615. c. 15. p. 1653. † Quod juniores Clerici, ſi præſumpſerint, vapulabunt. Concil. Hiſp. An. 517. c. 17. || Thomaſſ. *Treatiſe of Edicts*, 2 part, c. 12. p. 128. * Thomaſſ. ibid.

X. The

X. The Jews are accuſed of having frequently drawn upon themſelves the Puniſhments of the Church, by their many Attempts againſt her. I don't pretend always to excuſe them. 'Tis even impoſſible, but that in ſo long a Succeſſion of Ages, they muſt have committed ſeveral things to have incurr'd the Hatred and Vengeance of the Chriſtians. And therefore I ſhall faithfully relate what is ſaid againſt them, before I produce the Laws that have been made to reſtrain them.

XI. Firſt, It is complain'd, that they give themſelves the Liberty of abuſing and killing thoſe that deſert their Religion to turn Chriſtians. *Conſtantine* * *ſentenced to the Fire thoſe that ſtoned the Chriſtian Proſelytes, or made them feel the Effects of their Fury:* Which Decree was only made upon the Complaints which were brought to his Tribunal, againſt the Outragiouſneſs of the Jews. The Rigour of this Puniſhment did not daunt them; for in ſpite of the Fire they were threaten'd with, they continued to diſturb the Proſelytes. And therefore the Emperor renew'd his Prohibitions. *Baronius*, † who has quoted this laſt Law of *Conſtantine*, did not underſtand it: An ambiguous Conſtruction has made him give the words a quite different turn from the Prince's meaning. He forbids *the Jews* ‖ *to diſturb him that is turn'd Chriſtian*; whilſt *Baronius* makes him ſay, that he forbids *the Chriſtian Proſelytes to moleſt the Jews.*

Conſtantine ſeems to have mitigated the Puniſhment by this ſecond Law, tho' the Obſtinacy of the Jews, and their Obduration, merited an Aggravation of it; for he ſubmits them here only to an Arbitrary Puniſhment, proportioned to the Exigence of the caſe. This Difficulty is removed by two Obſervations; one, That it was not Juſt to inflict the ſame Puniſhment for all the Outrages the Jews committed againſt the Proſelytes: They cudgell'd one, and kill'd another, and theſe two Crimes ought to be differently puniſh'd: And therefore he leaves the Judges the liberty of proportioning the Puniſhment to the Fault: Beſides the Puniſhment of Burning being too cruel, it was fit to ſoften it. A ſecond Difficulty was form'd againſt the Imperial Laws, becauſe the Jews, being oppreſs'd and ſcatter'd, had no longer Authority to deſtroy the Deſerters of their Religion. But this is reaſoning againſt Matter of Fact. Beſides this Nation, tho' diveſted of Supream Authority, nevertheleſs beat and kill'd in ſecret ſuch as had deſerted them. The Jews pretend to have that *Judgment of Zeal*, by which they are permitted to kill thoſe that Blaſpheme the Name of God, or violate his Law. Their outragious Hatred to the Chriſtians proceeds ſo far, as to maintain *, *That when a Traytor attempts to betray either the Goods or the Perſon of a Jew to the Nations, it is lawful for a private Man to kill him, even before he has executed his Deſign, provided he be aſſur'd he perſeveres in it; becauſe the Nation by this Death, is deliver'd of a Man, who might have betray'd many others. All Epicurean Hereticks (by which they mean all Idolaters, or Deſerters of the Law and Prophets) may be kill'd by a private Perſon, provided he do it publickly with a Sword; and if the Execution can't be publick, he may admit Fraud into it, till the Death be brought about. When for example, a Deſerter falls into a Well, he muſt be ſuffer'd to remain there, by telling him, that you will go and fetch ſome other help, and preſently return: And the Law is not violated by this Lye, becauſe the Deſerter's Name is aboliſh'd by his Apoſtacy. Laſtly, If there are any Nations, to which they ſhould ſhew Favour in acknowledgment of Services they have receiv'd, this Favour extends no farther than not to kill them. But you muſt leave them in danger, in a Precipice, or a Deep, and in the Sea; and this is founded upon the Law, which ſays,* Thou ſhalt not ſtand againſt the Blood of thy Neighbour; *that is, nothing ought to be neglected to ſave a Neighbour who is in danger of Death; but nothing like it ought to be done for the Gentiles, who are not of the Number of our Neighbours.* 'Tis no wonder if ſuch like Maxims have drawn ſeveral unhapy Decrees upon the Jews from Chriſtian Princes.

XII. *Juſtin Martyr* † formerly reproach'd them with maſſacring the Chriſtians as often as they could do it with Impunity; and if they did not do it, it was purely out of fear of the Emperors and the Governours of Provinces: They ſeized on all Opportunities that offer'd to execute their Barbarities. And therefore when *Julian* came to the Throne, and they found he mortally hated the Chriſtians, whom he had abandon'd, they thought they might do any thing. They therefore pull'd down two Churches at *Damaſcus*, one whereof was rebuilt at the Charge of the Chriſtians, and the other continued buried in its Ruins. They did the ſame thing at *Aſcalon*, at *Berytus*, *Gaza* and *Alexandria*. St. *Chryſoſtom* ‖ taxes them not only with acting in concert with the Heathens; but ſays alſo that many imbrac'd the Pagan Religion, that they might the more ſurely deſtroy their moſt formidable Enemies the Chriſtians.

XIII. It was too much the Jews Intereſt to repel this firſt Accuſation to omit it. * They boaſt of their Fidelity to the Kings they live under, and of the Command left them by *Jeremy*, of *praying for the Peace of the City wherein they live:* They boaſt of their Charity for the Nations; or rather they obſerve, that 'tis they that have ſuffered unjuſtly from the Chriſtians. They don't deny, but that their Prayers may offend thoſe that don't underſtand them; for they beg of God that the proud Kingdom may be deſtroy'd; that the Wicked and Hereticks may periſh, and that there may be no hope for Renegadoes: *A los Renegados no ſea eſperanca y Todos los Malfines, y los Hereges en un punto ſean deſtruhidos.* But they anſwer 1. That theſe Prayers were made by *Eſdras* and *Malachy* long before the Chriſtians appear'd, and the Jews were diſperſed among the Nations. 2. That they follow the Style of the Prophets, who often made the like Petitions for the Deſtruction of the Wicked, without any particular Application. 3. That God commanded them to love the *Egyptians*, notwithſtanding the Evils they had ſuffered from them, and not *to abhor* Edom, *becauſe he is your Brother.* The *Edomites* are the Chriſtians whom God forbids them to hate, from whence they conclude that they don't hate them. 4. Laſtly, They maintain that they are unjuſtly accuſed of making Proſelytes, becauſe their Religion is contrary thereunto. Princes, ſay they, often make uſe of a Pretence of Religion to extend their Conqueſts, and pretend to ſerve God, whilſt they are ſerving their Ambition. But the Jews never had this Paſſion; and God, who gave the Law to a peculiar People, did not command the ſpreading and publiſhing it over all the Earth. The King, who has a beauteous and virtuous Daughter, the Heireſs of his Crown, does not offer her to all Comers. He expects that

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• Cod. Th. l. 16. t. 1. p. 214. † Baron. An. 336. n. 75. p. 435. ‖ Eum qui ex Judæo Chriſtianus factus eſt, inquietare Judæos non liceat; id eſt, non liceat Judæos inquietare eum qui, &c. Cod. Theod. l. 16. l. 5. p. 222. Aliter Baronius.
* Maimonid. † Juſtin. Apol. 11. p. 72. ‖ Ambroſ. l. 2. Ep. 17. Chryſoſt. in Matth. hom. 34. Socrat. l. 7. c. 13. p. 319.
* Cardoſo las Excellencias, quarta Calunia de los Hebreos, p. 352. Quinta Calunia, p. 359. Sexta Calunia, p. 369. Septima Calunia, p. 380.

the neighbouring Sovereigns ſhould come to ſolicit her for a Wife. The Law is that perfect Daughter of the omnipotent God; She is diſhonour'd, when ſhe is proſtituted to every body: A Man ought to know her and love her, before he obtain the Poſſeſſion of her, and injoy the Reward ſhe promiſes. God publiſh'd the Law in a Wilderneſs, where every body had liberty to learn it if he pleaſed. On the one hand, the Barrenneſs of the Deſart gave Men a diſlike to it; but on the other, that place, which was open on all parts, was an Inſtruction, that ſuch as rais'd themſelves above Pain and Poverty, had right to receive it. The Jews have follow'd the Intentions of God; for they never took Arms to ſubdue the Minds and Conſciences; and if there have been Proſelytes, as in *Portugal*, in the beginning of the laſt Century, where a Monk profeſſed Judaiſm, and declar'd that his Monaſtery was full of *Brethren*, who had the ſame Opinions, but not the ſame Courage with himſelf; all theſe Proſelytes were voluntary, and they receive no others. And therefore the wiſe Men commonly ſay, If that Man comes to purifie himſelf in God's Name, let Heaven aſſiſt him: But if it be to defile himſelf farther, open the Gate for him and let him go. *Vino para limpiarſe ayudan le de los cielos: Vino para immundarſe abrente la puerta.* This is their Apology. But I queſtion whether Precepts and Laws are ſufficient for their Juſtification; for People do not always follow the Principles of their Religion; and the Talmudiſts, who came after the Law, have often taught and done things contrary to it.

XIV. Secondly, They are often accuſed of crucifying Chriſtian Children on the Eve of the Paſſover, that they may renew their Fathers Crime, who crucified Jeſus Chriſt. 'Tis farther believ'd, that as the Devil uſes Humane Blood for his Operations, the Jews, who are much addicted to Magick, often murder Children to take their Heart and Blood, which they mingle with the conſecrated Hoſt, and afterwards make uſe of to conjure. This Accuſation is found repeated every where, ſince the Twelfth Century: Hiſtorians ſupport it by a great number of Miracles which God has wrought, to take exemplary Vengeance upon the Jews Impiety, without being able to amend them. Shall we ſay that theſe Miracles and Crimes are equally falſe? The Superſtitious would be provoked, but it is no matter. The Truth is, the Jews complain of the Calumny of all theſe Facts: They relate a thouſand Diſcoveries they have made of the Artifice of Monks or other Chriſtians, who threw into their Houſes the dead Body of a Child or a Man, to have a Pretence of charging them with the Murder. They complain, that it was enough for a Father to have loſt a Child by an Accident, to raiſe the Rabble againſt them, as if they had ſtole him away to kill him; and that afterwards the Carcaſs was found in a Ditch, or in a Wood torn by the Beaſts, or the Infant appear'd again alive, when the Execution was done. They add, that the Nation has always had an Abhorrence for Humane Sacrifices, which have been left * for the Portion of Idolatrous Nations. They eat no Blood, and it would be prophaning the Feaſt of the Paſſover to touch a dead Body, or to kill a Child before its Celebration. They maintain, that it is a ridiculous Prejudice of the People, to think there is need of Humane Blood, or the Hoſt, in Magical Operations; and that the Law forbad them to ſuffer Magicians to live in the Holy Land.

King *Alphonſo* urged againſt them, that the violent Death of Chriſtians is not look'd upon as Murder by the Jews; for as the Talmudiſts ſay, That *he who kills a Chriſtian's Ox is Innocent, tho' he that does the ſame thing to a Jew be guilty:* So Murder may be criminal or lawful, according to the Quality, or rather Religion, of the Perſons kill'd. They acknowledge the Fact as to *Heathens* or *Strangers*, but only maintain that the Chriſtians are not to be rank'd in this Liſt, becauſe they are not Idolaters. King *Alphonſo* inſtanc'd, that the Trinity being one of the Fundamental Doctrines of the Chriſtians, they neceſſarily worſhipp'd many Gods like the Heathen, if this Doctrine was not true. But they brought themſelves off by a ſecond Diſtinction, ſaying, That the Chriſtian who believes the Trinity of Perſons, does not deny the Unity of Eſſence; which is enough. This Diſtinction is very Subtle, and both of them ſeem to be the Suggeſtions of Politicks. For in fine, If Jeſus Chriſt be not God, as they ſay in the Synagogue, Chriſtians ought to be look'd upon as ſo many Idolaters, that worſhip a Man whom their Fathers crucified. And if the Murther of Idolaters be permitted by the Talmudiſts, what ſhall we ſay of that of Chriſtians?

XV. They add an Argument drawn from their Intereſts, which ſeems to be ſolid; for whereas they live under the Empire of Chriſtians, that ſeverely puniſh the Murderers of their Children, it is not probable they would be ſo mad as to expoſe themſelves to cruel and general Perſecutions for things uſeleſs and ridiculous. In reality, What ſignifies it to the Jews to crucifie a Chriſtian, as their Fathers did Jeſus Chriſt? Do they think to inſult us thereby? But an Inſult, which ſo evidently ſhocks Humane Nature, and is attended with ſo many Dangers, can ſeldom enter into a Humane Mind: Their Religion does not oblige them to ſuch Actions, and they can reap no other Profit or Advantage from it, but that of ridiculing us. What kind of Railery is this! They had a great Temptation to crucifie the Son of God, who call'd himſelf the *Meſſiah*. By killing the Leader, they thought to aboliſh the Sect, to hinder the People from believing in him, and to ſave themſelves the trouble of ſeeing their Sacrifices, their Religion and Authority deſtroy'd. But what Temptation can move them to crucifie a young Chriſtian at the Paſſover, as is ſo often ſuppos'd? Their Religion grows but more odious by it, and their Society the weaker, and one Chriſtian, more or leſs, does not ruin the Church. I can hardly believe Men guilty of violent Actions, when they have no Intereſt to ingage them, and Prudence and Humanity are againſt them. I believe theſe Crucifixions of young Chriſtians, have been only ſo many Pretences made uſe of, to incenſe the People and Kings againſt the Jews.

XVI. There are ſtill other Reaſons to invalidate theſe Accuſations, tho' often repeated. Firſt, We only meet with them after the Succeſſion of many Ages. The Jews are not accuſed of doing any ſuch thing in the Primitive Times, when the Increaſe and Proſperity of the Church, which was eſtabliſh'd upon the Ruin of the Synagogue, gave a greater edge to their Jealouſie and Hatred. Why did they bethink themſelves of crucifying Chriſtians in the latter Ages, when they could not hope for Impunity; and did not do it under the Government of Heathen Emperors, where the Crime would not have been ſo enormous, nor the Puniſhment ſo ſevere? 'Tis, for Example, but ſince the middle of the

* Cardoſo las Excellencias, decima Calunia de los Hebræos, p. 412, &c.

Thirteenth

Thirteenth Century, that we have heard of Children murder'd by them. 'Tis ſaid * there was crucified at *Lincoln* in the Year 1255, a Child of eight Years old, whom the Jews ſtole to repreſent Jeſus Chriſt. They led him before a Judge whom they call'd *Pilate*, who ſentenc'd him to Death. Others acted the part of Serjeants and Executioners. The Child was faſtned to a Croſs, had Gall and Vinegar given him to drink; and after he was dead, they cut out his Bowels to make Inchantments. After they had buried his Body ſeveral times, which the Earth, in horror to the Action, ſtill caſt out, they were oblig'd to throw it into a Well, where his Mother, who ſought for her Child, diſcover'd him. And this Action coſt the Maſter of the Houſe his Life, who was tore aſunder by four Horſes, and fourſcore and ten other Jews were put to death.

XVII. Secondly, Theſe Accuſations are always follow'd with an Act of Cruelty and Injuſtice on the Chriſtians part, who ought not to be ſevere, nor inflict Puniſhment, ſave on the Guilty, duly convicted of the Crime imputed to them; inſtead of tumultuouſly murdering the Innocent with the Criminal; for theſe popular Commotions bring in queſtion the Truth of the Fact that occaſions them; they are often formed upon falſe Reports, and are executed before Information be made.

XVIII. *Peter de Blois*, who confeſſes, † that they were *often traduced upon this Article*, inſinuates thereby, that he thought moſt of theſe Accuſations to be falſe. Upon a bare Suſpicion ſpread about at *Prague*, that the Jews had ſcourg'd and crucify'd a Child in the Year 1305, the People, who was apprehenſive that King *Venciſlaus* would diſcover the Impoſture, and not do Juſtice, becauſe it was his Saying, that a *Man ought to remember to ſhew Mercy when he was in Paſſion*, did not wait for his return, but involving the Innocent with the Guilty, murder'd upon the Spot all they could get into their Hands.

XIX. We cannot forbear ſaying farther to the acquitting of this Nation, that beſides this Character we find a third, which increaſes the Suſpicion; and that is, the Miracles that almoſt ever attend the Death of the Party crucified. 'Tis no wonder that the Earth trembled when Jeſus Chriſt died; becauſe the Lord of Glory was then crucified. But more frequent Commotions are aſcribed to it for common Men, than for our Lord himſelf. It caſts out their dead Bodies, and this ſeveral times, unable to ſuffer them to remain in its Bowels. We have ſeen an Inſtance of it in the Child whoſe Intrails were taken out, to be imploy'd in magical Operations, which is no leſs to be ſuſpected than the reſt. But there was a more famous one in *Turingia*; for the Jews, to whom they aſſign the Eve of the Paſſover for ſuch ſort of Executions, having kill'd a Child call'd *Conradus*, carried the dead Body into ſeveral places of *Turingia* without being able to bury it; it ſtill came out of its Grave, which oblig'd them to hang it on a Tree: The Crime was reveal'd by that Suſpenſion; whereupon all the People, great and ſmall, fell upon the Jews, and imbrued their Hands in their Blood. A Light was ſeen upon the Body of a Child kill'd at *Veſel* thirty ſeven Years after; and beſides it had ſo fragrant a Smell, that it was convey'd into a Church where it perform'd ſurprizing Miracles; but for this time the Jews got off by Money. Theſe ſorts of Narrations fill'd with Miracles, and related by Legendaries, uſed to run after ſuch Fictions, are highly ſuſpected.

XX. The Chriſtians were ſtill farther violently inflam'd againſt the Jews, believing that this Nation, being an Enemy of their Myſteries, prophan'd the Object of their Worſhip, and crucified a ſecond time the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, which ſome are really perſwaded is in the Euchariſt. They have often actually accuſed the Jews of taking and ſtabbing an Hoſt; and the ſame Miracle recurs as often as this Action is renew'd; for the Blood flows from the pierced Hoſt. Which proves three things; firſt, The Reality of our Saviour's Body in the Euchariſt; ſecondly, That the Communion in both Kinds is unneceſſary; and the third is, The Sacriledge of the Jews. This was, for Example, the Crime of thoſe of *Poland*, who having ſtabb'd an ‡ Hoſt, had the Folly to catch the Blood which ran plentifully from it in a Glaſs: Whereupon King *Sigiſmond* and the People renounced the Communion in both Kinds, ſince it ſo evidently appear'd, that by receiving one they partook of the other. There are many People who would queſtion the Miracle from this one Circumſtance, for we don't find God proving the Truth of certain particular Doctrines by Miracles. But this is not the only Obſervation that is made againſt theſe Hoſts that were ſtabb'd.

XXI. Firſt, Theſe Miracles are very novel, and 'tis a wonderful thing, that the Jews ſhould never have thought of this kind of Inſult againſt the Chriſtians, 'till within this two or three hundred Years: Was their Hatred leſs violent in the firſt Ages of the Church? Or will they own that Tranſubſtantiation being not invented, the Jews did not trouble their Heads to ſtab the Bread and Wine, which are the Emblems of the Body and Blood? The Reform'd draw from hence a very ſtrong Conſequence againſt the Adoration of the Hoſt. 'Tis confeſs'd that the Jews did not begin theſe Exceſſes till the Thirteenth Century; which was that in which the Worſhip of the Sacrament was eſtabliſh'd. From which one of theſe two things will rationally be concluded; either that they did not begin to forge Miracles unknown to Antiquity, 'till they paſs'd from Reverence to the Adoration of the Euchariſt; or that the Jews did not begin to abuſe the Hoſt, 'till they ſaw it ador'd; that is in the Thirteenth Century.

What Advantage would the Jews gain by this Crime, which expos'd them to moſt certain and cruel Puniſhments? One would think the Jews were only guilty of theſe Follies, that they might give the Tranſubſtantiators an occaſion to perſecute them.

The Miracles they give out are ſo impertinent, that the Honour of the Chriſtian Religion demands that they ſhould be rank'd in the Catalogue of Fables. In the Year 1399 it came into the Heads of the Jews of *Poland*, to ſtab an Hoſt with a Knife. The Blood which ſpurted upon their Faces, could not be wiped off. Being aſtoniſh'd with the Prodigy, they reſolved to bury the Particles of the mangled Hoſt; but a young Lad, who was keeping Cows, ſaw it flying and aſcending up to Heaven, and the Herd of Cattle fell down upon their Knees to worſhip it. This beſtial Genuflexion being repeated ſeveral times, the Herdſman was oblig'd to inform the Biſhop of it, who coming with great Devotion, found the Hoſt. A Witneſs obſerv'd in it the bloody place where it had been ſtabb'd. The Jews were order'd to be burnt with a ſlow Fire; and to

* Matt. Par. Hiſt. Anglic. An. 1255. apud Bart. B. R. t. 11. p. 717. † Petr. Bleſ. contr. perfid. Jud. c. 28. B. M. P. t. 24. p. 1203. Bzov. Annal. An. 1305. n. 18. p. 74. t. 2. 11. ‡ Hiſtoria rerum memor. in vita Pauli 4. Conc. t. 15. p. 40. An. 1555.

render their Puniſhment the Crueller, Dogs were thrown with them into the Pile; who being exaſperated by the Flame, tore them in a barbarous manner. A Church was built in the Place where the Hoſt was found, which grew famous for ſeveral Miracles, and the ſupernatural Gifts which a great many Perſons receiv'd there. A Controvertiſt of theſe laſt Ages has made uſe of them, to draw a long Catalogue, wherewith to confound the *Innovators*. I queſtion whether this Narrative has converted many of them. There are few ſo weak as to be mov'd by a Miracle, in which the Herd falls upon its Knees to adore an Hoſt. Such Stories as theſe will always be the Subject of Ridicule, and with very good reaſon. For Chriſt is not preſent in the Euchariſt for Beaſts, but for Men, and we don't ſee Oxen kneel to worſhip God.

XXII. Moſt of theſe Miracles are founded upon Suſpicions, or the Reports of the People, who breath'd nothing but the Deſtruction of the Jews, that they might enrich themſelves with their Spoils; or upon very uncertain Teſtimonies. 'Tis no wonder, that when the Writers of this Nation * relate the Maſſacre of their Anceſtors in *Germany*, upon the account of a Hoſt, from which Blood flowed. They add, that this was *a Report that was ſpread abroad.* But Chriſtian Authors have often the ſame Fidelity and Exactneſs as the Jews. *Crantzius* † relating the Outrage committed in the Year 1330, upon an Hoſt, which the very moment it was ſtab'd, utter'd a Cry like that of a murder'd Child; which produc'd no other Miracle but the Converſion of one Woman, obſerves, that *it was ſaid*, that this Hoſt had been found in a Synagogue. Another Hoſt, which occaſion'd violent Maſſacres in *Germany* four Years after, *was found* only *ſtain'd with Blood in a Church.* The People concluded, that the Jews had ſtab'd it, only becauſe one of 'em liv'd pretty near the Church. They took up Arms, without examining the Fact any farther. The Jews reduc'd to Deſpair by a Violence that had no bounds nor meaſures, took up Arms likewiſe, and ſhutting themſelves up in Caſtles, which they had fought for their Security, ſold their Lives very dear. Multitudes of Chriſtians as well as Jews periſh'd in theſe Battles. And thus a Suſpicion and a Popular Report is ſufficient to draw a Torrent of Blood.

XXIII. Laſtly, Are we oblig'd to believe the Legendaries upon their Honeſty, even when they report theſe Miracles upon the Tradition of others, and liv'd not till a long time after the Event? Let a Man, for inſtance read *Suffridus* ||, upon the diſcovery of a Hoſt, that was made in *Germany*, in the Year 1299. 'tis all over miraculous. There you have Women, who after they had watch'd the holy *Saturday* by the Sepulchre, go to wake the Prieſt early in the Morning, that he might draw out the dead Body. They perceive two great Luminaries upon the Houſe of a Jew. His Doors are immediately broke open, and he is forc'd to acknowledge, that he had wounded a Hoſt, which had ſhed much Blood, and that he had bury'd it in ſeveral Places, having firſt pounded it in a Mortar. This Diſcovery was follow'd with a Maſſacre. The Jews ſhut themſelves up in a Caſtle, and in making their Defence gave occaſion to a new Miracle; for a Maid, who was deſirous to come out to be baptiz'd, throwing her ſelf out of a Window, was ſeen to deſcend miraculouſly, as if ſhe had been born up by Angels, and was immediately baptized. Let a Man read the ſame Event in *Eberard* *; who has paſt over nothing in ſilence; neither the Guard of the Sepulchre, nor the carrying away of the dead Body; which makes the Reſurrection of *Jeſus Chriſt* a perfect Comedy. But we there find, on one hand, the horrible Maſſacre both of Chriſtians and Jews: The latter fearing they ſhould be baptized, threw their Wives and Children into the Fire, and themſelves along with them. They alſo conſum'd their Gold, and whatever was valuable, that the Chriſtians might not be enrich'd by their Spoils. *Suffridus* has ſuppreſs'd this Circumſtance which ſtrikes us with Horror. We can't juſtifie the Deſpair of the Jews; nor can we excuſe the Chriſtians, by whoſe Cruelty and Violence they were driven to ſuch a hideous Deſpair. *Eberard* does not mention the two miraculous Luminaries, which diſcover'd the Hoſt. He does not ſay how this Hoſt, when pounded in a Mortar, and bury'd in ſo many places, was found again entire. But he adds, that the Magiſtrates of *Ratisbonne*, deſigning to honour their City, forbad the Maſſacre of the Jews, and reſerv'd the cognizance of the Accuſation to themſelves; declaring, that tho' they would not oppoſe God, provided it was his deſign to deſtroy this Nation, yet they would alſo be fully ſatisfy'd, that it was the Will of God: And by the help of this Declaration the Jews of *Ratisbonne* eſcap'd the Fire, in ſpite of the People, who were for having them burnt. That Circumſtance, ſuppreſs'd by *Suffridus*, diſcovers the whole Intrigue. The Jews were perſecuted, under pretence, that it was the Will of God to extirpate them. This Pretence would not have been alledged, if there had been real Sacrileges; and the Magiſtracy of *Ratisbonne*, who were zealous for their Religion, would neither have been willing nor able to ſtop the courſe of Juſtice, if the Jews had merited more ſevere Effects of it.

XXIV. The Violences committed upon Images and diſcovered by new Miracles, are more ancient than thoſe of Hoſts, becauſe the Worſhip of the one, is of an elder date than the Adoration of the other. People even attempt frequently to aſcend much higher than they ought. They fail not, † for example, to place in the Year 560, the Action of that Jew, who having carried an Image home from Church, wounded it in ſeveral Places, and went to burn it, but he was immediately covered all over with Blood; and the Chriſtians, who went in queſt of the Image, following him by the track of the Blood, ſtoned the Jew that had ſtole it. Without enquiring how this Image was followed by the track of the Blood, ſince the Jew carried it home before he ſtruck it; we muſt be allowed to ask, from what Monuments this Event is taken; and then we diſcover, that its built upon *Sigebert's* Authority, a Modern Writer, who quotes no Witneſs more ancient than himſelf. 'Tis abuſing the Simplicity of the Readers to write in this manner. They ought at leaſt to be inform'd of the Age of Authors which are plac'd out of their Rank; and not have ancient Events impoſed upon them for certain, when they are only vouch'd by Modern Writers. Others, the more certainly to deceive, neither ſpecify the times in which the Events happen'd, nor the Authors they have borrow'd them from. Thus *Andronicus* ||, an Author of the fourteenth Century, who is abſurdly confounded with ſome Emperors of that Name, relates the Hiſtory of an Image, crucify'd at *Berytus* in all the Forms, without forgetting the Sponge and the Reed, wherewith they gave it to drink. Water and Blood flow'd out of its ſide when it was pierc'd. The Jews aſtoniſh'd, having moreover experimented the Vertue of this Image, in the expul-

* Schialſcheleth Hakkabala, p. 112. Bartol. t. 3. 718. † Crantzius Hiſt. Vandal. l. VIII. c. 8. || Suffridus l. 1. Bart. B. R. t. 3. p. 721. * Eberard Annal. ad An. 1289. † Bartol. B. R. t. 3. p. 1705. || Andronic. contra Jud. c. 44. Caniſ. Lect. Ant.

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sion of Devils and Cures of Diseases, were converted. But at what time did this happen? Shall we believe *Andronicus* the Jews Accuser, upon his word; as also when he adds, that there was a bloody Image found at *Constantinople*, which another Jew had thrown into a Well?

XXV. *Glaber* * is more ancient and more exact than the rest, when he relates that in the Year 1017, there was such a violent Tempest at *Rome*, as crush'd most of the Inhabitants; which Tempest could not be laid, till a Jew acknowledg'd that an Image of Jesus Christ had been ridicul'd by him; and Pope *Benedict* had caused him to be punish'd. The Historian was Co-temporary with the Event, nevertheless his History smells of Paganism. A great many People can't imagine, that God should cause so much noise and hurly-burly for an insulted Image, whilst he left unpunish'd so many Crimes committed against his Son at *Rome*. 'Tis still harder to believe, that a Jew should go and deliver himself up to uncompassionate Judges instead of turning Christian, if he believ'd the Miracle to be true. The Jews say, that God, who forbids their use of Images, does not command them to break those of Idolaters. However it be, 'tis easie to conceive, that all these Facts, true or false, being divulg'd among the People, had been sufficient to authorize the frequent Massacres of the Jews, since Religion was thought to be concern'd; and Injustice and Cruelty pass'd for Zeal.

Theophane † farther affirms, that *Omar* designing to rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and seeing the Foundations would not remain firm, inquir'd of the Jews the meaning of it; who told him, that he must pull down the Cross that was erected upon the Mount of *Olives*. He did it, and the Foundations remain'd; which gave occasion to the pulling down of a great many Crosses in other places. But hereby they make the Jews such Fools, as to acknowledge and exalt the Vertue of the Cross.

XXVI. Lastly, The Jews have drawn the Hatred of the Christians upon them by their Rebellions ‖: Tho' *Theodorick* had frequently favour'd them, and restor'd them to their Priviledges in several places, yet they form'd a Conspiracy at *Rome* in his Reign, by which they kill'd a great number of Persons. The Massacre had been greater, if the Slaves, prompted with the Desire of revenging their Masters, had not fallen upon the Jews. There was a necessity afterwards of giving a Check to these latter, who would have proceeded too far. *Egica* King of *Spain*, complain'd * to the Council of *Toledo* of a Conspiracy against his Kingdom made by the Jews, who acted in Confederacy with those of their Nation in *Africa*, to rid themselves at once of all the Christians. This Prince writing to the Counsel, promis'd to send them the Proofs of his Accusation, which were found to be good, since the Council condemn'd all the Jews to Slavery, confiscated their Estates, and prohibited their Children from having Correspondence with their Fathers after seven Years of Age.

Favour was only shewn to those dispers'd in *Gothick Gaul*, as being necessary to the State, because the Plague had depopulated these Provinces, and they were expos'd to continual Dangers by the Irruptions of the *French*, which had even hindered the Bishops of this Country from going to the Council.

XXVII. They were accus'd a little after † of delivering the City *Toledo* to the *Sarazens*, whilst the People were performing their Devotions out of Town on *Palm-Sunday*. Lastly, During the Heat of the *Crusades*, they were accus'd of sending a Man to *Babylon*, to give Intelligence to the Commander there, of the Christians Design, who gave Orders for the Destruction of many Churches at *Jerusalem*. I question whether the Treason charg'd upon the Jews of *Orleans* was well proved; but it is certain it cost that unfortunate People a great deal of Blood; for it was resolv'd to expel them out of all Christian Kingdoms. This Decree was executed with so much Rigour in several places, that the number of those that remain'd was very small. These are the Accusations which have served as Reasons and Pretences for the following Decisions.

* Glaber. vita Benedicti III. Concil. tom. 9. p. 810. † Theoph. Chron. An. 634. p. 284. ‖ An. 604. * Egicæ Ep. Synodo Tolet. 17. p. 1361. Concil Tolet. Can. 8. t. 6. p. 1369. † Mariana de Rebus Hispan. in l. 6. c. 18. t. 1. p. 249. An. 716. Tudensis anno 1009.

CHAP. XII.

A Collection of the Decrees of Councils, and the Edicts of Princes, made in all the Ages of the Christian Church against the Jews.

I. *They are commanded to reverence the Christian Religion.* II. *They are oblig'd to keep at home during certain Feasts.* III. *At what time respect for the Venerable was commanded.* IV. *Priests respected.* V. *Disputes with the Jews forbidden.* VI. *Apostolical Canons against the Rites of the Jews.* VII. *A Regulation of the Apostles about* Easter *explain'd.* VIII. *A Prohibition to Judaize.* IX. *Heterogeneous Marriges unlawful.* X. *The Regulations of Councils upon this Subject.* XI. *The Punishment of Death inflicted upon Women that marry Jews.* XII. *These Marriages null by the Councils.* XIII. *The Condition of Children.* XIV. *A Dominican Monk Marries a Jew.* XV. *Regulations against a Correspondence with the Jews.* XVI. *Their Antiquity.* XVII. *Their Severity.* XVIII. *Authoriz'd by Kings.* XIX. *Reasons given for it.* XX. *The Punishments that were inflicted.*

I. PRinces and Councils have endeavour'd to screen the Christian Religion from the Insults of the Jews. And indeed, tho' we could suppose an exemplary Moderation in the Body of that Nation, and as much Charity as it has Hatred to the Christians; yet we could not be secure of the Prudence of private Men, who too often, with an impetuous Rashness, have delighted to make Sport with our Mysteries. Their Misery commonly redoubles their Hatred, and renders them the more active and violent. The Clemency of Princes, under whom they lived *in Safety*, has not always civiliz'd them; and *Theodosius* the younger * was oblig'd to repress their Insolence by his Edicts. The Council † held a long time after at *Chateau Gontier*, in the Diocess of *Tours*, order'd the Jews to be prosecuted, who *spoke ill of our Religion*, and if they were convicted of the Crime, to be depriv'd

* God. Theod. l. 16. An. 412. p. 238. † Concil. apud Castrum Gonterii, An. 231. c. 32. t. 11. p. 444.

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of the *Communion of the Faithful*. By which we muſt underſtand the civil Society of Chriſtians, which was then common with the Jews in *France*, where they had ſufficient Power to become Bayliffs of the places where they lived, which the Council ‖ meant to hinder for the future.

II. In order to prevent the Inſults, the Jews * were prohibited to go out of their Houſes for the ſpace of four days, from the day of the *Lord's-Supper* or *Maunday-Thurſday* to *Eaſter-day*. They were not diſpenc'd from the Obſervation of this Law, except in caſe of evident neceſſity; which was confirm'd by the Council of *Maſcon* † held about the end of the Sixth Century. And there ſeem'd a neceſſity for this Law, becauſe on the one hand, this Feaſt being celebrated in honour of the Son of God, whom the Jews had crucified, rekindled their Hatred to him; and on the other, the Chriſtians, moved with a violent and headſtrong Zeal, fell tumultuouſly upon the Jews. For which reaſon the ſame Councils that made this Decree, injoyn'd the Prelates to take care, that no Violence ſhould be done them upon that day. The ſame Injunction was made for *Whitſunday*. Laſtly, They were forbid to work publickly on the Feſtivals which the Chriſtians had conſecrated to the Service of God or the Saints.

III. We don't find that the Ancients troubled themſelves with impoſing the Law upon the Jews, of paying reſpect to the Venerable, when it was carry'd to the Sick, or in Proceſſion. Theſe Precautions could not be imagin'd before the latter Ages, wherein they were taken. The firſt Regulation to be met with upon this Subject, is of the Council of *Vienna* ‖, held at the end of the Thirteenth Century. This Council commanded *the Jews to ſhut their Doors and Windows, when they heard the ſound of the Bell giving notice* of the approach of the Sacrament; and that of *Freiſinghen* * held in the middle of the Fifteenth Century, forbad them to vilifie the Virgin, or the Saints, or the Chriſtian Religion, at the time the Sacrament was carried to the Sick. There was not yet any Decree obliging the Jews to fall upon their Knees in the Streets, and forcing them to an involuntary and conſequently criminal Adoration.

IV. The Councils, as jealous for the Perſons of the Miniſters, as for the Myſteries, order'd † the Jews to pay reſpect to the Prieſts; which Reſpect extended ſo far, as to forbid them to ſit in preſence of a Prieſt, under pain of being accus'd to the Judges of the places, and puniſh'd according to the Merit of the Caſe and Perſon.

V. Decrees were alſo made to guard the People from being ſeduced and deceiv'd; Lay-men are ſeldom able to diſpute ſucceſsfully againſt them, becauſe the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Converſion of the Jews, depending upon the Accompliſhment of the Propheſies, which have characteriz'd the Meſſiah, the Jews eaſily baffles a Chriſtian who doth not underſtand Hebrew. They deny point blank, that what he quotes is in the Original; to produce to them the Vulgar or a French or Engliſh Verſion, is expoſing ones ſelf to their Inſults, without getting any ground upon them; whereas they are able to perplex a weak or ſimple Chriſtian. Therefore the Councils ‖ employ'd the Authority they had over this oppreſſed Nation, to forbid them diſputing with the Chriſtians, leſt they ſhould have the Advantage of ſeducing any one of them.

VI. It was alſo a neceſſary Precaution to hinder the Chriſtians from partaking in the Ceremonies that had any relation to the Jewiſh Religion. The Canons *, call'd Apoſtolical, make four Prohibitions hereupon.

Firſt, To faſt with the Jews: This related to Orthodox Chriſtians, who rejected the Religion of the Synagogue, and had only the Weakneſs to Faſt with it; for if they had been conſider'd as Perſons any ways tainted with Judaiſm, they would have been excommunicated, inſtead of ſuſpended or depoſed. However this Law was too ſevere, and the Obſervation of a Faſt kept at the ſame time with the Jews, deſerv'd not ſo rigorous a Penalty. The Chriſtians were alſo forbid to celebrate the Jewiſh Feaſts, and to receive the Preſents which the Jews then ſent them. The Council of *Laodicea* order'd the ſame thing; but theſe Decrees are hard to be reconcil'd with the Cuſtom of many Churches, which kept the Sabbath with the Jews, and the Sunday with the Chriſtians. We know that this Cuſtom continued a long time. Beſides, we can't perceive any great harm in celebrating the Memory of the Miracles God wrought under the Old Teſtament. Muſt theſe Miracles be forgotten, and the Remembrance of them blotted out, becauſe they don't reſpect us ſo directly as the Jewiſh Nation? Theſe Preſents were only ſent at the Feaſt of *Purim*, celebrated for the Deliverance obtain'd by *Eſther*. There was no Superſtition in it, till they bethought themſelves of crucifying *Haman*'s Image in contempt of Jeſus Chriſt.

The third Article, which condemn'd the uſe of unleaven'd Bread eaten at the Paſſover, is ſomewhat juſter; and therefore the Council † call'd *Quiniſext* has inſerted it in its Canons: Nevertheleſs it creates one difficulty. The *Greeks* demand how the *Latins* can celebrate with unleaven'd Hoſts, ſince the uſe of them is condemn'd. If Depoſitions, ſay they, be appointed for thoſe that only eat the Jews unleaven'd Bread, what ought to be the Condemnation and Puniſhment of thoſe who celebrate the Sacrament of the Paſſover like them? The former eat it as common Bread; and yet they are depos'd and depriv'd of Communion; the latter introduce the Jewiſh Cuſtom into the Church upon the Altar and in the Sacrifice, and yet will pretend to be guiltleſs. An Archbiſhop ‖ of *Bulgaria* anſwer'd for the *Latins*, that the Canon did not condemn the Roman Church, becauſe that Cuſtom was not yet eſtabliſh'd among the *Latins*; and that the *Greeks*, who came afterwards, are too hot upon the matter. This laſt Aſſertion is true, and the former abſolutely falſe. A Rite is ever condemned, whether the Condemnation precedes or follows its Inſtitution, when the Sentence is expreſs and clear.

VII. We find another Regulation upon the ſame Subject in the Apoſtolical Conſtitution *, which gives a great deal of trouble to Interpreters. *The Chriſtians are forbid to obſerve the Paſſover with the Jews, becauſe we have no longer Communion with that Nation, and they are miſtaken in their Calculation, for their Celebration of that Feaſt; which we ought ſcrupulouſly to examine, leſt we celebrate two Eaſters in the ſame Year.* The Criticks, from this Decree, draw

‖ Concil. Aurelianenſe III. An. 538. c. 30. t. 5. p. 303. * Concil. Bitter. An. 1246 & 41. t. 11. p. 686. Concil. Friſingenſe An. 1440. c. 21. t. 13. p 1296. Concil. Bitter. ib. c. 40. p. 685. † Concil. Matiſcon. An. 581. c. 14. t. 5. p. 969. ‖ Concil. Vienn. An. 1267. c. 19. t. 11. p. 865. * Concil. Friſingenſe, An. 1440. c. 21. t. 13. p. 1296. † Concil. Matiſconenſe, An. 581. c. 14. t. 5. p. 969. ‖ Concil. Friſingenſe, An. 1440. c. 21. t. 13. p. 1296. * Can. Apoſt. 70 or 71 & 72. apud Coteler. Patres Apoſtolici t. 1. p. 446. Balſamon in Can. Apoſt. p. 270. Concil. Laodic. Can. 37 & 38. t. 1. p. 1503. † Concil. Quiniſex. An. 692. c. 11. t. 6. p. 1145. Balſamon in Canon, p. 270 & 372. ‖ Demetrius Chomatenus Reſponſiones ad Conſtantin. Cabaſilæ interrogata. In Jure Græc. Rom. t. 5. p. 316. * Conſtit. l. 5. c. 17. p. 322.

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an Argument againſt the Authority of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, ſince the Controverſie about the Celebration of *Eaſter* did not ariſe till St. *Irenæus*'s time, in *Victor*'s Pontificate; whereas this Queſtion appears here to be decided by St. *Clement*. Beſides, St. *Epiphanius* relates, * that the *Audians*, who would keep *Eaſter* at the ſame time the Jews keep their Paſſover, grounded themſelves upon a Decree of the Apoſtles taken from their Conſtitutions; who exhorted 'em to prefer the Union of the Churches to an exact Calculation of times, which ſignifies nothing, and to celebrate the Paſſover *with thoſe of the Circumciſion*. Here is an expreſs Contradiction betwixt the Decree we find at preſent in the Conſtitutions, and that quoted by St. *Epiphanius*; ſince in the one Chriſtians are exhorted exactly to calculate the day of the Feaſt; and in the other they would have this Calculation neglected, and the Union with the Chriſtian Churches obſerv'd, without troubling themſelves about the exactneſs of a day. Laſtly, St. *Ignatius*, † writing to the Faithful of *Philippi*, forbids 'em to celebrate the Paſſover with the Jews; alledging, that thoſe who do it, and receive their Preſents in that Feſtival, partake in the Crime of thoſe who kill'd the Lord *Jeſus* and his Apoſtles. The Prohibition of celebrating this Feaſt with the Jews, is the ſame with the Apoſtles and St. *Ignatius*: But it is not amiſs to make ſome Obſervations here. It is reaſonable to maintain, that both theſe Paſſages are ſpurious; ſince the Chriſtians of the firſt and ſecond Century celebrated this Feaſt at the ſame time with the Jews; or look'd upon this as ſo indifferent a Cuſtom, that they had no diſpute upon it till *Victor*'s Pontificate. The Letters St. *Irenæus* and *Polycrates*, Secretary to the *Aſian* Churches, wrote to this ancient Biſhop, are evident Proofs of it. This Reflection has the more weight againſt *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles, as he had been St. *John*'s Diſciple, and liv'd at *Antioch*, where the People continu'd their Feſtival with the Jews, till the Council of *Nice* made || a new Regulation. He not only could not condemn the Practice of his Church and of his Flock, but he would have condemned himſelf, by ſaying what is attributed to him. 2. It is fathering ones Imaginations upon the pretended *Ignatius*, to ſay, he did not cenſure the *Quartodecimans*; but thoſe who went to eat the Paſchal Lamb with the Jews, or receiv'd a part of it when ſent to their Houſes. For the Law prohibited the Jews ſending any part of the Lamb out of Doors, and they would not have admitted the Chriſtians to their Table to eat it with 'em. The *Symbols* or Preſents that Author ſpeaks of, was the unleavened Bread. 3. St. *Epiphanius* * ſeems prejudic'd againſt the *Audians*, and gives the Apoſtolical Conſtitution a quite different Senſe from what it ought to have. The Copy of theſe Hereticks is preferable to ours, and their Explication to *Epiphanius*'s; for beſides that their Copies, which they had quoted before *Epiphanius*, were more ancient, and conſequently more correct; the Apoſtles are there made to ſpeak more judiciouſly than they have been ſince. For the exactneſs about the Calculation of a Day, is not of moment ſufficient to be made the ſtudy of Chriſtians, or a Controverſie of Religion; and the Celebration of the Paſſover upon a certain day, having been indifferent under the Government of the Apoſtles, and their firſt Succeſſors, they muſt neceſſarily have us'd the Language which the *Audians* gave them. St. *Epiphanius*, as prejudic'd as he who alter'd this place of the Conſtitutions, diſtorts the Text. He makes the Apoſtles ſay, we muſt imitate thoſe *who are come out of the Circumciſion*. But did the converted Jews make a different Sect in Chriſtianity? Had they an *Eaſter* day different from the Gentile Proſelytes? Did the Chriſtians go by this Name? Why then muſt they have a new Title? Why does he ſpeak there of converted Jews, rather than of other Chriſtians? If ſome kept *Eaſter* with the Jews, they were rather thoſe who *came out of the Circumciſion*, having been for a long time accuſtom'd to keep their Paſſover the fourteenth day of the Moon of *March*. It would therefore have been not only impertinent, but imprudent to ſpecifie theſe Chriſtians rather than others, who had naturally a greater averſion to the Jewiſh Rites. So that the *Audians* had reaſon to quote this Decree, which was in their favour, and permitted 'em to keep their *Eaſter* with the Jews.

The Canon of the Apoſtles alſo prohibited the Chriſtians from furniſhing the Lamps of the Synagogues with Oil, and going to light them.

VIII. St. *Ignatius*, who has ſeveral Epiſtles aſcribed to him, often cenſures the *Judaizing* Chriſtians, becauſe it was ridiculous to believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſtill to retain Judaiſm. *Chriſtianity*, ſaid he †, barbarouſly, *never believ'd Judaiſm, but Judaiſm has believ'd Chriſtianity*. He inſinuates, that there were ſtill People, who liv'd *according to the Law*; by which he muſt mean ſome of the Ceremonies inſtituted by *Moſes*. And therefore a Word has been intruded into the Text, which ſignifies *Judaiſm*. There were alſo Chriſtians that kept *Saturday* preferable to *Sunday*, the Excellency whereof he recommends. Laſtly, || he would not have any one hear thoſe who taught Judaiſm, leſt they ſhould give way to be corrupted.

A Canon is alledg'd * of the Council of *Antioch*, forbidding the Chriſtians to celebrate their Myſteries with the Jews, to have the ſame Sentiments with them, and to give them the Title of *Brethren*.

I know not whether we ought to reduce to this Head, the Reproach which the *Greeks* made to the *Latins*, of kiſſing and worſhipping the Old Teſtament when the Jews carry'd it in their Hands. The *Greeks* † are ſo given to falſe Accuſations, that we can't relate what they ſay without diffidence. Tho' it be no Crime to reſpect the Law, whatever hand it be that bears it; yet this muſt have been made an Act of Religion, ſince it proceeded ſo far as to bending the Knee; and this was probably done at the time the Rabbin took the Law out of the Cheſt.

IX. There is no Superſtition in the Celebration of the Jewiſh Marriages. 'Tis true, they permit the Marriage of their Nieces; but the Popes alſo give frequent Diſpenſations of this ſort. Beſides, their Ceremonies || are pure enough.

Nevertheleſs, the Marriages of Jews and Chriſtians have been condemn'd, becauſe it was fear'd, this mixture of Religions might cauſe Domeſtick Hatred, or that the weaker Party might be corrupted. Particularly, the Husband's Authority over the Wife was fear'd, and the Power of Wives over their Husbands is no leſs to be apprehended. St. *Ambroſe* * eloquently prov'd it by the Example of *Sampſon*, and of ſo many others, who were corrupted and ruin'd by Love. How, ſaid he, can the Union ſubſiſt, where there is ſo great an oppoſition in your Prayers and Faith? How ſhall ye both re-

* Conſtit. l. V. c. 17. p. 322. † Uſſerius de Ignat. c. xi. p. 203. || Haloix illuſtr. Eccleſ. Orient. Script. in vita Ignat. t. 1. c. 22. & t. 2. ad Iren. vit. cap. 11 * Epiphan. Hær. lxx. p. 822. ἐκ περιτομῆς *thoſe of the Circumciſion* Epiphanius *tranſlates it, thoſe who are come out from the Circumciſion*. † Ign. Ep. ad Magneſ. p. 19. 21, 22. || Ad Phil p. 32. * Nomocanon apud Cotel. Mon t. 2. p. 142. † Græci contra lat. ibid. t. 3. || Leon de Modene, *Ceremonies of the Jews*, P. c. 2. & 3. p. 125. &c * Ambroſ. l. ix. Ep. lxx. p. 174.

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ceive the Sacerdotal Benediction, with which your Union ought to begin, if ye have neither the same Worship nor the same Faith?

X. The Council of *Elvira* * condemn'd Marriages contracted with Hereticks or Jews. The Interpreters pretend, that two Passages of the Text ought to be amended, and that in one, the Title of *Schismatick* must be restor'd; and the rather, because the Council of *Carthage*, which seems to have copy'd this Decree, made use of this Word, and that there was a double Law against Hereticks. They carry this Severity still farther, and maintain, That it was not lawful for a Man to marry his Daughter to Hereticks, and consequently, to Jews, who are nam'd with them, even tho' they had embrac'd Christianity. These Conjectures are bold and ill-grounded. The Council of *Carthage* † had a reason for inserting Schismaticks into its Law, because of the *Donatists*, who were potent and numerous in *Africa*. But why must the *Spanish* Bishops have had the same Thought, amongst whom there was no Schism? These two Decrees have no other Conformity than that of the Subject, and one does not seem to have been taken from the other. The repetition of the Word Heretick is not faulty, because it gives greater weight to the Law. In the main it would be an excessive Severity to rob the Converted of the liberty to marry with the Christians. Would they have them marry Jewish or Heathen Wives, or injoin them Celibacy against their Wills? This would be throwing a great Obstacle in the way, instead of facilitating their Conversion. The Council of *Chalcedon* ‖ was far from this Severity, since it admitted Marriages upon the bare hopes of a Jews or Hereticks Conversion. The Council founded its Prohibition of those mix'd Marriages, upon the impossibility of Society betwixt a Believer and an Infidel. Such a Prohibition has been inserted in the Decrees of the first Council of *Nice*, but it is found only in the Canons that have been borrow'd from the Arabians. A great many Councils have imitated that of *Elvira*, and are consonant upon the Condemnation: They are only divided about the Nature of the Punishments to be inflicted upon those that violate the Law.

XI. The severest Law * against these Marriages was publish'd by the Emperor *Constantius*, who had always a strong Aversion to the Jews; for he sentenc'd to Death every Jew that marry'd a Christian. The Rigor was so much the greater, that it only concern'd Women of mean Birth, and who suffer'd themselves to be the easier won by the Jews, because their Reputation was but indifferent among the Christians. Indeed the Law mentions only the Women that came out of the *Work-houses*, that is, from certain places, where abundance of Maids and Women were put to spin Wool, and to work for the Service of the Emperor or private Persons. These Houses were Scandalous upon two Accounts; one was, that Prostitutes were shut up in them, to be oblig'd to do Pennance and Work; the other, that the Governours and Masters of these Houses often corrupted those that were sent into 'em. However they were punish'd with Death that marry'd them. The Law only mentions Women, from whence the Lawyers have concluded, that the same Punishment was not appointed for the Men, because a Woman is easier seduc'd, and the Husband has more Authority to command or persuade to Religion; but this is very uncertain.

XII. We have seen Councils † that order'd these Marriages to be broken. I know not for what reason some Interpreters oppose the Authority of the *Quinisext* Council ‖, which separates and declares *null* Marriages contracted betwixt two Persons of a different Religion; nor how they declaim against *Balsamon* *, because he maintained, that there was no Union *betwixt the Wolf and the Lamb*, nor Society between Persons whose Vows and Desires are coutrary; and that therefore, agreeably to the ancient Canons, these Marriages ought to be broken: For the fourth Council of *Toledo* had already given Orders, that every Bishop should admonish the Jews who were married to Christian Women, to convert themselves, if they meant to live together; and that upon refusal of a speedy Conversion, they should be parted, *because the Infidel can't live with her that has Faith*. The third Council of *Orleans* † had in the beginning of the sixth Century decreed this Separation necessary, and commanded it under pain of Excommunication. *Photius* ‖ quotes a Constitution, by which these Marriages were look'd upon as Adulteries. *Thomas Aquinas* maintained since, that Marriages with Hereticks were allow'd and lawful; but his Opinion is not sufficient to condemn *Balsamon* supported with the Authority of so many Councils. *Boniface* VIII. more indulgent than the Councils, was contented to deprive a Woman of her Dowry who had contracted with a Jew. But was this in his power? And could the Husband dispence with the Oath he had taken to pay it her?

XIII. Tho' the Law of Nature gives Fathers a Property over their Children, yet this Law has been infring'd; and the Councils of *Toledo* * decreed, That the Child should follow the condition of the Mother, when she was a Christian, and all the Children should be taken and baptiz'd.

The Councils † would have done well to have kept within their just Bounds; and without determining about civil and corporal Punishments, which belong'd to the Magistrate's Province, they ought to have been contented with Excommunication. The Council of *Elvira* pronounc'd it only against the Fathers, who had marry'd their Children to Jews, and confin'd it to five Years. But the other Councils, who have added Excommunication to the other Punishments, because a Man ought not to enjoy the Advantages of the Church, when he is united to its Enemies, have fix'd no time, but they left it to the discretion of the Bishops. That of *Clermont* not content with Excommunication, would have a Man farther depriv'd of Table-Society with the rest of Christians.

XIV. When a Jew corrupted a Christian Woman, he was fin'd ‖ ten Marks in Silver; and the Woman being first whip'd, was banish'd for ever from the City. The Council of *Frisinguen* appointed a Mulct of twenty Pounds of *Deniers*, payable to the Lord of the Place where the Scandal was committed. But he only impos'd this Punishment on the Men, both Christians and Jews; for the Christians lov'd the Jewish, as the Jews lov'd the Christian Women.

A *Dominican* fell into this Misfortune; and his Passion was so violent, that he consented to be Circumcis'd to marry his Mistress, who had impos'd that Condition upon him. The thing was no sooner discover'd, but the Order brought their Complaints to the Queen of *France*, against this Apostate Monk, who was her Confessor. She promis'd

* Ambros. l. 9. Ep. lxx. p. 174. † Concil. Eliberit. c. 16. t. 1. p. 972. Mendoza de confirm. Concil. Eliber. l. 11 p. 1151. Hereticis, *lege* Schismaticis. Catholicas, *lege* Catholicis. ‖ Concil. Carthag. 3. c. 12. t. 2. p. 1169. * Concil. Chalced. Act xv. c. 14. p. 761. t. 4. † Cod. Theod. l. xvi. l. 6. p. 223. ‖ Concil. Tolet. IV. An. 633. Can. 63. ibid. p. 1720. * Concil. Quinsextum An. 692. t. 6. p. 1174. † Balsamon in Can 72. p. 449. ‖ Aurelian III. An. 538. c. 13. t. 5. p. 299. Phot. Nomocan. p. 173. † Conc. Tolet. III. An. 589. c. 14. t. 5. p. 1012. Concil. Tolet. IV. An. 633. c. 63. Ibid. p. 1720. ‖ Concil. Eliberit. c. 16. t. 1. p. 972. Concil. Tolet. VIII. c. 12. Aurelian. II. c. 19. An. 533. t. 4. p. 1804. * Concil. Vien. An. 1267. c. 17. t. 11. p. 864.

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them her Protection, and ſolicited the King to ruin the Jews; but to no purpoſe, becauſe he drew conſiderable Sums out of them. All the Clergy declar'd War againſt this Monk, whether the Gallant or the Husband of a Jew. The Prelates repreſented to the Prince the Danger they were in by a Nation, that maintain'd the Neceſſity of killing the beſt of Chriſtians, and that they ought not to be taught ſo much as to eat Honey. The King evaded the firſt of theſe Maxims, by ſhewing, that the Jews only meant, that it was an excellent Law among the Chriſtians, to kill or to puniſh the Guilty. The Prelates intrench'd themſelves within the ſecond, and prov'd, that they had only forbidden to teach the eating of Honey out of hatred to Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe a Man taſted Wine better after he had eaten it; and that as the beſt Wine was the fitteſt for the Service of God, and to be conſecrated to the Altar, the Jews, who could not bear the Honour done to the Son of God by the Conſecration of the Euchariſt, would not have them learn an infallible Secret to diſtinguiſh the Goodneſs of Wine. The Biſhop's Argument was far fetch'd; and 'tis no wonder if the King was not moved by it. The Prelates alledg'd, that it was read in the Talmud, that Jeſus Chriſt *was damn'd*. The King would believe nothing of it, being perſwaded that all this proceeded from the Inſtigation of the Queen. However he yielded to their Importunities: He put to death thoſe that had circumcis'd the Concubinary, or married Monk, and expell'd all the Jews out of his Kingdom upon pain of Confiſcation of Eſtate, and Death, if they continued in it above three Months. They reckon this Exile their twentieth Calamity; but they neither ſpecifie the Circumſtance of time, nor the Name of the King of *France*, under whom it muſt have happen'd. They even own * that they have taken this Story from the Writings of ſome *Germans*, becauſe the French Hiſtorians do not mention it. They † relate ſuch another Event that happen'd in *England* in the Year 1260, except that the Monk here is turned into a Prieſt, and the Puniſhment of Exile into that of Fire, in caſe the Jews were not converted, which produc'd an almoſt general Change of the Nation, from whom all their Children were taken at ſix Years old to be made Chriſtians.

XV. Kings and Councils have prevented the Jews Exceſſes, or the Weakneſs of Chriſtians, whom a too great Eaſineſs might have corrupted to the Jewiſh Religion. It was not a Synodal Matter, to make Decrees to break off Civil Society between the Chriſtians and the Jews. Private Exhortations proportioned to the Occaſions and Incidents that might happen, and ſometimes have happen'd, might have ſufficed without making everlaſting Laws, the Severity whereof carries ſomething odious in it, and helps Poſterity only to keep up uſeleſs and criminal Averſions.

In the mean time the Fathers have ſeem'd too ſevere againſt that Liberty which was taken to ſpeak, or go to the Jews Houſes, or to bathe or eat with them. St. *Ambroſe* ‖ adviſed the People to be ſober and ſad, when the Heathens celebrated their Feaſts, and to avoid even the *Converſation of the Jews*. It would be in vain to make a tedious Collection of all the Decrees of Councils, which have condemn'd the Society of a Jew with a Chriſtian in the ſame Houſe, or at Meals. I will only obſerve five things which will include all that they have injoyn'd upon this Subject.

XVI. Firſt, Theſe Prohibitions are of old ſtanding, for they were made in *Spain* in the Council of *Elvira*, * under pain of Excommunication. The *Arabians* have attributed ſuch a Decree to the Council of *Nice* †; but they have only meant to give it a greater Force and Authority, by entitling it to the Name of a venerable Aſſembly. However it is certain, that Synods have, time after time, renew'd theſe Prohibitions, either becauſe they were violated, or had been forgotten. We find them in the Councils of ‖ *Epaone*, *Maſcon*, *Orleans*, *Agde*, *Narbonne*, *Vienna*, and in that of *Friſingen*, held in the Year 1440.

XVII. Secondly, This Severity has been ſometimes carried ſo high, as to forbid the buying Meat and other Proviſions of the Jews. This Nation being depriv'd of Offices and all Employs, have for a long Succeſſion of Ages devoted themſelves to Trade. To rob them of this ſupport, the Chriſtians, that are abundantly more rich and numerous, combin'd to oblige theſe Merchants to ſell their Goods at a low Rate; and this ſort of Confederacy was ſo punctually executed, that there was a neceſſity of allowing them Jewiſh Superviſors to regulate the juſt Price of the Merchandiſes they expos'd to Sale, that the Chriſtians might be oblig'd to take them at a fix'd Rate. This Priviledge was advantagious to the Nation; *Theodoſius* *, that gave it, went upon this natural Maxim, that *every one ought to be Maſter of his own Goods*. Another Expedient was afterwards found to render their Commerce more difficult; not only by forbidding them to ſell Meat on Faſting-days, but by prohibiting them the Markets and Publick Places, and obliging them to ſtay at home and ſell privately.

XVIII. The Kings of *Spain* have authorized theſe Decrees of the Councils. One of them aſſerts, † that *Since*, according to St. *Paul*, *All things are Pure to the Pure*, all kind of Commerce ought to be rejected with the Jews, and that we can't eat with them without Sin. Another ‖ after having confirm'd this Law, lays great Fines upon thoſe who ſhall receive any Preſent from a Jew, whether directly or indirectly.

XIX. The Councils and Princes have offer'd ſeveral Reaſons to ſupport their Laws and Decrees. One maintains *, That the Jews are a People threatned by God, becauſe they have ſold *the Juſt for Money, and the Poor for a Show*: From whence they conclude, That it is a Sin to countenance them. Another maintains that the Jews are more filthy than Filth it ſelf; and this was the Opinion of St. *Ambroſe* †, as well as *Recaredo* ‖ King of the *Viſigoths*; the Council of *Agde* * pretended the Honour of Chriſtianity; for it is obſerved, that ſince the Jews did not eat the Meat that was prepared by a Chriſtian, it was demeaning and humbling our ſelves beneath them to eat what was of their dreſſing. This Council was very nice upon the Point of Honour, and had forgotten that the reaſon of this Difference proceeded from the Law, rather than from a Contempt of Chriſtians, ſince it prohibited the eating of Blood, which they ſo punctually obſerve, as not to dare to eat Fleſh, unleſs they be well aſſured that the Blood of the Beaſt has been well drain'd. Laſtly, The Council of *Vienna* † ſupported its Decree upon a Fear that the

* Salomon Ben Virgæ Tribus Judæ; Gentius Hiſt. Jud. p. 143. † Schialſchelet Hakkabbala, p. 112. ‖ Ambroſ. Serm. 19. de Calend. * Concil. Eliber. Can. 50. t. 1. p. 976. † Concil. Nicæn. Can. 52. t. 11 p. 307. ‖ Concil. Narbonenſ. Concil. Bitterenſe, An. 1246. Can. 38. t. 11. p. 685. Concil. Vienn. An. 1267. Can. 18. Ibid. p. 864. * Cod. Theod. L. 16. l. 10. p. 226. An. 396. † Recared. Leg. Viſigoth. L. 12. t. 1. 2. l. 8. ‖ Ervigius ibid. * Ervig. † Ambroſ. ‖ Recared. * Concil. Agathenſe, An. 506. Can. 40. t. 4. p. 1390. † Concil. Vienn. An. 1267. Can. 18. t. 11. p. 864.

Jews would poiſon the Chriſtians if they eat with them.

XX. The Puniſhments * inflicted on thoſe that violated theſe Decrees, were more or leſs rigorous, according to the Humour and Genius of the Authors of them. Sometimes ſeven days Penance was enjoyn'd him that had eaten with a Jew; and if he refuſed to obey, the Puniſhment varied according to the Condition of the Perſons. A Perſon of Quality was excommunicated for a Year, and an ordinary Man receiv'd a hundred Laſhes. The Council of *Epaone* † depriv'd the Laymen of the Honour of eating with the Jews. The Council of ‖ *Maſcon* more ſeverely forbad all Society with Chriſtians, whether Lay-men or Eccleſiaſticks, who ſhould have eaten with a Jew, but Excommunication was the more common Puniſhment. The Council of *Vienna* * was afraid of meeting with ſome Oppoſition from the Princes and Clergy, who perhaps made no ſcruple to eat with Strangers. And therefore it excommunicated, by way of Anticipation, the Biſhop of *Saltzbourg*, (who was not yet inveſted in his Biſhoprick) unleſs he rigorouſly proceeded againſt the Contumacious.

* Concil. Coyacenſe, An. 1050. C. 6. t. 9. p. 1065. † Concil. Epaon. An. 517. Can. 15. t. 4. p. 1578. ‖ Concil. Matiſcon. An. 581. Canon. 15. t. 5. p. 790. Concil. Narbonenſe, An. 1227. Can. 2 t. xi. p. 305. * Concil. Vienn. An. 1267. Can. 18. Ibid. Conc. Friſingenſe, An. 1296. Can. 21. t. 13. p. 1296.

CHAP. XIII.

The Continuation of the ſame Subject.

I. Conſtantine *and* Conſtantius's *Laws about Jewiſh Slaves.* II. *Repeal'd by* Honorius. III. *That of* Theodoſius *the Younger receiv'd.* IV. *Liberty given to Slaves.* V. *Nurſes forbidden.* VI. *The Severity of the Council of* Beziers *againſt Phyſicians.* VII. *Authoriſed by the Popes.* VIII. *The Jews deprived of Offices.* IX. *Councils decreeing it.* X. *Fines appointed by Princes.* XI. *Taxes impoſed on the Jews for the Tithes and Curates.* XII. *Uſuries condemn'd.* XIII. *The Teſtimony of the Jews rejected.* XIV. *The taking away of their Children permitted.* XV. *Diſinheriting of Children forbidden.* XVI. *A Badge to diſtinguiſh the Jews, ordered by the* Perſians *and the Council of* Lateran. XVII. *A Wheel order'd by the Council of* Narbonne. *The Death of the King and the Pope.* XVIII. *A Cope with Sleeves injoyn'd the Jews.* XIX. *The Violence the Jews do themſelves in wearing the Badge.* XX. *A corner'd Cap. A white and red Wheel.* XXI. *A yellow Cap.* XXII. *The ancient Origine of the yellow* O. *The Reaſons of a Poet.* XXIII. *Several Regulations.*

I. THE Jews were depriv'd of the uſe of Chriſtian Slaves: The Emperors began this: *Conſtantine* * made a Law for it ſix Months before his death. The Law which has come down to us, only imports a Prohibition for the Jews to circumciſe the Slaves in their Service upon pain of loſing them. But *Euſebius* † gives this Law a far greater Latitude; for he relates, that this Prince forbad the Jews to be ſerved by Chriſtians; and every Chriſtian Slave, that was found in the Houſe of a Jew, *became Free, and the Maſter was amerc'd a Fine.*

Conſtantius ‖ made a more rigorous Law upon the ſame Subject; for, 1. He condemn'd the Maſter to Death, who had circumcis'd a Chriſtian Slave. 2. He confiſcated the Eſtate of a Jew, who ſhould for the future buy a Chriſtian Slave. 3. Laſtly, He confiſcated the Heathen Slaves that enter'd into the Jewiſh Service. *Sozomen* * aſcribes this Law not only to *Conſtantius*, but to his Brothers, which demonſtrates, that it was executed over all the Roman Empire; and the end propoſed in it, was to leſſen the number of the Jews, to multiply that of the Chriſtians, and to prevent their being corrupted. Theſe Laws have ſtrangely gravell'd the Interpreters, who have thought *Euſebius* and *Theodoſius* the Younger miſtaken, in aſcribing to *Conſtantine* the Law of his Son; becauſe the Father had only condemn'd the Jews that circumcis'd their Slaves, whereas *Conſtantius* puniſh'd all that purchas'd Chriſtian Slaves. The one puniſh'd only the Abuſe, and the other prohibited the Uſe; But this Difficulty need give us no diſturbance.

II. *Honorius* was as remarkable for his Clemency, as *Conſtantius* for his Severity. It was a Complaint in his Reign, that the Jews multiplied the number of their Chriſtian Slaves even to exceſs. But in vain the Poets might pathetically chant in their Verſes,

> *Latius* † *exciſa peſtis contagia ſerpunt,*
> *Victoreſque ſuos natio victa premit.*

In vain they declaim'd to render this Nation odious; the Prince look'd upon all this as pure Calumnies, which he diſapprov'd. He ‖ even commanded the Governours of Provinces to repreſs them, and to do the Jews juſtice, by voiding all their Incroachments that might have been made, or ſhould be made for the future upon them. And laſtly, He allows the Jews to have Chriſtians in their Service, provided they left them an entire liberty to diſcharge their Chriſtian Duties.

III. They were not ſo happy in the Eaſt, where *Theodoſius* * the younger, two Years after, publiſh'd an Ordinance, forbidding the Jews to buy a Chriſtian, or to receive him by Gift, becauſe that was a way to evade Purchaſes. There were but two caſes in which he left them a free Poſſeſſion, that of a *Feoffement of Truſt* or Entails, and of Succeſſion, becauſe the Slaves often making a conſiderable part of the Patrimony of Families, the Jew, who was Heir to a Chriſtian, would have been oblig'd to abandon his Inheritance, and thereby diſgrace the Memory of the Dead, if part of the Eſtate had been withdrawn, by giving liberty to all the Slaves that made Profeſſion of Chriſtianity. *Valentinian* † who made, in his Empire, ſuch another Prohibition, founded it upon the Apprehenſions that the Maſters would abuſe their Authority, to cauſe the Slaves to abandon their Religion; and theſe two Princes conjoyntly ſome time after, publiſh'd another Edict ‖ of their Council, forbidding the Jews, upon pain of loſing their Eſtates and Heads, to ingage any

* Cod. Theod. L. 15. Tit. 9. l. 1. p. 247. † Euſeb. de Vita Conſt. l. 4. c. 27. p. 538. ‖ Cod. Theod. l. 16. t. 9. l. 2. p. 248. * Sozom. l. 3. c. 17. p. 529. † Rutil. Itiner. l. 1. ‖ Cod. Theod. ibid l. 3. An. 415. * Cod. Theod. ibid. l. 4. p. 249. An. 417. † Valentin. III. Conſtitutio cap. 5. Corc. t. 2. p. 1685. An. 425. ‖ Leges Novellæ Theodoſ. Tit. 3. Appendix Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 2.

one,

one, Slave or Free, to change his Religion. The Biſhops ſeconded the intention of the Princes. *Gregory* I. * wrote preſſingly about it to *Brunehaud* and *Theodeberd* King of *France*, who had permitted the Jews the uſe of Chriſtian Servants; repreſenting, That Slaves were made of thoſe who were Members of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

IV. The Councils complain'd of the Inſolence of the Jews, who would not give the Chriſtians liberty, even when they would purchaſe it: Wherefore that of *Maſcon* †, held in the ſixth Century, oblig'd 'em to releaſe each Slave at the Price of Twelve Sols. If they refus'd to receive their Money, the Slave was allow'd to make his Eſcape, to live where he pleas'd; and the ſame Council granted him the ſame liberty, if he had been oblig'd to be Circumcis'd. 1. The Decree ſeems to have been form'd upon *Conſtantine*'s Law, the motive and meaning whereof is made uſe of, tho' it be of much larger extent. 2. It was repeated almoſt in the ſame Words a long time after by Pope *Gregory* IX ‖. The Councils of *Toledo* * have more exactly follow'd the Imperial Laws; for they granted the Chriſtian Slaves their Liberty without a Ranſom, and forbad the Maſters to poſſeſs them either by Gift or Purchaſe. But they give a very odd Reaſon for it; namely, That the Jews are the *Miniſters or Members of Antichriſt*. Many † Councils held in the thirteenth Century renew'd the ſame Laws in *England*, *Germany*, *Ponte-Audemor*, and even ſome, as thoſe of *England* and *Avignon*, prohibited Chriſtian Nurſes from taking Jewiſh Children.

V. The Chriſtians alſo were forbidden to take Nurſes from the Synagogue. The Fathers, who condemn'd the nicety of Mothers that refus'd to ſuckle their Children, took care, they ſhould not have recourſe to Women that were Strangers to the Covenant, to diſcharge this Duty. But the Synagogue was no leſs nice upon this Article than the Church; for it forbad Nurſes to give Milk to the Chriſtians, becauſe it was partaking in Idolatry to ſuckle thoſe who would afterwards worſhip the Creature. Nor would they have Chriſtian Nurſes, becauſe they were accus'd of ſtifling the Children of the Jews, whom they hated.

VI. The Rigor at that time was carry'd againſt the Jews, even to *the hating a Man's own Fleſh*. They choſe Sickneſs and Death, rather than be indebted for the Preſervation of Life to the Phyſicians of that Nation. The Council of *Beziers* ‖ forbad, upon pain of Excommunication, to truſt the care of a Man's Health to them. The Council of *Alby* *, held eight Years after, only repeated the ſame Decree. But that of *Avignon* † expreſſes all the Reaſons upon which the Prohibition was founded. It thought the uſe of Jewiſh Phyſicians ſcandalous and pernicious to the Chriſtians; ſince, inſtead of deſpiſing and abhorring the Actions of the Enemies of the Faith, they had recourſe to their Remedies. This Council alſo ridiculouſly maintains, that the Medicines offer'd from an impure and defiled Hand, do Miſchief inſtead of Good. Beſides, ſay theſe Biſhops, the Jews drew from hence a Subject of Vanity and Pride, taking occaſion hereby to deſpiſe Chriſtianity and Chriſtians. The intimacy that grew betwixt them under this pretence, occaſion'd a thouſand Evils and many Crimes, which the Jews were ſuſpected to have a hand in, and there was reaſon to fear the Miſchief would ſpread farther. The Council reſolving to maintain their Religion, and ſecure *its Subjects* from the Faults they might be guilty of, forbad them to employ either Jewiſh Phyſician or Surgeon, or directly or indirectly to make uſe of their Advice and Remedies, unleſs there were no Chriſtian Phyſicians to be found. It extends its Authority over the Jews, forbidding them to enter into Houſes, upon pain of being depriv'd of the Society of the Faithful; and afterwards leaves the Chriſtians, who ſhould tranſgreſs this Law, to the Judgment of the Biſhop. It muſt be confeſs'd, that this Council had very ſingular Principles.

VII. In the mean time, * the Popes were no leſs ſevere than the Councils; and *Gregory* XIII, who reign'd at the end of the ſixteenth Century, not only caus'd the Jewiſh Phyſician, who enter'd a Chriſtian's Houſe, to be ſeverely puniſh'd by the Magiſtrate, but order'd *thoſe that made uſe of them to be deny'd the Sacraments and Burial*, which was the higheſt point of Barbarity. It was not long ſince, ſome Doctors † of Phyſick have diſcuſs'd it as a Problem, whether it was lawful for a Chriſtian Phyſician to conſult with a Jew.

VIII. We ought not to wonder, after this, if they were depriv'd of Dignities, Offices and Honours. *Conſtantine* had left them ſome that were more burdenſome than honourable. But whether they abuſed their Honours, or that the Contempt for the Jewiſh Nation increas'd, they were quickly thrown out of every thing that might make them conſiderable in the State. *Valentinian* III. ‖ depriv'd them of Military Poſts, and the Title of Advocate, which had till then continu'd among them. A little after *Theodoſius* the Younger diſcharg'd them from all kinds of Offices in Judicature; becauſe it was unreaſonable, that thoſe who were Enemies of the *Roman* Laws, ſhould be their Defenders and Guardians, or inveſted with any Authority againſt the Chriſtian Prieſts and Biſhops whom they hated. They were rob'd ev'n of *Honorary* Titles, which they purchas'd to diſtinguiſh themſelves. They were not ſo much as ſuffer'd to be Keepers of Priſons, for fear they might find a favourable opportunity of exerciſing their Hatred againſt the Chriſtians.

IX. Tho' the appointment of Publick Offices belongs to the Juriſdiction of Princes, yet the Councils have often meddl'd with it. In *Spain*, the fourth Council of *Toledo* *, tho' it forbad the forcing the Conſciences of the Jews, yet it interdicted them Publick Employs under heavy Penalties. The *Judges and Prieſts* were to unite together to deprive them of the Offices they had crept into; and he was look'd upon as a Sacrilegious Perſon, who did not do his Duty in that reſpect. The other Councils of *Spain*, aſſembled in the ſame place, follow'd this Example. The Council of *Lateran* †, in the thirteenth Century, not only approv'd that of *Toledo*, but ſentenc'd the Jewiſh Officer to loſe his Place, and to pay all the Profits he had received from it to the poor Chriſtians. Pope *Gregory* IX. ‖ ratify'd the Decree of the Council of *Lateran*; how-

* Gr. I. l. vii. ep. 113, 114. † Conc. Mat. An. 581. c. 15. t. v. p. 970. ‖ Greg. Frag. decret. De. 162. Conc. t. xi. p. 407. * Concil. Tolet. III. An. 589. Ibid. p. 2012. Tolet. IV. An. 626. Can. 66. † Concil. Vigornienſe, An. 1241. Can. 56. t. xi. p. 589. Concil. Vien. An. 1267. Can. 16. p. 864. Apud Pontem Audomari, An. 1279. Can. 9. p. 1045. Concil. Vigorn. ibid. Avenionenſe, An. 1279. Can. 6. p. 1055. ‖ Concil. Bitter. An. 1246. C. 43. t. xi. p. 686. * Albienſe, An. 1254. Can. 69. p. 737. † Avernonenſe, An. 1337. Can. 69. p. 1867. * Pauli IV. Conſt. III. Bullar. t. 1. Greg. XIII. Conſtit. 68. Dat. Romæ, An. 1581. Pontif. Bullar. t. ii. † Michaelis Bernardi Valentini Pandectæ Medico-legales, ſive reſponſa Medico-forenſia ex Archivis Academiarum, &c. p. 1. Sect. 4. ‖ Valentiniani III. Conſtit. An. 425. Can. Concil. t. ii. p. 1685. Cod. Theod. Append. ad t. vi. Tit. III. de Judæis p. 2. An. 439. * Concil. Tolet. IV. An. 619. Can. 6. t. v. p. 1721. † Concil. Lateran. IV. An. 1215. Can. 69. t. xi. p. 22. ‖ Greg. 9. Fragm. Decretor. 18. Conc. xi. p. 373.

ever he ſoftned it in favour of the King of *Portugal*, whom he lov'd: Underſtanding that this Prince had farm'd his Revenues to the Jews, he was contented to order him to appoint a Sub-Farmer that was a Chriſtian, that might not be ſuſpected to the Clergy, by whoſe Miniſtry the Jews and Heathens likewiſe might levy the Taxes. By this means, the Name of the Jew was conceal'd, who took that of a Chriſtian, who yet continu'd to be the Perſon chiefly concern'd.

X. The Princes countenanc'd the Biſhops and Councils upon this matter; and the Ordinances of the *Viſigoth* Kings † fin'd a Perſon of Quality Ten Pounds of Gold, who ſhould have ſet up a Jewiſh Judge in his Juriſdiction. The Forfeit was five Pounds for the People, and in default of Payment, they were to receive a hundred Stripes. 'Tis ſaid, ‖ that *Alphonſo the Wiſe* had depriv'd 'em of all ſorts of Offices in the Territory and City of *Toledo*; but his Law does not appear. But notwithſtanding all theſe Precautions of Princes, Biſhops, Councils and Popes, which were the more neceſſary in *Spain*, becauſe the Jews were more numerous there, yet they preſerv'd the Poſſeſſion of ſome Employs. For we find a Complaint, which Pope * *Stephen* wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, and to the Lords of *Languedoc* and *Spain*, by which he declares, he is penetrated with a mortal Grief, to hear that the Lords and Prelates of theſe Provinces had farm'd out to the Jews the Lots and Sales, and that the Chriſtians were often oblig'd to dreſs their Vineyards, and to till their Fields. And in the Year 1300, the People of *Toledo* vex'd to ſee the Jews ſtill inveſted with many Preferments, was oblig'd to riſe and to make a new Law, depriving them of them for ever. *Benedict* XIII, † reſiding in *Arragon* during the Schiſm, took from them the liberty of chuſing Judges for their Nation, becauſe this was the *Privilege of the Worſhippers of Chriſt*; and whereas the Jews alledg'd, That Princes had granted 'em this Privilege, they were earneſtly ſollicited to take it from the Jews. The ſame thing was done in *France*; *God forbid*, ſaid the Council of *Maſcon*, ‖ *that the Chriſtians ſhould be ſubject to the Jews*; and therefore it prohibited the making them Judges or publick Farmers: And that of *Chateau-Gontier* * in the thirteenth Century, depriv'd the Jews of the Title of Bailiff, and of all power of puniſhing Chriſtians, upon pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures againſt thoſe that violated the Law. The ſame rigour was practis'd in *Italy* and *Germany* †.

XI. The Jews were ſo far from being ſuffer'd to riſe above the Chriſtians, that they were oblig'd, not only to an exact payment of Tiths, but alſo to pay as much to the Curate of the Pariſh, as a Chriſtian would have been oblig'd to, if he had dwelt in the Jew's Houſe. Each Family was tax'd ſix *Deniers*, to be paid annually on *Eaſter-day*, in the Parochial Church, by way of Oblation ‖. And at *Lambeth* * a very particular Regulation was made. The Secular Judges pretended, that the Puniſhment of a Jew, who was accus'd of any Crime, belong'd to them. The Biſhops, on the contrary, imagin'd, that moſt of the Faults pertaining to Conſcience ought to be brought before their Tribunal. Wherefore they appointed in their Council, that the Jews ſhould be reſponſible to them, and thunder'd out an Excommunication and Interdict againſt all Oppoſers. Thus they were oblig'd to ſubmit to the Judgment of their declar'd Enemies, upon pain of being depriv'd of all Commerce.

XII. The Jews baniſh'd out of all Employs, made themſelves amends by the exceſſive Uſuries they extorted from the Chriſtians. The Council of *Lateran* † endeavour'd to remedy this matter, by interdicting their Commerce with the Chriſtians, till they had repair'd the Damage they had done 'em by their exorbitant Intereſt. As the Princes favour'd the Jews in this reſpect, they were conjur'd not to take offence at theſe Prohibitions, but to repreſs the Exceſs complain'd of. At *Lateran* they were contented to cenſure private Perſons, who tranſgreſs'd this Law; but the Council of *Beziers* ‖, held thirty Years after, added Excommunication. Thoſe of *Alby* and *Montpelier* * diſcharg'd Chriſtians from paying what they ow'd the Jews, provided they ſwore it was for Uſury. They were ſtill more ſevere at *St. Quintin* †, where the Eccleſiaſticks complain'd, That Princes and Secular Judges condemn'd them to pay the Jews, without having acknowledg'd or confeſs'd their Debt. The Council provok'd by a Proceedure, which was ſo much the more injurious to the Clergy, as they pretended, that Laymen could not, without violating the Canons, meddle in an Eccleſiaſtical Affair, complain'd, that the Condition of the Enemies of the Croſs hereby became better than that of Chriſtians, and order'd ‖ the Prelates to be vigilant, that if ſuch a Scandal ſhould happen in their Dioceſe, they ſhould proceed by Cenſures till the Injury and Damage was repair'd. The Council of *Paris* had long ago * forbid the Jews to bring an Action againſt Chriſtians. Thoſe who ventur'd to do it, were oblig'd to deſire the *Grace of Baptiſm of the Biſhop*. A wonderful Grace to an incredulous Jew, which only the Chriſtians Injuſtice reduc'd him to the neceſſity of receiving! King *Clotaire* † had confirm'd this Act by a ſolemn Ordinance. Laſtly, It was prohibited either to lend to, or borrow Money of the Jews. A Prior, who borrow'd ſomething of them, was expell'd out of his Priory, and could not be reſtor'd but by a Council. Other Chriſtians had not the liberty to receive any Money from the Jews, for fear they ſhould depoſite it in the Churches; that is, People were not ſorry that they ſhould be rob'd; on the contrary, it was a vexation to ſee 'em lay their Money up in ſafety. Nor was it permitted to lend the Jews any Money, leſt under a borrow'd Name they ſhould take a ſcandalous Uſury. Laſtly, at *Friſingen* ‖ they were abſolutely forbidden to make any Intereſt of their Money. *Paul* IV. did the ſame * thing at *Rome*. But all theſe Laws have had but little effect. The Jews and Chriſtians conſpiring to break 'em; and the one being too neceſſary to the other to be divided on this occaſion, Uſury is ſtill, as it has been in all Ages, an abundant ſource of Riches to this Nation.

† Leges Viſigoth. lib. 12. l. 17. ‖ Mariana de Reb. Hiſp. l. 22. p. 302. t. ii. * Stephani vi. Ep. 4 Conc. t. ix. p. 478. † Bulla Benedicti III. B. R. t. 3. p. 733. ‖ Concil. Matiſcon. I. An. 581. Can. 13. t. 5. p. 969. * Concil. apud Caſtrum Gont. An. 1331. Can. 31. t. xi. p. 441. † Synodus Regiaticina, An. 850. Can. 20. t. viii. p. 68. Conc. Vien. An. 1267. Can. 15. t. xi. p. 864. ‖ Concil. Biterr. An. 1246. Can. 42. p. 686. * Concil. Lambeth. An. 1261. t. xi. p. 810. † Concil. Lateran. IV. An. 1215. Can. 67. t. xi. p. 219. ‖ Concil. Biterr. An. 1246. Can. 37. Ibid. p. 685. * Concil. Albienſe, Ann. 1254. Can. 63. p. 736. Concil. Monſpel. An. 1258. Can. 5. p. 782. † Concil. apud St. Quentin. An. 1271. Can. 5. p. 923. Concil. Vien. An. 1267. Can. 19. p. 864. ‖ Conſtitut. Petri Sinonenſis An. 1215. Can. 4. Conc. t. xi. p. 241. Synod. Vigornienſ. An. 1240. Can. 57. & 58. p. 589. * Concil. Pariſ. V. An. 615. Can. 15. † Edictum Clotarii II. Regis in ſup. Synodo Conc. t. v. p. 1653. ‖ Concil. Friſing. An. 1440. Can. 21. t. 13. p. 1296. * Vita Pauli IV. An. 1555.

XIII. The

XIII. The Councils * have endeavour'd to mortifie it by a great many other Regulations. It has been determin'd, that their Teſtimony ought not to be receiv'd in Judgment, becauſe there was no Fidelity in thoſe that deny'd the Faith, and were Infidels to God. Thoſe Jews that call'd themſelves Chriſtians were not more favourably receiv'd than the reſt; and their Teſtimony was ſuſpected, becauſe their Chriſtianity was ſo. The Secular Judges were oblig'd to obſerve this Statute, under pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. In the mean time all this was grounded upon an Equivocation, as if he, who had not the true Faith could never ſpeak the Truth, nor fear the God he worſhipped.

XIV. They were robb'd † of the Children that Nature had given them. I confeſs, it was ſometimes endeavour'd to cover this Perſecution with ſome Pretence. It was ſaid, as we have inſinuated, that the Mother being a Chriſtian, the Child ought to partake of that Advantage. In *England*, they alledg'd ſome Crime committed againſt our Religion. In *Spain*, 'twas pretended, they had conſpir'd againſt the State. But is the Injuſtice the leſs for being colour'd and diſguis'd? Beſides, they did not always trouble their Heads to ſeek Pretences: And the fourth Council of *Toledo* ‖, which order'd, that all their Children ſhould be taken away from them, offer'd no other Reaſon for it, than that of Religion; which requir'd, They ſhould be forc'd from their Fathers, for fear they ſhould partake of their Errors, and ſhut up in Monaſteries, to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Truths. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel the lamentable Effects of theſe Rapes.

XV. They went upon better grounds, in preventing the Jews from diſ-inheriting of their Children when they embrac'd Chriſtianity; for it was not reaſonable, the Fathers ſhould exerciſe ſuch a cruel Revenge upon their Children, becauſe they would obey God rather than Men; nor that the Children ſhould ſuffer for their Piety, or be withheld by the fear of Poverty from embracing a known Truth. *Valentinian* * publiſh'd a judicious Law upon this Head; ordering, That the Child diſ-inherited by his Father for the ſake of Religion, ſhould have the ſame Portion, as if there had been no Will. He order'd alſo, That tho' there ſhould be another cauſe of diſ-inheriting prov'd by the Parents, yet a Portion ſhould be left him, as a Recompence for his Faith.

XVI. Laſtly, It was thought neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the Jews by ſome peculiar Badge. This Diſtinction was a new Note of Infamy, ſo much the more dangerous, that it expos'd them to the Inſults and Fury of the Rabble. The *Perſians* invented this Cuſtom. For the Caliphs oblig'd the Jews to ſow a piece of yellow Cloth upon their Habit. The ſame thing had been done to the *Saracens* and Jews *in ſome Provinces* before the Council of *Lateran* †, held under *Innocent* III. But this Council authoriz'd the Cuſtom, and gave two Reaſons for its Deciſion. One was, That the Chriſtians not being able to diſcover abroad, whether a Woman was a Jew, and the Jews and *Saracens* being equally at a loſs to diſtinguiſh Chriſtian Women, there ſometimes happen'd a very Criminal Mixture. Secondly, the Council bottom'd upon *Moſes*'s Authority, who had thus commanded it to the People of *Iſrael*. I don't know how *Moſes* could be quoted here; and the Reaſons of the Council muſt be own'd to be very poor; for the difference of Religions is not that which renders Concubinage Criminal, and the principal Sin ſhould rather have been the firſt Object of the Cenſure. Is a Man more Innocent for leaving a Jeweſs to go and debauch a Chriſtian? The Debauchees had a way to overlook the Badge, and prefer a handſome Jew before an ugly Chriſtian. The Council did not determine about the Mark which the Jews and *Saracens* were to wear.

XVII. But twelve Years after, that of *Narbonne* ‖ fix'd upon a Wheel to be wore upon their Breaſt. The Jewiſh * Annals that make mention of this Council, ſay, That it ſubjected them to two Puniſhments; one was, to pay every Year ſeven *Sols* to the Curate of the Pariſh, and the other was, to wear a Mark in their Hat, which is ſomewhat different from the Wheel appointed by the Council. They pretend alſo, That God reveng'd the Injuſtice that was done them, by the Death of *Honorius* III, which happen'd the ſame Year that this Council of *Narbonne* met. It was properly *Lewis* VIII. who when he was in *Languedoc* the preceding Year, gave Orders for the holding this Council. But as he had the Pope's Legate at his ſide, the Annaliſts may ſay, The King made that Act at his Sollicitation. They might alſo carry their Conjectures farther; becauſe if the Pope actually dy'd in *Lent* 1227. whilſt the Council ſat, *Lewis* VIII. alſo ended his days as he left *Languedoc*. But there is nothing vainer than ſuch Conjectures, which a Man always makes according to his Prejudices, without being able to enter into the Views of God.

XVIII. Twenty Years after this Council, that of *Beziers* †, and afterwards that of *Alby* ‖ repeated the ſame Decree. The Eccleſiaſticks of that time wore Copes; the Laymen were permitted to add to them long Sleeves, but it was not allow'd the Churchmen. The Councils * of *Montpellier*, *Avignon* and *Salisbury*, and the Statutes of *Nicolas D'Angers*, publiſh'd in this Age, are an undoubted Proof of it. The Jews imitated the Mode of Churchmen. This was thought to be a thing that demanded the whole Attention of a Council, to have a Jew dreſt like a Prieſt or a Monk. And therefore it ordain'd, That beſides the Wheel faſtned to the Breaſt, the Jews ſhould wear *Copes, with Sleeves as long as the Cope, and that there ſhould be no Plaits nor Folds in the Sleeves.*

XIX. The Jews did not wear this Badge without great reluctance. We need only hear their Complaints, to be convinc'd, that it was an horrible heart-burning to them. For they repreſent, That the Counteſs of *Montfort*, having oblig'd them to change their Religion or ſuffer Death, parted the Husbands from the Wives, ſhut them up in different Priſons, and caus'd all the Children under ſix Years old to be baptiz'd, which occaſion'd lamentable Cries and Groans. But happily for the Priſoners, whereof fifty ſeven had already comply'd; the Count condemn'd the Conduct of his Wife. As great as this Deliverance was, they did not find it compleat; becauſe they kept the Children that were baptiz'd, and the Biſhop of *Toloſe* order'd 'em to wear a Mark of Diſtinction. They were oblig'd to obey; but they ſo ſtrongly importun'd the Biſhop, that he revok'd this Order, which they thought inſupportable. They did ſomething more two Years after; for one of their Deſerters having rais'd a Perſecution againſt 'em in the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and *Bretagne*, wherein three

* Concil. Tolet. IV. An. 633. Can. 64. t. v. p. 1720. Concil apud Caſtrum Gont. An. 1231. Can. 33. t. xi. p. 444 Albienſe An. 1254. Can. 67. ib. p. 737. † Concil. Tolet. XVII. An. 694. Can. 8. p 1370. ‖ Concil. Tol. IV. An. 633. Can. 60. p. 1720. * Cod. Theod. L. xvi. Tit. viii. l. 28. An. 426. p. 244. † Concil. Later. IV. An. 1215. Can. 68. t. xi. p. 221. ‖ Concil. Narbon. An. 1227. Can. 3. p. 305. * Salomon Ben Virgæ S. Gentius Hiſt. Jud. p. 413. Guil. à Pod. Laur. c. 36. p. 84. † Conc. Bitter. An. 1246 Can. 39. t. xi. p. 685. ‖ Concil. Albienſ. An. 1246. cap. 64 & 65. ib. p. 737. * Concil. Monſpel. An. 1214. c. 3. p. 108. Concil. Avenion. An. 1209. Can. 12. Salisbur. An. 1217. Can. 10. ib.

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thouſand Jews periſh'd, without reckoning the Children that the Fathers ſtabb'd, and thoſe that kill'd themſelves, to have the choice of what kind of Death they ſhould die: This Man ſeeing Cruelty unſucceſsful, obtain'd ſeveral Laws againſt his old Brethren; one of which appointed their wearing a red or yellow Hat. They would not obey it, before they had made a Deputation to the King to ſollicite the Repeal of this Decree. They obtain'd it, and return'd triumphant, as if they had gain'd a conſiderable Advantage. But the Inquiſitors began again to torment 'em. They ranſom'd themſelves for ſome time, by paying great Sums to theſe ſtill more covetous than cruel Creatures. But at laſt the greateſt number ſubmitted. Some, as *Mordecai*, choſe rather to ſuffer Impriſonment at *Avignon*; but being tir'd with their Irons, they took the Badge and wore it, till at laſt they bought it off with a Sum of Money.

XX. There was no obliging * People that had this Character of Diſtinction in ſo much Deteſtation, to wear it, if coercive Laws had not been frequently renew'd. The Councils † of *Avignon* and *Vavres*, held in the fourteenth Century, confirm'd the uſage of the Wheel, and added a Horn for Maids and Women. King *John*, who had recall'd 'em into *France*, order'd, as he was dying, that they ſhould take two different Colours, Red and White, and wear them ſo as they might be eaſily obſerv'd. King *Charles*, his Succeſſor, confirm'd this Ordinance with another, in the Year 1373.

In *Germany*, the Council of *Ravenna* ‖ oblig'd the Women to wear the Red Wheel like the Men. In ſome Places they had a corner'd Cap; and leſt theſe Laws ſhould be neglected, the Cardinal of St. *Lawrence* *, ſent by Pope *Martin* V. oblig'd the Council of *Saltsburg* † to renew them, in the Year 1420. and condemn the Jews, who did not wear this Badge, to an arbitrary Fine, which they could not be diſcharg'd from upon any account. This was afterwards alter'd; and the Council of *Cologne* ‖, held twenty Years after, order'd them to wear upon their Cloaths a round O made of Yellow Thread. Women wore two Blue Strings upon their Head. The ſame Cuſtom was obſerv'd then at *Rome*, ſince the Council * declares it would conform it ſelf thereunto.

In *France* they were only commanded to wear ſome manifeſt Mark to know 'em by; and the ſame thing was ſometimes done in *Spain*.

XXI. *Paul* IV. † order'd 'em to wear a Yellow Hat. *Pius* IV. ‖ ſoftned this Ordinance, by permitting them to wear a Black one, or at leaſt, when they travell'd; but *Pius* V. return'd to the Yellow Hat, and gave the ſame Colour to the Women.

XXII. Inquiry is made after a Cuſtom obſerv'd particularly at *Frankfort*, where the Jews are obliged to wear an O of Yellow Thread upon their Cloaths. Some aſcend * as high as the Tumult of *Alexandria*, which happen'd in *Cyril*'s time, during which the Jews diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by a Circle made of Palm-branches. But beſides, that this is going too far in queſt of a thing of more modern date, this was not impos'd as a Puniſhment on the Seditious that were expell'd; and the Magiſtrates of *Frankfort*, who order'd this Badge, had never perhaps read the Hiſtory of *Socrates*, nor heard of the Palm-branches platted into a Ring, which the Jews of *Alexandria* us'd as a Character of Diſtinction in the darkneſs of the Night. The *Venetians* did ſomething like it in the Year 1349. But why ſhould we go from *Germany*, ſince the Council of *Cologne* †, in the Neighbourhood of *Frankfort*, held in the Year 1442, order'd the Jews to wear a Circle of Yellow Thread? They muſt have been ignorant of this Inſtitution, who go in ſearch of another. As for the Reaſons of it, we may follow, if we pleaſe, the Latin Poet, tho' he ſeems to be very uncertain, and rather to banter than talk ſeriouſly, when he ſays, it was to put them in mind that they deſerv'd Hell; to teach them, that they are not worth a Cypher, or that they demand exceſſive Uſuries. His Verſes are theſe ‖,

Cur ferat Hebræus vocalem pectore quartam,
A multis quæri, lector amice, ſolet.
Addictum æternis *ut ſe crutiatibus eſſe*
Cogitet, hæc ſecum ſigna doloris habet.
Aut quia pro nihilo numeris apponimus illam,
Inter mortales ſe ſciat eſſe nihil.
Aut quia Judæis augentur fœnore nummi,
Major ab hac numerus nam ſolet eſſe nota.

XXIII. Beſides all theſe particular Ordinances againſt the Jews, we may conſult the Laws of the *Viſigoths* * in *Spain*, and the Decrees of the Twelfth Council of *Toledo* †, which giving a new Authority to the Edicts of Princes, would have them to be irrevocable. Theſe forbid the Celebration of the Sabbath, the Feaſt of the Paſſover, of Circumciſion, and ſeveral other Rites cuſtomary to this Nation. They are forbidden to make diſtinction of Meats, to marry with their Relations, to defend themſelves when they are attack'd about Matters of Religion, to read the Books condemn'd by the Chriſtians; and on the contrary, are oblig'd to receive one from the Hand of the Biſhop written againſt their Doctrines. A Jew durſt not then inhabit a place without leave of the Biſhop, to whom he was oblig'd to give in his Name, when he came or chang'd his Habitation. The other Councils ‖ of *Toledo* confirm'd the Laws that this had publiſh'd. That of *Meaux* * held in the Ninth Century, approved part of what the Spaniſh Biſhops had done, and inſerted into its Collection, ſome Decrees of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, adding to them ſeveral Paſſages of the Fathers, Popes and Emperors. Laſtly, Pope † *Benedict* XIII. and *Paul* IV. renew'd the ancient Decrees in their Bulls. But as we find hardly any thing new in theſe Compilations, we content our ſelves with pointing to them. The Reader perhaps is already but too much tired with ſo long a Catalogue of Edicts and Decrees againſt the Jews; Let us reſume the Thread of the Hiſtory, and begin it by the Eaſt.

* Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 415, 416. † Concil. Aven. 1326. Can. 57. p. 1746. t. xi. Vavrenſe, An. 1368. c. 112. p. 2023. ‖ Ravennat. An. 1311. Rubr. 23. p. 1589. t. xi. Conc. Vien. An. 1267. Can. 15. p. 865. * Gentius Hiſt. Jud. p. 413. Guilielm. à Podio Laurent. Chronic. c. 36. p. 84. † Concil. Saltzburg An. 1420. Can. 33. t. xii. p. 327. ‖ Statuta in Conc. Colon. An. 1442. t. xiii. p. 138. * Concil. apud Pontem Aud. An. 1279. Can. 9. p. 1046. † Paul IV. vita An. 1555. ‖ Pii V. Conſt. Bullar. t. ii. Conſt. 48. * Nicolai Tractat. de Siglis veterum, c. 58. p. 313. † Statuta in Conc. Colon. An. 1442. t. xiii, p. 1380. ‖ Nicolai Tract. ib. * Leges Viſigoth. l. 12. † Concil. Tolet. xii. An. 681. Can. 9. p. 1232. ‖ Concil. Tolet. xvi. An. 693. Can. 1. p. 1336. Tolet. xvii. An. 294. Can. 8. p. 1369. * Concil. Meld. An. 845. Can. 73. t. vii. p. 1841. † Bened. XIII. Bulla apud Bartolocci Bibl. Rab. t. iii. p. 740. Paul IV. ib. p. 743.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The History of the Jews *in the* East, *during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.*

I. *The Decay of the Nation in the East.* II. *A violent Persecution by the Caliph.* III. Joseph's *Dissimulation and retreat to* Aleppo. Al-Nasser *reign'd there.* IV. Joseph *returns from the other World, and teaches what Condition Souls are in after Death.* V. Moses Nachmanides: *His Knowledge.* VI. *His Retreat: His Synagogues at* Jerusalem: *The time of his Death: His Works.* VII. *A Revolution in* Egypt: *The Sultans abolish'd.* VIII. *Two sorts of* Mamalukes: *Their Origine.* IX. *Whether they admitted the* Jews *into their Body.* X. Simeon Duran *goes into* Africa, *where he writ Books.* XI. *The Establishment of the Moguls in* Asia: *The surprizing Revolution in* Corazan: *The Taking of* Bagdet. XII. *The Jews Interest with* Argoun Khan. XIII. *A Revolution and Massacre happening by the Death of this Prince and his Minister: The Ruin of the* Abassides *at* Bagdet. XIV. *A Jew in pompous Equipage at the Court of the Mogul* Abousaid. XV. *The Greeks tolerate the Jews: The Violence of the Latins censured: The Eating the Paschal Lamb with the Eucharist proved by Medals.*

I. THE Jews have ever subsisted, and still subsist in the East; but we know but little of their Transactions in the last Centuries. Being weak'ned by Dispersions, and confin'd to their Synagogues, they have had but little share in publick Events. Their Academies being intirely ruin'd, scarce any Doctors have been seen to come out from those places, who honour'd their Nation, and rais'd its Glory. And therefore their own Historians speak rarely of them. However let us glean up the most considerable things that have happen'd to them.

II. *Petachia* *, who travell'd to all the Synagogues of his Nation, and whose Voyage is parallell'd with that of *Benjamin* his Co-temporary, affirms, That he still saw a Prince of the Captivity in the East, when he arriv'd there. But besides that he is little known, a Persecution rais'd at the end of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Century, compleated the Ruin of the Nation in this Country. *Nasser Ledinillah* †, one of the *Abassides*, was then Caliph at *Bagdet:* His Reign lasted Forty seven Years, all which time he declar'd against the Jews; to which he was induced by two Reasons. One was, That he was very zealous for his Religion; for he caused a great number of Moschs and Places dedicated to the Mussulman Service to be built in his Dominions. Moreover he disgrac'd his great Qualities by an excessive Avarice. 'Tis said of him, that seeing a Cistern, which he had caused to be fill'd with Gold and Silver, but which still wanted two Fathoms of it, he cried out, *Shall I not live long enough to fill it?* And on the contrary, his Grandson *Mostanger* finding it full, exclaim'd, *How happy should I be, could I live long enough to empty it!* Both of them lived to see their desire accomplish'd. *Nasser*, who design'd to fill it, made use of the Law of *Escheat*, before unknown, and appropriated the Succession of all foreign Merchants, who died in his Dominions. The Riches ‖ of the Jews drew upon them great Extortions from a very covetous Prince, and at last an open Persecution; for *Nasser* commanded them to depart all his Provinces, or to turn Mussulmans; part of them exil'd, and the rest chose to dissemble.

III. *Joseph* the Son of *Jahia*, an able Physician, after he had dissembled for some time, also went into Banishment. He had also studied Mathematicks, and he discours'd of all he knew with a wonderful Facility. This Man * was of opinion, that a Man ought not to expose himself to certain Misery, by sacrificing All to his Religion. He bent under *Nasser*'s Persecution; and having sold his Estate, by the help of his Dissimulation, he retir'd into *Egypt* with all he had. He there found *Maimonides* still alive, and with him corrected a Treatise of Astronomy which he had brought. After *Maimonides*'s death, he quitted *Egypt* to retire to *Aleppo*, where he bought an Estate, married and practised Physick, under the Protection of *Malek Aldaher*. *Abulpharages* looks upon him as the King, which he had the Name of, for 'tis the Signification of the Title *Malek*; but it was often given to those who had not the Sovereign Power. It was consider'd as a Title, or even as an honourable Name. 'Tis certain that *Malek Al-Nasser* his Brother reign'd then in this part of *Syria*. He re-took *Damascus*, and attempted to re-enter *Egypt* by the assistance of a Faction of his Family that invited him; but he could not succeed, and was kill'd with his Brother, by *Holagon* Emperor of the *Tartars*, after the taking of *Bagdet*. *Aldaher* therefore could not protect *Joseph*, but in quality of Lieutenant, during the absence of *Malek Al-Nasser*, the last Branch of *Saladin*'s Descendents.

IV. This Physician died † at *Aleppo* many Years after this Revolution, and promised one of his Friends to return to acquaint him with the State of Souls after death. It seem'd, that these two Friends were in the Dark, as to the Nature and Immortality of the Soul, since that was the Question which the first Dyer was to resolve. *Joseph* went off first, and return'd not till two Years after. As he made some Scruple to inform his Friend of what he knew, the Living took the Dead by the Hand, challeng'd him with his Promise, and oblig'd him to instruct him about the State of the Dead. He did it in few words, *The Universal*, said he ‖, *is rejoyn'd to the Universal, and the Particular to the Particular.* The Answer is obscure, and there was no need of making so long a Voyage to give so short an Account. *Joseph* taught his Friend, that the Soul was a part of the Universal World, and that it return'd to that Universal, having first been separated from it; and he look'd upon the Body as a particular Being, which return'd to the Center of the Earth. This is the Explication of these words, which ravish'd the Hearer with Admiration, who thought he saw his Friend in the Porch of a Temple dress'd in White, and to have taken him by the Hand; but it was a Dream and a Vision, as generally are the Apparitions and Returns of Souls from the other World.

V. The Holy Land was much depopulated by the Wars which the *Sarazens* and Christians made there, as well as in *Syria*. Most of the Cities frequently chang'd Masters. Nevertheless there were still Doctors and Synagogues. For here it was that the famous *Moses Nachmanides* retir'd and built a Synagogue. He was born at *Gironne* in the Year 1194. He applied himself first to Physick, but yet made

* Petachiâ Saviû, S. Circuitus, *or*, Itinerarium MS. apud Wagenseil in Sotab. † Herbelot Bibl. Orient. ‖ Abulpharag. Dynast. 9. p. 302. * Ibid. † An. 1226. ‖ Abulph. ibid. p. 303.

great

great Progreſſes in the Study of the Law, which have given him the Name of *the Father of Wiſdom, the Luminary, the Flower of the Crown, and of Holineſs.* A Sermon he preach'd before the King of *Caſtile*, got him the Character of the *Father of Eloquence. Ramban* *, which is the Name he commonly goes by, at firſt deſpis'd the *Cabbala*, but when he had once reliſh'd this Science, he grew to the greateſt Perfection in it. He found whatever he had a mind to in the Holy Writings, and particularly in the *Song of Moſes*; but not ſatisfied in the ſpeculative *Cabbala*, he embark'd in the *operative Hammaaſſith.* He is † accus'd of attempting to introduce Novatianiſm into the Synagogue, becauſe one of his Diſciples laughing at the *Cabbala*, challeng'd him to find his Name *Abner* in *Moſes*'s Song. *Ramban* immediately cited the 26th Verſe of the 32d Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, *I ſaid I would make the remembrance of them to ceaſe from among Men.* By taking the third Letter of each word he made up *R. Abner* ‖. The Diſciple diſmay'd, ask'd if there was no Pardon for him. You have, reply'd the Maſter, heard the words of Scripture. *Abner*, in deſpair, caſt himſelf into a Veſſel without Sails and Oars; *Ramban* blew upon it, and he was never ſeen any more. This is what *Bartolocci* calls the Introduction of Novatianiſm into the Synagogue. But he is miſtaken; 'tis the Exerciſe of a Supream Authority which the Maſters have always aſſum'd over their Diſciples. *Ramban* is not the only one, who finding all his Imaginations in *Moſes*'s Song, would tranſport beyond Sea all thoſe that oppoſe him, could the bare blowing upon a Veſſel do it. But inſtead of reaſoning ſeriouſly upon this Adventure, it ought to be rank'd among Cabaliſtick Fables.

VI. We can't conjecture, why *Ramban*, who enjoy'd ſo great a Reputation in his Country, left it to go to *Jeruſalem*; but 'tis certain he retired thither, built a Synagogue, and died there. Authors * do not agree about the time of his Death. *Ghedaliah* had ſomewhere read, that it happen'd in the Year 5060, that is in 1300, but a Life of 106 Years would be too long. Others will have him dye Forty Years before. But then we muſt correct another Fault that has ſlip'd into the *Juchaſin*, where it is aſſerted, that he finiſh'd his *Explication* † *of the Cabaliſtical Law* in the Year 1268, for he muſt have died eight Years before. Perhaps both Opinions are falſe, for if *Nachmanides* aſſiſted at the Conference held in *Arragon* in the Year 1263, he muſt not have gone to *Jeruſalem* till after that, and conſequently lived a long time afterwards. He compos'd a Prayer upon the *Ruin of the Houſe*, or Temple; *Letters* to induce Men to Piety; and particularly ‖ to the *Holineſs of Marriage.* He publiſh'd *The Secrets of the Law*, *The Garden of Pleaſure*, or of *The* Eden *of God*, which is full of Cabaliſtick Viſions. He enter'd far into the reigning Diſputes at that time, concerning *Maimonides*'s Sentiments, and made an Apology for *R. Alphes*, which he entitled, * *the Book of Wars.* It would be uſeleſs to make a Catalogue of all his Works, which may be ſeen elſewhere. *Baruch Germerſheim* alſo quitted his Country, to labour upon the Reformation of the Spaniſh Synagogues. From thence he went to *Candia*; and laſtly, He ſought a Retreat in *Judea*, where he died. He had written a Treatiſe of the *Elevation* †, wherein he deſcrib'd the manner of killing Animals; and the *Gephilim*, upon which there aroſe a great Diſpute, which he could not calm. The *great Elevations* are aſcrib'd to him, where perhaps he revis'd the ſame Matters; but *Ganz* does not mention this laſt Work.

VII. The Tranquility of *Egypt* was no leſs diſturb'd than that of the Holy Land. We know that St. *Lewis* indeavour'd to make a Conqueſt of this Country upon the Infidels ‖: He took *Damietta*; he beat *Malek Almohadam*, who ſucceeded his Father, and who then reign'd in *Egypt*; but this Caliph won * a ſecond Battle, in which the King remain'd a Priſoner. Hiſtorians ſay, That the Infidels had ſo great an Eſteem for this Prince, that they heſitated, whether they ſhould take him for their Maſter inſtead of the Conqueror. But they give him a Glory which does n t belong to him, for the Revolution of *Egypt*, which ſunk the *Saladin* Family, was owing to a quite different Principle. *Almohadam*'s Mother caus'd him to be kill'd by *Ibek* the Leader of the *Mamalukes*, whom ſhe had a mind to marry. Thus the Love or Ambition of an unnatural Mother, threw *Egypt* into foreign Hands. There was no Deliberation about the Election of St. *Lewis*, for *Ibek*, the Sultaneſs's Gallant, was proclaim'd King, and the *Mamalukes* became Maſters of this great Kingdom.

VIII. Theſe *Mamalukes*, ſo famous, were of different Nations: The firſt were Slaves of *Great Armenia*, or *Turcomans*, which ſome *Tartars* had ſold to the *Egyptians.* The King of *Egypt* took a thouſand of them into his Service, and employ'd them in building a Fortreſs upon the Sea coaſt, from whence they took the Name of *Mamalukes Baharia*, that is, Maritime Slaves. Theſe People, accuſtom'd to labour, arriv'd to the greateſt Imploys, till at laſt *Ibek* became King of *Egypt* in the Year 1250. The Sultaneſs having cauſed him to be kill'd, *Coutus* was elected by the *Mamalukes.* He vanquiſh'd the *Tartars*, who had thitherto been thought invincible; but chaſing a Hare, he was kill'd by *Bibars*, one of his principal Officers, and the greateſt Man the *Turcoman Mamalukes* ever had. He reign'd but † Seventeen Years, but ſpent them all at the Head of his Armies, which were generally always victorious. 'Tis ſaid, that deſiring to remove from his own Head the Preſage of a Comet, which was believ'd to foretel the Death of a Prince, he gave a Glaſs of Poiſon to a young Lord that remain'd of the Houſe of the *Jobites*, or *Saladins*, but going to drink too haſtily in the ſame Glaſs, he poiſon'd himſelf. *Helaun*, one of his Succeſſors, committed the ſame Fault as the Egyptian Sultans; for he brought a number of Slaves in *Circaſſia*, to whom he intruſted the Guard of the Towers of *Cairo*, from whence they took the Name of *Borghite Mamalukes*, who growing potent and numerous, dethron'd the Marine *Mamalukes*, and made themſelves Maſters of *Egypt*, which they poſſeſs'd till 1517, when *Selim* I. took it from them.

IX. 'Tis ſaid ‖, That theſe *Mamalukes* receiv'd none but Chriſtians among them, whom they caus'd to abjure their Religion; and that all who came of Mahometan or Jewiſh Fathers were excluded. If this Conjecture were ſolid, we could not doubt but the Jews were grown very ſuſpected to the Governours of *Egypt* for near * three Centuries; for they were as much miſtruſted as the natural Mahometans. Theſe latter were diſtruſted, becauſe they were thought to be ſtill addicted to the Houſe of the

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• *'Tis an Abbreviation of theſe four words*, Rabbi Moſe Ben Nachman, ר מ ב נ † Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. t. 4. p. 219. ‖ Bartolocci ibid. אמרת· אבא רם אשב תה מאנוש זבל : *That is* ר אבנר

* Bartolocci ibid. † ביאור אל רת רה Biiùr al Hattora, *Elucidatio in Legem.* ‖ אגרת הקדש Igherèth Hakkodeſch. *Epiſtola Sanctitatis* • Buxtorfii Bibl. Rabb. † *Therumah*, Elevatio. ‖ 1249. * 1250. † An. 1276. ‖ Thevenot's *Voyage to the* Levant, l. 2. c. 4. p. 402. * 255 *Years.*

Caliphs,

Caliphs, the Deſcendents of their Prophet, who ſubſiſted ſtill in *Egypt*, but had no Authority, and only concern'd themſelves with the Affairs of Religion. The Jews had no reaſon to raiſe again this decay'd Houſe: Why then ſhould they be miſtruſted, and hinder'd from entering into the Body of the *Mamalukes* when they renounc'd their Religion? Beſides, it is not true, that the *Mamalukes* were compos'd of Renegado-Chriſtians, excluſive of all other Religions. They had, perhaps, ſome Chriſtian Slaves; but the Jews were receiv'd upon the ſame Condition; and the *Mamalukes* were almoſt all Mahometans by Birth. 'Tis however true, that the Jews made no great Figure in *Egypt* under their Empire; and that they were great Gainers by changing their Maſter, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel. They preſerv'd their Synagogues, but had no ſhare in publick Events. It looks as if they had renounc'd Study, ſince no learned Man appears among them.

X. We only find in the Fourteenth Century one † *Simeon Duran in ſome Cities of* Africa; but he was not originally of this Country. He had paſs'd thither from *Spain*, from whence he had carried the Commentary of *Alphes* which he tranſlated. He compos'd a *Chronology of the ancient* Rabbins, *the Buckler of the Fathers*, *Diligent Judgment*, *and the Judgment of Juſtice* ‖, which *Buxtorf* has confounded, as if they were but one Book, becauſe they are always joyn'd together.

XI. The *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, form'd a new Monarchy in *Aſia*, and immediately ſeiz'd upon *Chorazan*. This great Revolution was occaſion'd by one of the moſt frivolous Subjects that could embroil Sovereigns. *Mohamed*, ſurnamed *Chovarezm Schah*, reign'd in *Chorazan*, and had oblig'd all the neighbouring Princes to ſubmit to his Laws. He had even forced the great *Tartars* to raiſe the Siege of *Samarcand*. A numerous Caravan of Tartarian Merchants arriv'd at *Otrar*, a City of the *Tranſexane*, under the Guard of a conſiderable Officer of *Ginghizkhan*'s Army. *Amalnak* was Governour of this place. He put ſeveral Affronts upon theſe Merchants; and as one of them, who knew him, call'd him by his Name, he fell into a Rage againſt the Caravan, and cauſed all the Merchants to be made Priſoners, under Pretence that they were only *Ginghizkhan*'s Spies. That which exaſperated him was, that being a *Turcoman* by Birth, he had been brought up in the Seraglio with the Slaves, and had chang'd his Name to conceal his Origine. He wrote to his Maſter, that he muſt puniſh all theſe Slaves with Death; and as the *Perſians* have a Saying, *The Wiſeſt are Blind, when the Decree of Providence is come.* *Mohamed*, who had ſo great an Intereſt to live peaceably with the Cham of *Tartary*, order'd * the Priſoners to be put to death without Examination; and would give no Satisfaction to *Ginghizkhan*, who demanded it before he engag'd in the War which broke out betwixt theſe Princes. *Mohamed* loſt his Courage, as ſoon as he ſaw the vigorous Reſiſtance that was made by a handful of *Tartars*, who ſtopp'd his Army in paſſing the *Oxus*. He deliberated, whether he ſhould paſs that moment to the *Indies*, where he had made great Conqueſts, but he chang'd his Deſign. The *Tartars* puſh'd him to ſuch Extremities, that he was forced to make his eſcape to the Iſles of the *Caſpian* Sea, where he died, and was buried in his own Cloaths, becauſe he had not wherewithal to bury him. His Mother, whom he had put into an impregnable Caſtle, was oblig'd to ſurrender for want of Water; but no ſooner was ſhe got out, but there fell ſuch a violent Rain that the Ciſterns overflow'd. *Ginghizkhan* ſent her home clad in Mourning; but the Crowd of thoſe who deſir'd to ſee her before ſhe went was ſo great, that ſhe was ſtifled for want of Guards.

The *Tartars* puſh'd their Conqueſts a great way farther. They took *Bagdet* in the Year 1258. *Moſthadem* the laſt Caliph of the Houſe of the *Abaſſides*, who then reigned, was a Prince of very indifferent Parts, and ſo devoted to his Pleaſures, that he could not wean himſelf, even when *Hogalou* the Sultan of the *Moguls* inveſted the City, and preſs'd him hard by a Siege of two Months. This Prince being taken, was led through the Streets of the City, wrapp'd up and ſmother'd in a Felt, in which he expir'd a little after. One of his Sons was kill'd, as he couragiouſly defended a Gate of the City, whilſt his Father was debauching; and the other was knock'd o'th' Head by the Conqueror. Thus ended the Illuſtrious Houſe of the *Abaſſides*, that had given Thirty ſeven Caliphs; and the Eaſt was ſubjected to the Plunders of the *Tartars* and *Moguls*.

XII. As theſe barbarous Nations depopulated all the Places they paſs'd through, the Settlements which the Ten Tribes had in this Country were deſtroy'd, and the Nation again diſpers'd. However they devoted themſelves to theſe new Maſters of *Aſia*, and ſometimes found Favour at their Court. *Akmed Khan*, ſurnamed *Nicoudar Oglan*, after he had uſurp'd his Nephew's Monarchy, turn'd Muſſulman, and thereby drew upon him his Subjects hatred, who had a great Inclination for Chriſtianity, and Averſion for the *Mahometans*. *Argoun Khan*, who † impatiently bore his Uncle's Uſurpation, iſſued out of *Chorazan*, where he was retir'd, but was beaten and taken Priſoner. This Diſgrace raiſed him to the Throne; for *Lemir Buga*, who was order'd to kill him, joyn'd with him, and ſurprizing his Uncle's General, and the Sultan, who was diverting himſelf at *Bagdet*, he caus'd him to be flea'd, and aſcended his Father's Throne in the Year 1283. *Argoun* at firſt gave the Government to *Buga*, who had done him ſo important a Service; but this Miniſter, puff'd up with his Grandeur, and unable to bear his Exaltation, rebell'd, and was kill'd a little after in the Year 1287, and a Jewiſh Phyſician, ingenious and agreeable in Converſation, named *Saadeddoulat*, became firſt Miniſter of the Sultan. They do him this Juſtice, that he depriv'd the Chriſtians of nothing they poſſeſs'd in *Argoun*'s Empire. But he imploy'd all his Credit to raiſe his Nation, and to procure it new Eſtabliſhments: Thus the Jews of the Eaſt began to breath again, and to enjoy the Advantages they had ſo long wanted.

The Muſſulmans with Indignation beheld the Progreſs of the diſpers'd Tribes, and the rather, becauſe they were kept out of all Employs, and ſhut out of their Prince's Camp; but they were quickly comforted by *Argoun*'s Sickneſs. The Jews pray'd in all the Provinces for the Sultan's Health, but they were not heard.

XIII. *Saadeddoulat*, who foreſaw the Conſequences which this Sickneſs might have to himſelf and Brethren, ſent expreſs Orders every where to redreſs the Grievances which were complain'd of during his Miniſtry, and to appeaſe the People by a ſpeedy Satisfaction; but all to no purpoſe. *Argoun* died ‖, and even before his death, the Miniſter of State was accus'd of having poiſon'd his Maſter. This Accuſation, invented by the Arabian Hiſtorians, ſeems improbable. Nevertheleſs *Saadeddoulat* was murther'd; and after the Prince's death, which the

† An. 1391. ‖ *Maghèn Avòth*, Scutum Patrum; *Obeù Miſchpat*, Diligens Judicium; *Miſchpat Tſedek*, Judicium Juſtitiæ. *Bartol. Bibl. Rabb.* t. 4. p. 411. * An. 1218. † Herbelot. Bibl. Or. ‖ An. 129.

Muſſulmans look upon as one of the Miracles wrought by *Mahomet*, they fell upon the Jews, and made a great Slaughter of them, to revenge the real or pretended Injuſtices they had done them.

XIV. We read likewiſe in *Abouſaid*'s Life, who was Sultan at the beginning of the Fourteenth Century *, that a Jew appear'd at his Court in a pompous Equipage; for he was follow'd with many Pages, ſome whereof ſupported him when he walk'd. This Magnificence gave occaſion to a Buffoon Poet, who was preſent, to fall upon his Knees, as in Adoration of the Jew; and when he was ask'd the reaſon of it: *I ſee*, ſays he, *the Remainder of the Houſe of* Moſes *carried by Angels, and I thought it my duty to honour it likewiſe.* This piece of Railery informs us, that notwithſtanding the Maſſacre at *Chorazan*, after *Argoun*'s death, the Jews had re-eſtabliſh'd themſelves at the Court of the Moguls, who became Muſſulmans. This Monarchy was canton'd into many Principalities after *Abouſaid*'s death †, which Diviſion gave birth to cruel Wars, for each indeavour'd to incroach upon his Neighbour's Frontiers, till *Tamerlane* appear'd.

XV. We find nothing in the Hiſtory of the Grecian Empire relating to the Jews in the two Ages we have examined. We only learn, that they had an entire Liberty of Conſcience, ſince the *Greeks* of thoſe times reproach'd ‖ the *Latins* with doing Violence to the Jews, and forcing them to receive Baptiſm, tho' otherwiſe none were ſo ready to Judaize. Theſe Accuſations were well grounded; for the *Cruſaders* committed great Violences againſt the Jews, not only in the Weſt before their departure, but in all places of the Eaſt where they came. This Violence ſeem'd ſo much the more Criminal to the *Greeks*, in that they Judaized at *Rome*. They ſaid, that they paid Devotion to the Sabbaths, ſince they made them days of Faſt; that they preſerv'd the Cuſtom of Sprinklings; that they habited the High-Prieſt like him of the Law. They added, that they ate unleaven'd Bread in the Celebration of the Euchariſt, and even ſacrificed a Lamb at *Eaſter*. For indeed, they boiled a Lamb, they put it on the Altar, where they offer'd the Sacrifice; they ate it after the Maſs; they burnt the Bones, and preſerv'd the Aſhes to ſprinkle thoſe that deſir'd it, and believ'd they were purified by this Jewiſh Ceremony. Abbot *Suger* relates, that *Innocent* II. coming to celebrate the Paſſover in the Abbey of St. *Denis*, ſacrific'd the Holy Victim of the Paſchal Lamb, which demonſtrates, that they renewed the ancient Sacrifices. We even ſee a Medal ſtruck by the Pope's order in the Year 1334, in which Jeſus Chriſt is repreſented ſitting at a Table in an upper Chamber with his Diſciples, pronouncing theſe words, *I have deſired to eat this Paſſover with you.* And on the Reverſe, the Figure of a boil'd Lamb, with ſome words of *Exodus* relating to this Ceremony. This Medal is aſcrib'd to Pope *Paul* III. but he was not elected till *October*; and *Bonnani* *, who has publiſh'd a great Collection of the Popes Medals, attributes it more judiciouſly to Pope *Clement*, who celebrated the Feaſt of the Paſſover this Year, which was that of his Death. Thus in the Weſt, the Synagogue that had been buried in the firſt Ages was reviv'd, at the ſame time they perſecuted the Perſons, whereas the *Greeks* had great Indulgence for them in all the places of their Juriſdiction.

* An. 1327. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. † An. 1357. ‖ Græci in Latinos apud Coteler. Mon. Eccleſ. Græcæ, t. 3. p. 99. 501. 504. 506. 515. * Bonnani Numiſmata Pontificum, t. 1. p. 198.

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of the Jews in Spain, *during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.*

I. *The Archbiſhop of* Toledo *Plunders them.* II. *The* Cruſaders *Maſſacre them.* III. *The Diverſity about the* Thephilim *the occaſion of trouble.* IV. *Marriages with foreign Women condemn'd.* V. *The Martyrdom of a Child: Ridiculous Verſes upon this Martyrdom.* VI. *A Prediction concerning the Birth of Jeſus found in* Spain. VII. Pennaforte *labours to convert them by fair means.* VIII. Raymond Martin *compoſes the Ponyard of Faith.* IX. *A Conference held in* Arragon *before King* James. X. *The Regiſters of this Conference doubtful.* XI. Martin's *Examination of the Jewiſh Books.* XII. *He accuſes them of having no God.* XIII. *The Miracles of Jeſus Chriſt ill proved by* Martin. XIV. *He invalidates the Prophecy of* Daniel: *Proofs of this matter.* XV. *He proves ill the Death of the Meſſiah.* XVI. *An Obſervation upon the Title of Juſt applied to the Meſſiah.* XVII. *The* Rabbins *favour'd by* Alphonſo X. XVIII. *The Alphonſine Tables made by a Jew.* XIX. Alphonſo's *Reproaches againſt the Jews.* XX. Meir *a ſhining Star. His Works.* XXI. *Books of Devotion compoſed by the* Rabbins.

I. THE Jewiſh Nation was * numerous and potent in the Weſt, and particularly in *Spain*, where it maintain'd it ſelf almoſt equally with the Caliphs and Chriſtian Princes, becauſe the different Exigences of State render'd them neceſſary to both. In the mean time their Number and Authority ſometimes excited the Jealouſie of Eccleſiaſticks who perſecuted them. This happen'd at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century at *Toledo*. The Biſhop of that great City, vex'd to ſee his Dioceſs fill'd with Multitudes of thriving Jews, and deſiring to inrich himſelf with their Spoils, exaſperated the People againſt them. This Biſhop was of a warm and reſtleſs Temper. He embark'd in all the Affairs of Peace and War, and nothing conſiderable was acted in *Spain*, but what he had a hand in. His Merit had raiſed him to the See of *Toledo* notwithſtanding his Birth; for he was a Stranger in *Caſtile*. His Dioceſe became ſenſible of the Vivacity of a Man, who was fitter to be a Miniſter of State, or a General of an Army, than a Biſhop. But the Jews ſuffer'd more than the reſt; for putting himſelf at the Head of a Rabble which he had raiſed, he tumultuouſly entered their Synagogue, diſpers'd the Aſſembly, and thence proceeded to Plunder their Houſes. He endeavour'd to authoriſe his Avarice, by accuſing the Jews of having betray'd the City when the *Moors* beſieged it: But they anſwer'd this Accuſation by the Silence of Impartial Hiſtorians; and indeed it is not probable the Beſieged would quit the City to go in Proceſſion a League from it, and that they would have given up the Cuſtody of it, as the Archbiſhop *Roderigo*

* An. 1209. Mariana, p. 487. t. 1. Cardoſo las Excellencias, p. 373.

ſaid.

ſaid. Beſides, the Capitulation of the Inhabitants is their Apology; for they were permitted to quit the Country, and carry off their Effects. They were allow'd ſeven Churches, upon Condition of paying the Impoſts that had been paid to the *Goths*; and the Jews who were included in the Treaty, had their Liberty of Conſcience.

II. This Miſery was follow'd † with another, for the *Cruſaders* ‖ who were preparing for their Expedition to the Holy Land, having their Rendezvous near this great City, thought that Devotion oblig'd them to Maſſacre thoſe who had crucified the Lord Jeſus, and that the Firſt-fruits of this Blood offer'd to God, would draw down his Bleſſing upon their Endeavours to reſcue his Son's Sepulchre out of the Hands of the Infidels. Theſe Votaries preſcrib'd no Bounds to their Cruelty. * *Abravanel* looks upon this Perſecution, as one of the four cruelleſt that his Nation ſuffered; for, according to his account, it made a greater number of Jews go out of *Spain*, than God had conducted out of *Egypt* by the miraculous Miniſtry of *Moſes*. The Nobility of *Spain* withſtood the Torrent of theſe Cruelties, and repreſs'd them by their Authority and Reſiſtance. But King *Ferdinand*, who endeavour'd to win the Love of his People by perſecuting the *Albigeois Hereticks*, and who himſelf ſet Fire to the Pile in which they were burn'd, to ſhew the Ardour of his Zeal, was not favourable to the Jews, the moſt Odious of all Hereticks.

III. They † ought, according to their Principles, to blame themſelves for their Calamities, and to conſider themſelves as the principal Cauſe of them, for, according to their own Confeſſion, they were fallen into two crying Sins. There was ſome Variation in their *Tephilim*. Their Superſtitious Devotions for theſe Phylacteries of the Head and Hand, was notorious in our Saviour's time, but it increas'd in the following Ages. They reckon eight Deciſions proceeding from Mount *Sinai*, as they ſpeak, of which the moſt conſiderable are, that the Phylacteries ought *to be ſquare and ſerv'd with Nerves*. As even the Points and Ornaments of the Letters, were a Subject of Scruple and Controverſie betwixt the *German* and *Portugueſe* Synagogues; the *Spaniards* varying upon this matter, rais'd Commotions in the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. *R. Baruch* ‖ made a Journey from *Germany* to *Spain*, to reproach them with the Novelties which they introduced into their Synagogues. I don't know whether it was out of Vexation to ſee his Cenſures deſpiſed, or out of Devotion that he retir'd, but he went on to *Candia*, and from thence into *Judea*.

IV. There was in *Spain* another Scandal, that was greater and better grounded: They no longer ſcrupled to marry ſtrange Women: As the Marriages with Chriſtians had been ſeverely forbidden, it is probable they contracted oftner with the *Sarazens* Daughters. *Moſes de Cozzi* fell foul upon theſe Marriages like another *Eſdras*. He was of an Italian Family, and therefore retain'd the Name of the Town of *Cozzo* in the *Milaneſe*, whence he came; but he was born in *Spain*, and was reckon'd the learneſt *Rabbin* of his time. He could not bear the Scandal of theſe heterogeneous Marriages. He preach'd often upon this Subject, and at laſt had the good Fortune to be heard; for many ſent away the ſtrange Wives they had married. There were then near twelve thouſand Jews in the City of *Toledo*.

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Muſſulmans look upon as one of the Miracles wrought by *Mahomet*, they fell upon the Jews, and made a great Slaughter of them, to revenge the real or pretended Injuſtices they had done them.

XIV. We read likewiſe in *Abouſaid*'s Life, who was Sultan at the beginning of the Fourteenth Century *, that a Jew appear'd at his Court in a pompous Equipage; for he was follow'd with many Pages, ſome whereof ſupported him when he walk'd. This Magnificence gave occaſion to a Buffoon Poet, who was preſent, to fall upon his Knees, as in Adoration of the Jew; and when he was ask'd the reaſon of it: *I ſee*, ſays he, *the Remainder of the Houſe of* Moſes *carried by Angels, and I thought it my duty to honour it likewiſe.* This piece of Railery informs us, that notwithſtanding the Maſſacre at *Chorazan*, after *Argoun*'s death, the Jews had re-eſtabliſh'd themſelves at the Court of the Moguls, who became Muſſulmans. This Monarchy was canton'd into many Principalities after *Abouſaid*'s death †, which Diviſion gave birth to cruel Wars, for each indeavour'd to incroach upon his Neighbour's Frontiers, till *Tamerlane* appear'd.

XV. We find nothing in the Hiſtory of the Grecian Empire relating to the Jews in the two Ages we have examined. We only learn, that they had an entire Liberty of Conſcience, ſince the *Greeks* of thoſe times reproach'd ‖ the *Latins* with doing Violence to the Jews, and forcing them to receive Baptiſm, tho' otherwiſe none were ſo ready to Judaize. Theſe Accuſations were well grounded; for the *Cruſaders* committed great Violences againſt the Jews, not only in the Weſt before their departure, but in all places of the Eaſt where they came. This Violence ſeem'd ſo much the more Criminal to the *Greeks*, in that they Judaized at *Rome*. They ſaid, that they paid Devotion to the Sabbaths, ſince they made them days of Faſt; that they preſerv'd the Cuſtom of Sprinklings; that they habited the High-Prieſt like him of the Law. They added, that they ate unleaven'd Bread in the Celebration of the Euchariſt, and even ſacrificed a Lamb at *Eaſter*. For indeed, they boiled a Lamb, they put it on the Altar, where they offer'd the Sacrifice; they ate it after the Maſs; they burnt the Bones, and preſerv'd the Aſhes to ſprinkle thoſe that deſir'd it, and believ'd they were purified by this Jewiſh Ceremony. Abbot *Suger* relates, that *Innocent* II. coming to celebrate the Paſſover in the Abbey of St. *Denis*, ſacrific'd the Holy Victim of the Paſchal Lamb, which demonſtrates, that they renewed the ancient Sacrifices. We even ſee a Medal ſtruck by the Pope's order in the Year 1334, in which Jeſus Chriſt is repreſented ſitting at a Table in an upper Chamber with his Diſciples, pronouncing theſe words, *I have deſired to eat this Paſſover with you.* And on the Reverſe, the Figure of a boil'd Lamb, with ſome words of *Exodus* relating to this Ceremony. This Medal is aſcrib'd to Pope *Paul* III. but he was not elected till *October*; and *Bonnani* *, who has publiſh'd a great Collection of the Popes Medals, attributes it more judiciouſly to Pope *Clement*, who celebrated the Feaſt of the Paſſover this Year, which was that of his Death. Thus in the Weſt, the Synagogue that had been buried in the firſt Ages was reviv'd, at the ſame time they perſecuted the Perſons, whereas the *Greeks* had great Indulgence for them in all the places of their Juriſdiction.

* An. 1327. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. † An. 1357. ‖ Græci in Latinos apud Coteler. Mon. Eccleſ. Græcæ, t. 3. p. 99. 501. 504. 506. 515. * Bonnani Numiſmata Pontificum, t. 1. p. 198.

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of the Jews in Spain, *during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.*

I. *The Archbiſhop of* Toledo *Plunders them.* II. *The* Cruſaders *Maſſacre them.* III. *The Diverſity about the* Thephilim *the occaſion of trouble.* IV. *Marriages with foreign Women condemn'd.* V. *The Martyrdom of a Child: Ridiculous Verſes upon this Martyrdom.* VI. *A Prediction concerning the Birth of Jeſus found in* Spain. VII. Pennaforte *labours to convert them by fair means.* VIII. Raymond Martin *compoſes the Ponyard of Faith.* IX. *A Conference held in* Arragon *before King* James. X. *The Regiſters of this Conference doubtful.* XI. Martin's *Examination of the Jewiſh Books.* XII. *He accuſes them of having no God.* XIII. *The Miracles of Jeſus Chriſt ill proved by* Martin. XIV. *He invalidates the Prophecy of* Daniel: *Proofs of this matter.* XV. *He proves ill the Death of the Meſſiah.* XVI. *An Obſervation upon the Title of Juſt applied to the Meſſiah.* XVII. *The* Rabbins *favour'd by* Alphonſo X. XVIII. *The Alphonſine Tables made by a Jew.* XIX. Alphonſo's *Reproaches againſt the Jews.* XX. Meir *a ſhining Star. His Works.* XXI. *Books of Devotion compoſed by the* Rabbins.

I. THE Jewiſh Nation was * numerous and potent in the Weſt, and particularly in *Spain*, where it maintain'd it ſelf almoſt equally with the Caliphs and Chriſtian Princes, becauſe the different Exigences of State render'd them neceſſary to both. In the mean time their Number and Authority ſometimes excited the Jealouſie of Eccleſiaſticks who perſecuted them. This happen'd at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century at *Toledo*. The Biſhop of that great City, vex'd to ſee his Dioceſs fill'd with Multitudes of thriving Jews, and deſiring to inrich himſelf with their Spoils, exaſperated the People againſt them. This Biſhop was of a warm and reſtleſs Temper. He embark'd in all the Affairs of Peace and War, and nothing conſiderable was acted in *Spain*, but what he had a hand in. His Merit had raiſed him to the See of *Toledo* notwithſtanding his Birth; for he was a Stranger in *Caſtile*. His Dioceſe became ſenſible of the Vivacity of a Man, who was fitter to be a Miniſter of State, or a General of an Army, than a Biſhop. But the Jews ſuffer'd more than the reſt; for putting himſelf at the Head of a Rabble which he had raiſed, he tumultuouſly entered their Synagogue, diſpers'd the Aſſembly, and thence proceeded to Plunder their Houſes. He endeavour'd to authoriſe his Avarice, by accuſing the Jews of having betray'd the City when the *Moors* beſieged it: But they anſwer'd this Accuſation by the Silence of Impartial Hiſtorians; and indeed it is not probable the Beſieged would quit the City to go in Proceſſion a League from it, and that they would have given up the Cuſtody of it, as the Archbiſhop *Roderigo*

* An. 1209. Mariana, p. 487. t. 1. Cardoſo las Excellencias, p. 373.

ſaid.

ſaid. Beſides, the Capitulation of the Inhabitants is their Apology; for they were permitted to quit the Country, and carry off their Effects. They were allow'd ſeven Churches, upon Condition of paying the Impoſts that had been paid to the *Goths*; and the Jews who were included in the Treaty, had their Liberty of Conſcience.

II. This Miſery was follow'd † with another, for the *Cruſaders* ‖ who were preparing for their Expedition to the Holy Land, having their Rendezvous near this great City, thought that Devotion oblig'd them to Maſſacre thoſe who had crucified the Lord Jeſus, and that the Firſt-fruits of this Blood offer'd to God, would draw down his Bleſſing upon their Endeavours to reſcue his Son's Sepulchre out of the Hands of the Infidels. Theſe Votaries preſcrib'd no Bounds to their Cruelty. * *Abravanel* looks upon this Perſecution, as one of the four cruelleſt that his Nation ſuffered; for, according to his account, it made a greater number of Jews go out of *Spain*, than God had conducted out of *Egypt* by the miraculous Miniſtry of *Moſes*. The Nobility of *Spain* withſtood the Torrent of theſe Cruelties, and repreſs'd them by their Authority and Reſiſtance. But King *Ferdinand*, who endeavour'd to win the Love of his People by perſecuting the *Albigeois Hereticks*, and who himſelf ſet Fire to the Pile in which they were burn'd, to ſhew the Ardour of his Zeal, was not favourable to the Jews, the moſt Odious of all Hereticks.

III. They † ought, according to their Principles, to blame themſelves for their Calamities, and to conſider themſelves as the principal Cauſe of them, for, according to their own Confeſſion, they were fallen into two crying Sins. There was ſome Variation in their *Tephilim*. Their Superſtitious Devotions for theſe Phylacteries of the Head and Hand, was notorious in our Saviour's time, but it increas'd in the following Ages. They reckon eight Deciſions proceeding from Mount *Sinai*, as they ſpeak, of which the moſt conſiderable are, that the Phylacteries ought *to be ſquare and ſerv'd with Nerves*. As even the Points and Ornaments of the Letters, were a Subject of Scruple and Controverſie betwixt the *German* and *Portugueſe* Synagogues; the *Spaniards* varying upon this matter, rais'd Commotions in the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. *R. Baruch* ‖ made a Journey from *Germany* to *Spain*, to reproach them with the Novelties which they introduced into their Synagogues. I don't know whether it was out of Vexation to ſee his Cenſures deſpiſed, or out of Devotion that he retir'd, but he went on to *Candia*, and from thence into *Judea*.

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The Son of God ſhall be born of the Virgin Mary *in the third World, and ſuffer for the Redemption.* This Oracle was follow'd with another, which foretold, that this Book ſhould be found at the Time of *Ferrand the Virgin.* Hiſtorians differ about this Circumſtance, for *William* * the Procurator of St. *Egmond*, aſſerts, That the Reign of *Ferrand* King of *Caſtile* was ſpecified in the Oracle. This removes one part of the Difficulty, becauſe this Virgin *Ferrand* is no more known, ſince the Thirteenth Century, than ſhe was before; and it would be very ſingular for God to have made choice of the Name of this unknown Maid, to fix the time for the compleating of the Oracle. Laſtly, It was much more reaſonable to point at *Ferdinand* King of *Caſtile*, who has been reckon'd a Saint, and muſt have been better known to the Jews than any other. For theſe ſorts of Abbreviations of Names are common enough, and *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* is alſo call'd *Fernand* and *Ferrand.* But ſtill there remains a Doubt, becauſe *Ferdinand* was already dead; and *Alphonſo* his Son reign'd in *Caſtile* in the Year 1253, in which this Event is placed. But it was no new thing; for ſuch another Prediction had been diſcover'd at *Conſtantinople*: One perhaps was the Mother of the other, for Miracle-mongers have not always Wit enough to invent new ones. Let us ſay then, either that the Fact is falſe, or that it was a Trick put upon a Jew, who was Fool enough to be impos'd upon.

VII. 'Tis certain, that mighty Pains were then taken for the Converſion of the Jews. *Raymond de Pennaforte* †, General of the Dominicans, had already condemn'd the Violence that had been too often employ'd to deſtroy rather than to convert thoſe People, and had declar'd for the way of Inſtruction and Gentleneſs. As he had a great Credit with *James* I. King of *Arragon*, whoſe Confeſſor he was, and often Miniſter to the Pope, he perſwaded this Prince, that he ought to repreſs the Inſolence of the People, to oblige many to the Study of *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, to qualifie them to diſpute with Jews and *Sarazens*, and to lead them to Chriſtianity, by convincing them of their Errors. They boaſt ‖ much of the Succeſs he had againſt the *Sarazens*, and affirm, that he converted above ten thouſand of them; and that the *Moors* of *Africa* had a ſincere deſire to do the ſame thing; but they don't talk ſo confidently of the Converſion of the Jews. 'Tis only obſerv'd, that they preſerv'd a great Reſpect for his Perſon, an acknowledgment of the gentle and equitable way of dealing with them. 'Tis true, King *James* of *Arragon*, at his Requeſt, publiſh'd divers Edicts; and tho' they were not Sanguinary, as they ſay, yet they broke in upon their ancient Liberty. They ſpoil the good that was done by *Pennaforte*, by attributing to him falſe Miracles; for the Legendaries feign, that flying from too corrupt a Court, he paſs'd the Sea upon his Cloak, and that his Staff ſerv'd him for a Rudder, or Sceptre to command the Ocean. This Cloak is ſtill preſerv'd as a precious Relick.

Dedit non terris jura, ſed fluctibus;
Uſus eſt non tridente, ſed baculo;
Virga ceſſit in navigii malum,
Imò in maritimi regni ſceptrum.
O paſſum pallium ventis
Inſigne Regii paludamenti fuit;
Novo ſe Regi ſubjicit Oceanus.

The Popes having firſt appointed the Celebration of his Feaſt, canoniz'd him, when the Money was found, * neceſſary to obtain this Apotheoſis. *Pennaforte* thought of a thing very uſeful to Religion; for ſeveral Monks apply'd themſelves to the Study of the Languages, which had been neglected. They ſtudied the Holy Scripture, and ſet the Truth in a clearer Light. The Succeſs and Impreſſions of the Word don't depend upon the Doctors; they are only to do their indeavours to render it more clear and efficacious. The Kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* honour'd *Pennaforte* † during his Life, which was very long, aſſiſted at his Funeral Solemnity when he died, and Pope *Clement* VIII. canoniz'd him.

VIII. The Pains of this Dominican produc'd the *Poniard of Faith.* This Book is ſometimes aſcrib'd to him, as if he was the Author; but he was only the Promoter of it, and it did not come out till three Years after his Death, compos'd by *Raymond Martin*, a Man of the ſame Order *. It has been ſuppos'd, that he was born a Jew, and that he turn'd Monk after his Converſion; but *Nachmanides* † does not upbraid him with being a Deſerter of Judaiſm, tho' this violent and paſſionate Rabbin ſpar'd not the groſſeſt Abuſes. He ‖ had been choſen to ſtudy the Languages, to be employ'd in the Converſion of the Jews. He had ſome part at the Conference held at *Barcelona*, in the Palace of King *James*, and in his Preſence againſt *Moſes Nachmanides*, that famous Cabbaliſt before-mention'd. We are told, that *Raymond* ſo confounded his Adverſary, that he was oblig'd to quit *Spain*, and retire to *Jeruſalem*, to avoid the Shame and Reproaches that were made to him, or that he made to himſelf. But they do more Honour to *Martin* than he deſerves, for he was not the Opponent in this Diſpute. He ſaid but little; but a Monk nam'd *Paul*, maintain'd the brunt. 'Tis he only that is mentioned by King *James*, in the Edict he publiſh'd after the Conference; and the ſame Monk is quoted in another Conference held in preſence of *Benedict* XIII. as the Perſon that diſputed with *Nachmanides*.

IX. Each pretended to the Advantage of the Diſpute. *Paul* obtain'd a Decree from the King of *Arragon* *, by which the Jews were enjoyn'd to open to him the Doors of their Synagogues and Houſes to diſpute with 'em, to furniſh him with all the Books neceſſary to convince 'em, and to pay the expence of the Carriage of his Library, by deducting what they disburs'd, from the Tribute they paid to the King.

On the other ſide, *Nachmanides* † publiſh'd the Acts of his Conference, in which he claims the Victory, and maintains, the King was ſo well pleas'd with his Conduct, as to give him 300 Crowns for his Voyage. They add, that he liv'd afterwards with the Repute of an Able Man; that he has ſtill been quoted as one of the great Defenders of his Religion, and that if he retir'd afterwards to *Jeruſalem*, it was only out of Devotion.

It appears by this Printed Conference, that *Nachmanides* anſwer'd very weakly to the Objection of the time of the Meſſiah's coming; and that the only Advantage he had, proceeded from the imprudence of the Monks and King, who went to prove to him the Trinity of Perſons by the Smell, Taſte and Colour in the Wine, or by the Wiſdom, Power and Will in God.

* Willelmi Monachi & Procur. Egmond. Chronic. Veteris Ævi Analecta, Mathæi t. 4. An. 1700. p. 90. † An. 1255. ‖ Anonymus in Vita R. de Pennaforte. * Clement VIII. † *'Tis believ'd he liv'd a hundred Years. He died in* 1275, *and was canoniz'd in* 1601. Spondan. ad An. 1275. n. 1. p. 254. Mariana de Reb. Hiſp. l. 13. c. 22. p. 579. Carpz. Introd. ad Theol. Jud. c. 12. p. 98. * Raymondi Martini Pugio Fidei, An. 1278. † Moſes B. Nachman *was born* An. 1194. Jud. 4954. *He is ſaid to have lived ſixty Years, and died in the Year* 1260 *or* 5020; *and the Conference was not held till the Year* 1263 *or* 5023. ‖ Auguſtinus Juſtinianus Epiſc. Nebbienſis *Nebbio.* Porcheri Victoriæ contra Judæos. * Cod. Log. Antiquar. apud Lindenbroch. f. 235. † Diſputatio Nachmanidis apud Wagenſeil Telâ Ignea Satanæ, t. 1. p. 24. &c.

X. But

X. But I queſtion whether we have the true Regiſters of this Conference. I ſhall not alledge what is commonly ſaid, That *Nachmanides* dy'd in the Year 1260. three Years before the Diſpute; for there is no doubt, that this is a miſtaken Calculation, ſince King *James*'s Edict proves, that the Conference was held, and that *Nachmanides* was cited as one of the Diſputants, under the Name of *Maſtre de Gironne*, by the Rabbins that diſputed before *Benedict* XIII. But I have two Scruples; one that theſe ſame Rabbins || produc'd ſeveral Paſſages not now to be found in the Acts publiſh'd by *Wagenſeil*; the other, that they have many *German* Words, which don't agree to a Rabbin born at *Gironne*, diſputing before a King of *Arragon* againſt *Spaniſh* Monks. It is probable, that a more modern *German* publiſh'd this Piece under the Name of an Illuſtrious Rabbin, to give his Work and his Nation the greater Honour; but this is only a Conjecture. This Conference had ſo little fame and effect for the Converſion of the Jews, that Pope *Benedict*, who was of *Arragon*, had never heard it ſo much as mention'd. The Jews * plum'd themſelves ſo much upon it, that the Pope condemn'd the King of *Arragon* for permitting it, and the Monk for ſuſtaining it.

XI. *Raymond Martin* was aſſociated the Year following with the Biſhop of *Barcelona* and *Pennaforte*, to judge of the Blaſphemies inſerted in the Jewiſh Books, which were complain'd of to the King. His Work †, tho' much eſteem'd when it came out, remain'd buried till the laſt Century. A Plagiary, who diſcover'd it, appropriated the beſt part of it to himſelf, and ſince its appearance it is look'd upon as one of the moſt proper pieces to convince the Jews.

XII. In this *Poniard of Faith*, we find numerous Citations of the *Rabbins*, which ſhew, that the Author had read them with great Exactneſs and Diligence. But we ought not to wonder, that this heap of Reading produced no great Effect; for moſt of the Proofs alledged are ſo weak, that it is difficult to receive them. The Enemies of the Faith, are charg'd with Doctrines which are none of theirs; and whereas a Man ought to be very cautious in uſing the Teſtimonies of his Adverſaries, to prove to them, that they have believ'd Myſteries elevated above Reaſon, becauſe 'tis impoſſible that ſupernatural Truths ſhould make ſuch Impreſſion in the Soul, to force involuntary Confeſſions; *Raymond Martin* || runs away with a little word, that has eſcap'd them, and from thence draws Concluſions for the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, as if theſe *Rabbins*, doting on their Law, had any deſign to teach what is moſt difficult to be believed in Chriſtianity. He accuſes the Jews of having no God, becauſe the *Rabbins* ſay, that he weeps at certain hours of the day over the Ruins of the Temple, and the Miſery of his People. This would be a ſtrange Weakneſs in the Deity, but 'tis uſeleſs to dilate in Arguments, and to prove that God can, but will not, deliver the Jews; for all theſe Batteries are eaſily diſmounted by recurring to the Prophetick Style; which has given God the parts of a Body, and the Affections of a Man ſo emphatically, that there have been Hereticks, who, miſled by theſe Expreſſions, have believ'd that he had actually Feet and Hands, and all the parts of a Humane Body.

Martin boldly aſſerts, that there never was a *Rabbin* that denied the *Trinity*; and that they have only combated the two Principles of the *Egyptians*, *Perſians* and *Manes*. But who can advance this, without being willing to be deceiv'd, ſince the Unity of a God is the capital Doctrine of the Jews, and the Plurality of Perſons is the greateſt Obſtacle to their Converſion? They find themſelves perplex'd in the Explication of the paſſages of *Geneſis*, where God ſays, *Let us make Man in our Image*. But they * obſerve, that this relates to the Angels and Intelligences, which God imploys in the Government of the World; and that if the Text has an Expreſſion, that gives a handle to Hereticks, becauſe *Moſes* ſpeaks in the Plural, *the Gods*, it at once adminiſters a Remedy, and a Proof of the Unity of a God; becauſe *Moſes* ſays in the Singular, the Gods *hath created*. We ſhall never convince the Jews, in being peremptory to perſwade them, that they believ'd what they never did, and that they don't oppoſe the Doctrine of the Trinity, which is the main Object of their Blaſphemies.

XIII. Can a Man fancy, that the Incredulous do not laugh, when he goes to perſwade them, that Jeſus Chriſt is born without Father, and of the Seed of the Woman; becauſe the *Shilo* promiſed by *Jacob*, ſignifies the Skin in which the Infant is wrap'd up, and that this Skin is produced only by the Mother, as the Poet ſays:

Ut nondum natus teſtâ circumdatur ovi
Pullus, ſic infans matris de ſemine factâ,
Quam naſcens nempit quaſi teſtam pullulus ovi:
Iſtas pelliculas Medici dixere † Secundas,
Quæ mox expoſitos naturæ jure ſequuntur.

Not to examine whether he proves || well, That Jeſus Chriſt is *the Stone broken without hand*, mention'd by *Daniel*, by ſuppoſing that this ſignifies a Man who had no Father, he abſurdly proves the Truth of his Miracles by *the Scripture of the People*; that is, by the Images that repreſent them; as if Heatheniſm had not pictur'd the Prodigies of its falſe Gods: *by Reputation*, as if it was not only *probable*, but *neceſſary*, to believe the Reports ſpread abroad in the World, and ſubſiſting for ſome time. Laſtly, He proves the Truth of theſe Miracles *by the Effects* they had produced; and the miraculous Effect brought for an Inſtance, is *Conſtantine*'s Donation to the Pope, and *the Ordinance to kiſs his Feet: What will the Jews ſay to this?* crys the Author, *Which way will they evade the Argument? and to what will he attribute this Effect?* 'Tis eaſie to anſwer, That the Jews will laugh to ſee a Man ſo eaſily put upon. They will attribute this *miraculous* Donation to an Impoſtor, and the Haughtineſs of the Popes.

XIV. The Author of the *Poniard of Faith*, not only enervates *Jacob*'s Prophecy, by an impertinent Search after Subtilties upon the Name of *Shiloh*, and the Miracles of the Son of God, but he abſolutely robs us of *Daniel*'s Prediction of the Seventy Weeks, which ſo expreſly proves the Coming of the Meſſiah; and this Argument, which is infinitely ſtrong againſt Judaiſm, grows infinitely weak by his management. 1. Whereas the Prophet *Daniel* fixes the Term, from whence we ought to reckon the Seventy Weeks to the Edict, that was to be given for the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Jeruſalem*, *Raymond Martin* means the Saying of the Prophet *Jeremiah* *, who promis'd this return, and begins his Computation from the Twelth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which makes it evidently falſe, and manifeſts a prodigious Ignorance of Hiſtory. 2. There is not one of the Kings of the *Medes* or *Perſians*, whoſe Succeſſion or Years of their Empire he does not confound, which compleats the Invalidity of his Proof. He makes *Darius Cyrus*'s Grandfather; he reckons the thirty Years of this latter's Reign, and looks upon the

|| Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 252. * Ibid. 253. † Pugio Fidei. || Raym. Mart. Pugio Fidei, c. 15. p. 73. * Ibid. c. 3. p. 486.
† *Siloh* dicitur à *Siliah*. *Siliah* Hebraicè à Medicis Latinis dicitur *Secundina*, R. ibid. p. 317. || Ibid. p. 365, 368. * Jer. 29.

Jews

Jews as Robbers that ſteal ſome of them. Whereas 'tis known, that the different degrees of this Empire ought to be diſtinguiſh'd, and that *Ptolemy* reckons but nine from *Cyrus*'s making himſelf Maſter of *Babylon*. 3. He cites for his Evidence a ſpurious Author, the falſe Hebrew *Joſeph*, and relies upon the Teſtimony of Chriſtians, whoſe Writings he had r ad ill.

Daniel ſays, that he *ſhall be cut off in the midſt of the ſixty ninth Week*. He ſpeaks of the Meſſiah who was to die at that time; but *Martin* applies it to the Sacrifices of the Law, and amuſes himſelf to prove by a *Rabbin*'s Authority, that the Sacrifice had ceas'd before the Ruin of the ſecond Temple; that is, at our Saviour's Baptiſm. Here are a great many ſtrange Errors; for he robs us of the Meſſiah's Death expreſs'd by the cutting off. He advances a Falſhood, in ſaying that the Sacrifices ſhould not laſt till the Deſtruction of the Temple; which being a Fact eaſily proved, caſts || all *Raymond*'s Structure to the Ground. The Authority of a Jew confeſſing the matter, would be inſignificant, ſince we are never to found an important Proof upon Falſhoods, even tho' there were ſome Perſons that have been deceived by them. But farther, It was not ſaid that the Sacrifice ceas'd either at our Saviour's Baptiſm, or in the Years following.

Laſtly, *Raymond* * *Martyn* reckons 112 Years from the Twelfth of *Nebuchadnezzar* to the re-building of the Temple, and 420 from its being re-built till its ruin by *Veſpaſian*. This makes Five hundred thirty two Years, from which number we muſt take Forty two, from the time of our Saviour's Death, to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and by this means he finds the Four hundred and ninety Years of *Daniel*. But this Calculation is evidently falſe, for by fixing the Edict to the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Zedechias* and *Jeremiah*, we ſhall find Six hundred thirty four Years to our Lord's death, or a hundred and fifty Years more than there ought to be. And yet this is the Prophecy that *Raymond Martin* has moſt attentively examin'd.

XV. I queſtion whether we ſhall find him more happy in proving, That the Meſſiah ought to die. To this purpoſe † he makes uſe of a Paſſage of a Rabbin, who ſays, That God repreſenting to *Adam* the Conſequences of his Sin, informs him, That it ſhould cauſe the Death of that *Juſt one*. The Juſt one, ſays he, is the *Meſſiah*, who is call'd by the Prophet *Zachariah*, the Righteous King; and for whom the World was created, according to the Rabbins. This Proof has been thought a good one; for || *Galatin* has ſtoln it, and apply'd the Words of *Iſaiah*, *The Righteous periſheth, and no Man layeth it to Heart*: And *Samuel de Maroch* * endeavouring to prove the coming of the Meſſiah to his deſerted Brethren, makes a better uſe of it, by obſerving, That God had threatned his People to leave them in Poverty and Exile, becauſe they had *ſold the Righteous for Silver*; nevertheleſs, ſince the Prophet adds, that they had *Sold the Poor for a Pair of Shooes*, 'tis eaſie to conceive, that he meant by it only the miſerable that had been forſaken. Beſides, the Jewiſh Author cited by *Raymond*, living after the Birth of Chriſtianity, and ſeeing it founded upon the Meſſiah's death, could not have had the thought of making this Death to be foretold by God at the beginning of the World, and imagin'd an Oracle, that overthrew his Religion. Laſtly, This Author foretold *Adam*, that if he ſhook the World by his Fall in eating the Forbidden Fruit, *there ſhould be no body after him able to repair it*. The Author therefore denies, that there was any Reparation after the Sin, and acknowledges no body that can redeem Mankind.

XVI. The Title of Juſt is equivocal. Even the Heathens have made uſe of it; and we at preſent ſee near *Libadia* †, the Inſcription of an Heathen, which he had engraven on his Tomb, that *his Soul is gone to the Juſt*.

Ψυχὴ δ' ἐς τὸ δίκαιον ἐλήλυθε δένομα τ' ἔμον
Νεδέμου.

The Chriſtians of this Country have Conſecrated this Tomb to St. *Luke*; and ſome have the temerity to imagine the Evangeliſt was bury'd there. Others ſay, that it is one *Luke* the Hermit, who liv'd in the Place. But 'tis eaſily diſcover'd to be the Tomb of a Heathen, call'd *Nedemus*, who believ'd, That his Soul aſcended to the *Juſt*. 'Tis not therefore a Title ſo peculiar to the Meſſiah, as to conclude, that the Author of this Commentary deſign'd to ſignifie him. We have ſaid enough of a Book that has been look'd upon as a Maſter-piece. 'Tis not amiſs to ſhew the Jews, That we go not about to deceive 'em, nor lead 'em to Chriſtianity by uncertain or doubtful Arguments. It is not ſaid that this Treatiſe wrought any great number of Converſions in *Spain*.

XVII. 'Tis alſo certain, that at the time that ſo many different Meaſures were taken for the Converſion of the Jews by Edicts, Conferences and Books written with ſo much pains and ſtudy, the Rabbins ſtill preſerv'd themſelves in great Credit with the Kings. *Alphonſo* X. || King of *Caſtile*, was ſo mightily pleas'd with the Contemplation of the Stars, that he goes ordinarily by the Name of the *Aſtrologer*. This Prince by Study had obſerv'd great Irregularities in the Diſpoſition of the Parts of the World, as it appears to us; and he ſcrupled not to ſay, that if he had been preſent at the Creation, he would have given good Advice to the Author of Nature. The Rabbins, who were great Aſtronomers, found no difficulty to inſinuate into this Prince's Court. *Juda de Toledo*, by his Order, tranſlated ſome Books of Aſtronomy, compos'd by *Avicenna* in Arabick; and penetrating farther into that Science, he counted the Stars, and divided them into forty eight Conſtellations. However, the Glory of that Invention is diſputed him, becauſe almoſt the ſame number of Stars is to be met with in *Beda*'s Writings. But it is not probable that this *Toledo* Rabbin had read *Beda*'s Works, at a time when Books were ſcarce, and Correſpondence difficult, and the Conformity of Notions is not always an Argument, that the laſt Inventers are Plagiaries and Copiers.

XVIII. *Alphonſo* * employ'd another Rabbin, *Iſaac* the Son of *Sid*, who made the Aſtronomical Tables, which have ſince been call'd the *Alphonſine*, and been in great Eſteem with all the Learned, who have apply'd themſelves to that Study. *Moſes*, the Son of *Tibbon*, who then liv'd in the Kingdom of *Granada*, tranſlated alſo *Euclid*'s Elements, whoſe Manuſcript is ſtill at *Rome*. 'Tis ſaid, he taught at *Montpelier* when he compos'd this Work; which is probable enough. But yet we can't depend upon *Gedaliah* †, who ſays it, ſince he is ſo ſenſibly miſtaken about the time when this Rabbin liv'd; for

|| Ibid. p. 722. & 282. * *He gives thirty four to the reign of* Nebuchadnezzar, *from which* Jeremy *had promis'd the Return, three and twenty to* Evilmerodac, *three to* Belſhazar, *two to* Darius, *thirty to* Cyrus, *fourteen to* Aſſuerus *married to* Eſther, *ſix to* Darius, *under whom the Temple was built, and four hundred and twenty Years of duration, in all five hundred thirty and two Years.* † Ibid. Pars III. Diſt. 2. c. 5. p. 562. || Galat. Arcana l. 6. c. 10. p. 465. * Samuel Maroch de Adventu Meſſiæ c. 6. & 7. † Wheeler *Voyages*, p. 379. || An. 1255. * An. 1255. † Ghed. Schialſchelet Hakkabala Ganz Tſemach David. An. ſexti millenarii 30. *that is, to the Year of Chriſt* 1270.

he

he places him in the Year 1330. tho' he flouriſh'd in the Reign of *Alphonſo* the Aſtrologer, who countenanc'd the Learned of all Nations and all Religion.

XIX. 'Twas probably in this great Prince's Reign that three Villains of *Orſona* * threw a dead Body into the Houſe of a Jew, and accus'd him of the Murther. This † Calumny being ſpread thro' the City, the People maſſacr'd all the Jews that fell into their hands. Some of 'em eſcap'd into their Friends Houſes; but it being the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, and there being none of it to be met with, they were very near dying with Hunger; as chuſing rather to faſt than break the Law. The Inhabitants of *Palma* imitated the *Orſonians* in ſlaughtering the Jews, who ſent to ſollicite their Brethren to make a Deputation to the Court, to put a ſtop to a Maſſacre, that was like to be univerſal. The Proſecutors follow'd the three Jews that were deputed, very cloſely, and arriv'd even before 'em, becauſe theſe Envoys had been oblig'd to leave the Road and abſcond in a Foreſt, for fear of falling into their Perſecutors Hands. *Joſeph*, the Head of the Embaſſy, and the Spokeſman, pleaded with ſo much Eloquence, that he was admir'd by all the Court. The King acquitted the Nation of the Murther which had not been committed; but nevertheleſs rebuk'd them for their exceſſive Uſuries, the Sumptuouſneſs of their Dreſſes, and the Pomp wherewith theſe *Fugitive Slaves* walk'd the Streets, to the provoking the jealouſie of his Subjects. He ask'd them, Why they taught to ſing, ſince they ought to be in Mourning? Why they inſtructed their Children to Fence, ſince they never went to War? "If, "ſaid he, you learn the ill Cuſtoms of my Peo- "ple, you ought to imitate their good ones, to "eſpouſe their Modeſty and love of Peace. I don't "ſpeak to you, added he, as a Prince that hates "you, for why ſhould I hate you, ſince God loves "you? Nor do I pretend to diſpute with you, as "knowing, that you will alledge Excuſes and vain "Pretences; only profit by what I tell you". The Jews excus'd themſelves by ſaying, that their Nation had a mixture of bad and good Men, like the Chriſtians; that the King had only condemn'd the Magnificence of Habits in the Jews, without mentioning *their Women*, which occaſion'd 'em to think the Edict did not relate to 'em. The Accuſers inſiſted, that the Jew ſhould be put to the Rack, to know whether he had committed the Murther, but he warded off that blow, by cauſing the Grave to be open'd, from which the Corps had been taken and thrown into his Houſe.

XX. As *Alphonſo* countenanc'd them, a great many learned Men produc'd themſelves, beſides thoſe already mention'd. There was ſeen in the ſame Kingdom *a ſhining Star and a holy Stem, that ſent out many Shoots; which was Meir Mithridos.* Thus he is call'd by *Ganz*. But ‖ it has been very judiciouſly obſerv'd, that it is a Fault of the Copier; for he was Son to *Theodorus*, Prince of the *Levites* of *Burgos*. He ought not to be confounded, as is commonly done, with another *Meir* of *Narbonne*, his Cotemporary, and who had, like him, a great many Diſciples.

This Man, a Native of *Toledo*, was a great Cabbaliſt. He gave his principal Piece, the Title *Before and Behind*, or *Before the Faces*, to ſhew that he penetrated into the bottom of the moſt ſubtile *Cabbala*, and had ſtudy'd it on all ſides. He writ alſo a Volume of Letters againſt *Nachmanides*, or *Harramban*. He gave *repoſe to the Law*, and bred up Diſciples, that maintain'd their Nation's and their Maſter's Honour.

XXI. Nor was it only at the Court of *Caſtile* that the learned Rabbins appear'd and were reſpected. *James* I. King of *Arragon*, tho' a Votary, lov'd 'em to that degree, as to receive Moral Lectures from them. He deſir'd of them the Books of Devotion and Piety they had compos'd. R. *Jona*, who liv'd at that time *, writ to another *Jona* of *Gironne* for Advice, how he ought to anſwer the King of *Arragon*'s Intention, who had commanded him to write a Book *to inſtruct Man in the Duties of Religion and Piety*. 'Tis believ'd likewiſe, that it is to this *Jona*, that we ought to give the Honour of a famous Book concerning Fear, which is attributed to the other *Jona*, and † has been tranſlated into ſeveral Languages. The Rabbins muſt have been in great Favour with this Prince, ſince he had recourſe to them to be inſtructed in the Rules of true Piety. And we can't read this Requeſt without retorting ſome Diſgrace upon the Chriſtian Clergy of that Country and Age, who perhaps apply'd themſelves more to the Study of the Tongues, than to the Practice of Devotion.

* *A City of* Andaluſia. † Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 78. ad 92. ‖ Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 4. p. 18. *We muſt read* Todros.
* An. 1264. † *Into High-Dutch and Spaniſh under the Title of* Tratado del Timor Divino.

CHAP. XVI.

A Continuation of the ſame Subject. Several Misfortunes befalling the Jews in Spain.

I. *A Promiſe of the Meſſiah.* II. *An Account of the Fraud.* III. Moſes *of* Leon *imitates the* Zohar *and ſells it.* IV. *A remarkable Event of the Shepherds.* V. *The French Hiſtorians Account of this Event. Jews that kill themſelves.* VI. *The Jews Account.* VII. *The Maſſacres they commit upon the Jews in* Languedoc *and* Guienne. VIII. *Fifteen thouſand burnt upon a falſe Accuſation.* IX. *The Jews expoſed to a new Danger by a Dream.* X. *The Perſecution of* Toledo. *Their direful Deſpair. Their exemplary Fidelity to* Peter *the Cruel.* XI. Raymond *the* Neophyte *confounded with the bleſſed* R. Lully. XII. *Whether the Jews poiſon'd* Henry II. *A Queen that expels 'em. A Monk her Gallant hang'd.* XIII. *A Perſecution under* Henry the Curſed. XIV. *King* John *ſuffers 'em to be tormented.* XV. *The Oppreſſions in* Arragon. XVI. Sciprut *writes againſt the Chriſtian Religion. The Time he liv'd in.* XVII. Zerachias *the Younger.* XVIII. *The Jews Eſteem for* Ariſtotle.

I. THeir Repoſe was diſturb'd by a Famous Impoſtor, who fram'd a Deſign to deceive all the Synagogues of *Spain*. He ventur'd not to ſet up for the Meſſiah; but he promis'd his ſpeedy Appearance, upon their obſerving the Condition he impos'd. This was a very eaſie Task; for the buſineſs was only to learn and remember well a Prophecy which he had made, and in which he pretended to explain *the ineffable Name of God*. 'Tis a Tradition

Tradition handed down from Age to Age, that the Name of *Jehovah* includes ineffable Virtues, and that he that can discover either the Characters or Explication of them, hereby obtains a Sovereign Power.

II. *Zachary*, that was the Impostor's Name, imagin'd that he had found out this Explication, and publish'd, instead of concealing it, as had formerly been done, and sent it * to all the Jews dispers'd in the several Kingdoms of *Spain*. He had an Accomplice that seconded him. These two Cheats impos'd upon the World by the Austerity of their Lives, and their Predictions. They notify'd the Day the Messiah was to appear. The Jews having prepar'd themselves by Fasting and Alms, went to the Synagogue, dress'd in White, to wait the effect of this Promise. A Jew †, who turn'd Monk, and wrote against his Nation, asserts, They were strangely surpriz'd to find Crosses upon these white Cloaths, and upon all the Linen they had left at home. But I believe that their greatest affliction, was the Disgrace to have been impos'd upon.

III. The *Spanish* Doctors had an Imposture ‖ of another kind to disturb them, which was occasion'd by Necessity and Misery. The Rabbin *Moses*, who was born in the Kingdom of *Leon*, was a Learned Man, but Poor. He was call'd to the Government of a Synagogue, the Salary whereof was insufficient to maintain his numerous Family. He resolved, for his Support, to deceive the Doctors. They had in their Hands several loose Sheets of the *Zohar* *, which was a Work attributed to *Simeon Jochaides*. *Moses* of *Leon* observing it to be distributed by pieces, which were infinitely esteem'd, imitated his Style, finish'd what was wanting, and sold his Work as compleat. This Policy was successful. He sold a great number of Copies, by which means he reliev'd the Necessities of his Family. But there was some difference perceiv'd betwixt the Style of the ancient Doctor and modern Rabbin, who, after that Conviction, was confounded with the Disgrace.

IV. But all these Misfortunes were not comparable to that they felt in the beginning of the fourteenth Century, the Effects whereof spread far and wide. It would be a hard thing to find so singular an Event as that of the Shepherds. If some have attempted in these latter times to deceive the People with false Prophesies and Airs of Piety, their Enterprize has had no Consequence. They perish-ed, as we may say, as soon as they were born, and vanish'd in the very place where they began to appear. But here we shall see a Gang of Shepherds setting up for Votaries, and boasting of their Miracles; that rendevouze and form numerous Armies, that plunder Provinces, and can't be dispersed without a prodigious effusion of Blood. The Jews had a great share in the Cruelties they exercis'd in many Kingdoms; and 'twas by these Shepherds that a long train of Miseries commenc'd, which the Synagogue suffer'd during the fourteenth Century.

V. The Historians † are not perfectly agreed about the Origin of this Event. The *French* say, that the Assembly of the Shepherds began in *France* in the Reign of *Philip the Long*, and that they made the Conquest of the *Holy Land* their Pretence. They were Headed by a depos'd Priest, and a Benedictine Monk, a Deserter of his Order, who so abus'd the Credulity of the People, as to be thought Miraculous Men. The Peasants quitted their Labour and Plough to follow them; and the great Lords carry'd away with the Torrent, gave them their Protection, till they found it their Interest to destroy them, upon the fear of being plunder'd. They ravag'd *Languedoc* and the Neighbouring Provinces; breaking the Prison Doors, and releasing the Malefactors to enlarge their Troop, they made themselves Masters of the Cities, where they exercis'd the utmost Cruelties, particularly against the Jews. A considerable number of this Nation retiring to a Castle, under the Protection of the King of *France*, these Shepherds came and besieg'd em, with a resolution to destroy 'em. The Besieg'd defended themselves like desperate Men; and when their Arms fail'd, they threw their Children from the top of the Walls to move Compassion. 'Twas an useless Sacrifice. The Shepherds set fire to the Gates, and thought to satiate their rage with the Blood of their Enemies, but they found nothing but dead Bodies and some Children remaining. The Jews had kill'd one another, to avoid falling into the Hands of Christians more implacable than Barbarians. Only one Man, who had kill'd his Companions, and could not resolve to kill himself was seiz'd and cut in pieces.

VI. The Jews relate the thing with some little difference, and pretend to have taken it from some Spanish Books translated into Hebrew. They say, That a young *Spanish* Shepherd, call'd *Roar*, gave out, that a Pigeon talk'd to him in his Ear, and that she turn'd her self into a young Man, when he stretch'd out his Hand to take her. *Roar* feined, that this Pigeon metamorphos'd into a Man, commanded him to put himself at the Head of the People, to gather up an Army to expel the *Saracens*; and to make it the better known, he had impress'd the *Sign of the Cross* upon his Arm. This miraculous Sign was not only seen upon the young Shepherd's Arm, but there were also People more ingenious, or more credulous, who read on it a positive Promise of vanquishing the *Saracens*. There needed no more than this to excite the Shepherds. They assembled in such numbers, that *Roar* quickly saw himself at the Head of three hundred thousand Men. This Army, destin'd at first to rid *Spain* of the *Moors*, but alter'd its design, because it was hazardous to attack People innur'd to War, and a Defeat at the beginning would have stagger'd the Faith of the Miracle. A Circumstance happen'd, which fully determin'd them to fall upon the Jews. A Person of this Nation had a quarrel with a Shepherd. All the Multitude hotly espous'd their Brother's Quarrel, whom they thought oppress'd, and they resolv'd to pillage the Synagogues, before they form'd any greater Designs. The Jew was knock'd on the Head upon the spot, and they spread themselves into the Neighbouring Places, where they Massacr'd all they could meet with of that Nation; so they pass'd on to *Navarre*; where the Cruelties were redoubled, because their numbers were very considerable. Six thousand Jews were murthered in the City of *Estella*. None escaped but such as could purchase a Retreat into the Fortified Castles of the Lords. R. *Menachem* however found a Soldier that saved his life. He was then young. His Father and Mother and four Brothers had been stabb'd, and he was left naked, and all wounded upon the Ground. A Soldier, who heard his moan in the Night,

* An. 1258. † Alphonsus de Spina Fortalit. Fidei tit. III. *He lived in the Year* 1458. ‖ An. 1290. * Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t iv. p. 82. † Du Haillan *Hist. of* France, l. XIII. Philip *the Long* t. i. p. 613. Bzov. Ann. Eccl. An. 1320. n. 20. p. 346. Prima vita Joh. XXII. apud Baluz. Vitæ Papar. Aven. t. i. p. 128. Continuatio Chron. Guil. de Nang. An. 1320. Spic. t. xi. p. 687.

moved

moved with his Groans, wrapp'd him up in his Cloak, carried him to his Houſe, and had him cured. He became afterwards Head of the Academy of *Toledo*, and famous throughout the Nation for his Learning.

VII. The Shepherds proceeded from *Navarre* to *Languedoc*, where they committed the like Ravages. Nothing could reſiſt the Torrent which overflow'd on all ſides, and made horrible Havock where-ever it came. Tho' they particularly attack'd the Jews, to enrich themſelves with their Spoils, yet the Chriſtians were not ſecure, becauſe the ſmalleſt Pretence was a ſufficient Motive to the Pillaging their Houſes. Application was made to the Pope who reſided at *Avignon*, but the Shepherds deſpis'd his Excommunication and Thunderbolts. The Count *de Tolouſe* executed the Laws and Juſtice upon them. He ſeiz'd ſome of them Priſoners, but the People open'd the Priſons, and the Monks, who cried Miracles, broke their Chains. The Count had a mind to ſave ſome Jews, but the Man to whom he had intruſted their Cuſtody, deliver'd them to their Enemies, and he had the Affront to ſee them come into his City to force the remainder of the Nation to turn Chriſtians. They ſubmitted to it to avoid Death. The Maſſacre continued at *Bourdeaux*, *Agen*, *Caſtel-Saraſin*, and other Cities. Thoſe who were retir'd to *Narbonne*, imagining the Storm was over, came out of their retreat; but they found in the way a Troop of theſe Shepherds, who, ſupported by the Peaſants, put them to the Sword. The King of *France*, tired with ſo many Cruelties, order'd them to be proſecuted without Quarter. The Nobility arm'd by the King's Order, and oblig'd them to retire into *Navarre* and *Arragon*. They carried the ſame Diſpoſition thither, and cauſed the ſame Diſorders. The King of *Arragon* armed againſt them, put the Prince *Alphonſo* at the Head of his Army, who cauſed the Leader of the Shepherds to be kill'd by his Maſter of the Horſe, and diſpers'd the reſt. Part of them periſh'd by the Sword, and the reſt by Peſtilence. Thus an Inſurrection, contemptible in its beginnings, made without experienc'd Leaders, and by meer Peaſants, may yet have terrible Conſequences, when they have the Artifice to introduce Miracles and Religion. All depends upon the firſt Succeſſes; theſe puff up the Hearts of the Rebels, and increaſe their Numbers when they are advantagious. They are impetuous Torrents, that carry Deſtruction where-ever they come; but 'tis rare for the Authors of ſuch Enterprizes, not to periſh after they have flatter'd themſelves with the hopes of Dominion, and erecting their Authority upon the Ruin of their Sovereign's.

VIII. The Plague *, which ſwept away one part of the Shepherds, was a freſh Spring of Miſery to the Jews. People don't love to be thought culpable; they will never own they have deſerv'd the Chaſtiſements of Heaven; and when it ſeems to be provok'd, they caſt about on all ſides to ſeek foreign Cauſes of its Anger. Here the Effects of the Peſtilence were thrown upon the Malice of the Jews, and they could not ſee ſo many Chriſtians dye, without revenging themſelves upon the former, for a thing of which they were guiltleſs. They were accuſed of conſpiring with the Peaſants of *Meſura*, to poiſon the Waters of the River, and of furniſhing them with the Poiſon. They were caſt into Priſons, and long Informations were made againſt them. Their Innocence was acknowledg'd; but the King, who was unwilling to condemn the Injuſtice he had committed, in retaining ſuch vaſt Numbers of Priſoners ſo long, upon a falſe Pretence, declar'd that he had ſhut them up only to convert them; and upon their refuſal to imbrace Chriſtianity, fifteen thouſand of them were ſentenc'd to the Fire and burnt.

IX. They † were upon the brink of falling under a new Perſecution in *Alphonſo* XI's time. This King of *Caſtile* protected them. *Joſeph*, a Jew of *Aſtigy*, had got into his Favour the firſt Years of his Reign, and was made Intendant of his Finances. But it happen'd that this Prince dream'd that he ſaw the Wolves aſſembled, to demand of a Shepherd that he would kill his Flock, in Reparation for the Outrages they had receiv'd from it. The daunted Shepherd would have agreed to ſo pernicious a Demand, if a young Lyon, that was hard by, had not diſſwaded him from it. The Wolves exaſperated, return'd ſome days after, butcher'd many of the Sheep and fled. This Dream was too coherent not to be look'd upon as a Preſage. One of his Favourites unfolded the Myſtery, by acquainting the King, that his mutinous Subjects would, ſome time or other, deſire him to expel the Jews out of his Kingdom; that he would yield to ſo unjuſt a Proſecution, unleſs prevented by his Son, who was repreſented in the Dream under the Figure of a young Lyon. The King, who was not ſatisfied with this Interpretation, ſent in queſt of a Jew, *being perſwaded that the Prophetick Spirit, which had ſhone ſo long in that Nation, was not yet extinct.* He had ſeen, he ſaid, a Monk, who told him, that the Science of the Talmud included great Myſteries, and that it was preferable to all others. The Jew, who was ſent for to Court, had the Honeſty not to pretend to Propheſie, nor the Interpretation of Dreams. He excus'd himſelf upon the Miſeries of the Captivity, which had ſo humbled the Courage of the Nation, that it had entirely loſt all reliſh for the Sciences. His Sincerity was look'd upon as a Diſſimulation. *Alphonſo* fell into a Paſſion: One of his Miniſters attempted to pacifie him by repreſenting, That tho' theſe Doctors had formerly been *as a Lamp, which ſheds its Light in ſeveral places, they could now be compared only to Stones, which caſt out ſome Sparks by their Colliſion againſt one another.* Whilſt they were thus arguing in the Palace, a confuted Noiſe of Voices was heard at the Gates. 'Twas that of a tumultuous People demanding, they would give up the Jews to puniſh the Inſolence of one of the young Circumciſed, that had made Water in a Chalice that was carried in Proceſſion. They could not refuſe puniſhing ſuch a flagrant Crime. The Council was aſſembled in the Evening, in which it was debated, Whether they ſhould Baniſh or Maſſacre the Jews. The Advice for Baniſhment prevail'd. King *Alphonſo* ſign'd the Edict, ordering them to depart in three Months time. The Prince Royal oppos'd this Council, demanded a re-hearing of the Trial, by which it was found, that it was a young Chriſtian living near a Jew, who running to the Window out of Curioſity to ſee the Proceſſion paſs, had unhappily overthrown a Pot of Water upon the Chalice. The King being better inform'd, revok'd his Edict, and liſten'd no more to the ill-grounded Complaints of the People; who cried out, that the Chriſtian had been ſuborn'd to make a Depoſition in favour of their Enemies. Thus *Alphonſo*'s Dream was accompliſh'd. The People, vex'd to have miſs'd their Blow, fail'd not to fall upon the Jews in another City, under the ſame Pretence, and to maſſacre ſome of them. But *Alphonſo*, cauſing ten of the

* An. 1321. *or according to* Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 181. *in* 1340. *under* Clement VI. *in* Italy. † Mariana, l. 15. p. 38. t. 2. Salomon Ben Virg. p. 418. An. 1333.

Mutineers to be hang'd, ſtopp'd the Perſecution in its beginning.

X. No ſooner had they eſcap'd this Danger, but they fell into another much more terrible. There was a Mutiny againſt them at *Toledo*, in which we find ſuch a Tranſport of Deſpair and Fury, as can't be read without Aſtoniſhment. *R. Aſcher* having fled ſome time before from his native *Northembourg*, was retired to *Toledo* with his eight Sons. One of his Children ſeeing the Chriſtians breaking open his Houſe in order to murther him, fell into ſuch an Exceſs of Rage, as to kill all his Relations that were ſhut up with him. He ſtabb'd his own Wife, and that of his Brother *Jacob*, a Man famous not only for his Diſintereſtedneſs, while he lived, as teaching always *gratis* tho' he was poor, but he left behind him a famous Book intitled *Turim*, which is a Body of *Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law*. Laſtly, This Jew having kill'd all his Relations, kill'd himſelf for fear of falling into the Hands of the *Nazarenes*. Some place this Perſecution to the Year 1340, but others date it nine Years later, and with reaſon, not only becauſe in the Year 1340, *R. Jacob* quietly compos'd the Book before mention'd, but *Alphonſo* XI. who had countenanced the Nation from the beginning of his Reign, was ſtill alive in 1349. At his Death he tolerated a Sedition which he could not redreſs. *Peter* the Cruel his Son, who came to the Throne in the Year 1350, ſaw ſeveral Factions form'd in his Kingdom, either by the Inſolence of the People, or the great Lords, who uſurp'd part of the Authority, and cauſed moſt violent Commotions. *Henry de Triſtemare*, his Natural Brother, ſupported by *Bertrand de Gueſclin*, took *Toledo*, kill'd him, and came before *Burgos*, which ſtill reſiſted. The Jews fortified themſelves in their quarter, and refuſed to ſurrender to the Conqueror. *Peter*, ſaid they, was our lawful King, and we will rather loſe our Lives, than receive another Maſter, who is not the Heir of his Houſe. They ſay, That *Henry* could not forbear eſteeming their Fidelity for a deceas'd King, and he granted them honourable Conditions when they engaged on his ſide ||.

XI. At that time appear'd * a very doubtful Man, called *Raymond* the *Neophyte*. He was one of thoſe *ill converted Jews, who had thrown himſelf into the Order of the Dominicans, the eaſier to deceive his Hearers.* He wrote a Treatiſe concerning the *Invocation of Devils*; and a ſecond Book, in which he examined, *Whether an Infidel be ſubject to the Laws of the Church?* Pope *Gregory* XI. who diſcover'd the Artifices and Errors of this Impoſtor, commiſſioned the Biſhop of *Tarragona*, and the Inquiſitor *Emeric*, to ſeize all his Books and burn them. That which renders the Fate of this Man doubtful, is, that he is confounded with *Raymond Lully*. The reaſon of the doubt proceeds from the different Ideas People have had of this laſt Doctor, who after his Youth ſpent in Debauchery, boaſted to have had an Apparition of the crucified Jeſus, ſaying to him, *Follow me*; and from that moment renouncing the World, he apply'd himſelf to the Study of the Languages, and to the Converſion of the *Sarazens* of *Africa*, and the Jews of *Majorca*, the Place of his Nativity. Some conſider him as a true Saint; and not long ſince came out a Book, to prove that his Doctrine was never condemn'd, and that, time out of mind, *Raymond Lully* has always been worſhipped as a Saint. Read the † *Diſſertationes Iſtoricas de culto Immemorial del B. Raymondo Lullio.* A Traveller || going to *Perſia*, was amaz'd to find, in the Iſle of *Majorca*, *Lully*'s Statue dreſs'd in St. *Francis*'s Habit, with theſe words, *B. R. Lull.* His Surprize was increas'd, when he underſtood, that there was not only in this Iſland a Faculty of Divinity, in which *Lully*'s Writings were read, as St. *Thomas*'s were in *France*; but that his Feaſt was kept, and that there was a particular Office for the day, and that his Relicks were religiouſly preſerv'd, becauſe he had been a Martyr in *Africa*. Others look upon him as a Rambler, who had made Chymiſtry his principal Study, and had apply'd himſelf more to the Search of the Philoſophers Stone, than to the Converſion of the Erroneous. They add, that *Gregory* XI. condemn'd his Works as of an Heretick, and that he is look'd upon as ſuch in *France*. It ſeems, as if there were no Medium to reconcile two ſuch contrary Opinions. And yet many Writers do it in favour of *Raymond* the *Neophyte*, whoſe Books they affirm were burnt by the Pope. He gave the Commiſſion for it to the Biſhop of *Tarragona*, becauſe *Raymond* the Jew was of this Country, and moſt of his Works were written in the Language of it. *Bartolocci* *, who is afraid of being miſtaken, refers the Matter to the infallible Judgment of the Church, as *Bellarmine* had done before him. But this Subterfuge ſhews their Infatuation for their falſe Saints; and how unable they are to reſolve to forſake them. For we need but read *Emeric*, who had the Pope's Commiſſion to take Information of *Raymond Lully*'s Doctrine, to be † acquainted with the Dangerouſneſs of it, and the numbers of his Errors. The Bull of *Gregory* XI. has no Ambiguity, ſince *Raymond Lully*'s Name is expreſs'd in it. We can't therefore tranſlate the Pope's Condemnation to a younger *Raymond*, who came from the Synagogue and preſerv'd his Errors. We muſt therefore neceſſarily confeſs, That there were not two *Raymonds*, one a Jew born at *Tarragona*, and the other a Chriſtian born at *Majorca*, and a Converter of the *Sarazens*; or if there was a *Raymond* the *Neophyte*, it is reaſonable to acquit him of the Errors, and the Condemnation pronounced by the Pope againſt *Raymond Lully*, tho' he be call'd Bleſſed, and his Feaſt be celebrated at *Majorca*.

XII. Be it how it will, *Raymond* the *Neophyte* lived at the end of the Fourteenth Century, in the Reign of *Henry de Triſtamare*, who was poyſon'd. The Jews are charg'd with this Crime *, for it is ſaid, that *Dom Mehir*, this Prince's Phyſician, having ſtolen an Hoſt, which leap'd out of a boiling Kettle, into which it was caſt, was ſo frighted with the Miracle, that he carried it ſecretly to the Prior of the Dominicans. The Crime being diſcover'd, *Mehir* was arreſted, and he confeſs'd upon the Rack, that he had kill'd the King. But they anſwer with a great deal of Juſtice, that if the Miracle of the Hoſt were true, the Phyſician would have been converted, inſtead of fooliſhly reſtoring it to a Monk. Beſides *Mariana*, *Guſman*, and other Spaniſh Hiſtorians ſay, that the King of *Granada* was ſuſpected to have ſent a *Moor* to *Henry*, as fearing (that Peace being made with the *Gaſcons*) this Prince would make War upon him. This *Moor* made ſeveral Preſents to *Henry*, which were thought to be poiſon'd, becauſe he fell ill after the receipt of them. He died of a Languor of the Nerves, and therefore it is not certain he was poiſon'd; and if he died of Poiſon, he receiv'd it from a *Moor*. Laſtly, A Phyſician, who had the Prince's Favour, would have been the laſt Man to poiſon him †.

They were not treated more favourably at the

|| An. 1369. Cardoſo las Excellencias, p. 371. * An. 1372. † *Memoires of Arts and Sciences*, 1702. p. 30. || Pacifici Relatio itineris Perſici An. 1628. *Journal of the Learned*, An. 1703. p. 1033. * Bart. B. R. t. 4. p. 362. † V. Bzov. An. 1312. n. 19. p. 194. t. 2. & An. 1372. n. 10. * Fortalitium Fidei. † Cardoſo las Excellencias, p. 373.

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end of this Century, than they had been at the beginning. They complain'd that Monks, who were willing to make themſelves remarkable at Court, or with the People by Airs of Devotion, affected to appear their irreconcilable Enemies. One of them obtain'd an Order by the Queens means, to baniſh them all from *Spain*. But this Princeſs being advis'd not to *cut down, or pluck up, a Vine that bore good Fruit*, was appeas'd by a Sum of Fifty thouſand gold Crowns: She was not the better for them, for whereas the Monk was accus'd a little after, of an Intrigue with her, and was hang'd, ſhe was oblig'd to reſtore the Money ſhe had receiv'd, ſince it was not the Fruit of her Zeal and Devotion that had procured it.

XIII. They alſo ſurpriz'd the Religion of King *Henry* III. King of *Caſtile* the *Curs'd*, who was but Fourteen Years old when he came to the Throne. *Martin*, Archdeacon of *Aſtigy*, preaching in the Streets of *Sevil* and *Corduba*, ſo inflam'd the Spirits of the People againſt the Jews, as to maſſacre them. The Flame flew to *Toledo*, *Valencia*, and *Barcelona*, where ſome were plunder'd, others kill'd, whilſt the more Politick chang'd their Religion, to eſcape the Fury of the Rabble. The Synagogues of *Sevil* and *Corduba*, which were ſo numerous, were diſpers'd by the Multitude of Deſerters. *Henry* purſued them. Thoſe that retir'd to *Andaluſia*, and other places, were knock'd o'th' Head by the Inhabitants. *Salomon Ben Virga* * places this Perſecution in the Year 5150, which would be 1390. *Spondanus* in the Year 1391. *Mariana* in 1392. *Henry* was not King till 1393. And therefore *Bzovius* † has judiciouſly retarded it till 1396.

XIV. His Son King *John* was as Inhumane as himſelf. Thoſe who conceal'd themſelves in the Father's Reign, periſh'd miſerably in the Son's, becauſe they were denied all the Neceſſaries of Life, and were eaſily diſtinguiſh'd by a red Badge, which they were forced to wear.

XV. They were not more happy in *Arragon*, for the States being aſſembled to prevent the Conſequences of a War, that ſeem'd inevitable, they reſolv'd to raiſe new Taxes upon the *Moors* and *Jews*, to ſupply the Exigences of State, whilſt the Nobility took Arms; and this Tax expos'd them to Oppreſſions that conſum'd them, lying open not only to the Avarice but Hatred of the Farmers, who never ſcruple to ruin a People; but who pride themſelves in their Barbarity, when 'tis exercis'd upon the Objects of the publick Hatred ‖.

XVI. However this Century was not without its great Men, among whom we muſt reckon *Iſaac Sciprut* a virulent Enemy to the Chriſtian Religion, and who wrote againſt it. The Criticks all agree, that he flouriſh'd in the Fourteenth Century, tho' they don't exactly accord about the time. Some place him in the Year 1374, and others later in 1396. But *Bartolocci* * had ſeen at *Rome* a Manuſcript of his Book againſt Chriſtianity, which ſhews in the beginning and end of it, that it was compoſed at *Turiaſſo*, a City of *Old Caſtile*, in the Year 1340, that is, the ſame Year that *R. Jacob* compos'd his Courſe of Law, entitled, *Turim*, or, *The Four Orders*.

Salomon, Son of *Chanor* ‡, went from *Conſtantinople* to *Burgos*, *to reveal the Profundities of the Law*. This was the Title of a Book, in which he explain'd the difficult Paſſages of the Pentateuch, and the Interpretations of the *Rabbins* that were too Metaphorical or Hyperbolical.

His Son *Schem Tou* inherited his Father's Hatred to the Chriſtian Religion. There have been a great many *Rabbins* of this Name. *Schem Tou de Leon* wrote againſt the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, to reduce a young Proſelyte that was retir'd near the Pope at *Avignon*. He publiſh'd the High-way of Faith, דרך נרול אמונה, in which he pretended to prove the Truth of his Religion by Philoſophical Demonſtrations. Another *Schem Tou*, the Son of *Joſeph Palkera*, who lived in the Sixteenth Century, was not only a great Preacher, and printed his Sermons upon the Pentateuch, and the chief Feſtivals of the Year, but alſo his *Letter of Diſpute* is eſteem'd. *Ighereth Havicvach*, in which he examines whether the Study of the Law ought to be preferr'd to Piety, or Piety to the Study of the Law.

The Perſon we treat of lived in the Year 1375, and tranſlated St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel into Hebrew, under the Title *Even Bochen*, אבן בוחן, *The Touch-ſtone*. 'Tis ſaid that he invented this Title to render the Goſpel deſpicable to his Nation; but he might have had another view, ſince the Goſpel is the Rule of the Chriſtians Faith. After he had publiſh'd this Sacred Book, he enter'd into Diſpute againſt our principal Myſteries, as that of the Trinity and the Meſſiah. To which he added, the Contradictions of Maſter *Alphonſo* the Apoſtate. 'Tis not eaſie to gueſs, who was this Adverſary of *Schem Tou*; for *Alphonſo de Spina* ‖, who having embraced Chriſtianity, writ againſt the Jews and *Arabians*, did not live till the Year 1458, when *Schem Tou* muſt have been dead. *Bartolocci* * ſpeaks of an *Alphonſo*, who anſwer'd all the Objections againſt Chriſtianity, which *Kimki* has collected in his *Wars of the Lord*. But it is not known whether he was a Proſelyte, or whether he lived in the Fourteenth Century. *Schem Tou* alſo publiſh'd his *Paradiſe*, in which he maintains, that moſt of the Talmudick Stories ought to be interpreted allegorically.

XVII. *Zerachias* the younger alſo lived at that time, who muſt not be miſtaken for another of the ſame Name, who lived in the Twelfth Century, and paſſes for a *Spaniard*, tho' he was born at *Lunel* in *Languedoc*, becauſe this Province then depended upon *Spain*. This latter wrought in Confutation of the dangerous Opinions, which another Doctor, born in *Judea*, had publiſh'd upon the Nature of the Soul. He was one of thoſe who engaged in the Conference before *Benedict* XIII.

XVIII. Laſtly, The King of *Caſtile* had two Jewiſh Phyſicians in his Service: The latter call'd *Meir Algudes*, was at the ſame time Intendant, or Head of all the Spaniſh Synagogues. He tranſlated *Ariſtotle*'s Ethicks. This Philoſopher's Works were ſo eſteem'd by the *Rabbins*, that *Schem Tou*, another Learned Man, inſerted them into his *Excellency of the Law*. This Mark of Eſteem is the more extraordinary, becauſe the Doctors hardly ever read the Works of Forreigners, which they infinitely deſpiſe.

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* P. 313 & 155. ‡ Ibid. t. 4. p. 376. † Bzov. An. 1394. n. 2. p. 145. ‖ Fortalitium Fidei. ‖ Mariana, t. 1. p. 134. * Bart. B. R. t. 1. p. 366. t. 4. p. 408. * Bartolocci, B. R. t. 3. p. 927.

CHAP. XVII.

The History of the Jews *in* Italy, *during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.*

I. *The Popes always favourable to the Jews.* II. *The Reasons of this Conduct.* III. *Diversity in the Conduct of Pope* Gregory *IX.* IV. *A General Massacre upon Calumnies stopp'd by the Pope.* V. *A Persecution at* Trany: *The Pope had no hand in it.* VI. Menachem *grew Learned in one night, in a Synagogue of the Marquisate of* Ancona. VII. Clement *V. protects and instructs them.* VIII. *An Event placed under the Pontificate of* John *XXII. Upon what account.* IX. *Fountains poison'd: A general Massacre:* Clement *VI. protects them.* X. Esdras's *Original given by the Jews to the Inquisitors of* Bologne. XI. *This Opinion confuted.* XII. *The Illustrious Family of the* Hannaarim *builds a stately Synagogue at* Bologne.

I. THough St. *Peter* was the Apostle of the Jews, and his Successors, treading in his Steps, should be particularly studious to convert this People, yet it appears that they are too much neglected: Of all Soveraigns, hardly one is to be found, whose Authority has been more indulgent to the circumcised than that of the Popes; who whilst they persecute Christians, not subject to their Laws, countenance this Nation, out of which they choose Intendants of their Finances: They grant them Priviledges, and leave them a full Liberty of Conscience. Some Popes, have been their Enemies; but 'tis impossible, that in so long a Succession of Roman Bishops, they should all have been of the same *Constitution*, and follow'd the same Principles. They still live more quietly under the Dominion of the Heads of the Church, than any where else. I do not condemn Toleration, but it ought to be even and uniform towards all; and the very Moment a Man is perswaded that it is lawful to persecute Christians, and that Religion authorises and commands the Violences that are done them; one would think those that crucified the Lord of Glory, ought to come in for their share as well as the rest. I condemn the Conversions that are the Effects of Violence, because they are commonly false. A Man promises, and swears, he believes what he does not. Perjury, which is sufficient to deprive a Man of Grace, who had already receiv'd the Seed of it in his Heart, is the first Step to the entrance into the Church. The Heart is divided betwixt two Objects, which are almost ever opposite; the Worship he practices, and the Doctrine he has receiv'd from his Ancestors, and still embraces. If he be half perswaded, he makes within himself a third Religion, compounded of one he believes true, and another he believes false: He hesitates, doubts and dissembles to his death, if the Fury of the Persecutors proceeds so far, to ensure his eternal Damnation. But why must the one be persecuted, and the other tolerated? 'Tis easie to assign the Reasons of the Popes Conduct towards the Jews, whilst they have a quite opposite one for the Christians.

II. The Popes have not so much Spleen and Violence against the Jews, because they are ancienter than themselves; and have not sufficient Power to give them umbrage. The Jealousie of Princes only kindles against a growing Republick, or a troublesome Neighbour aggrandizing himself, or attempting to recover his usurped Provinces; whilst they suffer forreign Nations, that are weak and unable to disturb them, to live more at rest. The Protestants front and oppose the Pontifical Authority, and endeavour to resume the Priviledges that belong'd to them; they are bordering and formidable Enemies. And therefore the Popes have a constant Vigilance to weaken and destroy them. Besides the Jews have no particular Grudge against the Popes, but all Christians to them are upon a Level; and they have nothing in their Condition to excite the Jealousie, and other Passions of the Popes. The Desire of Revenge, and the Glory of destroying Rivals, have no place here: Instead of gaining by their Destruction, the respect to their Revenues interesses them in their Preservation. Humane Passions are always more eager than Zeal acting by it self. The Heads of the Roman Religion, have ever been more dexterous at distinguishing, and managing their Temporal Interests, than the Princes and Kings of the Earth: And they have the Art of putting others upon things, which they will not do themselves. The Pope humanly receiv'd those that *Ferdinand* the Catholick inhumanly expell'd out of his Kingdoms. He secretly laugh'd at the Madness of a cunning Politician, who unpeopled his Dominions of a considerable number of rich and trading Inhabitants, whilst he made great Encomiums upon his Piety. He follow'd the Example of his Predecessors, who most commonly countenanc'd those that other Princes and Nations often persecuted; as we shall see in the Sequel of this Chapter.

III. *Gregory* IX. Nephew to *Innocent* III. was one of the most zealous Popes*: He was for having all Princes leave their Kingdoms, to make the Conquest of the Holy Land upon the Infidels. He had the Pleasure to see the Isles of *Minorca* and *Majorca*, that were full of Mussulmans, return into Christians hands, after *Ferdinand* had destroy'd the Fleet of the *Moors*. 'Tis said too, that all the Inhabitants of these two Isles turn'd Christians. Tho' he had a misunderstanding with *Frederick* the Emperor, yet he scrupled not to write to him, to let him know, that he might deliver the incredulous Jews to the Secular Arm to be punish'd: In which he departed from his Uncles Conduct, who preserv'd them in their ancient Priviledges. But he himself alter'd his Opinion; for being inform'd that the Circumcised were massacred in several places, when the Expedition was on foot for the Holy Land, he prevented these barbarous Executions.

IV. He deliver'd them from another Persecution they fell into, under a Pretence, that they employed Human Blood in their Medicines. The Inhabitants of *Haguenau* accus'd the Jews, their Fellow-Citizens, of stealing some Children from the Christians, and murdering them in a Mill, in order to use their Blood in some of their Remedies. The Imposture was gross; for Human Blood is of no use in Physick. The Emperor, who made a nice Inquest into the matter, was convinc'd of their Innocence; and the Historians, who will always have the Jews to be guilty, are oblig'd to say, That this Prince, who put a stop to the Course of the Cruelties, after he had taken cognizance of the Fact, was brib'd by a Sum of Money. The like

* An. 1225.

Fury

Fury paſs'd into *Spain*. The *Engliſh* Jews would have been treated with the ſame Inhumanity, had they not warded off the Danger, by buying the Miniſters and the King's Favour. They were kil-led and perſecuted in ſeveral Places; but the great-eſt Maſſacre was at *Paris*. It had laſted longer, if Pope *Gregory* IX. who had then the See, had not written preſſingly to St. *Lewis*, to ſtop the Courſe of theſe Cruelties, and not to force the Conſcien-ces of the Jews: And thus they were indebted for their Lives to the Pope's Toleration, not only in his Dioceſe, but alſo in *France*.

V. They were ill-handl'd in *Trany* and *Naples* by a Popular Tumult, rais'd upon vain Pretences *. They were grown Potent in theſe two Cities, and alſo in the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, where they had numerous Synagogues and Learned Rabbins: They parallel the Poets of this Country with thoſe of *Provence*, who were then in ſo great Reputation. The King openly protected them, becauſe they had done him eſſential Services in his Wars. He gave them a Recommendation when he dy'd; but it was thought they could not have a greater Service done them, than by converting them to Chriſtianity. To evade the Perſecution, they promis'd to change their Religion, upon Condition, they might take Wives from good Houſes, and the Noble Families of *Naples*. Every Body † was deceiv'd in this Con-tract, except the Eccleſiaſticks, who care not at what Price they purchas'd feign'd Converſions. The Jews were ſurpriz'd to ſee his Conditions granted: In the mean time there was no going back, and they muſt turn Chriſtians. It was no leſs a ſurprize to others, to ſee ſeveral Marriages made up by the help of ſo recent and ſuſpected a Converſion. Thoſe that found not a Match, return'd to their old Religion. A Monk of *Trany* reſolv'd to be re-veng'd on them; and to that purpoſe hid a Croſs in a Dunghil, and accus'd a Jew of the City with doing it. There needed no more to provoke the People, which mutined and cut the Throats of all they could meet with. The Tumult proceeded from *Trany* to *Naples*, where the Jews would have been murder'd, if ſome great Lords had not con-ceal'd the Richeſt of them, and skreen'd them from the Popular Fury; which their Hiſtorians reckon the eighteenth of their Calamities. The Jews would be to blame if they accus'd the Pope of all theſe Commotions, who had no hand in them. For *Alexander* IV. who was then in that See, ſent *Octa-vian* to *Naples*, to reſtore his Partiſans the Guelfs, and to inforce his Authority. But *Octavian* could not ſucceed, and the Pope dy'd ſoon after the ill Succeſs of his Negociation. So that he could nei-ther cauſe nor remedy the Miſeries the Jews ſuf-fer'd.

VI. They were more at reſt in the March of *An-cona*. This Territory was not in the Eccleſiaſtical State, ſince Pope *Clement* VII. did not ſeize it with his Troops till the Year 1532, upon pretence of defending it againſt the *Turks*. It then enjoy'd its Liberty, and the Jews liv'd peaceably in it. They even boaſt, that God wrought a Miracle there in favour of one of their Rabbins. *Menachem* was born at *Ricina Nova*, with a ſtupid and heavy Ge-nius. But he ſlept one Night in the Synagogue, and fancy'd he ſaw a Man offering him a Cup of Water, which he had no ſooner drank, but he be-came one of the ableſt Cabbaliſts of his Age ||. We will not vouch for the Miracle; but it ſerves to ſhew, that the Jews were then ſpread into all the the corners of *Italy*.

VII. *Clement* V. who remov'd his See to *Avignon* becauſe of the Troubles *Italy* was diſturb'd with at the beginning of the fourteenth Century, protected 'em there againſt the Fury of the Shepherds. We have already obſerv'd, that he Excommunicated them. But the Thunderbolts of the Church make but little Impreſſion on a mutinous Rabble, and the Jews had the Honour to reckon a Pope in the Catalogue of their Defenders, without reaping any Fruit from his Protection.

This Pope, who endeavour'd to ſecure them from Violence, and took alſo care of their * Inſtruction: For he appointed Profeſſors in all Univerſities, to teach Hebrew, and breed up Scholars to diſpute with the Jews and inſtruct them, after they had learn'd their Language and Rites, and the neceſſary Method to convince them.

VIII. *John* XXII. his Succeſſor, took a different courſe: He thought the ſureſt way was to burn all the Copies of the *Thalmud*; and he earneſtly preſ-ſed the Biſhops to oppoſe the Jewiſh Superſtitions. Nevertheleſs, we are oblig'd to refer to this Pon-tificate, what we are told by the Jewiſh Hiſtorians, That a *Good and Equitable Pope* was ſollicited by his Siſter *Sangiſa*, to expel them out of *Rome* and the Eccleſiaſtical State; but the Pope protected them, and maintain'd their Privileges. They even make him ſay, That Circumciſion ſerv'd inſtead of Baptiſm to purge Souls of Original Sin: But if this Sacrament had any Efficacy under the Law, it has loſt it by the Abolition of all the Ceremo-nies. The Pope, who had ſtood his ground againſt the firſt Sollicitations of his Siſter, could not hold out againſt the Remonſtrances of the Biſhops ſhe brought with her; who aſſerted, they had ſeen the Jews ridiculing them as they carry'd the Croſs in Proceſſion. An Edict was publiſh'd, expelling all the Nation out of the Territories of the Church; which gave them the greater Conſternation, be-cauſe by a long Settlement they were grown ex-tremely rich. To put a ſtop to this Misfortune, they addreſs'd themſelves to *Robert* King of *Jeru-ſalem*, who on one hand favour'd the Jews, and on the other liv'd in great Friendſhip with the Pope; and they engag'd him by large Preſents, to ſolli-cit the Repeal of the Edict. The Pope, who had only granted it in complaiſance to his Siſter, con-ſented, provided ſhe was ſatisfy'd; and he revok'd it immediately, upon her receipt of an hundred thouſand Florins. The Pope is not nam'd that iſſu'd and recall'd this Decree of Baniſhment; nor is this *Sangiſa*, the Pope's Siſter known: We only know, that *John* XXII. had a Brother, nam'd *Pe-ter d'Euſa*, to whom King *Charles* IV. granted ſome Privileges. But ſince the Hiſtorians obſerve, that this Event happened under *Robert* King of *Jeru-ſalem*; and that there was a *Robert* King of this City, as well as of *Naples* and *Sicily*, to whom *John* XXII. had been Chancellor, and with whom he kept a good intelligence; and ſince *Benedict* XII. his Succeſſor, had no Siſter, we have reaſon to be-lieve it was *John* XXII. who expell'd the Jews, con-trary to his Inclination, and retracted when he was able to prevent the Execution of the Edict.

IX. *Clement* VI. ſuccour'd them in a ſignal man-ner. The Perſecution they ſuffer'd was commonly a Fire, that breaking out at one end of a Kingdom, not only inflam'd the adjacent Provinces, but the Neighbouring States, and ſtill furiouſly burnt on. The pretence for this, which was almoſt univerſal, was the poiſoning Fountains and Rivers to deſtroy all thoſe that drank of them. Such as ſoberly exa-

* An. 1260. † Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 140. || An. 1280. * An. 1320. † Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 123.

mine

mine the matter, acknowledge, that it is impoſſible thus to poiſon Rivers. But no matter for that a great many People dy'd this Year, and the Jews muſt be guilty of the Mortality: They * were maſſacr'd in *Spain* and *Germany*, where the Miſchief began; twelve thouſand of them periſh'd in *Bavaria*. The Imperial Cities made Bridges and Towers with the Ruins of the Houſes of the Jews which they pull'd down; which conſequently muſt have been in great numbers. Some, reduc'd to deſpair, ſuffer'd themſelves to be cruſh'd under their batter'd Houſes, and others burnt themſelves to avoid falling into the hands of theſe inexorable Chriſtians. *Clement* VI. in the midſt of all their Perſecutors, was their Father and Comforter. He receiv'd them to *Avignon*, whilſt they were burnt in other Places, and did all that lay in him to ſtop the Torrent of this prodigious Fury. The Hiſtorians and Writers of that time, accus'd him with ſaving the Remains of the Nation, rather from a Principle of Avarice than Charity; but he in like manner tax'd the Perſecutors with proceeding ſo violently, only to enrich themſelves with the Spoils of the Jews; and perhaps both the Accuſations may be true.

X. The ſevere Inquiſitors exercis'd ſtrange Cruelties againſt the *Albigeois*, who ſhook off the Yoke of the Church of *Rome*: But whether the Jews purchaſed their Liberty, or that living in *Italy* under the Protection of Princes and Popes, no body durſt attack them, they maintain'd a Correſpondence of Preſents and Friendſhip with theſe haughty and cruel Men. *Emeric*, who made the Directory of the Inquiſition, as knowing all its Springs and Movements, was preſented by them with a Bible, written by the Hand of *Eſdras*, which the Dominicans ſtill preſerve there with great Veneration: We read in the Pentateuch an Hebrew Inſcription, importing, that

> *This is the Book of the Law of* Moſes, *which* Eſdras *wrote and read before the Multitude both of Men and Women, ſtanding upon a wooden Tower.*

But there is another Latin one that explains the matter more at large. In this we are told, "1. That this Roll of the Law is that which *Eſdras* wrote with his own Hand, upon his return "from the Captivity, when the Temple was re-"building. 2. That we are aſſur'd it is the Ori-"ginal, from the Teſtimony of ancient Jews that "have receiv'd it into the Synagogues, where it "was preſerv'd. 3. That the Jews have believ'd "it from one Generation to another, and preſent-"ed it to *Emeric* as an Original. 4. That the "Learned Rabbins, who have examin'd it in the "preſence of Witneſſes, have diſcover'd it by cer-"tain Characters and Strokes not obſervable in "modern Manuſcripts. 5. We are told †, it was "ſhewn to the People on Feſtival days; from "whence it is inferr'd, that it ought to be highly "reverenc'd, as a Book dictated by the Holy Spi-"rit, after all the Sacred Writings were burnt". But *Angelus Roccha* ‖ adds a Circumſtance, which alone ſuffices to overthrow all theſe Obſervations; for he ſays, that *Theſe two Books of* Eſdras, *written with his Hand, exactly contain the number of Canonical Books, preſcrib'd by the Council of* Trent. Did this Learned *Ultramontaniſt* mean, that theſe two Rolls included all the Books of Scripture, conformably to the Canon of the Council of *Trent*? Or did he think they were only the firſt and ſecond Book of *Eſdras*, into which he had inſerted a Catalogue of the Books, which the Church ought to read and include in her Canon? Which-ever way you take it the thing is ridiculous; for it was impoſſible for *Eſdras* to have mention'd the Books of *Maccabees*, which the Council of *Trent* has declar'd Divine; ſince theſe Heroes of the Jewiſh Church liv'd but a long time after *Eſdras*, and their Actions could not be written before they were born. Beſides *Roccha* does not agree with the Relation of Dom *Monfaucon* who travelled laſt, and had the Ingenuity to omit this Circumſtance. But however, they think they do Travellers an extraordinary Favour, when they ſhew them this Copy, which is under the Cuſtody of two Keys, one of which is kept by the Magiſtrate, and the other by the Dominicans.

XI. They * ſhew in the ſame City the *Megillath*, or the Volume of *Eſther*, which ſeems to be yet *more ancient than the Manuſcript of* Eſdras. And laſtly, They have a Bible written in favour of *R. Menachem* in the Year 1187. We ought not to give credit to the Tradition of the Dominicans, who boaſt they had theſe Copies. They were poor innocent People that believ'd it, and quoted ancient Jews for their Witneſſes, as if old Men could be better inform'd than young Men, of what *Eſdras* did; or that an hundred Years, more or leſs, were of any moment to the proving this matter of Fact. But ſetting aſide all theſe Stories, two things are certain; one is, the Date of one of theſe Bibles, which the Scribe finiſh'd the 26th of the Month *Adar*, in the Year 953 or 1187, *that* Menachem *and his Poſterity, and the Poſterity of his Poſterity, might be inſtructed by this Book*; and the other is, the Preſent made to *Emeric* by the Jews of *Bologna*; for this Manuſcript muſt have had ſome Antiquity, when it was preſented to this Inquiſitor.

XII. The Jews were then potent at *Bologna*, for beſides the Synagogue they already had, they built another larger and finer, and alſo ſet up an Academy there. 'Twas one of the *Hannaarim*, who removing from *Rome* to *Bologna*, made this new Settlement. This Family, which bears the Name of *Children*, is ſtill illuſtrious, and pretended to be ſo at that time, ſince *Moſes*, the Head of it, traced his Genealogy as high as thoſe Jews that *Titus* carried to *Rome*. They lived in this great City till the end of the Fourteenth Century, and then they made choice of *Bologna*, where they made great Acquiſitions, and built the fineſt Synagogue in *Italy*. Many *Rabbins* gave it an additional Luſtre, by coming to teach in it. This is a farther Argument, that the Popes † protected the Jews; for not to obſerve that the *Hannaarim* had amaſs'd prodigious Wealth at *Rome*, which they enjoy'd: *Bologna* then belong'd to the Eccleſiaſtical State; and *Boniface* IX. ſo dreaded by all his Subjects, oppos'd not their erecting a new Synagogue, which for its capaciouſneſs and beauty, was the Gaze and Wonder of Travellers.

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* Nauclerus Generat. V. Vita Clement. VI. An. 1348. Baluſ. Vitæ Papar. Aven. t. 1. p. 254. An. 1340. † Montfaucon. Diar. Ital. c. 27. p. 400. ‖ Ang. Roccha Bibl. Vatic. Append. p. 294. * Montfaucon ibid. p. 406. † An. 1394.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The History of the Jews *in* France, *from the Thirteenth Century, 'till their entire Expulsion from that Kingdom by* Charles *VI.*

I. Philip Augustus's *Edicts against Usury.* II. *The Jews expell'd out of* Britany *for ever: The remarkable Assizes of* John Rufus. III. *The unjust Decrees of the Council of* Lyons. IV. *Jewish Magistrates in* Languedoc: *Excluded by the Lord of* Montpelier's *Will.* V. *Pieces of Money turn'd into Hosts in a Jew's Purse.* VI. *St.* Lewis's *Persecution.* VII. *Shepherds in* France *during his Imprisonment.* VIII. Jechiel *of* Paris: *His Conference: His Magick.* IX. *St.* Lewis *expels the Jews.* X. Philip *the Hardy re-calls them.* XI. Levi, *the Son of* Gersom: *His Opinion about the ancient Apparitions.* XII. *Orders given to the Inquisitors by* Nicholas IV. XIII. *St.* Saviour's *Church built at* Paris *in the Year* 1290. *The Reason of it.* XIV. Philip *the Fair expels them out of* France: *The Causes of this Exile.* XV. *The Conversion of* Nicolas de Lyra: *He was a* Norman: *Jews in this Country.* XVI. *An ill-converted Jew burnt.* XVII. Lewis Hutin *re-calls the Jews.* XVIII. *A Persecution in* France *for poison'd Fountains.* XIX. *This Event examin'd.* XX. *Duels against the Jews authorised by the Virgin.* XXI. *A false Prophecy relating to them.* XXII. *Their general Expulsion out of* France. XXIII. *Their Condition since that time.* XXIV. *A Confirmation of their Priviledges at* Metz, *in the Year* 1670.

I. PHilip *Augustus* still reign'd at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, and many Petitions were presented to him against the Usury of the Jews, who not content with their excessive Interests, and the Mortgages of the Church-Plate, made their Debtors Slaves. The Princes wink'd at these Extortions, because the Usurers bought their Protection; and because, upon the Peoples Complaints, Justice was done by condemning the Usurers to great Fines, and confiscating their Estates into the Royal Treasury.

However *Philip* * was so often importun'd by the Remonstrances of the People, that he issued out many Decrees of his Council, forbidding the lending Money to a Monk, unless he could produce the Letters-Patents of his Chapter; the taking in Pawn the Ornaments of the Church, and the necessary Tools of Workmen. The Soldier had liberty to pledge his Horse; but the Plough-man and Carpenter, that lived by their Labour, were prohibited borrowing of a Jew, upon pain of losing his Debt. It was still severer in *Normandy*, where there were Jews as in other places; for the Creditors were oblig'd to cite the Borrowers before the Bayliff, and the Debts were invalid, that were not register'd in his presence.

II. These Remedies did not cure the Evil, for we find afterwards many Regulations upon the same Subject. It was debated in the Assembly of *Melun* †, convened by St. *Lewis* at the beginning of his Reign; and that it was forbidden to borrow of the Jews, and take up Money at Interest from them, to deprive them of all Pretences of Violence and Injustice. But among all the Laws, the *Assize* of the Duke of *Britany*, ‖ in the Year 1239, is most remarkable.

The Jews dispers'd in this Province were very numerous; and being for the most part Usurers, they ruin'd the People. The Merchants and Nobility complain'd of it. *John Rufus* was then Duke of *Britany*, his Father *Mauclerc* having laid down the Government. This Prince assembled the States *, in which it was enacted, at the Request of the *Bishops, Abbots, Barons and Vassals of* Britany, *that all the Jews should be banish'd out of this Province for ever.*

The Debtors of the Jews were discharged from the Debts they had contracted with them; and those that had receiv'd Pawns from them were allow'd to keep them; as if it were lawful to dispose of another Man's Goods.

All that killed a Jew were declared Innocent, and the Judges were forbidden to take an Information against them, or to bring them to Tryal.

It was resolv'd to address the King of *France* to cause this *Assize* to be executed in his Dominions, that is, to expel the Jews, to strip them of their Fortunes, and give License to kill them.

The Duke of *Britany* engag'd for himself and his Posterity, for the present and future, "To main-" tain the said Ordinance; and in case of its Vio-" lation, the Bishops had not only Power to ex-" communicate him, but to confiscate his Lands in " their Dioceses, without any respect to the Pri-" viledges he had obtain'd, or might obtain for the " future. Is it not a Prodigy to see a Prince fettering himself, and from a Soveraign making himself a Subject of his Subjects, even to the Confiscation of his Estate?

Lastly, He declar'd, that not one of his Vassals of *Britany*, should be admitted to do Homage, till he had taken an Oath before two Bishops, or two Barons, to observe this Law, and not to suffer any Jew upon his Lands.

III. The Great Council of *Lyons* †, in which the Emperor was excommunicated, with the Torches extinguish'd, made two new Decrees. In one, the Princes who had Jews to their Subjects, were commanded to oblige them to return to the *Crusaders*, all the Money they had extorted from them, upon pain of Excommunication to some, and others were deprived of the Priviledges of civil Society. Secondly, The Jews were inhibited from demanding their Debts of the *Crusaders* till their return, or till they had receiv'd an authentick Certificate of their Deaths. The Decisions of the Council were extreamly unjust, for it could not dispose of the Estates of particular Persons, nor suspend the Effect of Contracts made before it sate. Kings commonly give Letters of respite to the Officers in their Service. But are these Favours just, that are given to the Prejudice of others that suffer by it? St. *Lewis*'s Ordinance, which prohibited borrowing, was much more equitable. This Distemper was epidemical, for the Council of *Vienna*, call'd in the same Century, ‖ was oblig'd to maintain the Christians against the Oppressions they suffer'd by the Usury of the Jews. But to return to the Reign of *Philip* IV. The Jews had the Liberty, in some places,

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* Phil. Aug. Decreta de Jud. An. 1218. Spicil. Dacherii, t. 6. p. 471.
‖ Apud d'Argentré Hist. of Bretagne, l. 4. c. 23. p. 207.
† Stabilimentum apud Melend. ibid. p. 473.
* An. 1239.
† An. 1240. Concil. Lugd. Canon. 17. tom. 2. p. 656.
‖ An. 1267.

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of rising to Offices. At least they enjoy'd them in *Languedoc*; and they were often in danger at *Monpelier* * of seeing a Circumcis'd Bailiff at the Head of the Magistracy. And therefore *William* IV. Lord of this City, was oblig'd to forbid it in his Will, as his Grandfather had done fifty Years before †. However, to discharge his Conscience ‖, he order'd his Heirs to pay a very considerable Sum to one *Bonnet* a Jew, to whom he was much oblig'd.

V. Notwithstanding the Decrees of Councils, and the Edicts of many Princes, the Christians had Jewish, and the Jews had Christian Slaves. The Christians found their Account in it; for commonly, instead of buying a Slave, they took him from his Master, who re-demanded him in vain. Fugitives also found a sudden and safe Retreat among them. On the other hand, the Jews made use of Christian Slaves *: But *Baronius*'s Continuators say, that this wrought numerous and remarkable Conversions; so that the Councils were in the wrong to provide so many Precautions against this Custom. They say, that a Christian Servant-Maid, that was us'd to despise the Mysteries, tho' she Communicated at *Easter*, kept an Host that was given her, and carried it in her Handkerchief to her Jewish Master, who took and put it into his Purse with his Money. Some time after he open'd his Purse, and found *seven Paris Livres he had in it chang'd into so many Hosts* †. What meant the Son of God thus to multiply the seven adorable Bodies, and inclose them in the Purse of a Jew? Was it not to be fear'd this Man would abuse so many Bodies of the Son of God? For the vexation to find Wafers instead of Money might have led him to Profanation. We are told on the contrary, that he was converted, and brought over many of his Brethren. They all went to *Rome*, whence *Innocent* III. ‖ sent them back to the Archbishop of *Sens* to be taken care of.

VI. Saint *Lewis*, a Zealot for his own Religion, persecuted all others. The Inquisition, encourag'd by his Orders, acted its utmost Cruelty upon those they call'd Hereticks. In fine, this Prince, opinionated with the Crusades, permitted those that engag'd in the Holy League to exercise several Outrages. In his Reign, the People rose at *Paris* * against the Jews, under pretence, that they sacrificed Children on *Good-Friday*, and had occasion for Christian Blood that day. Many of them were massacr'd: The same Fury pass'd into the Provinces of *Brie*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Poitu* and *Maine*, where above two thousand five hundred Persons suffer'd a violent Death, who refus'd to abjure their Religion. Lastly, things proceeded so far, that the Pope was oblig'd to write to the King, in order to moderate so barbarous a Devotion, and teach him, that the Jews ought to be allow'd to follow the dictates of their Consciences.

VII. During this Prince's † unfortunate Detention in the *Holy Land*, a Crusade was form'd in his Kingdom of mean Shepherds, confederating to go and rescue him. 'Twas a pleasant Humour, to see a Parcel of Swains associating to march into a remote Country, to deliver the King, who was imprison'd by the *Saracens*: But they grounded their Chimerical Design upon Revelations; they pretended even to have receiv'd the Gift of Miracles, upon which they assum'd an Authority superior to Priests and Bishops: They were Headed by one Master *James* of *Hungary*, a Mahometan, and afterwards an Apostate from the *Cesterſian* Order. He travell'd with St. *Lewis* ‖ to *Cyprus*; and is said to have then made a Treaty with the Soldan, to betray to him all the Youth of *France*, without excepting the King. He is also accus'd of Magick. They say too much of him; but however, it is true that he was an Impostor and a Rogue. He had those under him that acted as Bishops. They Consecrated Holy Water; they bless'd and dissolved Marriages, and gave Absolution for Sins past and to come; but the greatest number were simple Shepherds. So prodigious was this sort of Inchantment or Distraction, that they not only left their Flocks to follow the Cheat that encourag'd them; but Fathers and Mothers that shut up their Children, could not retain them, and prevent their joining this Multitude. The People favour'd them at first, as believing, God had chosen the Weak things of the World to confound the Strong. Queen *Blanche* also * espous'd their Interests, as if they were capable of repairing the Miseries caus'd by the Absence and Imprisonment of her Son. An hundred thousand are reckon'd to have listed themselves under Master *James*: They boasted their Commission from the Virgin, and plunder'd and committed hideous Disorders wherever they came. *James* of *Hungary*, at the Head of this Multitude, march'd to *Orleans*, where he massacr'd all the Priests and Monks he met with. Departing thence, he pursu'd his Road to *Bourges*; where he caus'd all the Jews Books to be seiz'd, in order to be burnt, and plunder'd them wherever he could. But at last the Nobility and People too mustering their Forces against these Plunderers, in their turn made a great slaughter of them, in which they lost their Leader, with abundance of others. We ought not to mistake these first Shepherds for those that appear'd in the following Century; which we have already accounted for in the History of the Jews in *Spain*.

VIII. The Year following was held a Conference in presence of *Blanche*, who was Regent in St. *Lewis*'s Absence, between *Jechiel* and *Nicholas Donim*, who had embrac'd Christianity. *Jechiel* was born at *Paris*, and profess'd himself a great Cabbalist. 'Twas said, that *his Lamp shone without Oil from one Saturday to another*. St. *Lewis* having the Curiosity to see this Miracle, design'd to surprize the Rabbin by Night. He, who was afraid of Robbers, that us'd to knock at his Door and at those of the other Jews, to see if they were asleep, had fix'd a Nail in the Ground; and upon the first Noise, he struck upon the Nail, and proportionably as he drove it down, the Robber without sunk into a Ditch full of Water. The King, who counterfeited a Robber at *Jechiel*'s Door, fell in like the rest. He cry'd out when he saw himself up to the middle in Water. *Jechiel* was excus'd, upon his giving the King a good Fire and an Entertainment, and shewing him the Lamp. He made it appear, that there was neither Miracle nor Conjuration in it; and that instead of Oil, there was another Combustible Matter. Perhaps it was a *Phosphorus* that rais'd the wonder of all the People of *Paris*. The King being undeceiv'd by this Adventure, made *Jechiel* one of his Counsellors of State. They endeavour'd to impeach him to the Prince, because he would not drink the Wine that was offer'd him at his Table; but *Jechiel*, like a dextrous Courtier, drank the Water the King had wash'd his Hands in; which was so convin-

* Guillel. Monspel. Testam. Spicil. t. 9. 145 & 161. † An. 1211. ‖ An. 1146. * An. 1213. † Bzovius An. 1213. p. 19. p. 206 Spond. An. 1213. n. 25. p. 53. ‖ Innoc. III. Ep. 155. * An. 1136. † Greg. IX. Ep. 213. Gesta Sancti Ludov. IX. per Guil. de Nangiaco Hist. Franc. Script. t. v. p. 359. ‖ An. 1215. * Math. Paris Histor. Anglic. Hen. III. p. 530.

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cing an Argument that he had no Averſion to the Chriſtians and the Perſon of the King, that his Intereſt was conſiderably advanc'd by it. We muſt believe all this upon the bare word of the Jews, who make great boaſts of this Rabbin, as well as of his Son-in-law *Mardochai* of *Auſtria*, or the *German*, another Cabbaliſt. The Chriſtians ſay, that the practical Cabbala that gave 'em ſuch Reputation, was Magick; and that *Jechiel* ſo ill defended the Honour of his Religion before the Regent, that he left *France* out of Shame and Confuſion, and retir'd the ſame Year into *Judea*, where he went to die. 'Tis better to keep to a juſt medium. *Jechiel* was no Magician, as he is accus'd: He might perhaps have ſome natural Secrets, by which he impos'd upon the People, who are the eaſier to be deceiv'd in this matter, as they are given to haſty Judgments. Pilgrimages to *Judea* were then ſo much in faſhion for Jews as well as Chriſtians, that we need not to make the Cauſe of *Jechiel*'s Voyage to be the Shame which he receiv'd in the Conference that he held againſt a Deſerter of the Synagogue.

IX. On the other hand, 'tis an impoſition to affirm, that St. *Lewis* made a Rabbin one of his Miniſters of State, upon his putting a luminous matter in a Lamp, inſtead of Oil. This Prince never lov'd the Nation and ever whilſt he was a Priſoner he ſent an Edict to *France*, to expel all the Jews out of his Kingdom. They were numerous there, ſince other People were call'd in to fill the Vacancies they had made. They muſt have been alſo rich, ſince ſuch as would be *Merchants or Tradeſmen* were permitted to ſtay, that the Kingdom might not be too much weaken'd. 'Tis pretended, that the *Saracens* had infus'd this Reſolution into the King, by upbraiding him with his want of Love for Chriſt, ſince he tolerated his Murtherers. The Regent * caus'd her Son's Orders to be executed, and dy'd the Year following. The Jews pretend, it was this Prince that baniſh'd them, after his return into his Dominions.

X. 'Twas probably *Philip the Hardy* who recall'd them †; for tho' this Prince has been reckon'd a Devotee, it is known he was not ſcrupulous in a great many things; and after his Son's Death, he made no difficulty to conſult a famous Sorcereſs of *Nivelles*, to be inform'd, Whether *Mary*, whom he had marry'd for his ſecond Wife, had poiſon'd the firſt Prince of the Blood, as was ſaid by his Favourite? 'Tis true, he was authoriz'd by the Complaiſance of the Biſhops of his Kingdom; ſince thoſe of *Bayeux* and *Dol* in *Britany*, with the Abbot of St. *Denis*, made a Journey into *Flanders* to conſult the Hag. 'Tis ſaid, that the neceſſity of his Affairs oblig'd him to recal the Exiles; for the Impriſonment and Deſigns of *Lewis* had exhauſted the Kingdom; and the Wars which *Philip* was oblig'd to ſuſtain accompliſh'd its Ruin. 'Twas thought they could not better re-eſtabliſh the Revenues than by recalling a People that brought Treaſures along with them, together with the art of making Money circulate. Laſtly, *Philip*'s natural good nature, which has made Hiſtorians doubt, whether this Title of Hardy ſhould be given him, contributed much doubtleſs to this Recal: At leaſt, the truth of it cannot be doubted, ſince they were expell'd under *Philip the Fair*.

XI. The *Spaniards* claim'd || *Levi*, the Son of *Gerſom*, Grandſon of *Nachmanides* by his Daughter, as one of thoſe Doctors that do them Honour. He liv'd at that time *; but was born in *Provence*. He was therefore a *Frenchman*, if we conſider the Provinces that at preſent compoſe that Monarchy, and have always been a part of *Gaul*; but he was born a Subject of the *Spaniards*, who were at that time Maſters there. This Rabbin maintain'd, That all the Apparitions that were made to *Abraham*, the Patriarchs and Prophets, were only Dreams and Viſions. He could not bear, that thoſe who preceded him ſhould put Speech into the Mouth of *Balaam*'s Aſs, ſince 'tis one of thoſe Prodigies that create laughter, when we take 'em literally. He compar'd this Adventure to the Marriage of the Prophet *Hoſea*, who never marry'd a Proſtitute, which ſcandalous Conjunction would have diſgrac'd him. He obſerv'd, that *Balaam*'s Viſion being made in the Night, he couid not ſee any ſenſible Object. In vain it was objected to him as a kind of Contradiction, that he readily believ'd what the *Talmud* ſays of another Aſs, that had ſo much Wit, as never to return to the Stable without bringing her Maſters the Price of her Hire, and that ſhe was never impos'd upon. For the Rabbins don't univerſally believe all the Stories in the *Talmud*, and a Man, who had the courage to change the Tradition of the Fathers, about the Viſions of the Prophets, written in Scripture, did not implicitly believe fabulous Relations, founded upon leſs venerable Authority than Revelation. He liv'd till the fourteenth Century, in which he compos'd his † his Commentary upon *Samuel*, and many other Works. He was a Witneſs to part of the Miſeries that ruin'd his Nation in *France*.

XII. It was || ſo powerful in the Reign of *Philip the Fair*, as ſometimes to make Conqueſts even upon Chriſtianity. This Scandal oblig'd *Nicolas* IV. to give Orders to the Inquiſitors to be more ſevere againſt them. He was often equitable towards 'em; for underſtanding that the Emperor *Rodolphus* had impriſon'd the famous R. *Meir*, a Native of *Germany*, in hopes of extorting a great deal of Money from him, he wrote to the Pope to releaſe him, unleſs he was guilty of ſome other Crime than the Perſeverance in his Religion. 1. There aroſe at that time an Order of Re-Judaizers, or Relapſers, who having voluntarily left the Synagogue, return'd to it by Waſhings and Shavings of their Head. 2. There were Chriſtians that turn'd Jews, and were Circumcis'd in a different manner from the reſt, that they might always be diſtinguiſh'd from the true Circumciſion. 3. There were ſome wretched Creatures in *Gaſcogne* and the Neighbouring Provinces, where theſe Diſorders chiefly reign'd; who knowing not to what Saint to devote themſelves when any Calamity happen'd, ran devoutly to the Synagogues, held lighted Candles, made their Oblations, and kept the *Saturday* as ſtrictly as poſſible. *Nicolas* thought it his Duty to ſtop the courſe of theſe Scandals, and to that end, ſent his Orders to the Inquiſitors of theſe Provinces to be more watchful over the Conduct both of Chriſtians and Jews. They executed Pope *Nicolas*'s Commands, and employ'd great Severities againſt the Guilty.

XIII. 'Twas in his Pontificat, and upon occaſion of another Scandal, that the Church of St. *Saviour* was built at *Paris* *. A Woman, who had taken Money at Intereſt, and had left her Cloaths in pawn with a Jew, demanded 'em for one day to perform her Devotions at *Eaſter*. The Jew would not reſtore them without receiving an Hoſt in Pledge. As it had been often told him, that the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* was in this Hoſt, that he

* An. 1253. Math. Paris Hiſt. p. 576. Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 417. An. 1254. † An. 1272. Geſta Philippi III. per Guil. de Nangiaco Hiſt. Franc. t. v. p. 552. || Ganz Tſemach p. 145. * An. 1290. † An. 1338. || An. 1288. * Nauclerus Chron. Gen. 44. t. 2. p. 875.

might be certify'd whether it was ſo, he threw it into boiling Water, and run it thro': Immediately he ſaw Blood guſh out; but ſome Chriſtians, who had need of Money, unhappily entring his Houſe, the Hoſt leap'd from the Tub where it was thrown and flew away. Forthwith the Criminal was try'd, his Eſtate confiſcated, and his Houſe raz'd to the Ground, in the Place of which was built *St. Saviour's Church*. The Reader is at full liberty to reject theſe fabulous Miracles, but they come too often in the Hiſtory of the Jews to be all paſs'd over in ſilence. 'Twas perhaps the ſame Miracle we ſhall mention in the next Article, that has been diſguis'd and plac'd ſixteen Years later, in order to make it the occaſion of the general Expulſion of the Jews out of *France*.

XIV. It was King *Philip* that diſmiſs'd 'em all in general from his Kingdom *, and this Exile is reckon'd one of the four great Miſeries the Jews have ſuffer'd; for they ſay †, that the numbers which then left *France*, were twice as great as thoſe that follow'd *Moſes* to the Paſſage of the *Red Sea*, and the Conqueſt of *Canaan*. But in this they amplifie; for they never were ſo numerous in this Kingdom. Chriſtian Hiſtorians attribute it to a Miracle wrought in a Hoſt that a Jew had purchas'd: He threw it into a Caldron of boiling Water, and at the ſame time ſaw the appearance of a Child of extraordinary Beauty. Inſtead of being mov'd by ſo manifeſt a Miracle, he went to murther the miraculous Infant; but it fled and ſhifted from one ſide of the Caldron to the other, according as the Jew purſu'd it with a Knife in his Hand. This Sight ſurpriz'd his Children, who went and acquainted their Mother, and then open'd the Doors and publiſh'd it abroad. The People and Clergy came in and ſaw the Miracle of the preſerv'd Hoſt; for the Child was already vaniſh'd. The Jew was condemn'd to be burnt. He thought to ſecure himſelf by holding the *Talmud* in his Hands upon the Pile; but the Fire burnt but *the violenter*. If he ſuffer'd the leſs for it, and the *Talmud* was the Cauſe of this effect, it was an advantage to him. ‖ A Continuator of *Baronius* admits the Miracle; but aſſerts, That having been wrought ſixteen Years before, it could not be look'd upon as the cauſe of the Decree of the Jews Exile. *Platina* believes * they were then puniſh'd for their Magick. But the true and only Cauſe, was the Avarice of the King †, deſigning to enrich himſelf at the Coſt of theſe poor Wretches. For it is ſaid, ‖ That he did a good Deed from an evil Principle, *viz.* the deſire of plundering and growing rich. The King was Covetous, and ſo violently oppreſs'd his People, that the *Pariſians* rebell'd, and beſieg'd him in the Houſe of the Temple, where he remain'd a whole Day without Food; the Beſiegers, moſt whereof were afterwards hang'd, not permitting any to be brought to him. His Mother-in-law, Queen *Mary*, had had the Art before of fleecing the Jews. I know not whether upon any Remorſe of Conſcience, or upon what reaſon, ſhe conſulted Pope *Clement* V. upon it; who adviſ'd her to employ the Money upon the Holy War, but ſhe did not do it. This Money could not be rais'd, unleſs the King had a hand in it; who reſolv'd not to do it by halves, and therefore colour'd his Avarice by an Act of Religion and Piety. Since he pillaged the Churches of his Kingdom, and the Chriſtian Clergy, 'tis no wonder that he ſhould deſire to engroſs whatever was valuable in the Synagogues: Therefore he baniſh'd all the Jews upon pain of Death or Converſion, and confiſcated the Eſtates of all the Exiles to his own uſe, permitting them only to carry their Cloaths and a Sum of Money to conduct 'em out of the Kingdom. Part of 'em dy'd by the way with Fatigue and Hunger, the reſt retir'd into *Germany*; from whence the Jews of that Country look upon themſelves as originally of *France*, deſcended from theſe perſecuted People.

XV. Some turn'd Chriſtians to prevent the Miſery they thought unavoidable in foreign Countries. * *Nicholas de Lyra* was one of thoſe that made this Option. The *Engliſh* challenge him, as if he was a Native of theirs. Others pretend, that *Lyra* is a Village of *Perche*. But how ſhall we contradict this Diſtich, which makes him a *Norman?*

Lyra, brevis vicus, Normana in gente celebris,
Prima mihi vitæ janua ſorſque fuit.

'Tis certain, there was in the Bailywick of *Evreux* a Borough that went by the Name of *Lyra*, where there were Jews as well as in *Ponteau de Mer*. It ſeems as if we could not doubt of his being a Jew, from his Acquaintance with the Hebrew and the Rabbins, from whom he has taken a great many Maxims and Explications. A Chriſtian at that time would have been thought a Prodigy, who had known the Rabbins and their Interpretations ſo well as he. After his Converſion, he writ his Treatiſe of *Jeſus Chriſt againſt the Jews*; as moſt of the Proſelytes do, who think themſelves oblig'd to give a Teſtimony of their Faith by Writing againſt their deſerted Brethren. He ſpent his whole Life in the Explication of Scripture; and, according to the Cuſtom of the Jews, divided the Books of it into Canonical and Apocryphal, ſetting *Tobit* at the Head of the latter. He is complain'd of for having too much Philoſophiz'd according to *Ariſtotle*'s Principles; but in truth he is leſs barbarous, and more judicious than the Authors of his Age. 'Tis probable, his Converſion was ſincere; at leaſt he turn'd Monk, and dy'd in a Convent in the Year 1340.

XVI. But moſt of the reſt retain'd the Judaiſm they had abjur'd; and four Years after, one of theſe Proſelytes was burnt at *Paris* the ſame day with *Margaret* of *Haynault*. She maintain'd, That the Soul inebriated with the Love of God, and wholly abſorb'd by this Love, might, without fear and remorſe, ſatisfie all the Deſires of Nature. At that time the *Myſticks* were condemn'd to the Fire. The Jews, in ſpite of his Converſion to Chriſtianity, ſpit upon the † Images of the Virgin. The Jewiſh Hiſtorians ſay, That God aveng'd their Baniſhment upon *Philip the Fair* ‖, by ſuffering him the ſame Year to fall into a Ditch, as he purſu'd a Stag, and to die ſuddenly; which is falſe.

XVII. The Avarice and Intereſt which had expell'd the Jews out of *France*, caus'd them to be recall'd again eight Years after. The Author of the *Faſciculus Temporum* * ſays, *They were expell'd out of the Kingdom, never to return again.* But he liv'd long enough after this Baniſhment, to know that it did not laſt always. *Lewis Hutin*, or the *Mutineer*, for theſe two words ſignifie the ſame thing, ſucceeding his Father; and ſeeing a great Diſorder in his Finances, the Kingdom exhauſted of Money, the People groaning, and ſtill ready to mutiny, remembring the Oppreſſions they had ſuffer'd in the preceding Reign, was not contented with ſacrificing *Enguerrand de Marigni*, his Father's Favourite, to the Peoples Deſires, and hanging him; but as this

* An. 1306 † Ganz Chronol. p. 143. Bzov. 1306. n. 8. p. 83. ‖ Spond. An. 1306. n. 8. p. 358. * Platina Vita Clem. V. p. 2501. † Anonym. Continuat. Chronici Guil. de Nangis Spicil. t. xi. p. 622. ‖ Baluſ. Vitæ Pap. Aven. p. 4. * Balæus de Script. † Continuat. Chronic. Guil. de Nangis An. 1310. Dacherii Spicil. t. xi. p. 637. ‖ Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 194. * Faſciculus Temp Hiſt. Germ. t. iii. p. 83.

Execu-

Execution was no remedy to the Miſchief, he demanded a large Sum of Money of the Fugitive Jews, and upon that Condition re-call'd them † into his Dominions, where they lived peaceably in his Reign, but to their Unhappineſs it was very ſhort. As if they had foreſeen what was to happen, they were difficultly induced to return into *France* to make new Settlements. At laſt, the love of their Country prevail'd over other Arguments, and many of them were deceiv'd ||.

XVIII. In the Year 1320, they underwent a ſecond Perſecution of the Shepherds. This Misfortune was no ſooner over, but they fell * into another. Hiſtorians † relate, That the *Sarazen* King of *Granada*, vex'd to find himſelf ſo often beaten by the Chriſtians, ſought an Expedient to be rid of them otherways than by Arms. He call'd the Jews of his Kingdom, and ask'd them, whether there was no way to poiſon all the Chriſtians? They undertook this Commiſſion, but thought they could not execute it themſelves, becauſe they were too much ſuſpected. They corrupted ſome Lepers, and communicated their Deſign to them, which was to poiſon the Wells and Fountains. We are told, That theſe Lepers being brib'd, and farther hoping to make their Fortune, and enrich themſelves with the Spoils of the Dead, aſſembled in four General Councils, where Repreſentatives met from all the Peſt-houſes ſpread over the Chriſtian World. They form'd their Project all together, and alſo gave themſelves the different *Titles and Offices of Counts, Biſhops*, &c. The Waters were found poiſon'd in *France* and *Germany*. A Lord of *Pernay* ſent to the King the Depoſition of a Leper, whom he had ſeized in his Territories, and who confeſs'd he had been corrupted by a rich Jew, that gave him a Receipt compounded of Humane Blood, Urine, three ſorts of Herbs, and a Hoſt, which being all dried and put in a Bag, and thrown into a Well, immediately render'd all the Water baneful. The Lepers were tried, ſome were ſhut up in Priſons, and others in their Peſt-houſes, and prohibited to go out. The People of *Languedoc*, without waiting for the neceſſary Formalities, fell upon the Jews that were accus'd, and burnt thoſe they could take. At *Chinon*, in the Bailiwick of *Tours*, they made a great Ditch, wherein they threw eight and twenty Perſons, without diſtinction of Sex, who were reduced to Aſhes. 'Tis ſaid, That moſt of theſe miſerable Creatures went to the Fire as to a Wedding, ſinging Songs of Triumph. The Mothers threw their Children into it, to prevent their being baptiz'd. Forty Priſoners, that were kept at *Vitry*, upon the approach of the Execution-day, choſe him they call'd their Father, who was the Oldeſt and the Holieſt, to kill them all. He demanded a young Man for his Partner to aſſiſt him, which was granted. Theſe two Deputies began the Maſſacre of their Brethren, and quickly diſpach'd it: The old Man, afterwards, deſired his Comrade Executioner to kill him. The Diſpute laſted ſome time; But at laſt the young Man, who deſir'd to live, and to enrich himſelf, kill'd the old one, and loading himſelf with all the Money he could take, made a Rope to deſcend from the Tower; the Rope being too ſhort, he broke his Leg by falling, was ſeiz'd, and led to Puniſhment, with the reſt that were kept elſewere. At *Paris* they had a little more Equity, for none but thoſe who appear'd guilty, were put to death. Some were baniſh'd, and others kept Priſoners till they had diſcover'd their Treaſures, which King *Philip the Long* ſeiz'd, and thereby rais'd a conſiderable Sum. Some Hiſtorians however ‖ affirm, That they were all expell'd out of the Kingdom.

XIX. It were eaſie to conteſt the Truth of this Event; for the King of *Granada*'s Deſign to poiſon all the Chriſtians, and not begin with his own Kingdom, nor *Caſtile*, and the Provinces which provok'd his Jealouſie, was a Madneſs, and we cannot conceive he was guilty of it. What had he to fear either from *France* or *Germany*? The four Councils of the Lepers could not meet, or at leaſt ſo numerous an Aſſembly from ſo many different Nations, could not remain a Secret till its Execution. The Project of making all Men ſick, or infecting them with Leproſie, which ſever'd them from Society, and render'd them vile and contemptible, was very Chimerical. There was no way to poiſon the Waters of Wells and Fountains; 'tis a Viſion that has no Foundation; beſides the Accuſation has been renew'd ſo often, that it grows ſuſpected. We are told too, that a Jew of ſome City of *France*, asking of his Neighbour the fineſt of his Children, which he wanted for a Sacrifice, the Father, who was burthen'd with a great Family, was doubtful, whether he ſhould accept the Offer of a conſiderable Sum for his Son's Life. He was moreover to give him a Hoſt; but Religion did not perplex him ſo much, as his paternal Affection. His Wife, who was more artful, deceiv'd the Jew, by bringing him a Hoſt with the Heart of a Hog, which he took for that of a Child, and paid very dear for it. His Deſign was to mingle the Hoſt with the Humane Heart, and to make uſe of them in poiſoning the Fountains, that the Chriſtians might die who drank of them. And ſo it happen'd, that all the Hogs in thoſe parts, died inſtead of the Chriſtians, becauſe this Creature's Heart had been thrown into the Water inſtead of a Child's. The Myſtery was diſcover'd, and the Jews puniſh'd. Can Accuſations of this Nature paſs for true? And yet *Nieva Calvo*, Notary to the Inquiſition, relates it * to authorize the Miracle of the Child *de la Guardia*, whom the Jews muſt have ſacrificed with the ſame Madneſs.

Laſtly, The ſame Accuſation was form'd at the end of this Century, againſt the Dominicans, who were grown odious to the People for their Diſputes about the immaculate Conception of the Virgin. 'Twas ſaid, They had ſuborn'd the Mendicants, who going from door to door, poiſon'd the Wells and Fountains, by caſting in a Bolus made up of the Nails and Hair of a Perſon that was hang'd, with the Blood of Toads. The Dominicans were believ'd to have made this Compoſition; for thoſe who were puniſh'd, confeſs'd they wore *a black Robe upon a white one*, which was ſufficient to condemn them. It might be the ſame caſe with the Lepers.

Nevertheleſs, As we can't abſolutely charge a co-temporary Hiſtorian with Falſhood †, 'tis probable there was a Mortality at that time, which beginning at *Rheims* ‖, extended to *France* and *Germany*. As the Cauſe of it could not be diſcover'd, the Phyſicians, according to their uſual Cuſtom, attributed it to Magick. This Opinion was the eaſier receiv'd, becauſe the Superſtitious People had at that time their Heads running upon Sorcerers and Witchcraft. *Enguerrand, de Marigni*'s Wife, had been accus'd publickly of killing *Philip the Fair*, by means of one *Paviot* a Magician. The Hiſtorian we have follow'd, was himſelf prepoſſeſs'd with the Power of theſe Faſcinations; for one of theſe Lepers Bags being open'd before him, in which was the Head of a Snake, the Feet of a Toad, and the

† An. 1314. ‖ Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 150. * An. 1321. † Continuatio Chronici Guill. de Nangis, An. 1321. Spicil. t. 11. p. 691, &c. ‖ Spond. An. 1321. n. 5. p. 403. * Gardoſo las Excellencias, p. 486. † Paul. Æmil. de Geſtis Franc. Lud. 11. p. 262. ‖ Continuatio Chronici Guill. de Nangis, p. 692.

Hair of a Woman, mingled with a moſt ſtinking Liquor; and the whole being thrown into the Fire, it did not burn; from which he concludes, that it was a very ſtrong Poiſon; as if Poiſon could prevent the Activity of the Fire. The Lepers gave ſome grounds to the Peoples Suſpicions, as the Shepherds do, who are often burnt upon the like Pretences. As for the Jews *, they fell upon them without any more ado, accus'd them out of an inveterate Hatred to their Nation; and put them to Death without waiting for Evidence againſt them. The King's Council, that was more ingenious, took advantage from this Commotion, to inrich their Maſter by the Confiſcation of their Goods and Baniſhment.

XX. The Fear of Death oblig'd ſome to diſſemble, but the Virgin could not ſuffer it. One of theſe baptiſed Jews communicated, and kept the Hoſt, which he carried to his circumciſed Brethren. Chriſt perhaps, might have pardon'd him this Affront; but the Wretch had the Inſolence to maim an Image of the Virgin, who provok'd by this, addreſs'd her ſelf to a Farrier, and preſs'd him to fight a Duel for her with a Jew. The poor Farrier, who had no Inclination to hazard a Combat, had the ſame thing repeated to him over and over again. But as he was going into the Church, the mutilated Image leap'd from the place, and met him at the Door, threatning him, That if he did not challenge the Jew to fight, he ſhould never more go into the Church. The Farrier obey'd, he deſir'd leave of the Judge to fight the Jew, and oblig'd him to meet him at the Field of Battle: But the Circumciſed durſt not defend himſelf; and own'd that *God † ſtruck him with his Hammer*, rather than the Farrier. *I ſaw*, ſaid he to thoſe that upbraided his Cowardiſe, *I ſaw a thouſand Men armed againſt me, and what could I do alone againſt a thouſand?* He was conducted from the Field to the Gibbet, and thrown into the Fire, to the great Joy of the Farrier and the Virgin.

Fabro gaudente velut ante Deumque colente,
Videmus, Egmonde, fatum, ibi laus Deus unde.

I know not how they adventur'd, ſince upon the Condemnation of Duels, for here you have them authoriz'd by the Virgin commanding them, and ſhe may be ſaid to be the Mother of Duels, as God, under the Law, was call'd the God of Hoſts and Battles. For as we can't, without condemning God, aboliſh War that may be juſt and lawful; ſo we cannot, without affronting the Virgin, aboliſh Duels, which are ſo much the more neceſſary, as they ſerve to avenge her Images. It muſt be own'd, that the old Hiſtorians vent impertinent Stories out of a falſe Zeal againſt the Jews, whom they hated.

XXI. I don't know how it can be ſaid, that they were never re-call'd into *France* by publick Authority; for the Exigencies of the State oblig'd *Charles Dauphina* of the *Viennese*, and Duke of *Normandy*, to recal them during the Diſorders cauſed by the Impriſonment of his Father in *England*; by the Oppreſſion of the great Men, and the Mutinies of the People, who were weary of their tedious Tyranny. There was then * a Monk in the Priſons of *Avignon*, who having foretold the Miſeries of *France*, and the Progreſs of the *Engliſh* in the Kingdom, aſſured the Archbiſhop of *Toloſe*, that an Angel, Vicar to Jeſus Chriſt, and proceeding from his Heart, ſhould ſpeedily deſcend upon the Earth, to remedy all theſe Miſchiefs; That he ſhould *convert the Jews*, and reign a thouſand Years upon Earth. But his Prediction was falſe. Some Events which he wrapp'd up in indefinite and general Terms; and ſome Cenſures againſt the Luxury of the Men, who began to wear Feathers in their Hats; and the Women, who laid out ten Livres upon a Pearl, which had coſt but eight Deniers, ought not to make him paſs for a Prophet, even tho' the Church ſhould approve his Predictions, ſince he was ſo manifeſtly miſtaken in the moſt important of all the Events he had foretold. *Charles*, when he came to be King, confirm'd what he had done at *Dauphin*, obliging only the Jews of his Kingdom to wear a Badge of Diſtinction.

XXII. Their laſt Calamity happen'd in the Reign † of *Charles* VI. This Prince was no longer capable of governing his Kingdom. The Duke of *Milan*, Father to *Valentine* Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, was accuſed ‖ of having bewitch'd him, but he had naturally a weak Genius, and the Fright which an unknown Perſon had given him, in his Progreſs to *Britany*, had perfectly made him a Fool. The Jews were accus'd of killing a new Convert at *Paris*; * ſome ſay he was a Chriſtian: I do not know whether the Number of the Murtherers was conſiderable, and even the Murther it ſelf is not certain, ſince *Juvenal † de Urſins* doubts of it, being contented to ſay, That he was *beaten and vilified*: And in the Inqueſt it was found, they did many things, that were *unſeemly, in deſpite to the Chriſtians*. However many of them were taken, and others were ſcourg'd, and the Synagogue was fined Eighteen thouſand Crowns, wherewith they finiſh'd the Chatelet, and little Stone-bridge. Many were converted and baptized. This was but the beginning of their Sorrow, for two Years after they were all baniſh'd out of the Kingdom, never to return; and from this laſt Exile they have made an Epocha, and begin the Date of their Years.

XXIII. They have been tolerated ‖ in *France*, tho' they have not had an entire Liberty. *Profanus* the celebrated Aſtronomer taught at *Montpellier*, in the middle of the Fifteenth Century. *Mary de Medicis* not only ſent for *Montalto* to *Paris*, to be her Phyſician, but obtain'd of *Henry* IV. an abſolute Liberty of Conſcience for him and all his Family. They ſay, * they were ſo favour'd at his Court, that he gained with them, that *Montalto* refuſing to viſit a Sick Perſon, becauſe he would have broke the Sabbath; the King was ſo kind to give him freſh Horſes, that he might preſerve both the Sick and his Religion. He died at *Tours* * at the time that *Iſabella* of *Bourbon* went to *Spain* to marry *Philip* IV. The Queen cauſed his Body to be embalm'd, which was convey'd into *Holland* by ſome of his Jewiſh Relations whom he had about him. There were Jews afterwards in *Gaſcony*, and from thence came *Iſaac Caſtro de Tartas*, who being taken at *Braſil* by the *Portugueſe*, was put into the Inquiſition and burnt alive. The Jews of *Amſterdam* have made a Martyr of him, and beatified him as a Saint. They ſay too, that he was the cauſe of abrogating the Cuſtom in *Portugal* of burning alive; becauſe by ſtill crying in the midſt of the Flames, *Hear* Iſrael *our only God*; the People who heard him, being fill'd with Admiration, repeated the ſame † words, and Judaized without thinking of it. There were alſo Jews at *Limoges*, ſince a young Debauchee, who had abuſed a Jeweſs, perſwaded them that the Meſſiah ſhould

* Spond. An. 1390. t. 1. p. 646. † Wilhelm. Monachus & Procur. Egm. Chron. p. 232. in Analectis veteris ævi, Matthæus, t. 4. * An. 1356. Continuatio altera Guill. de Nangis, ibid. p. 822. † An. 1327. ‖ An. 1339. * Du Haillan. Hiſt. de France, l. 17. p. 804. An. 1395. † Juvenal des Urſins Hiſt. of Charles VI. p. 129. ‖ Barrius Relacion de los Poetas, p. 55. * Baſſompierre, *Memoirs of his Life*, An. 1615. † An. 1647. Cardoſo las Excellencias, p. 324.

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be born from this Concubinage, by crying at night at her Parents doors, *the Meſſiah is going to be born of a Virgin, and this Virgin is your Daughter, who is conceiv'd without knowing a Man.* The credulous Family impatiently waited the Birth, which undeceiv'd them, by the delivery of a Daughter.

Laſtly, We know the cruel Execution of the Jews, which the People made at *Baionne* in the laſt Century. A Jeweſs || of St. *John de Luts*, who diſguiſed her ſelf, being accuſed of wrapping up a Hoſt in her Handkercher, the People could not ſtay to hear her Trial, but haling her from the Priſon *, ſhut her up in a Cask, where ſhe was burnt alive. But if the Jews have lived in *France*, it was only by way of Toleration, without publick Authority. Moſt diſſembled, and feign'd the Profeſſion of a Religion they abhorr'd. There are ſtill in the Kingdom ſome of theſe diſguiſed Jews, who have enter'd into publick Offices in the Church, to skreen themſelves from the Royal Authority, which proſecutes them with the greateſt Severity even into their Retreats. But theſe particular Diſguiſes are not the buſineſs of an Hiſtorian.

XXIV. The City of *Mets* only is to be excepted, in which they have preſerv'd their Synagogue and Priviledges, becauſe this City was Imperial, and that from the Conqueſt of *Henry* II. till the Year 1638, when *Lewis* XIII. ſettled a Parliament there, the Burghers had reſort to the Imperial Chamber; for as the Jews are tolerated in the Empire, they are allow'd the ſame liberty at *Mets*. The King even made a conſiderable Decree in their behalf. A Father, who had loſt his Son, accuſed *Raphael Levy* of ſtealing him. 'Twas in vain that he denied the Fact upon the Rack, for he was condemn'd for it as guilty. He is repreſented as a ſuſpected Perſon, who took frequent Journeys into foreign Countries, becauſe he went ſometimes to *Genoa* to fetch Palms, or Cedar-branches, for the Celebration of their Feaſts. He was accuſed of Magick, and he increas'd this Suſpicion by being heard to pronounce certain barbarous words in the midſt of his Torments. He ſaid his Prayers in Hebrew, and recited the *Scemah*; they imagin'd that he invok'd the Soul of *Samuel*, as *Saul* had done. They added, That he had only ſtolen the Child to murther it, and make uſe of his Heart in magical Operations. No ſooner was he condemn'd, and the Execution over, but the Carcaſs of the Child was found, which had been rent in the Woods. The Jews complain to the King, who mov'd with the Injuſtice, order'd that for the future, the Criminal Cauſes of the Jews ſhould be brought before the Council, and confirm'd the Priviledges of this Nation by an Edict given at St. *Germains* in the Year 1670 †.

|| Spond. An. 1519. n. 11. p. 148. * *They place this Exile in the Year* 5156 *of the World: They reckon* 309 *Years from the Exile from* France; *that is, from* 1397 *to the Year* 1706. *In* Bartolocci B. R. t. 1. p. 83. *they reckon* 277 *from this Exile to* 1672. † *The* 18*th of* April.

CHAP. XIX.

The Jews *expell'd out of* England *in the Thirteenth Century. Their return in the Seventeenth.*

I. *The Oppreſſions of King* John: *The Deſpair of a Jew.* II. *Rebellion againſt this Prince.* III. *An Armenian Prelate, who extol to the Engliſh the wandering Jew.* IV. *Another wandering Jew fabulous.* V. *The Origine of this Fable.* VI. Henry III. *attempts to convert the Jews.* VII. *Accuſations againſt thoſe of* Norwich. VIII. *The like Accuſations againſt thoſe of* London. IX. *The* Cruſades *dangerous: The Jews ranſom themſelves.* X. *The dreadful Taxes impoſed upon them.* XI. Henry *deceives the* Cruſaders. XII. *The Jews have a mind to quit* England. XIII. *They are ſold to* Richard *in* Germany. XIV. *Of a Child crucified.* XV. *The Engliſh Leaguers adverſe to the Jews.* XVI. Henry III. *baniſhes them.* XVII. *The Motives the Jews give of this Baniſhment.* XVIII. *A Romance introduced in this Story.* XIX. *Two different Pavilions the Jews are obliged to go into.* XX. *This Story examined.* XXI. *The Jews return into* England. XXII. *A Confutation of* Jacob *the Son of* Amram's Gate of Truth.

I. RIchard King of *England* dying without Iſſue, his Nephew *Arthur* was naturally to ſucceed to his Throne: But *Eleanor*, Mother of *John*, *Richard*'s ſecond Brother, eaſily perceiving, that if *Arthur* became King, his Mother would govern during her Son's minority, and have a Sovereign Power; ſhe brought over one part of *England* to declare for *John*, who ſeiz'd at the ſame time upon *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, and forced young *Arthur* to throw himſelf into the Arms of the King of *France*, who promiſed to reſtore him, which he never executed. *John* * reign'd with Severity, uſed his Subjects ill, incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of the Court of *Rome* by his oppreſſing the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; which oblig'd the Pope to interdict his Kingdom †. The Jews ought not to expect, that a Man ſo barbarous to his own Subjects, ſhould have a greater Lenity for them. He loaded them with heavy Taxes, and when they began to refuſe him Money, he made them Priſoners, and extorted, by violent Puniſhments, what he could not obtain by his Edicts. 'Tis related || of a Jew of *Briſtol*, of whom the King demanded Ten thouſand Marks of Silver, that he choſe rather to be torn in pieces, than to redeem himſelf. The King order'd a Tooth to be pluck'd out every day till he had paid. He ſuffer'd the plucking out of ſeven Teeth with Conſtancy, but he ranſom'd himſelf when they went to draw the eighth. *Trivet* adds, * That the King, not ſatisfied with theſe Extortions, confiſcated the Eſtates of all the Jews of his Kingdom, and baniſh'd them by a Proclamation.

II. The *Engliſh* rebell'd againſt King *John*, and call'd in a Foreigner to reign in his ſtead. But his Death put a ſtop to the Calamities that threatned the Kingdom. The Barons join'd with young *Henry* III. rais'd an Army by his orders, gave Battle to King *Lewis* of *France*, who had much ado to repaſs the Sea, after he had given up all that he had taken. *Henry* reign'd Fifty ſix Years, and during ſo long a Reign, the Jews had ſeveral turns of For-

* Triveti Chronicon An. 1208. p. 549. † Polydor. Virg. 65. An. 1208. p. 272. || Matth. Paris, An. 1210. p. 159.
* Triveti Chronicon, An. 1210. ibid. p. 550.

tune:

tune: One of them, not content to have embraced Christianity without believing it, must needs enter into Ecclesiastical Dignities, and become a Deacon. The Fraud was perceiv'd, and he was deliver'd into the Hands of Justice and hang'd. Nor was he the only Impostor that was punish'd at that time. A Man who seduced the People, shewing in his Feet and Hands the Prints and Wounds of Jesus Christ (as a French-man did afterwards) was † apprehended by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and severely chastis'd. 'Tis just that Cheats should be punish'd, but they are not always.

III. 'Twas at this time that an Armenian Prelate came into *England*, with recommendatory Letters from the Pope, to shew him the Relicks of the Saints, and their manner of Divine Worship. *Matthew Paris*, who lived in those days, seriously ‖ relates, That many People interrogated this Archbishop, one after another, about the *Wandering Jew* who lived in the East, and ask'd him, Whether he was still alive? The Archbishop affirm'd, That this Man was in *Armenia*, and one of the Officers in his Train told, that this Wandering Jew was *Pilate*'s Porter named *Cataphilus*, who seeing Jesus Christ led out of the Judgment-hall, gave him a Blow upon the Back with his Fist, to force him the sooner out; and that our Saviour, with Resentment, said to him, *The Son of Man goes, but thou shalt stay till he comes.* He was converted and baptized by *Ananias* called *Joseph*. He was still alive, when he came to be a hundred Years old, he fell sick, and fainted away, during which Fit he grew young again, and return'd to the Age of Thirty, which he had when Christ died. This Officer affirm'd, That *Joseph* was known by his Master; That he had seen him eat with him at his Table a little before his departure; that he answer'd with a great deal of Gravity, and without Laughter, to all the Questions that were ask'd him about ancient Facts, as the Resurrection of the Dead, who came out of their Graves when Christ was crucified, about the Apostles Creed, or the History of the Saints. He is still afraid that Christ is coming to judge the World, for then he must die; and the Fault he committed by striking the Son of God, makes him tremble. Nevertheless he hopes for Salvation, because he sinned through Ignorance.

IV. We must not stand to confute this Fable: Let us only observe the Confidence wherewith Men vent the greatest Absurdities. They have invented * since, another Wandering Jew. The former was a Heathen, *Pilate*'s Gaol-keeper, this was truly a Jew, a Shoe-maker, living near the Gate through which Jews pass'd to Mount *Calvary*. His Name was *Assuerus*, who seeing the Son of God weary and fatigued, and desirous to rest himself upon his Shop, beat him. Christ said to him, *I will rest my self here; but thou shalt run till I come.* He actually began to run that moment, follow'd Christ, and has wander'd ever since. A Christian affirms, that he saw him at *Hambourg* in the Year 1547, and heard him preach in one of the Churches of the City. He was a Man of Fifty Years of Age, of a handsome Stature, wearing long Hair dishevell'd upon his Shoulders. He was heard often to sigh, which gives reason to believe he repented of his Fault.

V. We ought not to wonder at so great a Credulity; at least Examples ought to lessen our Admiration. One and the same passage of the Gospel has been the grounds of this Disorder. Jesus Christ said, There were some in his Retinue, *who should not die, till they saw the Son of Man in his Glory.* It was believ'd at that time, that St. *John* should not die. It has been said since, notwithstanding the Proofs there have been of his Death; and *Georgius Trapezuntius* has writ a Treatise, to prove that St. *John* was still alive. Some maintain, that if he died, he rose again the next moment. They add, that he was translated with *Elias* and *Enoch* into some place, from whence he shall come with them to fight with the Antichrist. *Postel* had one of his Associates who preach'd at *Paris*, that he was St. *John*, who still lived; but he was burnt at *Tolose*. Thus People have imagin'd wandering Jews, and applied to them our Saviour's Saying about St. *John*. The Armenian Archbishop, who found some very credulous in *England*, and perhaps was one himself, confirm'd their Perswasion, that there was a wandering Jew, since he had seen and eaten with him.

VI. *Henry* III. † propos'd to convert the Jews of his Kingdom; He thought he could not more effectually act for his Father's Soul, or attone for the Sins of his Ancestors, which were great, than by founding a Seminary, or House of Conversion for the Jews. He committed the Conduct of it to an ingenious Man, who carried the Design a great way. All that were willing to be converted, had here a safe Retreat, where they lived in Peace, without being oblig'd to get their Bread by servile Labour or Usury. There was a great many seduced by Idleness, and the Temptation of being maintain'd without Pain and Labour, prevail'd. The number of the new Converts multiplied apace, and the House continued a long time.

VII. Those of *Norwich* were accus'd a little after of taking away a Christian Child, and kept it for a Year, and after they had circumcis'd him, designing to crucifie him at the Feast of the Passover. But the Design being discover'd, the Crime was not unpunish'd. *Matthew Paris* ‖ lays the same Imputation thrice upon the Jews of *Norwich*, only altering some Circumstances. For the first time they brought the Accus'd before the King, who held his Court at *Westminster*, and they confess'd their Crime. However they were only imprison'd, and submitted wholly to the King's Pleasure. The same Accusation being renew'd the following Year, four of the richest Jews of the City were apprehended, in order to seize their Estates after they were hang'd. Lastly, They were impeach'd before the Bishop in the Year 1239, for the like Villany. At that time a Father found his Child in a Jew's Chamber, which for a Year he had given over for lost. He made a noise upon it, and call'd in the Christians to his assistance, Bishop *William Rale* put all the Jews in Prison. The Accused in vain appeal'd to the Authority of the King. The Bishop alledg'd, That since the Question was about an Affront put upon Religion, the Cause did not lye before the King's Tribunal; that he was the proper Judge; and at the same time he caused four of the Accused to be taken, and fastned to the Tails of four Horses, and afterwards put upon Gibbets, where they expired. The Jews of *Norwich* must have been very incorrigible, if they committed the same Crime four times over in the space of Five Years, after they had been severely punish'd for it.

VIII. The same Accusation was brought against those of *London* four Years after *, with some remarkable Circumstances; The Body of a dead Child was found in St. *Bennet*'s Church-yard, with Characters impress'd upon it. The People, which could not decypher them, sent for some Jews out of the Houses of the new Converts. They could not read these Characters, which perhaps only consisted in the Imagination of the People; for how could they

† An. 1222. Matth. Paris, p. 217. ‖ An. 1229. Matth. Paris, Henry III. p. 242. * Apud Schudt Comp. Hist. Jud.
† An. 1233. Matth. Paris, Henry III. p. 269. ‖ An. 1235. Id. p. 280. Id. p. 331. Id. p. 359. An. 1236. * An. 1245.

perceive

perceive these were Hebrew Characters, if they could not be distinguish'd because the Skin was shrunk or blacken'd? By another Prodigy they discover'd here the Name of the Father and Mother of the Child, and how he had been sold to the Jews, who must have crucified him. 'Tis not easie to conjecture, why nor how these Names appear'd here, rather than those of the Murtherers, the Knowledge whereof was much more necessary. And indeed they could not be discover'd, but some Jews being gone from *London* at that time, gave occasion to accuse them of the Murther. In the mean time we are assur'd, that the Child wrought Miracles, and the Canons of St. *Paul*'s took Possession of him, to make wonder-working Relicks in time to come †.

IX. All the Nation was in a Consternation the Year following ‖, from the Persecutions of the *Crusaders* in *Spain*, *France* and *Germany*; fearing * that this Storm would fly over the Sea, and fall upon them, they prevented it, and purchas'd an Edict of the King †, prohibiting any harm to be done them throughout his Dominions.

By Misfortune the King had frequent Occasions for Money: *Galfrid* his chief Minister thought it could not be easier found than among the Jews. Upon their refusal to pay the great Sums he demanded, they were accused of committing a Murther at *London*. They were imprison'd; ‖ and after abundance of Vexations and Torments, they were oblig'd to pay a third of all their Estates.

X. Nor did this suffice for their entire Ransom; for four Years after, this insatiable Prince demanded * new Presents from his Subjects. He rejected those which the Abbots and Priors brought, when they were not considerable enough, and demanded greater. The Jews were not spared in his Demands. He received himself the Gold that was presented, and made his Officers receive the Silver. One particular Jew, call'd *Aaron*, *was oblig'd to pay him four Gold Marks, and his Officers four thousand Marks of Silver. This same* Aaron *was taxed, seven Years after, ten thousand Marks of Gold, and fourteen thousand Marks of Silver*, to satisfie some Necessities of the Queen, and to get out of Prison. He reckon'd and swore to his Brother, by all that was most Sacred, that he had paid the King, for his own part, two hundred Marks of Gold, and thirty thousand Marks of Silver; according to which Calculation, we must correct a Fault crept into *Matthew Paris*'s Account †, who reckons ten thousand Gold Marks in the second Tax, which would make an exorbitant Sum, unless the *Thousand* was retrench'd, and throw the Historian into a manifest Contradiction. The rest of the Jews were not more happy; they were accus'd of coining false Money, and counterfeiting the Prince's Seal; and under these Pretences, they loaded them with Imposts. They had their Exchequer and particular Judge: 'Tis probable they gain'd this Judge by Presents; at least, the Extortioners were accus'd of favouring them, to have the Power of Bleeding them in their turn. *John Lunel* ‖, tho' an Ecclesiastick, could not secure himself from this Accusation. He was charg'd with receiving great Sums from many Jews, for his protecting them at the Bar, and diminishing their Taxes. The King suffer'd him to be cruelly handled, and his Punishment would have been still greater, if one of his first Ministers had not procur'd his Pardon. A Knight had afterwards the same Fate: He was impeach'd of being corrupted by the Jews, whose Commissary or Overseer he was, and of having forg'd a false Indenture, to which he had put the King's Seal, intrusted to him for the Jewish Affairs. By help of this Forgery, he had ruin'd another Knight. Complaint was brought to the King, and he recriminated upon the Jews who had assisted him. However he could not rescue himself from the Hands of Justice without the loss of his Post, and a considerable Fine *.

XI. The Holy War † furnish'd *Henry* with a new Pretence of tormenting his Subjects. The Pope had written a very pressing Letter to him, to oblige him to Crusade, and succour the King of *France* out of hand. He ingag'd to do it; but at the same time robb'd the Jews of all they had remaining; and after this Inhumane Spoil, he took away from the Christians their Jewels, and every thing that was valuable.

XII. *Henry* afterwards set a Report on foot, that the King of *Spain* design'd to declare War against him. This was a new Motive to his demanding Supples from his People. The Lords of the Kingdom being assembled at *London*, answer'd, That being drain'd by former Taxes, they could contribute no farther: That if the King of *Castile* did effectually make War, they would not refuse their assistance: But his Design being yet conceal'd, they could not give Subsidies upon uncertain Rumours. They had the better Reason for what they did, because the King's Desire ‖ was, only to satisfie the Avarice of the Foreigners at his Court. The rebound of this refusal fell upon the Jews, who had less Authority but more Wealth. Fresh Sums being demanded of them, which they could not pay, *Elias* of *London* spoke for them all, and answer'd the Council, That since they had resolv'd to sink them, they had better expel them out of the Kingdom, or leave them the Liberty of departing; and that, perhaps, they should somewhere else find a Prince, that had some Sentiments of Justice or Humanity for them; That the King knew very well, that tho' he should pluck out their Eyes, or flea them all alive, they could not furnish the Sum demanded of them. To his Discourse he added Tears, and concluded by fainting away, as if he had been ready to expire. However the Council denied them the Liberty of departing, and represented to them the inevitable Mercies of that Option, since the King of *France* had banish'd them out of his Kingdom, and hated them mortally. The Tax was moderated, and by this means they drew from them the little they had remaining.

XIII. *Henry* began again * these Extortions the Year following. He represented, That notwithstanding all the Taxes he had rais'd, he still continued poor, and involv'd in Debts on all hands. If his Oaths are to be taken, his Debts amounted to two or three hundred thousand Marks, and he could not find wherewithal to pay them. In the mean time he must live, and defray the Expences of his Houshold; and therefore he demanded eight thousand Marks of the Jews. They represented once more to the King, that they were ready to quit the Kingdom, and that the Pope's Usurers had compleated their Ruin. The King, enrag'd with this Refusal, sold them to his Brother *Richard*, who lent him a great Sum upon this Bargain. It was not doubted but *Richard* would treat them still more harshly than his Brother, and demand double the Payment of his Debt; but he took pity on them, because he was convinc'd of their Poverty and Inability.

XIV. Besides these Misfortunes † which overwhelm'd them, the Jews of *Lincoln* were accus'd of

† Matth. Paris, ibid. p. 436. An. 1244. ‖ An 1236. * Ibid. p. 295. † An. 1239. ‖ Ibid. p. 295. * An. 1243. † An. 1250. Matth. Paris, p. 526. ‖ An. 1251. Id. p. 353. * An. 1252. Matth. Paris, p. 573. † An. 1252. Id. p. 557. ‖ An. 1254. Id. p. 596. * An. 1255. Matth. Paris, p. 606. † An. 1255. Spond. n. 12. Matth. Paris, p. 613.

murthering

murthering a Child. There were three particular Circumſtances in this Accuſation. One was, That the Inhabitants of *Lincoln* had invited four Jews from every City in *England* to aſſiſt at this Sacrifice. A ſecond, That the Murderer confeſs'd, when his Life was promis'd him, that this Sacrifice was renew'd every Year, tho' it was not always diſcover'd, and that the Earth had caſt out the Body of the Child. The third was, That the King refuſing to ratifie the Promiſe of ſaving the Jews Life and Limbs, not only put him to Death, but arreſted ninety one Priſoners at *London*, and puniſh'd many others of 'em capitally.

XV. 'Twas impoſſible but that the King, who reign'd with ſo much Extortion, and exhauſted his Subjects by his Avarice, ſhould create himſelf cruel Enemies. Therefore they combin'd againſt him in *England*. The Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter* heading the Leaguers, gave him Battle, in which his Brother *Richard*, who was call'd *King of Germany*, becauſe he had been elected Emperor by the Suffrages of ſome Princes, and King *Henry*, with his Son *Edward*, were made Priſoners of War. *Edward* made his Eſcape, by obtaining the liberty of exerciſing his Horſes in a Neighbouring Meadow. He defeated the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was found ſhot through upon the ſpot; and *Henry* having reaſcended the Throne, confiſcated the Leaguers Eſtates to the uſe of thoſe who had continu'd faithful to him †. But none of theſe Revolutions were advantageous to the Jews; for the Leaguers ſeiz'd upon their Synagogue at *Lincoln*, and paſs'd from thence into the Iſle of *Ely*, where they ſtill made greater Ravages. Thus, however, the Wheel of Fortune turn'd; this unhappy Nation was ſtill oppreſs'd.

XVI. Laſtly, 'tis pretended, that *Henry* III. baniſh'd them out of *England* by an irrevocable Edict. Hiſtorians give a very different Account of this matter. The Jews ſay, This Misfortune befel 'em in the Year 1260. or 5020. *Selden* ‖ thought it impoſſible any body ſhould be ſo groſly miſtaken; and therefore he has corrected the Text, and by the change of a Figure, has made it 5050. This Correction would be juſt and eaſie, if we were not oblig'd to make it in two Authors; but the Number being noted by ſeveral Jewiſh Hiſtorians *, it muſt neceſſarily be own'd, that they have impertinently antedated their Exile by twenty Years. For at *Wincheſter*, in a Place which had doubtleſs been a Priſon for the Jews of that County, a Stone has been found, upon which one of the Priſoners had engraven theſe Words in Hebrew Characters †; *The Community of the Jews were made Priſoners in the Year* 5047. They could not therefore have been expell'd in the Year 5020, or 1260. Beſides, the Leaguers, who were defeated by *Henry* III. ſeiz'd upon their Synagogue at *Lincoln* in the Year 1267. So that they ſtill ſubſiſted in the Kingdom, and had their Publick Places at the end of *Henry*'s Reign. Laſtly, none of the *Engliſh* Annaliſts mention *Henry*'s Edict of Baniſhment; but they obſerve, that his Son *Edward* impriſon'd the Jews in the Year 1287. and baniſh'd 'em three Years after. The Dominicans of *Colmar* ſay in their Annals ‖, that it was in the Year 1291. and 'tis better to follow them, tho' Strangers, than the Hiſtorians of the Country, becauſe the Council of *London* held in 1291. caus'd their Deſtruction.

XVII. The Motives alſo of this Exile are variouſly reported. A Jewiſh Hiſtorian * ſays, They were accus'd to the King of adulterating the Coin. The King eaſily perceiv'd the Innocence of the Accus'd, and that the Delators were guilty of the Crime they had charg'd on others. But for all that, they went on with their Accuſation, and produc'd Witneſſes. The King *ſeeing them ſo cruelly bent, was afraid*, ſays this Hiſtorian, *that the People would tear all that Nation in pieces*, and to ſave their Lives he order'd 'em to depart his Territories.

'Tis true, the Jews were accus'd under *Henry* III. of corrupting the Coin; but this Prince was ſo far from baniſhing a Nation that ſof requently fill'd his Coffers, that, on the contrary, he would never give 'em liberty to go out of his Kingdom, even when they beg'd it with Tears.

XVIII. Love is ſometimes introduc'd into this Exile, and ſo Tragical a Story has been the Foundation of a Romance: For 'tis ſaid, † That a Prieſt deſperately fond of a handſome Jeweſs, ſacrific'd his Religion and Prieſthood to his Paſſion: Whether he deſerted both, or that he diſſembled, he caus'd himſelf to be Circumcis'd to marry her, ſince he could not enjoy her but upon that condition. The matter quickly became Publick; and to revenge a pretended Affront they had done Religion, by debauching a Prieſt, it was reſolv'd to burn all the Jews in *London*; but the King ſentenc'd only to the Fire thoſe that had Circumcis'd the Prieſt, and order'd all the reſt, either to imbrace Chriſtianity, or to depart the Kingdom in three Months time; and at the ſame time took away all their Children under ſix Years old to be inſtructed.

XIX. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that after the King's Death, his Son ſeeing the Kingdom depopulated by Plague and Famine, was willing to know the reaſon of it. They perſuaded him, That the Jews Unbelief drew down this Divine Vengeance upon the Nation, and he oblig'd 'em all to turn Chriſtians; but the Famine not ceaſing, it was believ'd, that the anger of Heaven proceeded from the Violence that was offer'd the Jews, and that they ought to be left to an entire Liberty. The King commanded all the Jews to meet round two Pavilions he had caus'd to be ſet up on purpoſe by the Sea-ſide, upon one of which was a Croſs, and upon the other the Law of *Moſes*. At the ſame time ‖ it was proclaim'd, That all thoſe who would turn Chriſtians ſhould enter into the Pavilion diſtinguiſh'd by the Croſs; and that thoſe who perſever'd in their old Religion ſhould go into the Tent of the Law. The more Politick perceiv'd there was a Snake in the Graſs, and became Chriſtians. The reſt were murder'd at the ſame time they entred into the Tent of *Moſes*, and their Bodies were thrown into the Sea.

XX. The Chriſtians agree * about the Decree of Baniſhment, made againſt the Jews at the end of the thirteenth Century, in King *Edward*'s Reign; and manifeſt Proofs are found of it in ſome Chanceries of *England*. But they diſcover no Tracks of theſe Tents erected for the choice of Religion, nor of the Maſſacre that follow'd it. If a Monk of St. *Francis*'s Order has related the Fact, as if he had taken it from the Writing of ſome *Engliſhman*, he ought to quote them. But as there is no Hiſtorian that mentions it, 'tis probable he borrow'd the Story from the Jews that have related it. *Trivet* †, whoſe Chronicle was publiſh'd by *Dom Luc* of *Achery*, only ſays, That *Edward* III. baniſh'd the Jews out of his Kingdom, gave them Money for their Paſſage into *France*, and after-

† Trivet Chronicon An. 1267. Hen. 51. p. 620. Spicil. t. viii. ‖ Selden de Jure Gent. l. II. c. 6. p. 190. * R. Ghedalia Sepher Schialſcheleth Hakkabala fol. 112. & Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 139. Ganz Tſemach 142. † Seld. id. ‖ Annales Dominican. Colmar. apud Vurſtium Hiſt. Germ. t. II. p 25. * Salomon Ben Virgæ ibid. p. 140. Gedalia ibid. fol. 113. † Gedalia ibid. ‖ Cardoſo las Excellencias p. 382. * Selden de Jure Nat. l. II. c. 6. † Trivet Chron. An. 1290. p. 654.

wards

wards confiscated their Estates. *Polydore* * *Virgil* attributes this Advice to a Council held at *London* in the Year 1291, which designing to separate the Sheep from the Goats, commanded, by a publick Edict, all the Jews to depart *England* in a few days, giving 'em liberty to carry away their Effects. They obey'd the Decree; and so this Nation, *Which was prodigiously numerous in* England, *departed out of it for ever, still wandering from one place to another, till it was entirely lost; and its loss will not be very afflictive, provided they leave us their Sacred Books, without which it would be difficult to preserve our Religion in future Ages.* This is the Reflection of this Historian; in which two things are to be censur'd: One is the entire loss of the Jewish Nation, which must never happen. Had he forgotten, that it was to be recalled before the end of the World? Besides, the Jewish Books might have been useful in Primitive times, to extract the Oracles proving the coming of the Messiah, and shewing, that they were not fictitious; but at present these Testimonies are no longer necessary. It sufficiently appears, by the Christians Disputations with the Jews, that these Oracles were neither corrupted nor falsly imagin'd.

Edward, the preceding Year, had pass'd such another Decree for all the Provinces he possest in *France*. The Motive alledged for this Severity, was, That the Jews entring into too strict an Intimacy with the Christians, corrupted them; and that there were at that time many, who in their Sicknesses and Misfortunes went devoutly to the Synagogues, held lighted Candles, and spent the Vigil of the Sabbath there. Be it how it will, the Jews never appear'd again in a Body in *England*, from the time that the Council of *London* had obtain'd a Decree from King *Edward* to banish 'em.

XXI. In the Year 1649. an Apology was made for them, in order to engage the Parliament to repeal the severe Laws which had continu'd for so long a time. The Author represented, That if their Ancestors had crucified the Messiah, it appears from the Gospel, that the Heads and Doctors of the Law were the only Guilty, whilst the People cry'd *Hosanna to the Son of David*; and that their Posterity ought not to be punished for a Fault worn out by so great a number of Generations and Ages. He added, That we ought to respect the Character of the People of God, which they still bore, and the remains of a Covenant which God had so solemnly treated with them. Lastly, he observ'd, That the Toleration of this Nation would bring down the Divine Blessing upon the Kingdom, which for a hundred Years had been the strong Support of the Truth, and the Sanctuary of the Miserable.

The Author protests, that he was not a Jew; that he had no Concerns with them, nor had been sollicited to make this Apology to the Parliament; that he only explain'd the Notions which he had long confin'd within his Breast. Lastly, he affirms, † that he had no other prospect than the Glory of God: *Lo que tengo escrito no ha sido a Pedimento de ninguno de la Nacion de los Judios. Solo mostrar lo que a tarito tiempo tengo en mi coracon y sobre todo es mi intention fundada en la gloria de Dios.* I don't know whether this Authors Protestations are to be believed; for in examining his Sentiments and Style, we easily observe that he was a Jew, who took the Character of a Christian to give the greater weight to his Apology, and to make more Impression upon the *English* Parliament, which then had *Cromwel* at the Head of it.

In effect, the Liberty was granted 'em they had so long lost; which Event has been thought so advantageous, that they engrave it in their Publick Monuments, and put the Date of it in their considerable Epochas. In fine, they obtain'd a Synagogue, which they call'd the *Holy Assembly* and the *Jewish Parnassus*.

O Kahal || Kados Inglos oye mi Queia,
Mi Queia oie o Juizio Parnaseo.

The Rabbins, who govern the Synagogue, will not permit any Correspondence with the Christians about Religion. Dr. *Kidder* *, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, offer'd a Conference to the *Cacam* of *London* to convince a young Maid, who had already some knowledge of the Truth; the *Cacam* not only refus'd, but the Maid was shut up by her Parents, and oblig'd to stifle the Seeds of Truth she had receiv'd. Another Jew would no more return home, for fear of making himself odious to his Brethren.

XXII. This Bishop, who was taken away by a sad and dreadful Accident †, has confuted the *Gate of Truth*, written by *Jacob* the Son of *Amram*. This Author, who was unknown to *Bartolocci*, liv'd in the last Century ||, and his Work continues in Manuscript. Bp. *Kidder* was afraid it would stagger those that read it, and therefore he answer'd it. In the mean time *Jacob*'s Objections are not considerable. He accuses *Jesus Christ* of being deceiv'd, by saying, That *David* and his Companions ate the Shew-bread which is false, since he was alone. He maintains, That the Purification of the Virgin contradicts the Immaculate Conception of the Mother and the Son: That the license given the Devils to precipitate the Swine into the Sea, is contrary to Charity, since private Persons lost their Herds by it: That Christ did not eat the Paschal Lamb as the Law ordain'd: That, according to St. *Matthew*, St. *Peter* must have renounc'd his Master before *the Cock crew*, and, according to St. *Mark*, he did not do it till the second crowing of the Cock: *Jesus* promis'd to go before his Disciple into *Galilee*, and yet he did not do it; and on the contrary, he promis'd his Disciples not to send them his Spirit till after his Ascension, tho' they had receiv'd it before. If these Objections breed any doubt of the Truth of the Christian Religion, which the Jewish Doctor design'd to shake, a Man may recur to Bp. *Kidder*'s Preface, who confutes 'em before he demonstrates *Jesus Christ* to be the *Messiah* so long expected.

* Polyd. Virg. Angl. H. l. xvii. p. 327. † Edw. Nicholas Apologia per los Judios fol. 8. || Barrios Epistola al Kalhal Kados de Londres in 1683. p. 22. * Kidder's *Demonstration of the Messias.* † *He was crush'd under the Ruins of the Episcopal Palace, in a Storm which happened in* 1703. || An. 1634.

CHAP. XX.

The History of the Jews *in* Germany, Hungary, &c. *during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.*

I. *Frequent Accuſations againſt the Jews in* Germany. II. *The Irruption of the* Perſians *into the Weſt countenanc'd by the Jews.* III. *They aſſiſt the* Tartars. *This Aſſiſtance diſcovered.* IV. *The City of* Frankfort *burnt. The Title of Biſhop of the Jews examined.* V. *The Emperor acquits them as to the Murder of ſome Children.* VI. *Their Condition at* Cologne. VII. *A Maſſacre in* Bavaria. VIII. *Another at* Bern. IX. Baruch *and* Eliezer de Germerſheim *Learned Men.* X. Iſaac *of* Vienna *and* Meir *of* Rottemburg *Heads of the Synagogues.* XI. Amnon *carried up to Heaven.* XII. *Their Settlement in* Lithuania. XIII. *The extraordinary number of the Jews impoveriſhes the Pariſhes. Regulations of the Council of* Vienna. XIV. *Precautions taken at* Auſburg *againſt falſe Oaths.* XV. *Diſputes with the* Caraites. XVI. *A Popular Commotion raiſed by* Raind Flaiſch *againſt the Jews of the* Upper Palatinate *and* Franconia. XVII. Mardocai *of* Auſtria *a Martyr.* XVIII. Lewis *of* Bavaria *ſtops a Perſecution.* XIX. *The Biſhop of* Spires *forbids 'em Uſury.* XX. *A Perſecution caus'd by the* Flagellans. *Cruelties exerciſed.* XXI. *Wells poiſoned in* Germany. Caſimire *protects them in* Lithuania. *His Love for a Jeweſs.* XXII. *The Synagogue of* Prague *burnt. A Prayer upon this Occaſion.* XXIII. *An Execution begun in* Bohemia *againſt Uſuries, paſſes to* Spires. XXIV. *The Emperor protects them. Their Perſeverance.*

I. THere is no Place where the Jews have been ſo frequently accus'd of enormous Crimes as in *Germany*. I will not deny but the Jews have given occaſion to ſome of theſe Accuſations. But yet it is ſtrange they ſhould be infinitely more wicked in one place than in another. Beſides, it is ſo common for the predominant Religion to charge thoſe with Crimes it means to oppreſs, to render 'em odious, and juſtifie its Conduct, that we ought not to wonder to ſee the ſame Accuſations often repeated. Chriſtianity ought to have deſtroy'd this Spirit of Slander, but it reigns among Chriſtians as much as ever it did among Heathens. The Perſecutor often finds wiſe People, that murmur and condemn his Fury, when it is diveſted of all Pretences. But when he has the Art to invent a Crime, Puniſhment appears neceſſary. No body dares vindicate thoſe who add Corruption of Morals to that of Faith. A Man is afraid of growing odious by defending *wretched infamous Hereticks.* They are deſerted; and ſince falſe Accuſations have ſo ſpeedy an Effect, they are generally made uſe of. We will not therefore vouch for thoſe that have been made againſt the Jews in *Germany*; but we are ſorry they occur ſo often in this Hiſtory.

II. One of the principal Crimes charg'd upon the Jews of *Germany*, was the favouring the Conqueſts of the *Perſians* and *Tartars* *. I don't know what deſign they might have; but we are aſſur'd, † that a multitude of *Perſians* quitted the Eaſt to ravage the Weſt. Their Incurſions did not laſt long. They return'd into *Perſia*, aſtoniſh'd with the Obſtacles they found to their intended Conqueſts, they gave up a Deſign, which three Magicians of the ſame Nation at *Cologne* had put into their heads. 'Tis ſaid, that the Jews of this Country, whoſe Diſperſion made them attentive to all ſurprizing Notions, flatter'd themſelves, that the *Perſians* would become their Deliverers. Their hopes and joy were a greater ſcandal to the Chriſtians, becauſe they did not diſguiſe them; but called the Son of him who commanded this Army *David*, fancying that he would be their King.

III. Tho' their hopes || were diſappointed, yet they entertained new ones ſtill more chimerical, when they heard that a prodigious multitude of *Tartars* had penetrated into *Hungary*, and after they had ravag'd it, threatned *Bohemia*, and the Neighbouring Countries. The Emperor was in a Conſternation, and forc'd to ſue for Aſſiſtance to all Chriſtian Princes, and Cruſados were preached up againſt thoſe Enemies of the Chriſtian Name; but with little Succeſs, becauſe *Frederick*'s Enemy the Pope, deſired his and the Empire's Ruin. The Emperor, however, made Head againſt the Barbarians, and *Conrad* his Son giving them Battle, obliged them to retire. The Jews dazzled with the tranſient Proſperity they had enjoy'd, imagin'd, that the *Tartars* were of their Nation, and that they came to their Aſſiſtance. They pretended, that their Anceſtors, who were carried to the Banks of the *Caſpian* Sea, had brought forth this People, that carried Deſolation and Terror wherever they came. They reſolved to join them, and ſuccour 'em with Supplies of Proviſions and Arms. And to do it the more effectually, they promiſed the Princes to poiſon the Wine they carried, and ſo to deſtroy theſe Barbarians. They were believ'd upon their word. They put Arms in the Casks of poiſoned Wine, and had already made a conſiderable March, when they were ſtopp'd upon a Bridge to pay the Duties. They thought to avoid the Payment, by ſaying, that this Convoy was deſigned only for the Service of the State and Religion. The Cuſtom-Officer, who was extremely miſtruſtful, cauſing a Veſſel to be opened, found it full of Sword-blades and Knives. Their Fraud being diſcovered, they were made Priſoners, and delivered to the Executioners, and dy'd by their own Swords. The moſt favourable thing for the Jews in this Event, was, that the Emperor *Frederick* was alſo ſuſpected of calling in the Barbarians. However, the Accuſation was falſe; the Clergy and Pope had invented it to make him odious; and ſo far was he from joining and correſponding with this Nation, which came only with deſigns to ravage the Empire, that he expell'd them, and reſtor'd the King of *Hungary* to his Throne *.

IV. † They were accus'd the ſame Year of hindering the Converſion of a young Man of their Nation, who had a mind to be baptiz'd at *Frankfort*. This Accuſation ſeems better grounded than many others; becauſe 'tis common for People, and particularly for Fathers to prevent the Deſertion of their Children, and to that end, frequently go beyond the Bounds preſcrib'd by Reaſon and the Laws; and therefore the Councils and Emperors have often been oblig'd to reſtrain the Violence of the

* An. 1222. † Incerti Authoris Fragm. Hiſtor. apud Vurſtiſium t. ii. p. 89. || An. 1241. Matth. Paris Hen. III. p. 382. & 379. * An. 1241. † Additiones ad Lambert, Schafnasburg Hiſt. Germ. Piſt. t. ii. p. 257.

Jews

Jews in oppoſing theſe Converſions: The Oppoſition we ſpeak of coſt the City of *Frankfort* and the Jews very dear; for the People being diſturb'd that a Conqueſt of this kind ſhould be taken out of their hands, mutinied and run to Arms. Some Chriſtians were kill'd in the Fray; a hundred and eighty Jews were deſtroy'd by the Sword, or the Fire that they had kindled; but the Flames continuing, and paſſing from Houſe to Houſe, half the City was conſum'd, which put the reſt of the Jews into freſh Danger. The more prudent, to the number of twenty four, were baptized to avoid Death: But we know not what is meant by the Monk, who relates this Event, in liſting *their Biſhop* amongſt the Converts. 'Tis true, the Seventy Interpreters have † ſometimes ſpoke of Biſhops among the Jews; for *Eleazer* was *Biſhop of the Luminary*; and 'tis from their Verſion, that the Apoſtles, when they were about filling up the Place that *Judas* had vacated, borrow'd theſe Words of the 109th Pſalm, *and his Biſhoprick let another take*. Laſtly, the Hiſtorian of the *Maccabees* ‖, in the ſame Senſe relates, that *Antiochus* had ſet Biſhops over the Jews: But this Term had a very different Signification from what the Chriſtians have given it, and did not ſignifie an Eccleſiaſtical Government, ſuperior to that of Prieſts. Laſtly, 'tis not from hence that the Chriſtians have taken their Biſhops. It muſt therefore neceſſarily follow, that the Hiſtorian we ſpeak of fancy'd, that the Government of the Jews was like that of the Chriſtians at his time, and that he took the Rabbin who govern'd the People and Synagogue of *Frankfort*, for a Biſhop.

V. The Accuſation * of killing Children at the Paſſover, was current in *Germany*, as in all other Places of the Weſt. This Crime was imputed to them at *Haguenau* in the *Lower Alſatia*. They were accuſed of taking of three Children of Seven Years old, which were found dead in one of their Houſes. Complaints of it were brought to the Emperor, who anſwer'd, *That ſince theſe Children was dead they muſt be buried*. This anſwer, that look'd like Railery, and was an Argument of his Incredulity, incenſed their Accuſations. It was not doubted but this Prince was corrupted by great Preſents; and the Hiſtorian who relates the Fact, boldly affirms, That *tho' he did not do Juſtice, God puniſh'd him for it, by caſting him into Hell*. The Hiſtorian was more culpable than the Emperor, whom he damn'd eternally, without any Proof that it was the Will of God, or that the Prince had deſerv'd Hell, by diſbelieving the Allegations againſt the Jews. The Parties did not accuſe the Jews of killing theſe Children, but of finding them dead in their Houſes. A more † impartial Hiſtorian ſays, That the Emperor call'd an Aſſembly of able Divines, to be inform'd whether it was true, that the Jews believ'd it their Duty to ſhed the Blood of Chriſtian Children on *Good-Friday*, in order to make all the Jews of the Empire ſuffer for it; and that not being able to diſcover any thing certain upon the Matter, he was appeas'd, to which the Jews contributed by their Money.

VI. The Paſſion of this Monk call'd *Richer*, renders another Event, he relates of the Jews of *Cologne*, very ſuſpicious. There was a part of the City, in which there remain'd but one Houſe, which was inhabited by a Chriſtian; in which he had put the Image of a Crucifix, with thoſe of *Mary* and St. *John*. This Chriſtian having left his Houſe, it was lett to a Jew, who came to dwell at *Cologne*, and who could find no other to be hired. In an Entertainment he made to his Friends, they diſcover'd the Image left by the Chriſtian; and after many Abuſes utter'd in their Cups, againſt the *Crucified*, one of them took his Knife, and ran it into the Image, from whence the Blood immediately flew out. Part of the Jews, being aſtoniſh'd, fled. The Clergy, and the People of the City, came to ſee the Miracle, and they fill'd a Diſh with the Blood that iſſued from the Wound. Piety preſently turn'd into Fury: They began with plundering the Jewiſh Houſes, they ſeiz'd on all the Jews they could take, and kill'd thoſe that would not be converted, or could not run away. The Hiſtorian adds, That they never were ſeen more in the City. He could not Divine they ſhould return again. He lived at that time, but knew little more of *Germany*, than by his going to the Duke of *Lorrain*; and 'tis own'd that he vented a great many Fables for Truths.

VII. A more terrible Accuſation was renew'd ‖ in *Bavaria*: An old Woman confeſs'd, that ſhe had deliver'd a Child to the Jews, who had drain'd all his Blood with Needles to make a Sacrifice. The People of *Munich* roſe, and without ſtaying for the Sentence of the Judge, knock'd all the Jews o'th' Head they could meet with. The Officers in vain oppoſing this Fury, adviſed the reſt of that Nation to take Sanctuary in a Synagogue which was of Stone. But this made their Miſery but the more general; the People purſued them thither, ſet Fire to the place, and burnt all thoſe who thought themſelves ſafe, whilſt neither the Duke, nor Courtiers, could ſtop their Rage.

VIII. They have made * a Martyr, and a Wonder-working Saint, of a young Man of *Wurtsbourg*, call'd *Werkner*, whoſe Blood the Jews of this Country are ſaid to have drawn out as in a Preſs, to uſe it as an Ingredient in ſome Medicines. Thoſe of *Bern* made another Martyr of one *Rodolphus*, who had been kill'd in the ſame manner, and reveng'd his Death with the Lives of many Jews. They place this Event under the Empire of *Adolphus de Naſſau*. But we don't know what the Hiſtorians mean, by ſaying, That this Prince, upon occaſion of this Murther, laid Siege to *Bern*, without being able to take it. Beſides, when we ask what uſe the Jews could make of the Blood of ſo many murthered Children? 'tis anſwer'd only, That they make Sacrifices with them, tho' their Religion forbids Humane Victims. We are told alſo, That in the Act of the Murther they cry, *If Jeſus Chriſt be the Meſſiah, let the Blood of this innocent Child, who dies in the Faith of Chriſt, avail me to eternal Life*.

IX. Notwithſtanding all theſe Accuſations, the Nation of the Jews continued to multiply in *Germany*. Learning flouriſh'd in the Synagogues, which were govern'd by learned and illuſtrious *Rabbins*. The City of *Germeſheim* alone produced two, one of which was *Baruch de Germeſheim*, for then they began to take Sirnames; and as Noblemen took theirs from the Fiefs and Lands they poſſeſs'd, Men of Letters commonly deriv'd theirs from the Cities where they were born. We have ſpoke ſufficiently of *Baruch*, *Eliezer de Germeciman* was of the ſame City, and one of the greateſt Cabbaliſts of his Age. He compos'd *The Cloak of the Lord* about the Year 1240. at leaſt *R. Ganz* thinks ſo, but I queſtion whether he be not deceiv'd; for *Eliezer* muſt be ſomething older, ſince he taught *Moſes Nachmanides* the Cabbala, who died in the Year 1260, at Sixty ſix Years of Age.

† *Numbers* 4. 16. *Acts* 1. ‖ 1 *Macc.* 1. 55. * Richerius Chronicon Senon. l. 4. c. 32 & 33. Spicil. t. 3. p. 401. An. 1236. † Authoris incerti Fragmentum Hiſtoricum ante Alberti Argentinenſis Chron. Vurſtiſ. t. 2. p. 91. ‖ An. 1286. Aventin. Ann. Boior. l. 7. p. 441. Annales Steronis. An. 1288. Hiſt. German. t. 4. p. 396. * Ibid. & Faſcicul. Tempor. Ætas 6. Hiſtor. Germ. Piſtor. t. 3. fol. 83.

X. *Isaac* of *Vienna* †, not content with *sowing the Light*, as he call'd it, took the Pains to transcribe Books for the Synagogues of his Country, to make them more correct and exact. He had the Ingenuity to make valid a Contract of Marriage, whose Date was false by Inadvertency, and to shew the time when it was made. This Judgment did him a great deal of Honour. He had *Meir de Rottembourg* for his Disciple, who excell'd his Master. He became the Judge and Doctor of his Nation, which drew upon him a long Train of Misfortunes; for as he was thought to be very rich, or to have the Management of his Disciples Purses, the Emperor, who loved Money, laid a great Tax upon him, and imprison'd him for want of Payment. One of his Disciples bail'd him, but he died before he obtain'd his Liberty. Three things are to be observ'd of this *Rabbin*; One, That it is a Mistake to say, he died in a City call'd *Beitsohar*, which is not to be found in any part of the World. He ended his Life sorrowfully in Prison, and from hence came the Equivocation; for a Prison being call'd *Beth Hassohar* in Hebrew ‖, it has been made a City of. Secondly, The Learned *Buxtorf* thought it was he that wrote against *Maimonides*; but it has been observ'd, that he mistakes him for another of the same Name *, who was the true Author of the Censures ascrib'd to him. 'Tis a further mistake to say, That the Emperor *Rodolphus* impriſon'd him in the Year 1305, for this Prince died in the Year 1294. 'Tis pretty probable, that it was his Successor *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, or rather *Albert* of *Austria*, *Rodolphus*'s Son, who made *Meir* a Prisoner †, and he died six Years after in the Year 1305, which oblig'd the famous Rabbin *Asser* to leave *Hambourg*, and to retire into *Spain*, because, being his Master's Security, he was afraid of being disturb'd, and forc'd to pay the Money after his death. Lastly, A Work is ascrib'd to him intituled *Hattisbats*; but he is but indirectly the Author of it; for 'twas his Disciples that, after his death, made a Collection of his Decisions, and gave them this Title.

XI. The German ‖ Jews boast mightily of *Amnon*, whom they make a kind of miraculous Martyr: They relate, That the Archbishop of *Ments*, understanding that he was distinguish'd in his Nation for his Wealth, Learning and Beauty, indeavour'd to convert him. *Amnon* demanded three days to deliberate, and at the same time repented he had given his Answer, because he ought never to hesitate about his Change of Religion. He bewail'd his Sin, and his Friends in vain endeavour'd to comfort him. The Archbishop forcing him to determine after the time appointed, upon his refusal, order'd his Toes and Fingers to be cut off. He took them and laid them in Salt, till the first day of the Year, when he was brought to the Synagogue with his salted Fingers, where, after a most importunate Prayer, it was perceiv'd, that God had translated him into Heaven. Three days after he appear'd to a *Rabbin*, whom he taught a Prayer, which the Jews still repeat at the beginning of the Year, and at the Feast of Propitiations. Some Christians deny the Truth of the first part of this Story upon a very bad Foundation; for they pretend, that it being found impossible to force a private Conversion by Torments, the Jews were suffer'd to live quietly, till their Crimes deserv'd another Treatment. The whole History of the Modern Jews, is a Proof of the Falshood of this Pretension. 'Tis true the first Christians were very Humane to these Enemies of the Church. But this Conduct has been chang'd in latter Ages, in which they are grown Inexorable and Cruel. Tho' it should be true that Persecution was not common, could a Fact be contested by an indefinite and general Reflection? Would it be impossible for a Bishop of *Ments* to deviate from the Practice of his Predecessors? But the Jews have expung'd this Story out of the Rituals used in the Italian Synagogues. They are to be commended for it; they perceiv'd that that Translation of *Amnon* to Heaven was fabulous; and instead of supporting it by new Lies, as is common with false Miracles, they have made an honourable Satisfaction to the Publick, by striking out all that is false in it. The German Synagogues have a long time made use of another Prayer made by the same *Amnon*, and beginning thus, *Lord of the Universe, come hear my Prayer.*

XII. Besides the Advantage they enjoy'd in the Thirteenth Century, of having a considerable number of great Men, they met with another, for *Boleslaus*, Sirnamed *the Chast*, because he lived in Celibacy with his Wife, gave them * liberty of Conscience in *Lithuania*, with the addition of many considerable Privileges, which they preserv'd for many Ages. He only imitated other Princes, who generally took this Nation into their Protection. This appears from the Council of *Vienna* held at that time †.

XIII. This Council ‖ observ'd, That the Number and Power of the Jews was so great, that the Revenues of Parish-Priests were considerably lessen'd by them; and therefore they were oblig'd to make them amends proportionably to the Profits they would have receiv'd from Christian Families living in their Parishes. Besides, they hinder'd their Wives and Children from embracing Christianity, and yet circumcis'd Christians, which was a Prejudice to Religion. Lastly, They multiplied their Synagogues, making them larger, higher, and more sumptuous. The Council restrain'd these Abuses by new Decrees, and at the same time, that it allow'd the ancient Synagogues, it order'd the new ones to be pull'd down.

But these Decrees were insignificant, whilst Christian Lords and Princes protected those that refus'd to obey them. The Princes not only did it, but order'd their Bailiffs to defend those who implor'd their Succors. The Disorder was great, since they proceeded to the last Extremity, for it was declar'd to the Sovereigns, and their Officers, That they *were excommunicated and banish'd the Church*, if they continued to protect the Jews, and refused to execute what the Ecclesiasticks had determined against them.

XIV. * They were oblig'd to make a new Regulation at *Ausburgh*, about Oaths which were violated with Impunity upon two Accounts. 1. As the World was very Superstitious at that time, and the Virgin and the Saints were † more frequently invoked than God, the Jews were made to swear by the Name of the Saints, by the Blessed *Mary*, or even by the Son of God. They made no Scruple to take these Oaths, and to break them, as not thinking themselves oblig'd to keep them. When this sort of Infidelity was observ'd, they were oblig'd to swear still by the Name of God, and by the Law of *Moses*, by laying their Hand upon the Pentateuch. The Heathens had been oblig'd to do the same thing long before; for the Jews deceiv'd them in Swearing either by the Princes they liv'd under, or by *Jupiter* the Thunderer.

† An. 1242. *Or* Narva. Lux Sata. *This is the Title of one of his Books taken from the 97th Psalm*, Light is sown for the Righteous. ‖ Bartolocci Bibl. Rabb. t. 4. p. 25. * Meir Cohen. † *In the Year* 1299. ‖ An. 1242. * An. 1624. † An. 1267. ‖ Concil. Vienn. apud Canis. Lect. Ant. t. 1. p. 621. * An. 1285. † Crusius Ann. Suev. p. 3. 4. 3. c. 8.

Per

Per Templa Tonantis.

Basil the younger, or the *Conqueror of the Bulgarians*, had also indeavour'd to remedy the false Oaths which the Jews of his Empire took in the Eleventh Century. A Jew discover'd the manner that ought to be used to render their Oaths Sacred and Inviolable. They must, said he, spit three times to renounce their Circumcision; they must sit upon a Bag of Leather tied to their Girdle; they must *Swear by the Law of God, and by the Spittle and the Bag.* But these Ceremonies are so odd, and so unknown, that we can hardly believe the Relator. We only find, that false Oaths were long complain'd of; and the *Germans* oblig'd the Jews to Swear by the Name of God, rather than by that of Saints.

There was another Defect in the Jews Oaths; for they believ'd that God abolish'd them on the Day of Expiations; they could therefore hold good but for a Year; which Disorder could not be remedied, but by limiting the Promises to a little space of time, since God could not be hindred from dispencing with their Observation of an Oath, or at least, they could not be hinder'd from believing themselves dispenced with them. They have also their Casuists, who approve of Equivocations, and officious Lies; which Subtleties of the Doctors are of ancient standing; for the Talmud says, that *it is* ‖ *lawful to vary for Peace.* It was no wonder that the Christians of *Ausburgh* indeavour'd to stop this Disorder.

XV. Their Disputes with the *Caraites* were then very hot; The latter were headed by a learned Man, who not content to expose the *Extravagancies of the Talmud*, and to compose a Treatise * of them under the Title of Doctor *Aharon* †; explain'd all the *Articles of Faith*, and call'd his Book *The Tree of Life*, because he did not believe Life was to be had without believing these Articles. *Bartolocci* says ‖, he rejected all the Sacred Books, except those of *Moses*; And therefore, says he, we find no Commentary of the *Caraites* upon the Prophetick Writings. But he was evidently mistaken, since *Aharon* commented *David*'s Psalms, *Isaiah*, and *Jeremiah*'s Prophecies, and * these Works are in Manuscript in the *Leiden* Library. This Doctor maintain'd, that God spoke the Elements, when he said, *Let us make Man.* In effect he gave Man a Body composed of Elements. He believ'd the Resurrection of the Dead, but confined it *only to the House of* Israel. As zealous as he was for his Sect, it began then to degenerate from its first Severity; for it began to be so fond of Traditions, that *Nissi* the Son of *Noah*, who lived at that time, was oblig'd to explain the *Misnah*, because it was earnestly desir'd of him. *Aharon* was also forced to have some Complaisance for his Disciples; and, that he might not disgust them, he gave an Allegorical Explication of several Scripture Passages. The *Rabbinists* were glad to see their Enemies make an advance towards them; but they were not reconcil'd, for their Controversie continued as hot as ever.

XVI. They fell under a greater Misfortune than that of Disputes and Division. A Peasant, named *Raind Flaisch*, rose up † during the Wars that disturb'd *Germany*, by the Competition of *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, and of *Albertus* and *Austria*, who were elected Emperors, and taking advantage of this Circumstance of Confusion and Troubles, went a Preaching in the *Upper Palatinate*, that God had sent him to destroy the Jews. He run over *Franconia* and the neighbouring Provinces, proclaiming every where the same thing. To give it the more weight, he publish'd, That they had stole a Host. The People rose upon this Accusation without examining it. The Inhabitants of *Nuremberg*, *Nieumark*, *Rottembourg*, *Amberg*, and other Cities of *Bavaria* and *Franconia*, excited by *Raind Flaisch*, seiz'd all the Jews in that Country and burnt them. Some chose rather to burn themselves, with their Furniture, Wives and Children, than to be thrown into the Fire by the Christians. *Ratisbonne* more humanly saved its Citizens. *Albertus* of *Austria* was willing to restrain this Violence, but he durst not make a bold Experiment at a time that his Power totter'd, and the least Discontent of the People, who look'd upon *Raind Flaisch* as a Messenger of God, would have made them declare for the Count *de Nassau.* He was forced therefore to wait for a more favourable Opportunity, which at last occurr'd. In which the Jews were restored to their Privileges, and *Nuremberg* amerc'd a great Fine, which was so much the more uneasie to them, because part of the City had been reduced to Ashes by the Fire the Oppressed had put to their Houses. Some retard this Event ‖ till after *Adolphus*'s death, and add two Circumstances; one, that what provok'd the People, was the Miracle of the Host, which cast out Blood when the Jews beat it in a Mortar; the other, That a great many Christians joyn'd with the Oppressed, and defended them so vigorously, that the mutinous People was forced to besiege them, and force them in their retreat. One of these Circumstances destroys the other, it not being probable that so great a number of Christians would have joyn'd with the Jews, and that the Archduke would have headed them, if they had been convinced they had pounded an Host, and Blood had issued from it. It was nothing therefore but a popular Tumult, which the better sort of People condemn'd; and indeed no body was put to death upon this Accusation, because the Magistrates resolv'd to hear the Trial according to the ordinary Forms of Justice.

XVII. I don't know whether this Commotion was quieted at *Nuremberg* by order of the Emperor *Albertus*; but at least the Hatred of its Inhabitants was not extinguish'd, for it burst out again ten or twelve Years after, and the famous *Mordecai* of *Austria* lost his Life by it. He had compos'd a Commentary upon some Books of the Talmud, and some Works of *Isaac Alphez*, which are in great Esteem. He collected all that he thought good from the Books of ten *Rabbins*, to which he added his own Observations *. He ought, I think, to be confounded with another *Mordecai* the Son of *Halay*, another Commentator of *Alphez*, and who must have lived at the same time with him. He left *Austria* to come and teach at *Triers*, where *Isaac*, whose Family came from *Dijon*, was his Collegue. But returning to *Nuremberg*, he was condemn'd to be hang'd there †. The Jewish Historians make a Martyr of him, for they say he died for *the Sanctification of the Name of God* ‖.

XVIII. The Confusions increas'd instead of lessening *; One *Armleder* in the Neighbourhood of *Nassau*, heading some Peasants, and incouraging them with the hopes of Plunder, caused them to take up Arms against the Jews. They run over several places, unmercifully killing all they met with, to inrich themselves with the Spoils. The Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, foreseeing the Consequences of this

‖ Menass. Concil. Genes. Q. 37. p. 48, 49. * *See our Book* t. 2. c. 9. §17. t. 1. p. 474. † *More Aharon.* ‖ Bartol. Bibl. R. t. 1. p. 29. * Freii Excerpta Aharonis explanat. in Pentateuchum. † An. 1294. ‖ An. 1292. Steronis Annal. Hist. Germ. t. 5. p. 402. Histor. Australis apud Reuber. Hist. German. t. 5. p. 341. * V Bartol. B. R. t. 4. p. 47. † An. 1310. ‖ Ganz. p. 147. * Spond. An. 1338. p. 433.

Commotion,

Commotion, put a ſtop to it, by taking off *Armleder*'s Head, who had occaſion'd ſo terrible a Sedition. *Bzovius* adds, † that the Jews were moreover accus'd of having taken an Hoſt and wounding it; and that they were ſo frighted at ſeeing the Blood ſpout out, that they ran from the Houſe where they committed this Sacrilege. Which being diſcover'd, they were impeach'd to the Duke of *Auſtria*, who would do nothing without conſulting *Benedict* XII. which Pope anſwer'd, That the Hoſt ought to be reverenc'd, and thoſe who had ſtabb'd it puniſh'd. There was another Hoſt at *Gaſtrow* in the Dutchy of *Meklebourg*, which ſent out Groans and Sighs, when the Jews had inhumanly ſtabb'd it.

XIX. Pope *Clement* V. having || call'd an Oecumenical Council at *Vienna* againſt the Templers, made a Decree againſt Uſury and thoſe that exacted it. He alſo * condemn'd the Approvers of it for Hereticks. This Decree being publiſh'd, The Jews were expos'd to many Oppreſſions, which their exorbitant Uſuries upon the Chriſtians drew upon them. They were brought before the Tribunals and diſputed their Principal, for having violated the Law of the Chriſtians. They eſpecially felt the Effects of this Law in *Germany*; but *Menicho*, Biſhop of *Spires*, took upon him † their Defence; he argued that the Law did not reſpect them, becauſe the Church does not Judge thoſe that are without. He was perſwaded, that it was lawful for them to demand Uſury, ſince they had been dealt with without any deſign of Fraud. And therefore he ſeverely prohibited their being diſturb'd about Uſuries for the future.

XX. The Devotion of the *Flagellants* || was a freſh Source of their Calamities. This Sect, which had been almoſt extinct, reſum'd Vigour in the Year 1349, and caus'd new Maſſacres. A Company of People muſter'd under certain Leaders aſſembled twice a day, and ſtripping themſelves ſtark naked before the People, whipp'd themſelves with Cords loaden with Nails and Spurs. They utter'd ſome Prayers with a doleful Accent, and read aloud a Letter that was brought to them from Heaven by an Angel; wherein God, who writ it, commanded them to ſuffer theſe Macerations, to relieve the Souls that groan'd in Purgatory, and to ſtop the courſe of the Miſeries and Sins that ruin'd *Germany*. They drew into this Fraternity the People of *Spires*, *Strasbourg*, and ſome other places *. Theſe People, exaſperated by the *Flagellants* againſt the Jews, ſeiz'd them, and burnt them in great Numbers at *Turingia*; but their greateſt Calamity happen'd at *Frankfort*, where the *Flagellants*, having committed ſome Diſorders, had conſented to an Accommodation, when a Jew, named *Cicogne*, whoſe Family was numerous in the place, deſiring to avenge his Brethren, threw a Squib into the Town-houſe. The Fire took, and the Archives were conſumed. The Flame reach'd the Church, which was preſently reduced to Aſhes; it flew as far as *Saxenhauſe*. Such a Crime as this could not be ſuffer'd to go unpuniſh'd; not only the Guilty periſh'd, but all the Jews in the City, except a few that eſcap'd into *Bohemia*.

XXI. They were accus'd the ſame Year of poiſoning the Wells, Fountains and Rivers. The Plague at the ſame time made a great havock in *Europe*, I don't know whether the Jews died in leſs numbers than the reſt, and whether they were envied this Bleſſing of Heaven. But they were thought guilty, becauſe God exempted them from a Mortality that was almoſt univerſal. A Suſpicion was ſufficient to condemn them; and People, inſtead of thinking to make a good end, employ'd all the remains of Strength and Life they had to murther their Enemies. They burnt the Jews in ſome places, and knock'd them o'th' Head in others. Thoſe of *Ments* defended themſelves, and ſurprizing two hundred diſarmed Chriſtians, were cruel in their turn, and took an unmerciful Revenge of them. The People, provok'd by this Defence, run to Arms, and fell upon their Enemies with ſuch Fury and Severity, that twelve thouſand of them periſh'd in that only Execution. † "They ſet Fire to their "Houſes, and the Flame ſpread to that degree, "as to melt down the great Bell and Glaſs of the "Church of St. *Quentin*. This Torrent over-run "all *Germany*; The Imperial Cities pull'd down "their Houſes, and made uſe of the Materials to "build Caſtles and Towers. They were the more "violently bent upon the Ruin of the Houſes of "the Jews, becauſe they found great Riches in the "Rubbiſh. *Robert* Count *Palatine*, indeavour'd to "oppoſe this Violence, and give a Sanctuary to the "Perſecuted, whoſe Innocence was confeſs'd by "honeſt Men; but the People and part of the "Nobility oppos'd this Act of Charity. They ac-"cus'd them of being brib'd to countenance the "Enemies of the Son of God. All the Inhabitants of *Ulm* were burnt, || with their Families and Effects. The Princes durſt not engage in ſo nice an Affair, and the Jews found no where any place of retreat. There was no place but *Lithuania*, where they enjoy'd more quiet, becauſe *Caſimer the Great*, who was in love with a handſom Jeweſs, named *Eſther*, like the old Deliverer of God's People, had granted them great Privileges.

XXII. Thoſe that fled to *Bohemia*, could not find any long quiet there. The People of *Prague*, with Indignation to ſee them celebrate the Feaſt of the Paſſover, choſe that day, above all others, to burn * their Synagogue, and thoſe that perform'd their Devotions in it. The Project was eaſily executed, no body made Oppoſition, or eſcap'd the Death that was prepar'd for them. This was ſo doleful and afflictive an Event, that the Synagogue of *Prague* preſerves the Memory of it in a Prayer it made ſome time after, to deplore its Calamity.

XXIII. Two Years after, † *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia* and Emperor, with deſign to pleaſe his Subjects, to whom his Effeminacy and Drunkenneſs had render'd him extreamly Odious, diſcharg'd the Nobility and Cities from all their Debts to the Jews. This Decree made People believe they might attempt any thing againſt a Nation, which the Emperor refus'd to protect. The Maſſacre began at *Gotha* by the People, but it grew more terrible when the Peaſants joyn'd them. Thoſe of *Spires* put all to the Sword, without regard to Age or Sex, except ſome Children that they carried to the Church to be baptiz'd. However as ſuch ſort of Executions are odious, and unpeople Countries, a ſtop was put to them by puniſhing ſome of the Mutineers; and Hiſtorians endeavour to juſtifie this Violence, by accuſing the Jews of having inſulted a Prieſt who was carrying the Holy *Viaticum* to a ſick Perſon.

XXIV. The Jews were once more accus'd || of poiſoning the Wells; and this Accuſation, which drew Death after it, and the moſt cruel Tortures, ſpread it ſelf into *Germany*, *Italy* and *Provence*; at

† Bzov. An. 1338. n. 20. p. 814. || An. 1310. * Clement. l. 5. p. 310. † An. 1339. Nauclerus, Chronogr. p. 1003. || An. 1349. * Hiſtor. Landgr. Thur. c. 105. p. 941. † Nauclerus Chronogr. Gener. 45. p. 1009. || Cruſius An. Suevor. l. 5. p. 253. * An. 1391. Cruſius An. Suev. l. 6. c. 3. † Hiſt. Landgr. Thur. c. 132. p. 948. Hiſt. Germ. Piſtor. t. 1. Æneæ Sylvii Hiſt. Boh. c. 34. || An. 1400.

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leaſt the Jewiſh Hiſtorians * give us this account; but at the ſame time they add, that the Emperor own'd their Innocence, and repreſented to his Council, that it was impoſſible to poiſon a running Fountain that conſtantly ſupplies freſh Waters. But the People maintaining, that they had ſeen the Jews throw Poiſon into them, pronouncing ſome words in a low Voice at the ſame time, the Emperor, upon their Importunities, reſolved to baniſh them. The notice of this cauſed great Rejoycings among the Seditious, as if there was no Puniſhment too cruel for thoſe that had been the death of ſo many Chriſtians. And ſo the Emperor was oblig'd to order them to fly, or to change their Religion.

But the Jewiſh Hiſtorians affirm, That notwithſtanding the Miſery was ſo great, that the like was never ſeen ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, no body forſook his Religion; *Tho' the* Germans *roſe on all ſides againſt the Sanctification of God, yet* Iſrael *deſerted not his Glory.* The Example of ſo general a Conſtancy is rare, and we muſt believe it upon the Sincerity of their Hiſtorians.

* Salomon Ben Virgæ An. 160. p. 151. Et Ganz An. 160. p. 146.

CHAP. XXI.

The Hiſtory of the Jews *in* Spain *during the Fifteenth Century, and their Expulſion out of that Kingdom in the Year* 1492, *and of* Portugal *in the Year* 1496.

I. *The Deſign of this Chapter.* II. *The Conference of the Jews before* Benedict XIII. III. *Reflections upon the Titles of* Domnus *and* Dom. IV. *The Method of the Jews in the Conference.* V. Jerom de Sancta Fide's *Anſwer.* VI. *Their Perplexity about the Manifeſtation of the Meſſiah.* VII. *The Jews Account of the Conference.* VIII. *The Faults they have committed.* IX. *The Relation of the Chriſtians.* X. Benedict's *Conſtitution againſt the Talmud.* XI. *The different Notions of the Jews and Chriſtians about* Vincent Ferrier. XII. *An equivocal Letter of a* Rabbin *againſt him.* XIII. *The Falſhood of the Converſions he made.* XIV. *An Edict of* Toledo *againſt the Jews.* XV. *A Conference of* Alphonſo *and* Thomas *the Philoſopher: The time when it happen'd.* XVI. *The Subjects that were treated in it.* XVII. *Another Conference with* Alphonſo *of* Portugal *upon the two and twentieth* Pſalm. XVIII. *Learned* Rabbins. XIX. Joel *the Preacher.* XX. *The Edict of* Ferdinand *and* Iſabella. XXI. *Illuſtrious Refugees.* XXII. *The Miſery of the Fugitives.* XXIII. Ferdinand's *Politicks cenſur'd.* XXIV. *Their retreat to* Portugal. XXV. *A Maſſacre at* Lisbon. XXVI. *The Diſſimulation of thoſe that remain'd.* XXVII. *Proofs of this Diſſimulation.* XXVIII. *The Proceedings of the Inquiſition againſt them.* XXIX. *The Miracles God wrought for them.* XXX. *A Catalogue of their Martyrs.*

I. THE Jews had liv'd for a long time, and multiply'd, in *Spain*, where they had their Synagogues, famous Doctors, and conſiderable Settlements, when *Ferdinand*, pretending a Zeal for Religion, reſolv'd to baniſh them. The Synagogues were pull'd down, the People exil'd, and the Families, who were terrify'd with this Baniſhment, reduced to diſſemble from one Generation to another. This is the fatal Event that ſhall make the Subject of this Chapter. But as this Revolution did not happen till the end of the Fifteenth Century, and was preceded with many conſiderable Events, we ſhall give an account of them, before we deſcribe their general Baniſhment and miſerable Flight.

The Anti-Pope *Benedict* XIII. was in *Arragon* *, the only Place he had remaining, and which was his whole Juriſdiction. He was minded to ſignalize his Zeal by attacking the Jews: He began with Conferences; *Jerome* † *de Sancta Fide*, who had deſerted the Synagogue, and was his Phyſician, put him upon this Deſign, by aſſuring him, that he could convince all his Adverſaries from Paſſages out of the Talmud, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was the Meſſiah. The Principal Rabbins of the Kingdom were ſummoned. *Dom Vidal* was choſen for the Defendant in this Diſpute. We muſt not miſtake him for *Dom Vidal* of *Toloſe*; whether he was born in this City, or that his Parents came from it, for this latter liv'd in *Catalonia* forty Years before the Conference. The Jews at that time began to take the Faſtuous Title of *Dom*, which the *Spaniards* took from the *Latin*'s *Dominus*, with whom this Title ſignified *Lord*, and was particularly given to the Deity.

The Chriſtians imagin'd, that the Popes out of Humility and Modeſty, would not be call'd *Lords*, becauſe this Word ought to be reſerv'd for God; but by retrenching a Letter they were call'd *Domnus* The one, ſays a Writer ‖, is the Name of *Terror, and the other of Majeſty, which impreſſes Veneration and Reſpect, and therefore this latter became peculiar to the Popes.* Even the *Greeks*, ſay they, acknowledg'd it, ſince the Emperor *Conſtantine* gave this Title to *Agathon*, in the Letter that this Prince wrote to him *, upon occaſion of the ſixth Council: But afterwards the Abbots took this Name; it was given to the Monks, and laſtly the Jews, who ſaw it was a Character of Diſtinction for the great Lords of *Spain* took it alſo. It ſignifies little to examine the uſe of a Word, which has ſo often chang'd, and whoſe Signification may vary without a Crime; and we have already † ſpoken of it before. However, we can't forbear obſerving, that they ſubtilize too much, and that the different variations that have been made by taking ſometimes the Title of *Dominus*, ſometimes that of *Domnus*, and laſtly *Dom*, only proceeded from the deſign of contracting the firſt word, and rendering the Pronunciation more ſhort and eaſie, ſo that theſe imagin'd Diſtinctions are falſe.

III. 'Tis true, the Chriſtians have believ'd, that the Title of Lord ought to be appropriated to *God, and to him that has a Sovereign and Eternal Power over Life and Death.* The *French* have for a long time preſerv'd a remainder of that Notion, ſince they ſwore by *Dame Dieu*, that is, the Lord God. We read in *Bertrand du Gueſclin*'s Chronicle, who liv'd in the fourteenth Century, that he ſwore by *Dame*

* An. 1412 *or* 1413. † *He was before called* Jehoſchuah Halloſki. ‖ Onuphr. Officia, ſive Magiſtr. p. 60. * Sacra An. 680 Conc. t. 6. p. 593. † T. 2. p. 1090.

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Dieu qui maint en Firmanent; at which time Men had only the Title of *Dan* or *Dant*. However, this Distinction has not been so exactly observed, but that the dead Saints have been styl'd *Monseigneur St. George, and Monseigneur St. Lewis*; and living Men, Kings and Emperors, have been distinguish'd by this Title. It would be useless to produce Examples, since they are but too notorious. But where have they learnt, that the cutting off an *i* in the Title of *Dominus, takes away Terror and introduces Respect and Majesty?* And how will they prove this Custom, making *Domnus* signifie a subordinate Lord? The Humility of the Popes deserves not to be taken notice of, if they have only placed themselves a little below God, and leaving *Terror* to him, have reserv'd *Respect* and Veneration for themselves. I question whether the Subscription of *Constantine*'s Letter ought not to be suspected, because 'tis the only one of the Sixth Council where this Title appears. We there find other Letters of the Council and the Emperor, address'd to *Leo* II. and of *Justinian* II. to Pope *John*, where it is never repeated; At least it was not more peculiar to the Pope at that time; for the Rule of St. *Bennit* *, who had already appear'd at the end of the Seventh Century, imports, That the *Abbot, as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, ought to be called* Domnus. Lastly, We can't justifie either the Abbots or the Monks, who have appropriated this *Dom*, since it must have proceeded from a Spirit of Ambition, which they have carried into their Cloisters. We find it by the words before quoted, for the Abbot is only call'd *Domnus*, because he looks upon himself as God's Vicar in his Retirement. Is there no Pride in assuming these Airs of Grandeur, as Sacred as it is? The Cistercian Monks will be call'd *Dom*, to be distinguish'd from the Mendicants, whom they place much below 'em. None but Monks of quality and consequence appropriate this Name. There is a sort of Nobility in the Orders, as among private Persons, which is honour'd with this Title, that a poor Capuchin or Recollect dares not pretend to. 'Tis not from Jesus Christ, but from the Lords of the Earth, and worldly Authority, that they have borrow'd this Name, introducing it into Religion to procure greater Respect, and to equal, as much as possible, the Sovereigns that wore it. Pride would be more pardonable in the Jews, and yet they have not ventur'd upon it before the end of the Fourteenth Century. Their Writers often give it to more ancient *Rabbins*. And *Gedalia* calls one of his Grandfathers *Dom Jachia*, whom he places in the Tenth Century; but these Doctors only did it, to give greater Reputation to their Masters or Ancestors; but it was not really given to the Doctors till the time we speak of. Let us return to the Conference.

IV. The Head of the Captivity, or Super-Intendant of the Synagogues of *Arragon* was present at it, follow'd by many famous Doctors. As the Pope civilly entertain'd 'em, and bore their Charges, they resolv'd to discourse with Moderation; and they had even the sordid Flattery for this Anti-Pope, as to apply to him the Words of *David*'s Petition to God, † *Shew us thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us thy Salvation.* However they handled‖ *Jerome de Sancta Fide* roughly, calling him *Epicurus*, whom they infinitely hated, not only because he had forsook 'em, but because he had drawn them into an Affair which they apprehended the issue of.

This Man had rashly form'd a design of convincing the Jews from their own Writings, that Jesus Christ had perfectly answer'd the twenty four Characters he gave to the Messiah: For besides that it is unlikely that so many clear and evident Expressions should escape the Talmudists, to prove Truth, which they don't believe, the Rabbins generally give an Allegorical meaning to the offensive Passages of the Doctors, and seek Mysteries * in their Words; and it is impossible to stop People who have such a Loop-hole to escape thro', since there is no end of Allegorical Significations.

V. *Jerome de Sancta Fide* † went to prove, That the Messiah was come, because *Elias* said, *there should be two thousand years under Nature, which he calls the Void, two thousand years under the Law, and two thousand under the Messiah.* He found himself defective in his first Proof, because the four thousand Years were not accomplish'd at the Birth of Christ; which oblig'd him to say, That God did not always reckon justly, and that the Children of *Israel* did not live two hundred Years in *Egypt*, though God had foretold they should live above four hundred. But this false Chronologer reckon'd the Years from *Joseph*'s Death, whereas he should have ascended up to the Promise made to *Abraham*. The Rabbins answer'd farther, That *Elias*, who made this Prediction, was no Prophet. He alledges what we read in the Talmud; That as a Peasant was cultivating his Field, an *Arabian*, who heard his Ox low, cry'd to him, *Loose the Ox, for the Temple is destroy'd*; and upon the second lowing, the *Arabian* cry'd, *Put thy Oxen to the Plough, for the Messiah is born.* He concluded from hence, and from other such like Stories, That the Birth of the Messiah was fix'd to the time of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and tho' the Temple subsisted sixty Years after the Death of Christ (he was mistaken) for it was above sixty Years from his Birth, and but forty from his Passion, yet this Temple had lost all its Holiness. The Veil was rent, the Miracles were ceas'd, and this first Ruin was more considerable than the fall of the Walls. The Rabbins might easily answer, That the Talmud did not speak of an Allegorical fall, but of the true and real Destruction of the City and Temple, such as befel them under *Titus*.

He prov'd, That the Messiah was to be born of a Virgin, because there is a M shut ‖ in the Prophecy, that promises the multiplication of his Empire; and this shut M noted the Name of *Mary* and her Virginity. He produc'd these Words of *Ezekiel*, who speaks *of a Gate of a Temple which shall be shut, and no Man shall enter in by it, because the Lord hath entred in by it.* All this is very mystical, and I question whether the Christians themselves can discover *Mary*'s Virginity in it.

VI. The Jews on their part were at a great loss to prove, that the Messiah was not come. They had recourse to vain Cavils and ridiculous Subtilties. Sometimes they confess'd, That he was born at the time that *Jerusalem* was destroy'd, but that he liv'd at *Rome*, or some other Place, as *Enoch* and *Elias* are said to live in the Terrestrial Paradice. They said, That the two thousand Years noted by *Elias* were not accomplish'd by reason of Sins, and that this signify'd, that the Messiah might come during that time. They confess'd, there was a necessity of promising the People still a sudden Arrival, lest they should lose their Courage and be stagger'd in their Faith. Lastly, They insolently answer'd, That it was lawful for them to believe and say some Absurdity about the Messiah, since the Christians scruple not the publishing the greatest upon this Article. And he that made this Answer,

* Bened. Reg. c. 663. t. ix. p. 613. † Ps. 85. 7. ‖ Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 227. & 246. * Ibid. p. 264. † Hieron à sancta fide contra Judæos, l. 1. c. 2. B. P. t. iv. P. 1. p. 750, &c. ‖ Isa. 7. 14. הָעַלְמָה Hagnal-Mah, Virgo.

which

which highly provok'd *Benedict*, has not diſſembl'd it in his Narrative, tho' he was cenſur'd for it by his Brethren.

VII. The Succeſs of this Conference is differently related. The Jews own †, that they gave many Biſhops who were preſent, Money to oblige the Pope to put a ſpeedy end to it; but that the Pope remain'd ſteady, and would have *Jerome de Sancta Fide* ſtand to his Promiſe. They add, That their Doctors came off with Honour; that they were only order'd to reſtore part of the exceſſive Uſuries they had taken from the Chriſtians, but, that upon application to *Mark* Pope of *Florence*, they were diſcharg'd, and ſet at entire liberty.

VIII. This Account abounds with a great many Faults; for, 1. We can't perceive how a Man, who was preſent at the Conference, and ſent the Relation of it to the Synagogue of *Gironne*, could ſay it was held at *Rome* in the Pope's Palace; ſince it was undoubtedly in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and in the Caſtle where *Peter de Luna* was confin'd; this muſt needs be a Fault of the Copier. 2. The other Hiſtorians ‖ are groſly miſtaken in the time; for they place it in the Year 1353. whereas we are infallibly certain, it was not held till ſixty Years after, in the Pontificate of *Benedict* XIII. It ſhou'd not therefore be wondred, if we ſometimes depart from ſuch an erroneous Chronology. 3. What is ſaid of a Pope *Mark of Florence*, is evidently falſe. Theſe two Events are join'd together, which *Salomon Ben Virgæ* had divided. But ſtill theſe Popes are chimerical, whether they are diſtinguiſhed or confounded; for there never was a Pope call'd *Mark* the *Florentine*. Theſe Hiſtorians are out in the Name, or elſe have taken an imaginary Man; for Pope *Martin*, who was elected after *Benedict*'s Depoſition, and reſided ſome time at *Florence*. The matter of Fact is thus: *Benedict* XIII. having publiſhed a Bull againſt the Uſuries of the Jews, they took advantage of his Depoſition, and went to demand the Repeal of Pope *Martin* of *Florence*. As the *Catalans*, who had renounc'd Obedience to *Benedict*, call'd him Brother *Peter*, the Jews gave him the ſame Name, and were miſtaken in that of Pope *Peter de Luna*, or *Benedict* XIII. who had condemn'd them; whom they turn into a Monk call'd *Peter*, and make him plead impertinently before *Mark* or *Martin*. 4. Laſtly, We ought not to believe 'em, when inſtead of relating the Iſſue of the Conference, they only ſay, They came off with Honour, for it was to their diſadvantage.

IX. For indeed the Chriſtians aſſert, that *Jerome de Sancta Fide* having preſented a Writing * the ſame Year to the Anti-Pope, containing the dangerous Errors of the Talmud againſt the Law, the Meſſiah, and the Chriſtians: One of the Rabbins preſent gave the Cardinal of St. *Angelo* a Writing, in which he declar'd †, That the Paſſages drawn from this Book, appear'd to him offenſive and erroneous: That it is true, another Senſe may be given them, but that he did not know it; and therefore he confeſſes, That he does not pretend to defend them, nor juſtifie them, and diſowns all the Anſwers he might have made to elude them. And all the Rabbins preſent, except *Joſeph Albo* and *Ferrer*, ſubſcrib'd the ſame Declaration ‖.

Here then you have a Triumph of the Chriſtians, and the Talmud ſolemnly condemn'd by thoſe who ought to be its principal Defenders. The Manuſcript, whence *Bartolocci* has extracted this matter, is in the *Vatican* Library. But yet, I confeſs, it ſeems to be ſuſpicious: Firſt, Becauſe *Jerome*, who publiſh'd ſome time after the Objections he had taken from the Talmud, does not mention this Recantation of his vanquiſh'd Enemies; which yet was an Article he neither ought nor could forget. Beſides, *Aſtroch*, who ſent the Acts of the Conference to *Gironne*, and muſt have made this Recantation, does not mention it. On the contrary, this Man, who ſeems the boldeſt and moſt inſolent of all the Diſputants, maintains, That they came off with a great deal of Honour. Since all the Rabbins except two, were of this Opinion, it was not his part to draw up the Declaration, nor preſent it in his Name, but it muſt have been made and ſign'd by *Dom Vidael*, who was choſen for their Chairman, but who does not appear in it. As ſhort as this Writing is, the Name of one *Ferrer*, a Rabbin, is inſerted, who was not at the Conference, nor indeed known.

The Chriſtians add, That three or five thouſand Perſons were converted by *Jerome*'s Piece, which has rendred it infinitely valuable; and that *Joſeph Albo*, who was afraid all the Synagogues would be deſerted, compos'd the *Articles of Faith*; in which he endeavour'd to re-ſettle the tottering Faith of the People. The Compoſition of this Book is undeniable; but the motive of this Author is a Secret and a Myſtery.

X. What is moſt certain is, that *Benedict* XIII. the Year following publiſh'd a Conſtitution againſt the Talmud, and the Jewiſh Uſuries *. But as this Anti-Pope was depos'd ſome time after, his Conſtitution was conceal'd with his other Ordinances, and ſo the Jews felt not the effect of it. We know too, that *Joſeph Albo* endeavour'd to confirm the Faith of the Jews, that was diſſettled by this Conference. He publiſh'd his *Articles of Faith*, which he reduc'd to the Exiſtence of God, the Law of *Moſes*, and Puniſhments and Rewards. He had an Intereſt to reduce 'em to theſe Heads. I don't know whether he found his Brethren too much ſtraitned upon the Article of the time of the Meſſiah; but he ſtruck it out of his Confeſſion. He maintains, That a Jew was oblig'd to believe that he ſhall come, as God is believ'd to have wrought Miracles, or that he will work them in the behalf of this People, but that this Belief is not neceſſary to Salvation. He cenſures *Maimonides* without naming him, for numbring this Doctrine with the eſſential Articles. His Work is in ſuch eſteem, that *Gedalia*, a *Polander*, has commented it under the Title of the *Planted Tree*: His Notes are the Roots of the Tree, the References to Scripture Paſſages are the Branches, and the Allegorical Explications are the Leaves. Thus this Commentary is a perfect or planted Tree.

XI. *Vincent Ferrier*, another famous Converter, appear'd then upon the Stage. They † call him *the Splendor of Spain, the Light of Valencia, the Prodigy of the Univerſe, the Model of the Dominicans, and the Glory of glorify'd Saints.* What could they ſay more? He bark'd in his Mother's Belly like a Dog, which was a Preſage he would be a great Preacher: He ſpoke only his Mother-Tongue, but by a more incomprehenſible Miracle than that of the Apoſtles, all Nations underſtood him. When he was ſick, Jeſus Chriſt came to careſs him, familiarly taking him by the Cheek and Hand, and commanded him to go and Preach a Lye, which was, that the day

† Schialſchelet Hakkabala p. 113. ‖ Ganz Chron. p. 144. An. 1412, *or* 1413. * *The Conference began* February 7. 1413. *and ended* May 10. 1414. *and on* November 10. Jerome *preſented his Writing, which was approv'd* December 12. † R. Aſmurh. ‖ Bartolocci Bibl. Rab. t. iii. p. 177. * An. 1415. *See his Bull in* Bartolocci B. R. t. iii. p. 731, 797. † Tamaio Salazar, Martyrol. Hiſp. t. ii. p. 509. Sauſſagus Martyrol. Gall. t. i. fol. 190. Legenda M. S. Lect. l. iv. apud Tamaium p. 510.

of Judgment was at hand. He took so much pleasure and satisfaction in weeping before the Communion, that it was a matter of discontent to stop the flow of his Tears. The Jews do him greater Honour than the Christians; for whereas the latter reckon for his Converts but eight thousand *Moors*, thirty or thirty five thousand Jews, and a hundred thousand bad Christians; they make those of their Nation amount to two hundred thousand. He was moreover a very intriguing Man. He was chosen to maintain to the People the Validity of *Ferdinand*'s Election; who by that means became King ‖ of *Spain*, and who afterwards made him a noble Recompence: He was Steward of the Palace and Confessor to the Anti-Pope *Benedict* XIII. Thus he was in the Schism, even when he work'd so great Miracles. They have not fail'd to Canonize him, and there is hardly a Church in *Spain* but receives his Office.

The Jews * call him *Mummar*, that is, Apostate, as if he had deserted the Synagogue to embrace Christianity. But yet it is said, that he was born a Christian of an Illustrious Family, and known at *Valencia*, which for a long time had gone by the Name of *Ferrier*. He employ'd King *Ferdinand*'s Authority, to make the Conversions more pompous and easie. But it is said also, that he introduced the Power of God, and that one day entering unexpectedly into a Synagogue with a Cross in his Hand, it was perceiv'd †, as he was preaching, that the Cloaths of the Men and Linen of the Women were cover'd with Crosses; which oblig'd all the Synagogue to own the *Crucify'd*, and to change it into a Church, which goes by the Name of St. *Cross*.

Judæo expulso primus Vincentius, illam
Lustravit pura Religione Domum.
Fulgens namq; jubar subito descendit Olympo,
Cunctisq; impressit pectore signa crucis:
Inde trahunt cives Vincentii nomina multi,
Et Templum hoc veræ dicitur inde Crucis.

The Giant St. *Christopher* descended from Heaven to assist him, and appear'd often to the Jews to oblige them to change their Religion; and by way of Gratitude, they dedicated to him a Synagogue of converted Jews, and kept his Feast at *Valencia* the Tenth of *July*, because on that day the Church was dedicated. How shall we believe these Apparitions, if St. *Christopher* be as imaginary a Giant as is the Emperor *Dagnus*, under whom he must have suffer'd, according to the Acts of his Martyrdom?

XII. Notwithstanding all these Miracles, the Conversions he made must be still much suspected, because they were but of a short duration. There is a Writing preserv'd in the *Vatican* Library ‖ of one *Duran*, a Rabbin, who after he had embrac'd Christianity, wrote artfully to his Son, that he *should not imitate his Fathers*. The whole Letter was equivocal. It was believ'd at first reading, that it was an Exhortation to stand fast in the Religion he had embrac'd; but the Mystery was easily discovered, and it appear'd, by an attentive Consideration, that this Father meant to oblige his Son to return to Judaism, which he had left at *Vincent Ferrier*'s instigation, and embrac'd again four Years after. He was not the only Person. Most of the new Converts, having dissembled for some time, took off the Disguise, and made it known, that they had only yielded to Force and Necessity, which St. *Ferrier* had render'd insupportable.

XIII. People * seldom fall back from a voluntary Conversion. Notwithstanding the Fickleness of a Human Mind, it does not change when it has been truly convinc'd. 'Tis natural to love Truth, when it is known, and a Man will not give it up when he thinks he possesses it. The Mind may be dazzled by false Reasonings, but these Dazzlings seldom happen. 'Tis difficult for a great many Persons to suffer themselves to be deceiv'd at the same time by the same Prejudice. When therefore we see a Multitude abandoning their Religion to take another, and a Moment after, or in the Secresy of Retirement, and their Family practising their old Religion before the new, we must conclude, they were constrain'd to it. We must not exclaim against the Treachery or Inconstancy of the Heart of Man, but against the Violence of the Converters, who leave not the liberty necessary to make a true Conversion. The Mind of a dissembling Jew is but too constant; he bestows external Appearances upon Error, whether he will or no, but retains his ancient Doctrine; why then must he be charg'd with an Inconstancy which he is not conscious of? Such were the Conversions of *Vincent Ferrier* in *Spain*. The Jews, whom he had drawn by multitudes into the Church, were no sooner at home, but they resum'd the Practice of their ancient Ceremonies. They Circumcis'd their Children in secret, and observed the Feast of the Passover. *Bzovius*, who has also made 'em offer *Sacrifices*, has forgot himself. In fine, they complain, that *Vincent Ferrier* was their *great Persecutor*, and that with a Cross in his Hand he forc'd fifteen thousand Jews to dissemble. With all his Holiness, he grosly slander'd 'em in his Sermons. In effect, we know not whether we ought more to admire the Blindness of this pretended Saint, who tax'd them with losing a great quantity of Blood monthly in Punishment of their Sins; or the Pains an Author of this Nation takes to confute this Calumny with an Air of Seriousness that provokes ones Laughter †. The Clergy remain'd not long without perceiving the Actions of these new Converts. The Prince was inform'd of 'em, and a Deputation sent to Pope *Sixtus* IV. who in Indignation to the Affront offer'd the Christian Religion by so speedy a return to Judaism, order'd the Inquisition to be watchful, and to punish severely such as fail'd in *their Duty*, exhorting all Christian Princes to lend a strong Hand to the Executors. The Decree was fix'd up in all the Cities of *Spain*. Seventeen thousand Jews, astonish'd at the Rigor of the Edicts, turn'd Roman Catholicks, and submitted to the Penance impos'd by the Church. Two thousand were burnt, tho' some of 'em acknowledged Jesus Christ to be the Messiah. Others were shut up in Dungeons, where they suffer'd a long time. Those that were taken out, were declar'd infamous, and oblig'd to wear two red Crosses upon their Cloaths, to shew that they had deserv'd the Fire. Even the Dead did not escape, but their Bones were dug up and burnt; they confiscated their Estates, and depriv'd their Family of all the Rights they had to their Fathers Inheritance. I don't wonder such Cruelties were acted. The Inquisition has cur'd our Surprise, by a long course of these Violences; but, I confess, it raises my Indignation, to see Historians ‖ boast of the Indulgence and Charity of their Church, at the time

‖ An. 1412. * Legenda MS. Lectio 1. † Bzovius An. 1412. n. ii. p. 343. Ægidius Gonzales Abulensis Historiogr. Philippi III. l. 3. c. 15. ‖ Bartolocci B. R. t. i. p. 404. * An. 152. † Cardoso Excellencias, &c. tercera Calunia de los Hebreos Cola y sangre, p. 345. *Besides* V. Ferrier's *Sermon, he cites* Lorin, Salmeron; *the* Fortalitium Fidei; Dom Juan de Quinones, *Author of divers curious Treatises*. ‖ Mariana de Reb. Hisp. l. xxiv. c. 17. t. 2. p. 394.

that

that they load their Annals with such flagrant Facts; and it was believ'd to be the *best destiny of Spain*, and particularly of *Castile*, to have receiv'd so bloody and barbarous an Inquisition upon that occasion: happy were the Jews who had the wit to fly so inhumane a Tribunal! However, there were some sincere Conversions; for *Salomon de Levi*, upon reading *Thomas Aquinas*'s Sums, was convinc'd of the Truth of the Christian Religion, was baptiz'd, and took the Name of *Paul* of *Burgos*. He * was well rewarded for changing his Religion; being made Bishop of this his Native City, and afterward Patriarch of *Aquileia*. He left his Additions to *Nicholas de Lyra*, another sincere Proselyte. He almost continually criticises and corrects him; but 'tis presum'd, that the Corrector ought to be corrected, and that he ought not always to be believ'd, when he quotes the Rabbins he should have read; for he has confounded the Paraphrase of the Pentateuch, attributed to *Jonathan*, with that of another *Jonathan* made upon the Prophetick Writings; and he absurdly adds, That this last Paraphrase is equally esteem'd in the Synagogues with the Text of *Moses*. *Simon* of † *Gironne* writ against him, but without Success, since he was oblig'd to quit his hold, and sometimes give up the Talmud, whose Authority was so great in his Party. *Paul de Burgos* left one Son, who succeeded him in the Bishoprick, and made himself known by a Work upon the History of *Spain*. He had a second, who was Bishop of *Placenza*, and a third, ‖ marry'd into an Illustrious House. Lastly, He was made Preceptor to the King of *Castile*; but in the midst of his Dignities he confess'd, That the Preferments of Church and State ought never to be intrusted to those of his Nation, because they were accustom'd to dissemble. Was he himself of this Character?

XIV. As the Jews were brought * in for their share in all the Miseries that befel the Kingdoms where they liv'd, they had a good part in the Insurrection of the City *Toledo*; which complain'd, that its Privileges had been violated by the Imposition of a Tax, tho' a light one, and necessary to the War. The mutinous People plunder'd the Houses of the richest Citizens, and knock'd on the Head those that resisted. The Jews were not spared, but the Violence was carry'd even to the Posterity of the Converts. And when things were somewhat quieter, Laws were publish'd, excluding all, both Jewish and Heathen new Converts, from all Offices. The Clergy protected them; for the Dean of the Cathedral Church of *Toledo*, mounting the Pulpit, thunder'd against this Order of the Inhabitants; and he caus'd Publick *Theses* to be held, in which he oppos'd it. The better to manifest the Consequence and Injustice of it, or rather to engage a greater number of People in his Interests, he mention'd many Illustrious Families by Name, who were ally'd to those of the Converted Jews, and who hereby were depriv'd of Employments. All this signify'd nothing; but Pope *Nicholas* V. publish'd a thundering Bull against this Decree, Excommunicating all those who offer'd to exclude the Converted Jews and Heathens from Political and Ecclesiastical Offices, from the Priesthood and Government. This Bull met with no good Reception, and the Pope was even forc'd to send out a second to maintain the first; and *Mariana* is the almost only *Spanish* Historian that has thought fit to insert it in his History, because it was not to the liking of the rest.

XV. Their Historians † relate a long Conversation between *Alphonso the Great*, *King of Spain*, *and Thomas the Subtle Philosopher*. This Title seems to agree to *Thomas Aquinas*, who was a great Philosopher, who explain'd *Aristotle*'s Principles, and whose Books have been translated into Hebrew. For *Cantes* has translated into this Language three Books of his Sums, by the assistance of one Rabbin *Jonas*, who turn'd Christian. We don't know the Translator of another Book, entitl'd, *de Anima*. But 'tis most probable he was a Christian, since he not only calls St. *Thomas San*, like the Hebrew Doctors when they speak of some beatify'd Christian; but the Translator gives him the Title of *Saint* הקדוש *Hakadosch*, which a Jew never gives to a Christian. These Hebrew Versions must have given *Thomas Aquinas* the Reputation of a very Subtle Philosopher. As he liv'd in *Alphonso*'s time, who was a Favourer and Lover of the Circumcis'd, there might be some Grounds to suspect, that the Discourse we are going to relate, was betwixt *Alphonso* and *Thomas Aquinas*; but it does not appear that this Doctor went into *Spain*. Besides, *Nicholas de Lyra*'s Commentaries are there mention'd, who liv'd not till after St. *Thomas* and *Abravanel*, who was expell'd *Spain* in the general Banishment. Either then *Salomon Ben Virgæ* must have brought Men together, who were not Cotemporaries; or the King of *Spain*, he speaks of, must be *Alphonso* V. King of *Portugal*, who reign'd in the middle of the fifteenth Century.

XVI. *Alphonso* congratulated himself to see *Thomas* the Subtle Philosopher arrive in his Kingdom, because an imprudent Bishop had preach'd some days before, That the Jews could not celebrate the Feast of the Passover without the Blood of Christian, which, if it were true, he resolv'd to expel them out of his Dominions. The Prince added, That he was amaz'd at God's severe Treatment of the Jews who worshipp'd him, since the *Romans* had been Masters of the World, tho' they worshipped false Deities. He also speaks of an Island, which worshipp'd *Venus* in a very lascivious manner; but this Prince, or the Historian, were not well acquainted with the History of the *Romans*, or of these Islanders. Lastly, He concluded, That the Jews had all that could render 'em Happy and Potent; they were Wise and Politick, Couragious, Rich and Numerous. *Thomas* having heard the King speak, made but a scurvy Apology for the Jews; for the Arguments he employ'd to shew they did uot use Humane Blood in their Feasts, were generally childish. He went upon *Abravanel*'s Authority, who maintain'd ‖ from the Testimony of an ancient Doctor, *That he who believes one God, the Creation of the World, Hell and Heaven, has the Law.* That the Christians worshipping God have the Law, because they destroy not the Unity, by admitting a Trinity of Persons; from whence he concluded, That the Jews don't rank Christians with Idolaters. He accus'd the Christians with envying the Fortune of those, who from being Poor were grown Rich; or dress'd themselves finer than the Rich. He charg'd the Excesses complain'd of upon the Talmudists Account, who ty'd up this People by very severe Laws. Lastly, He advis'd the Prince to make some Laws against Luxury and Usury, which would be very agreeable to the People. The Conference lasted many days; and as *Thomas* so openly espous'd the Jews, that he would introduce *Abravanel* as one of the Lineage of *David*, he procur'd 'em the King's Protection.

XVII. 'Twas moreover in the Presence of *Alphonso King of Portugal*, that another Conference was held

* An. 1430. Mariana l. 9. p. 189. † Simon's *Criticisms of the old and new Testament*, l. 3. c. ii. p. 415. ‖ *They were call'd* Alphonso, Gonsalvo *and* Alvarez. * Mariana l. xxii. c. 1. An. 1449. † Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 18. ‖ Ibid p. 28

held about Religion. The Christian maintain'd to the Jew, That the 22d *Psalm* related to the Messiah. The Rabbin told the Story of one of his Doctors *, who having abus'd his Cock for waking him too soon in the Morning, put him into the Pot; but the Cock still crow'd on, and the Doctor imagin'd, that the Prophet *Jeremy* had foretold this Adventure. The Rabbin very justly ridicul'd the foolish Imagination of the Man; but at the same time maintain'd, That as it was ridiculous, not to observe in *Jeremy*'s Prophecy several things not agreeing to the Cock, the same thing ought to be said of the 22d *Psalm*, since Jesus Christ, who voluntarily suffer'd Death, could not complain, that God had forsaken him: Nor could he say, *Our Fathers have hoped in thee*, since he was without Father. Lastly, he said, That these Words, *as a Lion my hands*, respected the Jews; because, as a Lion makes a Circle round the Forest with his Tail, and hinders the Beasts from going out; so the Nations shut up the Jews, and oblige 'em to submit to their Laws. The King perceiv'd the Falshood of this Answer, grounded upon a thing which the Lion is not guilty of. We can't guess how this Conference ended, since the Manuscript it was taken from was torn.

XVIII. However, the Synagogue was then in possession of great Advantages: For besides the Learned of *Arragon* before-mention'd, many others appear'd. *Chamai* was † famous at that time for his Cabalistick Art. He taught the Secret of getting more Boys than Girls, by turning a Man's Bed from North to South. Indeed, 'tis the Principle of the Rabbins, that the Majesty of God resides from East to West; 'tis dishonouring him to set ones Bed that way; but when we set it from North to South, God recompences this Mark of Respect by the Generation of Sons, which are generally preferr'd before Daughters: A very different Reason from that of the ancient Philosophers; who imagin'd, That the North-wind contributed to the begetting of Males.

XIX. *Joel*, the Son of *Sciocu*, publish'd ‖ Sermons. This Preacher was prolix and diffus'd, the too common Vice of those who harangue the People; because they have more Complaisance for themselves than their Auditories; but yet he was much esteemed, because he was a Learned Man, and good Judges have thought his Explication of some Chapters of the Pentateuch very solid.

Lastly, The Family * of the *Altadeb* produced two famous Astronomers, the Uncle and Nephew, who both made Astronomical Tables. But we shall not insist longer upon this Head, because we shall find still many Learned Men included in the Sentence of Condemnation, and involv'd in the last Misery that swallow'd up this Nation, and expell'd it out of *Spain*.

Abraham Prince of the Nation, and Preceptor to *Aben-Ezra*, had predicted two hundred Years before, That the same Constellation which had produced *Moses*, should produce the Messiah. This Constellation was the Conjunction of † *Saturn and Jupiter, and was to happen two thousand eight hundred fifty nine Years after Moses, that is, in the Year* 1464. *of Jesus Christ*. And indeed this Conjunction was made twice in the same Century. *Jupiter* and *Saturn* met in the Year 1444. in *Cancer*, and twenty Years after in *Pisces*. But instead of Miracles, which were to be the Consequences of these Conjunctions, and of the Birth of the expected Messiah, they felt many sad back strokes of Fortune; and at last a general Exile out of *Spain* was the Destruction of a great part of the Nation.

XX. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* were the Accomplishers of this great Work. After they had put an happy end to the War against the *Moors*, they thought of nothing more than the ruining the Synagogues, and getting rid of the Jews. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, in *March* 1492. issu'd out an Edict, commanding the Nation to depart the Kingdoms of *Spain*, within the space of four Months, or to embrace Christianity. *Turrecremata*, who was the very Soul of this Persecution, advis'd the shortning the term, and forbad the supplying 'em with Provisions, under great Penalties, and lending any Assistance to those who should not be gone in *April*. Some Historians are of Opinion, That the liberty granted them of carrying off their Gold and Jewels was alter'd, and that they were only permitted to change them for Cloth and Wine, and other Merchandises. In the mean time this Prohibition was not rigorously executed, or else the Jews were ingenious, since they carry'd off thirty thousand Millions of Ducats. Such as had the Courage to leave their Country, were oblig'd to pay some Ducats *per* Head to the King for their Freight; those that would not, or could not go for want of Money, became Slaves, and their Goods were confiscated. This last Clause was so rigorously executed, that two Vessels which were loaden, not being able to sail at the prefix'd time, they unmercifully sold all those that were on Board.

XXI. *Mariana* affirms, That seventy thousand Families, or eight hundred thousand Persons, left *Spain* upon the execution of this Edict. The Jews ‖ reckon a hundred and twenty thousand Families, and six hundred thousand Souls. The Favour, *Abravanel* so long had with the King and Queen, could not preserve him from the same Fate. He was oblig'd to imbark, and depart with the rest for *Italy*. He must have been accustom'd to Exiles; for however glorious his Life was, he was often oblig'd to fly *. In the Bloom of his Youth he appeared at the Court of *Alphonso* in *Portugal*, and had a great share in his Favour; but *John* II. his Son, having different Notions, *Abravanel* stole secretly into the Kingdom of *Castile*. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, tho' Catholicks, made use of him in their Finances. They say he got great Treasures in a little time, and was expell'd with the rest of his Nation in 1492. He retir'd to *Naples*, and quickly procur'd the King's Favour, to whom he did great Services; but this Prince being dead †, and *Charles* VIII. having possess'd himself of the Kingdom of *Naples* without any Opposition, *Abravanel* was oblig'd to fly to *Sicily*, with *Alphonso* II. who succeeded his Father. He preserv'd his Fidelity to his Prince in the midst of his Distresses, which despoil'd him of his Riches and his Crown. *Alphonso* dy'd ‖ in *Sicily*, and *Abravanel* was oblig'd again to change his Place of Sanctuary. At first he went to *Corfu*, and from thence farther to *Apulia*; where, after he had resided some time, he went to lay his Bones * at *Venice*. His Body still travell'd after his Death. This Man is famous, not only for a long train of Disgraces, but especially for his Works †. *He is the most useful of all the Rabbins for the understanding of Scripture. He wrote in a pure and intelligible Style, tho' it be too prolix, and hath more of the Strain of a Rhetorician, than of an Interpreter of the Bible.* He explains the

* Salomon Ben Virgæ. † An. 1420. Bartol. Bibl. Rab. t. ii. p. 840. ‖ Ibid. t. iii. * R. Isaac Ben Tsadic, R. Isaac Ben Salomeonis, Ben Tsadic. Bartol. Bibl. Rab. t. iii. p. 290, 925. An. 1482. & 1484. † Pic. de la Mirand. in Astrol. l. 5. c. 12. p. 386. ‖ Abravanel, &c. Cardoso las Excellencias. * An. 1481. † An. 1494. ‖ An. 1495. * An. 1508 Æt. 71. † Simon's *Criticisms of the old Testament*, l. iii. c. 6. p. 380. Bartol. Bibl. Rab. t. iii. p. 876.

literal

literal Senſe of Scripture, and handles the moſt important Queſtions that are found in the Books he has Commented. He was a good-natur'd Man, and liv'd in familiarity with the Chriſtians; but yet it is complain'd of him, That his Works are full of Invectives againſt 'em, particularly againſt the Clergy and the Pope, for which reaſon there are People, who would have the reading of 'em forbidden the Jews.

There was ſeen moreover, amongſt the famous Refugees, *Iſaac* the Son of *Arama*, a great Philoſopher, and a greater Cabbaliſt. The Jews wonderfully eſteem his Explication of the Law; but ſome Chriſtian Criticks think *, *a Man ought to have a great deal of leiſure to read theſe long Commentaries, fill'd with Allegories, and a perfectly Jewiſh Morality.* He brought with him R. *Meir*, his Son, one of the principal Rabbins of his time; the Author of a Commentary upon *Job*, which *Buxtorf* has attributed to his Father. *The Divine Cabbaliſt, the Thaumaturgus*; So they call *Joſeph Gigatella*, alſo made Flight his Option, and explain'd in his Exile, *The Attributes of God, his Names, the ten Sephiroths*; that is to ſay, that part of the Jewiſh Divinity, which is at once the moſt myſterious, and the moſt eſteem'd by the Nation. *Iſaac Karo* was one of theſe Exiles. He retir'd firſt into *Portugal*, and went thence to *Jeruſalem*; but he loſt his Children and Books by the way. He liv'd a very ſolitary Life, and compos'd the Generations, or *the Children of Iſaac*, to comfort thoſe that had loſt them. There are Doubts upon the Pentateuch, which he has clearly enough reſolv'd. *Abraham Zacuth* liv'd alſo at that time. *Bartolocci* † confounds him with *Abraham the Jew*, who has tranſlated a Treatiſe about the *Virtue of Medicines*, out of *Arabick*. Theſe two Authors publiſh'd a perpetual Almanack, and both of 'em were great Studiers of Aſtronomy. The latter was of *Salamanca*, and taught at *Sarragoſſa*; but he was oblig'd to quit his Country by *Ferdinand*'s Edict. He retir'd to *Portugal*, where King *Emanuel* gave him the Title of his Hiſtoriographer. Here it was he compos'd the *Juchaſſin*, the famous Book of Generations, from the Creation of the World to the Year 1500. They did not univerſally perſevere. There were abundance of Deſerters that comply'd with the times, and choſe rather to take on an external Mask of Chriſtianity, than expoſe themſelves to the Miſeries that purſu'd abundance of Fugitives.

XXII. The Truth is, their Miſery was extreme. The Fire ſeiz'd ſome Tranſport Veſſels, and conſum'd all the Paſſengers; many were ſhipwreck'd, and periſh'd in the Sea, either through the Fault, or the Deſign of the Pilots. The Peſtilence having infected the reſt, the Pilots ſet 'em on Shore. Part of thoſe that landed being cur'd, dy'd of Hunger. Others arriv'd at *Fez*, where the Inhabitants frighted at ſuch multitudes of Fugitives, ſhut up the Gates They were forc'd to ſet up Tents in the Field, to live upon ſome Herbs, which the Drought and Barrenneſs render'd very ſcarce. Beſides the Injuries of the Air, they were forc'd to ſubmit to the Inſolence of ſome Inhabitants, who thought all things were permitted 'em againſt the Miſerable. One of 'em took a Maid by force before her Parents Face; and return'd a Moment after to murder her, for fear ſhe had conceiv'd, and would bring forth a Child that was a Jew. A Sailor ſurpriz'd a Company of Children who came to look for Shell-Fiſh and other Fiſh when the Sea retir'd. He made 'em come on board his Bark, where he gave 'em Bread, which attracted a great number of 'em. One day he weigh'd Anchor, and carry'd off all the young Children, which he ſold to ſome great Lords, and made Slaves of the reſt. A *Spaniſh* Pilot entred upon a Reſolution of murdering all the Paſſengers, to revenge, as he ſaid by their Death the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, which they had ſhed. But he was told, That Chriſt, who had ſhed his Blood for Mans Redemption, did not require a Sinner's Death. Softned by this Remonſtrance, he contented himſelf with ſtripping 'em, and throwing 'em upon the Shore, where they had freſh Miſeries to contend with. Part of them died, after they had ſuffer'd Hunger for three days. Some were torn by Lions that came out of a Neighbouring Cave. Others were ſav'd by the Charity of a Pilot; who ſeeing 'em in ſo diſmal a Condition, receiv'd 'em into his Veſſel, and tore his Sails to cover their Nakedneſs. Thoſe that made their way for *Italy*, arriv'd at *Genoa*, where the Famine render'd Proviſions extremely dear. The Inhabitants ſeeing theſe Fugitives attenuated by ſo long Sufferings, and deſtitute of Money to buy Food, went into the Streets, holding Bread in one Hand, and a Croſs in the other; offering the Bread to theſe famiſh'd Creatures, upon condition of worſhipping the Croſs. This Stratagem ſucceeded, and ſuch as had had the Courage to leave their Eſtates and Country, ſubmitted to this ſecond Temptation.

XXIII. People murmur'd ſtrangely againſt the Politicks of the King of *Spain*, who depopulated his Kingdom by ſo miſtaſten a Perſecution. Beſides, he run the risk of a Rebellion, ſince eight hundred thouſand People, driven to Deſpair, were capable of making a dangerous Inſurrection; and *Abravanel* had reaſon to boaſt of this Exemplary Fidelity of his Nation, when it might have taken Arms againſt its Perſecutors, and have caus'd a Civil War; for it is remarkable. *Ferdinand* doubtleſs had laid in Precautions againſt an Event he had reaſon to fear. But Deſpair often throws the Prudence of Kings and Politicians off the Hinges. It was not conceivable, how this Maſter in the Art of Reigning came to weaken himſelf ſo conſiderable, without any neceſſity. Religion ſeem'd only a Veil to cover the Conduct of *Ferdinand*, who was infinitely Ambitious. We can't anſwer for the Motions of Human Mind, whoſe Springs are not only hidden, but different, according to the Circumſtance of Times. *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* thought to buy off their Sins by this uſeful Sacrifice to the Church. They computed the Wealth which this Deſertion would give 'em, which did not prove ſo conſiderable as they were made to believe. They imagin'd they ſhould open a vaſt and ſpacious Career for the Praiſes of a flattering Clergy; and they were not miſtaken in this laſt particular. And thus they ſacrific'd the Proſperity of the Kingdom to Ambition, their predominant Paſſion. *Ferdinand* alſo receiv'd the Title of Catholick ſome time after, from the ſame *Alexander* VI. who laugh'd with himſelf, to ſee him thruſt out thoſe People which he receiv'd.

XXIV. *John* II. King of *Portugal*, lying at the very Gates of *Spain*, was willing to enrich himſelf with his Neighbours Spoils. The Intereſt of his Kingdom demanded, that he ſhould give a Retreat to the Jews, from whom he had receiv'd conſiderable Services. He had ſent || ſome of 'em to the Coaſt of *Ormus*, and the *Red Sea*, who brought him a faithful Account, and ſerv'd him in the Diſcovery of the *Eaſt-Indies*; but yet he did not love them. At once to indulge his Politicks, and his Averſion to 'em, he receiv'd 'em, but impos'd on 'em moſt rigorous Conditions. Each Head was oblig'd to pay him eight gold Crowns for the Privilege of Refuge.

* Simon ib. † Bart. B. R. t. i. p. 29. & 54. || R. Abraham de Beia & Joſeph Zapatero de Lamego, *who came and made their Report to him*

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He moreover fix'd a time, beyond which it was not lawful for 'em to continue in his Territories without entring into Slavery. The two Conditions were discharg'd by abundance of Fugitives that retir'd into this Kingdom, and who afterwards chose rather to live in Slavery, than to expose themselves to fresh Misfortunes. They complain *, That he sent a vast number into the *Isles of Thieves*, newly discover'd, where they miserably perish'd. But at the same time they comfort themselves with a Notion, That God aveng'd 'em for it; for he dy'd young, and his Son, who by marrying *Isabella* became Heir to many Kingdoms, fell from his Horse into the *Tagus*, from whence he was carry'd to a Peasant's Cottage, where he dy'd; so that the Crown pass'd into another Branch.

XXV. *Emanuel*, *John*'s Successor, at first compassionated these oppress'd Wretches, and restor'd 'em to their Liberty. But the Alliance he made with *Isabella* and *Ferdinand*, whose Daughter he marry'd, alter'd his first Notions. *Isabella* plainly declar'd, that she would not have a Man to her Son-in-law that suffer'd the Enemies of God in his Kingdom. This was only the Pretence. The Riches which the Fugitives had brought into his Dominions, and the number of his Subjects, which were increas'd by the Jews and Moors, awaken'd their Jealousie; and the Vexation to see their Conduct condemn'd by *Emanuel*'s, which was quite contrary, contributed to sowre their Minds. *Emanuel*, who had also his Interest in view, sacrific'd the Jews and Moors to an Alliance he thought more advantagious. He allow'd both of 'em time to depart out of his Dominions. He kept his word with the latter, as fearing Reprisals would be made in *Africa* upon the Christians. But he doubly violated his Faith with the Jews, by depriving 'em of the liberty to carry away their Children above fourteen Years of Age, which reduc'd 'em to that Despair, that some of 'em kill'd themselves, and others sacrificing Nature to their Religion, turn'd Executioners to their own Bowels. Besides, after that they had assign'd 'em three Ports, whither they were to go to imbark, they reduc'd 'em to one. They were oblig'd to alter their Measures, to make a double Journey and exhaust their Treasures. In fine, the delays that were given to the Embarkation, made great numbers miserable. If this Action of *Emanuel* has found Panegyrists, there have been also more equitable † Historians, who have not related it without condemning it of Injustice.

XXVI. The Misery oblig'd many to call themselves Christians; and these Conversions, which were mostly feign'd, had three effects. Those who had comply'd with the times, and bent under the Violence of their Enemies, were not trusted; and a great many of 'em were massacred ‖ upon the first occasion that offer'd it self, which was the most frivolous imaginable. There was in the Church of *Lisbon* a Crucify'd Jesus, the Wound whereof was cover'd with a Glass: Some fanciful Bigots thought they saw a darting Light proceed from the. Glass, and cry'd out Miracles! An imprudent Jew venturing to deny the Fact, there needed no more for the Votaries and two Dominican Monks to enflame the People against this Nation, tho' it was converted. The Sedition lasted three days, in which they kill'd above two thousand of these new Converts, whom they pursu'd even into the Churches, and dragg'd from the Altars. Any Alliance or Relation with 'em was sufficient to make a Man an Object of the Popular Fury. They plunder'd their Houses, and unmercifully kill'd those that were shut up in them. The Magistrates not only conniv'd at the People, but countenanc'd these Commotions. *Emanuel* came at last to settle the matter by the Punishment of the two Dominicans, who were burnt; and by degrading of the Magistrates, who had not done their Duty in repressing the Sedition.

Some Historians charge this Disaster upon the Jews, affirming, they drew it upon themselves, because some of 'em, after publickly professing Christianity, and being baptized, were found celebrating the Feast of the Passover in secret; but *Mariana* * ought to be preferr'd before all foreign and *German* Authors. Nevertheless, 'tis true, that most of those that remain'd in *Spain* and *Portugal* dissembled instead of being Converted, which is the natural effect of Persecution in matter of Religion. The most surprizing thing is, that this Religion spreads from Generation to Generation, and still subsists in the Persons of Dissemblers in a remote Posterity. In vain the great Lords of *Spain* † *make Alliances, change their Names, and take ancient Scutcheons; they are still known to be of a Jewish Race, and Jews themselves. The Convents of Monks and Nuns are full of them. Most of the Canons, Inquisitors and Bishops proceed from this Nation.* This is enough to make the People and Clergy of this Country tremble, since such sort of Churchmen can only profane the Sacraments, and want Intention in consecrating the Host they adore. In the mean time, *Orobio*, who relates the Fact, knew these Dissemblers. He was one of them himself, *and bent the Knee before the Sacrament.* Moreover, he brings Proofs of his Assertion, in maintaining, That there are in the Synagogue of *Amsterdam*, Brothers and Sisters and near Relations to good Families of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and even Franciscan Monks, Dominicans and Jesuits, who come to do Penance, and make amends for the Crime they have committed in dissembling.

XXVII. Experience confirms what he advances. The Church of *Rome*, after it has bred up these Dissemblers, sees 'em shamefully leave her Communion, and plainly prove the Vanity of those Conversions, in which it so often triumphs. We have even seen very ingenious People leave her, who have study'd the Law much more than the Gospel. *Joseph* the Son of *Joshua*, who continued his Chronology till the Year 1554. was a *Spaniard*, and the best Historian this Nation has had since *Josephus*. *Joseph Ben Virgæ* was another *Spaniard*, who has collected several necessary Rules for the understanding the *Gemara*, which are the more useful, because they were forgotten by other Interpreters. *Isaac Cardoso*, a Descendant also from the *Portugueze* Dissemblers, became one of the principal Physicians of *Castile*; where he wrote his *Spanish* Tract concerning the usefulness of Water and Snow, and cold or hot Drink. *Utilidades del aqua y de la nieve, de bever frio y caliente.* But at last being tir'd with his Disguise, he quitted *Spain* and the Catholick Religion with his Name *Ferdinand*, which he had received at his Baptism, and retired to *Verona* about the middle of the last Century. He printed his Treatise ‖ *de las Excellencias, de los Hebreos*, in which he expatiates on the particular Prerogatives of the Jewish People, which ought to make them honoured, notwithstanding their Miseries and Dispersions, which God only sends for the expiation of their Sins. He observes, that this Nation was chosen by God; that it alone is separated from all other Nations; that it receiv'd

* Cardoso las Excellencias, p. 388. † Osorius l. 1. Mariana l. xxvi. c. 13. ‖ An. 1506. * Mariana l. xxviii. t. 2. c. 17. p. 593. † Limborch Collat. cum Jud. p. 102. ‖ Isaac Cardoso las Excellencias, &c. An. 1679.

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the Sabbath and Circumcision from Heaven, and that the Divinity instructed it by inspir'd Men. Lastly, He retorts ten Accusations that Christians bring against this People, part of which we have inserted in several Places. 'Tis strange that this Work should have escap'd *Bartolocci*, who had so vast an Acquaintance with the Jewish Books.

XXVIII. The Inquisition is watchful over these *new Christians*; for thus they are still call'd, tho' two hundred Years have roll'd over their Heads, since the first Conversion of their Ancestors. They are still suspected by the cruel Ministers of this Tribunal, who inrich themselves with their Spoils. The least Suspicion suffices to make 'em guilty. For indeed, whenever any Accident happens in the Kingdom, the People accuses 'em of Judaizing in secret, and bringing down the Divine Vengeance. An Instance of it was seen at the beginning of the last Century; for the People fermenting I know not upon what pretence, a Dominican, with a Crucifix in his Hand, put himself at the Head of these Mutineers; they plunder'd, they ravag'd, they kill'd four or five thousand of these Converts. * An Act of Adoration refus'd an Image, is a Crime deserving Capital Punishment. The Witnesses are heard and believ'd without being confronted. The Confession extorted by unheard of Torments, is a Conviction more than sufficient. The *Act of Faith*, in which they are burnt, is one of the most solemn Sights they go to see. They run to it in Crowds †, and look upon it as one of the Ramparts of Religion, and a glorious Act of Piety. When it is to be made, the Accus'd are drawn from their Dungeons, shav'd, and cover'd with a long yellow Habit, the Women being only distinguish'd by a white Veil upon their Heads. Upon this Dress are St. *Andrew*'s Crosses, Flames and Devils, which notifie beforehand to the Miserable what is to be their Fate and kind of Death. Each Prisoner is attended by *two Familiars of the Holy Office*; these are Persons of Quality, who Pride themselves in serving the Ministers of this hideous Tribunal, and carrying long Wands, like the Serjeants that accompany the Hangman on Execution-day. All these Prisoners are conducted to the great Court of the Palace of *Lisbon*, upon a long and large Theatre, like a Tennis-Court. A Pulpit, design'd for the Preacher, separates them. They begin with the Sermon, which turns upon the Conversion of the Jews. Another Ecclesiastick comes next into the same Pulpit, and reads the Sentence of Condemnation. They begin with the Jews that promis'd to be converted; on whom Punishments are impos'd, proportionate to the Crime they are charg'd with; and afterwards the Obstinate are deliver'd up to the Secular Arm, with a precise Petition to exercise Humanity towards the Guilty, and to permit no effusion of Blood. The Secular Judge feigns in his turn to grant this feign'd Request. He dares not revise the Sentence, nor doubt of its Validity. It were better *for a Man to be burnt a thousand times, than that it should be believ'd, he had been imprisoned, being Innocent.* The Criminals are taken and led to Punishment, and that there may not be an effusion of Blood, as was promis'd, they are cast into the Fire and burnt.

XXIX. The Jewish Historians make bitter Complaints of the continuance of these Violences at *Corduba*, *Lisbon*, and *Conimbra*, and even in the *Indies*, against the Women as well as the Men. But at the same time they make all the Sufferers Saints and Martyrs, whose Death God avenges by glorious Miracles. For they tell ‖, that a Physician, call'd *Sylva*, who had been kept Prisoner thirteen Years at *Lima*, and had led an exemplary Life, was no sooner thrown into the Flames, but an impetuous Wind and dreadful Tempest over-turn'd the House where he had been condemn'd. Even the *Indians* were astonish'd at this Prodigy, and confess'd, they never saw any thing like it before. Another, who was burnt in *Portugal*, saw his Chains fall off in the midst of the Flames, and was never seen any more, which made the Executioner say, The Devil had carry'd him away. They believe he miraculously disappear'd, because God was pleas'd to rescue him from their Fury. Thus the Jews comfort themselves for the Christians Barbarity, with false Apprehensions of Miracles, and with Heavens interessing it self in their Afflictions.

XXX. In Honour of the Memory of these Martyrs, they preserve a Catalogue of 'em. The Jews have for a long time neglected these Diptycks of their Martyrs, whose Names deserve better to be convey'd to Posterity, than those of some Cabbalist Doctors; but they do it at present, at least in some Places *. In this Rank they reckon a Monk of the Ascension, who was burnt at *Lisbon* in the Year 1603. *Sobremont*, after he had suffer'd twenty two Years a severe Imprisonment at *Lima*, where he practis'd Physick, was committed to the Flames by the Order of the Inquisition.

Veinte y dos annos en prison penosa,
Por defender de Dios la verda pura,
Treminno arrastra la cadena dura,
Que le dact ser la sacra ley su esposa.

Dom Lope de Vera was of a Christian and Noble Family; but having study'd at *Salamanca*, he turn'd Jew, Circumcis'd himself in Prison, and took the Name of *Juda the Believer*. He was also burnt, and dy'd with a Constancy, that oblig'd the President of the Inquisition to confess, That *he never saw such ardent desires of dying, so great an assurance of Salvation, and so perfect a Constancy, as that of this Youth, who was in the Flower of his Age* †. *Almeyda* was burnt at *Compostella*, in the Year 1655. *Mynes* at *Corduba*. In the Year 1680. was made an Act of Faith at *Madrid*, by which seven Persons dy'd. Three others were burnt two Years after at *Lisbon*, by such another Sentence. The Rabbins say, That God permits it, because he will have in all Nations and Ages irreproachable Witnesses of his Unity. Thus the Jews of the West have lost their Liberty in four Kingdoms, *France*, *England*, *Spain* and *Portugal*. Let us see what those of the East did, where they still subsist.

* An 1605. Cardoso Excellencias p. 383. † *See the Relation of the Inquisition of* Goa, *in* 1687. *and Memoirs of Mr.* D'Ablancourt, 1701. ‖ An. 1693. *at* Lima Sylva *was Circumcis'd in his Imprisonment; he eat no Meat, he turn'd* Nazarene, *and was call'd* Heli Nazareno indigno Siervo de Dios, *alios*, Sylva: Cardoso las Excellencias, deciema Ex. p. 322. * *At* Amsterdam *See* Barrio's Gouvirno popular Judaico p. 42. Menasses Esperanza d' Israel p. 99. † An. 1644. *at* Valadolid, Carta del Inquisidor Moscoso a la Condesa de Monterey.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

The History of the Jews *of the* East *in* Persia, Armenia, Media, *&c. during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*

I. *The Religion of* Tamerlan: *The Jews but little known at his Court.* II. *The Establishment of the Empire of the great Mogul: Arguments proving Jews at* Cachemire. III. *These Arguments examined.* IV. *They take* Ishmael Sophy, *King of* Persia, *for the Messiah, and are undeceiv'd.* V. *Succession of the Sophy.* VI. Schack Abbas's *Design of persecuting the Jews repress'd.* VII. *The Conference he had with them.* VIII. *Their Engagement to turn Mussulmans at Seventy Years end.* IX. *The Execution of this Treaty.* X. *A Chronological Reflection against this Narrative.* XI. *Another Remark drawn from* Schack Abbas's *Character.* XII. *This Prince persecuted Liberty given: A fresh Persecution under* Abbas II. XIII. *New Arguments drawn from this Persecution: The Toleration of the* Persians. XIV. *The Tribe of* Levi *at* Schiras: *Jews at* Lar, Goa, *in the Indies.* XV. *Other Jews at* Bagdet: *Pilgrims that come there: The* Rafedi's *hatred of them.* XVI. *The Tranquility they enjoy in* Armenia. XVII. *Their Settlement at* Ecbatana *and at* Ragues *in* Media *continues.* XVIII. *The Princes of* Mingrelia *and* Georgia *descend from* David: *Jews in that Country: A Description of their Condition in the East.*

I. THE Jews suffer'd much by the rapid and violent Conquests of *Tamerlan*; for this Conqueror having fix'd his Capital at *Samercand*, pass'd on * to *Chorazzan* where they were numerous. He seiz'd upon *Bagdet*, and all the *Irake:* He flew into *Syria*, where he plunder'd *Damascus:* He defeated *Bajazet*, who reign'd in *Anatolia*, where this Nation had considerable Settlements; and as he laid waste all places where his Armies march'd, it is no wonder that the Jews were ruined and dispersed by his Invasions. *Tamerlan* follow'd *Gingizkan*'s Religion, which consisted in seven or eight Precepts dictated by the Law of Nature. He owned the Unity of a God, and declared himself an Enemy to Idolatry. Tho' he has been represented as a Barbarian and an ignorant Man, because he had follow'd no other Profession than Arms, yet he was a Lover of Men of Letters, and maintain'd a great number of 'em, with whom he often convers'd. Physicians and Astronomers were very well receiv'd at his Court. Hence we have reason to believe, that many Jews were in it, since they excell'd in these two Sciences. But as the Arabian Writers, who have given us his Picture, and the History of his Life, don't speak of it, we shall not supply their silence.

II. The Conquests of *Tamerlan* were divided betwixt his Sons and Grandsons, who could not agree about sharing the Succession, and who weakned themselves by their Division. Nevertheless they supported themselves a hundred Years, till a Commander of the *Usbecs* † enter'd *Chorazzan*, and by Conquest took it from them. *Arbek*, a Descendent of *Tamerlan*, was oblig'd to fly to the *Indies*, where he set up the Empire ‖ of the great Mogul. We are told, there was there a Province of *Cachemire* full of Jews, that came there in *Soloman* of *Salmanazar*'s time, who have left Footsteps of their Establishment, by which they are discover'd at this day. Mr. *Thevenot* desired one of his Friends to examine, whether those in this Country had *the Holy Scripture, and whether their Old Testament was like ours?* But he answer'd, That tho' *there were formerly Jews there, yet there were none at present.* "All are, said he *, "either Heathens, or Mahometans, perhaps some "of them might be found in *China*, for I have lately "seen in the Hands of our *R. P.* Jesuit of *Delhi*, Let- "ters of a German Jesuit written from *Pekin*, signi- "fying that he had seen such, as had preserved "Judaism and the Old Testament, and who knew "nothing of the Death of Jesus Christ, and that "they would even have made the Jesuit their "*Kakan*, provided he would abstain from Swines "Flesh; however we may still find here some "Tracks of Judaism. The first is, That as we "enter this Kingdom, after the passage of the "*Pire-Penjabe* Mountain, all the Inhabitants I saw "in the first Villages seem'd to me to be Jews, by "their Make and Looks, and, in fine, by some- "thing particular, which I know not how, distin- "guishes one Nation from another. This Notion "is not peculiar to me, but our Father Jesuit, and "many of our *Europeans*, had it before me. The "second is, That I observed the Name of *Mousa*, "which signifies *Moses*, to be much used among "the People of this City, tho' *Mahometans*. The "third, That they say commonly that *Salomon* "came into their Country, and that it was he who "cut the Mountain *Baramoule*, to give current to "the Waters. The fourth, That *Moses* died at "*Cachemire*, and that his Tomb is a League from "this City. And the fifth, That they pretend "this little and very ancient Edifice, which ap- "pears here upon a high Mountain, was built by "*Salomon*; for which reason 'tis still called *Salo- "mon*'s Throne. Thus I should not be willing to "deny, that some of them have penetrated as far "as this place. But in tract of time these People "might have lost the Purity of their Law, and "turned Idolaters, and at last Mahometans.

III. Mr. *Bernier* is in the right, for I doubt not but that there were some Jews in the Dominions of the great Mogul. The Misery they were reduced to in the East by frequent Wars, obliged some of them to follow *Arbec* with his other fugitive Subjects; and as they go into all places, where they can make their Fortunes, the Prosperity of these Princes might, in their turn, draw over Merchants, Astronomers, and Physicians. But it is equally false, that they were settled there from *Salomon* or *Salmanazer*'s time; and that Characters of Judaism are found at *Cachemire*, distinct enough to draw Consequences from them. 1. The Temple and Throne of *Solomon* are Chimera's, for *Solomon* only built the Temple at *Jerusalem*; and tho' his Name might have been carried into this Country by the Fleets that he sent to the neighbouring Islands, can it be imagined, that the remembrance of it was so long preserved, and that Temples were built to the Honour of this Prince, bearing his Name to this day? 2. The burying of *Moses* at *Cachemire* is still more fabulous, and the Name of *Mousa* is so well known to the *Arabians*, that 'tis no wonder the Inhabitants of that City give it often to their Chil-

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• Vattier's *History of* Tamerlan, l. 1.
* Voyage de Bernier, t. 2. p. 141, &c.
† Sharbeck Vid. Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p. 771.
‖ *About the Year* 1465.

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dren. *Mouſſa*, the Son of *Giafar the Juſt*, is one of the twelve *Imans*, whom the Muſſulmans worſhip for Saints. They give him the Title of *Amim*, of *Alkiidem*, and *Saber*, to ſignifie that he was the *Faithful* Guardian of the Faith and Tradition, the *Gracious* and the *Patient*, becauſe he ſtifled his Anger, and with Humility ſuffered the Perſecution of the Caliph *Aaron*, who cauſed him to be taken Priſoner and poiſon'd. There is no need therefore of going up ſo high as *Moſes* the Jewiſh Legiſlator, ſince the Muſſulmans have a Saint of the ſame Name whom they worſhip. 3. Laſtly, There is nothing more ambiguous, than this Jewiſh Phyſiognomy aſcrib'd to the Inhabitants of *Cachemire*, and we are not to go here in queſt of the Remains of the diſperſed Tribes, ſince we have no Proof of their coming hither either in *Salomonar Salmanazer*'s Reign, or even in the Flight of *Arbec*, who founded the Empire of the Great Mogul.

IV. The Body of the Nation remain'd in *Perſia* and *Media*; but as their Academies had been deſtroy'd, and the Sciences could not flouriſh among the Confuſions of War, their learned Men, and Heads of the Captivity, have for a long time diſappeared; and even the private Perſons diſperſed in the Provinces and Cities, made a ſad Figure there, becauſe they had been ruined. 'Tis ſaid they raiſed their Head under *Iſhmael Sophy*, Founder of the Family that reigns at preſent in *Perſia*. This Prince, who thought himſelf a Deſcendant of *Aly*, gathered all thoſe who were devoted to this Sect, and all the Unfortunate that would follow him. He found but ſeven or eight thouſand Men in *Caramannia*, which is the ancient *Cilicia*; but with this ſmall Number he threw himſelf into one of the Provinces of *Media* †, and beat and kill'd *Ferokhead* the King of it; and this firſt Victory obtain'd at fourteen Years of Age, put him in a capacity to take *Tauris*, which ſome Geographers confound with *Ecbatana*, and make himſelf Maſter not only of the reſt of *Media* but alſo of *Perſia*. The Jews, who were numerous in *Media*, with which *Iſhmael* began his Conqueſts, dazled with his Valour, and the ſpeedy and rapid Succeſs of his Deſigns, imagined, as 'tis ſaid, that this young Conqueror might be the Meſſiah they had expected for ſo many Ages. Two Circumſtances concurr'd to deceive them; one, that *Iſhmael* went to reform the Muſſulman Law, and ſeem'd to oppoſe the Religion which the People profeſſed in the Eaſt; the other, that he boaſted of being a Prophet ſent from Heaven. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that his Courtiers exalted him above the pitch of Humane Nature. It was eaſily perceiv'd, they had built upon a falſe Foundation, ſince tho' *Iſhmael* impugn'd the prevailing Religion, it was only to re-eſtabliſh the Sect of *Aly*; and the great Change he made, only related to the Head-dreſs, ſince he took a red Turbant, which had twelve Folds about it invented by his Father *Haydar*; for which reaſon 'tis call'd the *Haydarian Crown*. Laſtly, *Iſhmael*, inſtead of making himſelf reſpected as the Meſſiah of the Jews, deſpiſed their Homages, and manifeſted more Averſion than Inclination for them.

V. *Iſhmael Sophi* died in the Year 1523, being thirty eight Years old, and left the Empire to his Son *Thahamasb*, who being engag'd in a long War with *Soliman*, was at laſt oblig'd to ruin his own Country, that he might not be purſued nor taken in his retreat. The Sultaneſs poiſon'd him, to ſet a Son ſhe had by him on the Throne. But as this Son was viſiting his Father's Treaſures, his Siſter cauſed him to be knock'd o'th' Head by the Officers ſhe had ſuborn'd to execute her Deſign. She preſently releaſed *Iſhmael* II. her other Brother, out of Priſon, to place him upon the Throne: But this Ingrateful Man kill'd her a little time after. His Subjects, unable to bear him, poiſon'd him after a Reign of two Years, and eſtabliſh'd ‖ a third Son of *Thahamasb*, who was blind, and was call'd *Iſhmael*. From this blind Man proceeded the famous *Schak Abbas*, who undertook to perſecute the Jews; which gave occaſion to a general Maſſacre a *long time after his Death*. The Matter of Fact is thus related.

VI. *Schak Abbas*'s Council repreſenting to him, that *Perſia* was very depopulate *, he reſolved to grant great Privileges to all that would come and ſettle there. Multitudes of People arriv'd from all the neighbouring Parts, and particularly a Crowd of Jews, who drew the Trade to them, and enrich'd themſelves. They quickly provok'd the Jealouſie of the other Inhabitants, who brought their Complaints againſt them to the Sophy. There was no Expedient to puniſh them without giving Umbrage to other Strangers, whom the Violation of Privileges granted for ſome Years, would oblige to retire. But it was found in the Alcoran, that this Nation was to embrace the Muſſulman Religion ſix hundred Years after its Publication, or be entirely deſtroy'd. *Abbas*, who was naturally cruel, would have executed *Mahomet*'s Orders, and have cut off all the Jews, if the Mufti had not ſtopp'd him. It was reſolved however to quote the Kacams, or the Sages of the Nation, before the Sophy's Tribunal, to anſwer his Demands.

VII. *Schak Abbas* queſtion'd them particularly about the Abolition of the Sacrifices, and the other Ceremonies, the uſe of which had ceaſed ſince the coming of *Iſaiah*, or *Jeſus*, whom *Mahomet* had ſucceeded. A Chriſtian could not have diſputed more ſubtlely, ſince that is the weak part of the Jewiſh Religion. The Kacams, aſtoniſh'd at theſe Interrogatories, declared that they expected a Meſſiah, and that they could not receive the Chriſt whom their Anceſtors had crucified. *Abbas* was provok'd with this Anſwer, ſince the Alcoran makes an honourable mention of *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Why will ye not believe* Jeſus Chriſt, ſaid he, *ſince I believe him?* They replied, *That Chriſtians were ſo many Idolaters, who worſhipped a Man, who was curs'd and hung upon a Tree. Very well*, ſaid the Sophy, *believe not the Meſſiah of the Chriſtians, ſince you have no mind to it. But what think you of* Mahomet? This Demand confounded them, as perceiving the Danger they incurr'd, by diſcovering their Thoughts of the falſe Prophet. After they had conferr'd in ſecret, they declar'd, That *Moſes* was the great Prophet, and the only one they ought to follow; but *That they did not abſolutely reject* Mahomet, *becauſe he was Son of* Abraham *by* Iſhmael. To this Anſwer they added Intreaties and Supplications to the Sophy, to have Compaſſion on his Slaves and Subjects, who had ſettled in his Dominions only to pleaſe him.

VIII. *Abbas* reproach'd them that under Pretence of expecting a Meſſiah, they perſevered in their Incredulity, and hinder'd others from embracing the Muſſulman Faith. *But*, ſaid he, *to remove this vain Pretence, fix a time for the coming of your Meſſiah, I will tolerate you till the Accompliſhment of this Period. But if the Meſſiah, who has been delay'd for ſo many Ages, deceive you once more, 'tis juſt you ſhould embrace* Mahomet's *Religion, or loſe your Eſtates, your Children and Lives.* He allow'd them time to confer together, and to conſider in what Year the Meſſiah ought to appear. After a mature

† An. 1500. ‖ An. 1577. * *Hiſtory of three Impoſtors*, p. 114. Kidder, *A Demonſtration of the Meſſias*, p. 3. c. 2. p. 435.

Deliberation, they determin'd that the Meſſiah was to appear in Seventy Years, reckoning from the day of their coming before the Sophy. Hereby they eluded the Puniſhment they were threaten'd with, ſince both *Abbas* and themſelves muſt be dead before ſo long a term of Years. *Abbas*, who was covetous, ſold them theſe Years of Reſt at a dear Rate, and cauſed their mutual Promiſes agreed upon to be regiſtred; for on one hand, the Jews promiſed to turn Muſſulmans, or to conſent to the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, and their utter Deſtruction in all the Sophy's Dominions, if their Meſſiah did not appear at Seventy Years end: On the other Hand, *Schak Abbas* promiſed for himſelf, and his Succeſſors, to turn Jews, if the Meſſiah appear'd at that time. The Agreement was ſign'd on both ſides, kept in the Archives, and the Jews tax'd two Millions of Gold, in the interim, till their Promiſe was executed.

IX. A hundred and fifteen Years were run out ſince *Abbas*'s Reign *, and yet no body thought of the Contract he had made with the Jews. For indeed the Empire of the *Perſians* was diſturb'd with almoſt continual Wars with the *Turks*, † who ſeiz'd upon *Bagdet* whilſt their Hands were imploy'd againſt the great Mogul. *Amurath* IV. found a great many Jews there, who had ſtill remain'd in this Country, ever ſince their firſt Diſperſion. But tho' this Prince, violating his Promiſe, put the *Perſians* to the Sword, that he might weaken his Enemy by this Maſſacre, yet he ſpared ‖ this Nation, becauſe he thought it was very uſeful to him.

The War cauſed ſo great a Diſtraction at the Perſian Court, that the Treaty *Schak Abbas* had made with the Jews was not executed. But we are told, that *Abbas* II. who began his Reign in 1642, and was a little more at Peace, turning over one day the Regiſters of the Palace, found in his *Father's Journal*, the Contract between the Jews and *Schak Abbas* I. This ſurpriz'd him the more, for as much as *Zabathai Tzevi* made a great Noiſe at that time, and moſt of the Jews look'd upon him as the Meſſiah, who came to dis-ingage them of their Promiſe. He aſſembled a great Council to deliberate about ſo important an Affair, but it was there unanimouſly reſolv'd to deſtroy, without any delay, *this Nation abounding with Cheats and Impoſtors, that labour'd only to oppoſe Mankind.* Order was given to all the Inhabitants, both Strangers and Natives of the Sophy's Dominions, to fall upon the Jews, and to ſpare neither Age nor Sex, exccept ſuch as ſhould turn Muſſulmans. This Maſſacre began at *Iſpahan*, the Capital of his Kingdoms. It was exercis'd with the ſame Barbarity in the Provinces of *Seyra*, *Ghelan*, *Humadan*, *Ardan*, and *Tauris*, where the Jews were ſettled. The Execution laſted three Years, * without any glimpſe of Humanity or Compaſſion from the *Perſians*; inſomuch that there remain'd not one ſingle Jew in all that vaſt Extent of Provinces, where they had heap'd up mighty Riches. Some eſcap'd the Barbarity of the People by flying into the Lands of the Turk, and the *Indies*, and abjuring Judaiſm. 'Tis ſaid alſo, That the Hatred of the *Perſians* againſt this Nation is ſo violent, that there is no hope of their being ever able to ſettle there again.

X. We were not willing to deny the Publick ſo circumſtantiated a Relation: In the mean time 'tis impoſſible to reconcile Chronology with this Event. For *Abbas* I. cauſed not his Brother's Throat to be cut till 1586, ſixteen Months after his Father's Death, and there interven'd but fourſcore Years from his Elevation to the Year 1666, when the Maſſacre was perform'd, and yet they reckon above a hundred and fifteen. It would require ſome Years for *Abbas* I. to ſtrengthen a Throne which he had uſurp'd. Some time alſo muſt be allow'd the Jews to inrich themſelves, which can't be done ſo ſuddenly. So that there were not ſixty Years between his Treaty with the Jews, and the beginning of the Perſecution; and it can't be ſaid, that they were oblig'd to ſuſpend the Execution of this pretended Contract, or even to forget it long, by reaſon of the Wars with the *Turks* and *Indians*.

XI. Moreover *Schak Abbas*, whom the *Perſians* look upon as one of their greateſt Princes, is ſuppoſed to make a Treaty that ſhocks Probability; for 'tis pretended he did not perſecute the Chriſtians, and that he was even afraid to provoke them. Whereas we know, that upon a bare Suſpicion, that the Chriſtians of ſome Cities of *Armenia* depended upon the Biſhop of *Rome*, he perſecuted them, and put to death above a thouſand Perſons by cruel Tortures †. He alſo cruelly perſecuted the Jews, which Perſecution does not agree with the Suſpenſion promiſed by a Treaty concluded in form with this Nation. Is it probable, that this Prince would have entred upon a Treaty with his *Slaves*, and have laid his Religion, or that of his Succeſſors, at Stake, by engaging to change it upon the appearance of the Meſſiah? How is it likely that a Prince, infinitely proud and cruel, and inveſted with Arbitrary Power, as *Abbas* I. was, would have ſtoop'd to have articled with ſome Merchants of his Dominions, or have equall'd his Religion to theirs, and promiſed to give up the Faith of his Anceſtors upon the coming of a Jewiſh Meſſiah, tho' the *Perſians* have no Idea of this Meſſiah to come?

XII. 'Tis better to ſay, That without any Reference to this Treaty with the Jews, *Schak Abbas* perſecuted them; and as he recompenced thoſe who renounced their Religion, or pretended to be Muſſulmans, he thought he had contributed a great deal to the Propagation of the Faith. But this great Prince, who was not willing to be deceiv'd, having diſcover'd that almoſt all the Deſerters of Judaiſm diſſembled, he was not aſhamed to give up his Deſign of Converſions, and to reſtore to the Jews the Liberty of Conſcience he had taken from them, as is the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*.

They injoy'd it, till a Miniſter of State, who hated them, or deſign'd to inrich himſelf by the Perſecution, ingag'd his Maſter to torment them, ‖ and to oblige them to turn *Mahometans*. "He "imploy'd his utmoſt Efforts, ſparing neither Vio- "lence nor Lenity to ſucceed in his Deſign. There "was alſo an Order of the Prince, forbidding the "Exerciſe of the Jewiſh Religion in his Dominions; "but notwithſtanding all this, he could not effect "it; for upon a diligent Obſervation it was found, "that whatever Pretences they made to *Maho-* "*metiſm*, they practiſed *Jewdaiſm* ſtill: So that "there was a neceſſity of permitting them to turn "bad Jews again, ſince they could not be made "good Muſſulmans. In they mean time all thoſe "that are at *Iſpahan*, are beggarly and miſerable; "nor are there a great number of them, ſince there "is nothing for them to do. They pay annually "a Sequin a piece to the King, and are oblig'd to "wear a little ſquare piece of Stuff of two or three "Fingers breadth, ſew'd to their Caba, or Robe, "in the middle of their Breaſt, about two Inches "above their Girdle; and it ſignifies nothing of

* *He died at 63 Years of Age, in the Year* 1629. † An. 1638. ‖ Dom Miguel de Barrios Hiſtoria Univerſal. Judaica, p. 4. * *From the Year* 1663 *to* 1666. † Th. Herbert's *Voyage to* Perſia 1677. ‖ Thevenot's *Voyage*, t. 4. l. 2. c. 14. p. 388.

"what

" what Stuff this Patch is made, provided the Co-
" lour be different from that of the Habit it is
" ſow'd to.

XIII. Theſe Words furniſh us with new Arguments againſt the Treaty of *Schah Abbas* I. with the Jews. For, 1. Mr. *Thevenot* obſerves, That as *'tis the Cuſtom of the* Perſians *to leave Strangers of all Religions an entire Liberty of Conſcience, the proceedure of* Eatemad Doulet *was thought very ſtrange, who undertook ſome Years ſince to conſtrain the Jews to turn Mahometans.* 2. He travell'd in this Country from the Year 1663. to 1665. and conſequently, would have been a Witneſs of the Maſſacre made by vertue of the Contract between *Abbas* I. and the Jews. And yet he ſpeaks only of a Perſecution made ſome Years before, which had been diſapprov'd. 3. Laſtly, In his time, and ever ſince his Return till now, the Jews inhabit the Cities of *Perſia*, where they endeavour to grow rich, tho' they are generally all Beggars and miſerable.

XIV. The Tribe of *Levi* pretends to keep up it ſelf at *Schiras*, where the *Perſians* have a fine Academy, a great number of Scholars, and Profeſſors to teach Philoſophy, Phyſick and Divinity. 'Tis certain there are a great many more Jews there than at *Iſpahan*; but we can't conjecture upon what foundation they pretend to be of the Tribe of *Levi*, nor how this Tribe, which return'd from *Chaldea* with *Eſdras* and *Nehemiah*, has been able to get together in this City to trade in Glaſſes and Wine, for that is their main Occupation. They are ſtill more numerous at *Lar*, the Capital of a Province, where they have * a Quarter aſſign'd to 'em at the foot of the Mountain between the City and the Caſtle. They are alſo diffus'd into the Country, on the Coaſt of *Ormus* and *Bander Abaſſi*, in order to glean up ſome little part of the Trade that is us'd from thence to the *Indies*, where they had formerly a great many Brethren. Indeed they were diſtinguiſh'd there into two kinds, one that were born *Indians*, who turn'd Jews, and the others were deſcended from the Race of *Abraham*. The King of *Portugal*, tho' he had expell'd 'em out of his Kingdom, tolerated 'em ſtill † at *Goa* and other Places, where they had their Publick Worſhip: And here it was, that ſome Years ſince ‖ an Impoſtor, pretending to be the Meſſiah; who deceiv'd abundance of People, whom the vehement deſire of Liberty and Deliverance drew after him. His Reputation flew as far as *Portugal*, where ſome were ſilly enough to believe and admire all that was ſaid of him. But the Inquiſition at preſent purſues in that Country, and obliges the moſt part to conceal themſelves or diſſemble. They accuſe 'em here of ſacrificing to the Devil, like the Bramins, to hinder him from doing Miſchief. But this Accuſation is falſe, it is only true, that they believe the *Metempſychoſis*, and pretend to prognoſticate Futurities, whether by the *Cabbala*, or the Study of the Conſtellations and Motions of the Stars, which infinitely pleaſes the *Indians*. But to return to thoſe of *Perſia*, or of the depending or adjacent Provinces.

XV. *Bagdet*, which was ſo long the Seat of the Princes of the Captivity, has for a long time been no conſiderable City. They do not reckon above fifteen thouſand Inhabitants, ſince its being* taken by *Amurath* IV. Nevertheleſs the Jews have maintain'd themſelves here; where they have a Synagogue, and at preſent make a part of its Inhabitants; but their number increaſes conſiderably every Year, by the Pilgrimages made to *Ezekiel*'s Tomb. This Devotion continues among the Jews as well as the *Perſians*, and a multitude of Pilgrims arrive annually at *Bagdet*, and remain there. However, they are infinitely hated, and the *Raſedis*, which make a particular Sect among the Muſſulmans, and are very powerful at *Bagdet*, will have no ſort of Correſpondence with 'em. We know the Story of one of † theſe *Raſedis*, who was a Water-Carrier, and who ſeeing a Jew very thirſty, and deſiring to buy a Glaſs, refus'd to ſell him any. The Complaint was brought to the Governour, who order'd the Secretary to be cudgel'd, whilſt the Jew drank his Water at free coſt.

XVI. I don't know how it can be ſaid, that they live more quietly in *Armenia* ‖, becauſe they eaſier compromiſe with the Chriſtians of the *Armenian* Religion, than with any other; for the *Armenians* defend the Eſſential Doctrine of the Meſſiah, which makes a moſt prodigious Chaſm betwixt the Jew and the Chriſtian; and tho' there ſhould be ſome Conformity of Ceremonies, it would not be Foundation enough for a ſtrict Union betwixt 'em, ſince of all Religions, there is none that is more enriched with the Spoils of Judaiſm, and that has adopted more of its Ceremonies, than the Roman, againſt which the Jews declare a perpetual War. Beſides, the Jewiſh Hiſtorians don't acknowledge the Lenity of the *Armenians*; for they tell, That the *Maſians* accus'd their Nation of the Murther of a Chriſtian, becauſe he was ſeen to go into a Jew's Houſe, and not to come out again. The Inqueſt being very precipitately made, the Accus'd confeſs'd the Murther. They crucify'd ſome, burnt others, nor did they even ſpare *Abiob*, a famous Phyſician, who was caſt into the Fire. Three days after, the Chriſtian appear'd again in the City, and it was perceiv'd, that the Accuſation was made out of ſpite, and the Confeſſion extorted by the violence of Torments. A Complaint was brought of it to *Soliman* II. who depriv'd the Subordinate Judges of the Cognizance of theſe ſort of Crimes, and reſerv'd them only for the Sovereign. As this Event is taken from a Book, intitl'd, The *Calamities of the Jews*, and attributed to an Author who wrote in *Egypt*: It is ſaid, that the City *Meſia* is the ancient *Gerrum*, and the modern *Maſely*, ſituate upon the Sea-ſide. But the Accuſation being made by the *Armenians*, it is more probable it was made among them, and the rather, becauſe there is a Mountain of this Name in the *Upper Armenia*, near *Niſibe*. If this Nation liv'd quietly in *Armenia*, 'tis becauſe the Chriſtians of this Country are honeſt ignorant People, and oblig'd to ſtoop, thro' the fear of a Miſery which is common to 'em with the Jews, as living under the Muſſulmans; or, in fine, this Peace is granted 'em by the *Ottomans*, who continue to the Jews their Ancient Privileges in this Province, as well as in the reſt of the Empire, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

XVII. We alſo find ſome of 'em in *Media*, where they were carry'd at the time of the Captivity, and where they have ſtill continu'd, tho' declining very much. I don't know whether *Tauris* be the old *Ecbatana*, or rather, a more * modern City, as the *Arabians* believe it; but being a City of great Commerce, there are many Trading Jews in it. *Chasbin* is a great City in *Media*, which ſome Geographers think to be the ſame with that which *Tobit* calls *Rages* of *Media*. 'Tis alſo a Place very much enrich'd by its advantagious Situation. *Thahamasb* made it his Capital, and commonly ſpent the Win-

* Thevenot ib. l. 3. p. 2. p. 461. † Mandeſlo's *Voyage to the* Indies, l. 2. p. 272. ‖ An. 1639. * An. 1638. † An. 1639. Tavernier's *Voyages*, l. 2. p. 234. ‖ An. 1627. Herbert's *Voyage to* Perſia. * Built *in the Year* 165, *of the* Hegyra, 781 *of the Chriſtian* Æra.

ter in it; and ſo did his Succeſſors, till *Abbas* I. remov'd his Court to *Iſpahan*. It ſerves to unite the Trade of *Hircania*, *Iberia* and *Media*, with the other Provinces of the Kingdom. The Jews were carry'd thither in *Sennacherib*'s time; and there liv'd *Gabael*, to whom *Tobit* truſted ten Talents. It can't be ſaid, whether this Nation remain'd there, without any interruption, for ſo long a Succeſſion of Ages, in which the City and the Provinces have gone thro' mighty Revolutions; but however, there are a hundred Jewiſh Families to forty of the Chriſtians.

XVIII. They are not ſuffer'd at *Scamachia*, ſeated upon the *Caſpian* Sea, a Place * of great Trade; but the *Tartars*, who bring thither Girls and Boys, and Horſes to be ſold, tolerate 'em out of neceſſity, and mingle with 'em in order to Commerce. We find ſome of them as far as at the Foot of Mount *Caucaſus*, which the *Arabians* thought encompaſs'd the whole Earth, ſo that the Sun roſe upon one of its Points, and ſet behind the other. 'Tis related, † That the Prince of *Mingrelia pretends to be deſcended from* David. *The King of* Imiretta *aſſerts the ſame thing*. *The ancient Kings of* Georgia *believ'd it likewiſe, and the Cham of* Georgia *puts it among his Titles, that he iſſu'd from this great King by* Salomon *his Son*. But theſe Pretenſions are ſupported by no Proof; 'tis only true, that there is a Synagogue at *Aſcalzike*, a little City ſituate at the Foot of Mount *Caucaſus*, which the *Georgians* had built, to defend themſelves againſt the Invaſions of the Enemy, and which the *Turks* have taken from them. This is the State of the Jews in all this part of the Eaſt, by which it appears, that the Tribes which were diſperſed there, keep up ſtill in *Perſia*, *Armenia* and *Media*, where they have their Synagogues, and are ſtill numerous, ſince they are in all the Trading Cities from *Baſſora* and the *Indies* to *Mingrelia*. But the Tribes are too much confounded to be any longer diſtinguiſhed; they are ignorant, poor, miſerable, and reduced to the vileſt Offices to get their Bread. Laſtly, They have ſo little Correſpondence with their Weſtern Brethren, as hardly to know any thing of them. It would be uſeleſs to make a longer deſcription, what we have related being a ſufficient Proof of it. Let us continue their Hiſtory in the other Provinces of the Eaſt.

* An. 1627. Chardin's *Voyage to* Perſia, p. 439. † Chardin ib. p. 152.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Jews in the Eaſt: Of thoſe of Syria. *The Adventures of the Falſe Meſſiah* Zabathai Tzevi, *who came from* Aleppo.

I. Syria *divided into five Provinces by the* Arabians. II. Damaſcus *is the Terreſtrial Paradiſe. The Origine of this Tradition.* III. *The Monuments of the Jews Cruelty againſt St.* Paul. *Their State at* Damaſcus. IV. *An Inſcription brought from* Aleppo. *A Conjecture about* Jupiter Madbacius. V. *The Jews are very well at* Aleppo. VI. Zabathai Tzevi *is born in this City. His deſign of making himſelf the Meſſiah.* VII. *His Paſſage to* Salonichi, *and his ſcandalous Marriage.* VIII. Levi *declares himſelf the Prophet* Elias. IX. *He proclaims* Zabathai *the expected Meſſiah.* X. *His Condemnation at* Smyrna. *The People ſave him.* XI. *His Throne and his Kingdom.* XII. *The Titles he gives himſelf. He is baſtinado'd.* XIII. *He is taken Priſoner.* XIV. *An Order to run him thro' with a Sword.* XV. Zabathai *turns Muſſulman. The Peoples Credulity for him.*

I. THE *Arabians* divide *Syria* differently from us, which they call *Scham*, for they make it include all *Judea* *. Therefore a Geographer ſays, *That of all the Cities of* Syria, *the moſt conſiderable is the Holy City, or* Jeruſalem, *ſituate in a mountainous Country, in which is the nobleſt Temple that has been built thro' the whole extent of Muſſulmaniſm.* But we ſhall follow the common Notion, and reſerve what relates to *Judea* for the following Chapter.

II. *Damaſcus*, notwithſtanding all the terrible Revolutions it has undergone, is ſtill conſiderable in *Syria*. The Chriſtians could not take it all the time of the Holy Wars. The Sultan defended it, as a Poſt of the greateſt Conſequence. *Tamerlan* carry'd immenſe Riches from it, after he had taken it in the Year 1402. The Jews and Chriſtians of that Country have a Tradition, That the Terreſtrial Paradiſe was in the Valley of *Damaſcus*. The latter think, that they obſerve a red Earth, of which the firſt Man was form'd, becauſe *it ſeems moſt proper to make Fleſh*, or rather, becauſe *Adam* was call'd *Red*. 'Tis ſaid, That they borrow'd this Tradition from the *Arabians*; who tell, That *Schodad*, the Cotemporary of *Heber*, Patriarch of the Hebrews, having reign'd two hundred and ſixty Years in this Country, built a City in it call'd *Paradiſe* †, which diſappear'd immediately after his Death. But there is no need of ſtealing the *Arabian* Fables, to place the *Garden of Eden* in the Valley of *Damaſcus*. Its an extremely happy Situation; its Fruitfulneſs and Beauty are enough to poſſeſs the Inhabitants with this Notion; and a learned Commentator of *Geneſis*, who runs not after the fabulous Tales of the Orientals, has nevertheleſs ſeated the Terreſtrial Paradiſe in theſe Places, tho' the Names of *Euphrates* and *Tigris* diſcover a very different Situation.

III. At *Damaſcus* they preſerve the Monuments of the Jews Cruelty towards St. *Paul*: Whether the Muſſulmans are as credulous as the Chriſtians in this particular, or that being more politick and ſubtle, they cheriſh a Credulity that is beneficial to 'em, becauſe they ſell the Sight of theſe Monuments very dear to the Chriſtians. 'Tis certain, they ſhew them not only the Houſe, but the Chamber where *Ananias* was, when God reveal'd to him, that he muſt go and find out St. *Paul*. The Chriſtians built a Church there, which is turn'd into a Moſch. They alſo ſhew the Houſe of *Judas*, in which the ſame St. *Paul* continued ſhut up till *Ana-*

* *They divide it into five Provinces*, Hennaſſerim, *where is* Aleppo; Hems, *in which is* Emaſa; Damaſcus, *which has the general Name of the Province* Scham; Arden, Galilee, *or the Country of* Jordan; Paleſtin, *where is* Paleſtine; Jeruſalem *is call'd* Beit Almohaddes, *the Holy City; and the Temple* Maſged Alaſca. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. P. 772, & 773. † Gennet, *Paradiſe*, ib. p. 780.

nias

nias had instructed him. The Place where St. *George* was ston'd by the Jews, who accus'd him with letting St. *Paul* escape thro' a Gate which he had the Keys of, is well known. Some Travellers assert *, That the Accusation was well grounded, and that if St. *George*, who kept the Gate of the City, durst not open it, for fear of answering for it, yet at least he shew'd St. *Paul* the place of the Wall where he might get down. This Place has been wall'd up, and the *Arabians* imagine the City can be taken no other way. Great Devotion † is paid to the Tomb of St. *George*, on which there are burning Lamps, the Oyl whereof miraculously cures the sick *Christians and Mussulmans*, because they have Faith in the Miracle. Notwithstanding these Monuments of the Jews Cruelty against St. *Paul*, which must render their Posterity more odious, yet they still continue at *Damascus*. They have always had and still have a Trade, their Synagogues, and their *Cachams*, or Doctors, in this Place. And not content ‖ to have Synagogues in the City, they have a famous one in the Place where they think the Prophet *Elijah* call'd *Elisha* to be his Disciple. This is a Conquest they have made upon the Christians, who had built a Church in the same place. Lastly, They have near the City a publick Burying-Place, separated from that of the Christians but by a small Alley.

IV. *Aleppo* is the ancient *Berea*. It has always been considerable, tho' it has gone thro' different Hands, since the Caliphs took it from the Greeks. The famous Mr. *Cuper* has receiv'd an Inscription from thence, running thus; *To Jupiter Madbachius, & Selamanez: to the Gods of the Country.* The Learned have made several Conjectures about this unknown Monument. But may it not be said, 1. That *Madbachius* and *Selamanez* are two Epithets of *Jupiter?* for if *Madbachius* was another Divinity, he would be distinguish'd by the same disjunctive Particle as *Madbachius* and *Selamanez*. 2. We ought not to seek here for an Altar or Sacrifices, but the God of *Union and Peace*. *Jupiter* is often intitled, *Jovi Pacifico*, and the Word *Selamanez* leads us to this Interpretation as well as *Madbachius* *, which signifies *Union*. This Derivation †, which Mr. *Le Clerc* has noted, is much more natural than that of Sacrifices, in which a Letter must be chang'd. But this Learned Man makes a particular God of him, and confines his Function to the Conjugal or Political Union; whereas it might be turn'd into a general Elogy of *Jupiter*, who is the God of *Peace and Union*. 3. *Andronicus*, who has erected this Monument, thought he could join the *Gods of the Country*, *Deos Indigites*, with *Jupiter*, or else *Madbachius* and *Selamanez* are petty Gods of the Country that are not known. We thought, that in speaking of *Aleppo*, it was not amiss briefly to give our Notion upon this Monument, which has already given occasion for so many Conjectures ‖.

V. The Sultans of *Aleppo* have for a long time made *Kennasserim* their Capital, which afterwards gave its Name to the chief Province of *Syria*. But *Aleppo* has, for all that, been always a considerable Place. The Jews have been, and are at present numerous in it. They have there, as at *Damascus*, their Synagogues, and a share in the Trade. They commonly make a Figure on * Publick Festivals, and give Shews to denote their joy for the Prosperity of the Ottoman Empire, or for the Birth of the Sultan's Children, and thereby indeavour to increase † their Interest at Court, and particularly with the Governour whom they depend upon. The Favourite of the Grand Visier, who besieg'd and took *Bagdet* at the Head of a hundred thousand Men, was a Jew, born at *Aleppo*. He follow'd his Master to the Army, and the Power he had with him, gave a great Lustre to his Family which liv'd there, and to all that part of the Nation which was spread in *Syria*.

VI. 'Twas this City ‖ that produc'd the famous Impostor *Zabathai Tzevi*, who deluded this Nation in the last Century, pretending to be the Messiah. His Father was but a Poulterer at *Aleppo*, but yet he had the Ambition and Rashness to go about persuading the People, That he was the Redeemer of *Israel*, promis'd by the Prophet, and expected for so many Ages. He learnt betimes all that was necessary to be known, to act so great a part. Scarce was he come from School, but he set up for a Teacher. He preach'd in the Fields, in sight of the Turks, who laugh'd at him, whilst his Disciples admir'd him. At twenty four Years of Age he marry'd a young Jewess, whom he divorc'd without knowing her, and took another, with whom he also liv'd in Abstinence. It can't be conjectur'd, what was the use of these Marriages, repeated without Consummation, unless it was to amuse silly People with his love of Chastity. He fell upon the Study of Prophecies, which perfectly overturn'd his Head, by his applying them to himself. He imagin'd he was to *ascend above the heights of the Clouds*, as *Isaiah* had foretold *; and whether his Head was perfectly craz'd, or that he thought he had sufficient Authority to impose upon his Disciples, he ask'd them one day, Whether they had not seen him carry'd in the Air? and he upbraided those with Blindness that had not seen him. The wiser sort easily perceiv'd what a Man would come to, who so boldly boasted that he work'd Miracles, and pronounc'd the Name *Jehovah*. He was cited to appear before the Heads of the Synagogue of *Smyrna*, where he then was, and condemn'd to Death; but because no body would execute the Sentence, they only banish'd him.

VII. He went to *Thessalonica*, a City full of Jews, which he thought a proper Stage to act his part; but he was expell'd from thence, as well as from *Athens*, and several other Places of *Greece*; which oblig'd him to retire to *Alexandria*, where he got greater Reputation. He marry'd a third time, to a lewd Wench, whom her Jewish Parents had left in *Poland*, under the Conduct of a Christian Lord. He gave out, That the Spirit of the Father departing from his Body, had pass'd from *Asia* into *Poland*, to fetch his Daughter, and convey her stark naked into his House. *Tzevi* marry'd her, after she had run thro' *Germany* and *Italy*; and he had sufficient Authority to have her respected as the Queen of the Empire he was to conquer. This Woman's Brother, who was a Tobacconist at *Frankfort*, left his Shop to find out his Brother-in-law, with the hopes of sharing the Dignities of the Crown; but he return'd, after he had been cheated like the rest.

VIII. *Tzevi*, who travers'd the World, met with a Jew of Reputation at *Gaza*, call'd *Nathan Levi*, or *Benjamin*, to whom he communicated his Design. The Conjuncture was the more favourable, in that the Cabbalists prov'd from a Passage of *Daniel*, that the Messiah was to come in the Year 1675. *Levi* imbark'd in his Designs, and set up for the Prophet

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* Stochove's *Voyage to the* Levant, p. 312. An. 1630. Thevenot's *Continuation of the Voyage to the* Levant, l. 1. t. 4. p. 50. An. 1664. † Thevenot ibid. Stochove p. 314. * דבק Debac, adhærere agglutinari. *Those that derive it from* זבב Zebac, *change* ך *into* ז. † Le Clerc Bibl. choisie t. 7. p. 144. ‖ *See the Supplement of Mr.* Jurieu's *Critical History concerning Doctrines and Worship*, p. 28, 41, &c. * Thevenot's *Continuation of the Voyage to the* Levant l. 1. † An. 1638. Stochove's *Voyage to the* Levant. ‖ *Some make him born at* Smyrna *instead of* Aleppo. * Isa. 14. 41.

Elias.

Elias, who was to be the Meſſiah's Forerunner. He aſſembled the Jews at *Jeruſalem*, and aboliſh'd the Faſt that was there celebrated in *June*, becauſe Sorrow was not ſuitable to the Feaſt of the Meſſiah. He declar'd *Tzevi* to be the Perſon expected. Part of the Nation was over-reach'd; and they flatter'd themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing *Jeruſalem* deliver'd by a Man who ſpecify'd the Month of *September* for the Period decreed for the Conqueſt and Ruin of the Grand Seignior. Wiſe Men, inſtead of being impos'd upon, were aware, that this Inſurrection would be the cauſe of their Deſtruction. Wherefore they oppos'd this new Meſſiah, and anathematiz'd him. He was oblig'd to quit *Jeruſalem*, and return to *Smyrna*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, where he hop'd to gain Followers; but twenty five Rabbins had prevented him, by Letters to their *Smyrna* Brethren, ſignifying, That he was an Atheiſt, and that the Man who ſhould kill him, would do as acceptable a Work to God, as if he had won many Souls. He parted from *Conſtantinople* to return to *Smyrna*, where his Preſence was neceſſary. He knew, that four Ambaſſadors ſent by *Levi* were to wait upon him there, and acknowledge him for the Meſſiah. This Embaſſy impos'd upon the People, and even on part of the Doctors, becauſe *Levi*, who ſent it, was an eminent Man among them. All the Multitude, deceiv'd by his Humility, and his Diligence to waſh himſelf every Morning, and to be firſt at the Synagogue, and eſpecially by his pathetical Sermons, own'd him for their King; and every one brought him Preſents, that he might be able to ſupport his Dignity.

IX. *Levi* did not forget himſelf: He perſuaded all that were willing to hear him, That *Tzevi* was the Prince of the Nation; That the Ottoman Empire was to fall under his Government; That they were only to wait nine Months, for which time he was to be conceal'd, and cauſe great Afflictions to the People; but that afterwards he ſhould appear with Glory, mounted upon a Lion, reducing the People to their Country; and that a ſtately Temple, wherein they ſhould make continual Sacrifices, ſhould at the ſame time deſcend from Heaven.

X. The *Smyrna* Doctors met to conſult a ſecond time, about an Affair which daily grew more important. The more Judicious of them did not find the Characters of the Meſſiah in *Tzevi*, nor thoſe of *Elias* in the Perſon of his Forerunner. For which reaſon they condemn'd him to Death; but as their Party was not the moſt numerous, they were forc'd to yield to the Multitude. *Tzevi* ſummon'd the People to the Synagogue, celebrated a new Feaſt, pronounc'd the Name *Jehovah* ſeveral times, changed ſome Words of the Liturgy. They acknowledg'd his Authority, and thought they ſaw ſomething Divine in his Perſon. A third Decree of Death, pronounc'd by the Rabbins, did not daunt him, as knowing no body durſt execute it. His Friends had gain'd the Cadi of *Smyrna*; upon whom he waited in his Palace, and obtain'd his Protection. The People publiſh'd, That Fire proceeded from *Tzevi*'s Mouth when he ſpoke to the Cadi; that a Pillar of Fire had frighted the Turkiſh Governour, which had oblig'd him to ſend him away, inſtead of putting him to Death: They brought him back in Triumph, ſinging theſe Words of the *Pſalm*, *The right hand of the Lord is exalted.*

XI. Nothing was wanting but a Throne for this new King; wherefore he caus'd one to be erected, and another for his Royal Conſort, and he ſpoke from thence to his Subjects. He drew up a new Form of Faith, which every Body was oblig'd to receive, as coming from the Hand of the Meſſiah. A famous Jew, call'd *la Peigne*, continuing to oppoſe his Empire, he ſent to, and demanded of the Synagogue to puniſh him; upon their refuſal, he went himſelf at the Head of a Company of five hundred Men, and *la Peigne* avoided Death only by a haſty Flight. His own Daughters roſe againſt him, and ſtagger'd their Father's Faith. Many others, who had been incredulous, ran along with the Stream, or honeſtly believ'd they had been miſtaken. They artfully apply'd the Prophecies of the old Teſtament to this Impoſtor, and ſhew'd 'em accompliſh'd in his Perſon.

XII. When he ſaw himſelf exalted to ſo high a pitch of Power, he order'd the Name of the Ottoman Emperor to be eras'd from the Prayers to ſubſtitute his own; and before he undertook the Conqueſt of his Empire, he divided the Dignities and Employs of it amongſt his Favourites. He call'd himſelf the *King of the Kings of Iſrael*, and *Joſeph Tzevi*, his Brother, *the King of the Kings of Judah.* At laſt he departed for *Conſtantinople*, in a little Veſſel, whilſt moſt of the Jews made their march by Land. The Paſſage laſted thirty nine days, in which time the Grand Seignior was advertis'd of his coming, and order'd the Vizier *Azem* to arreſt him Priſoner, and to give him a ſound Baſtinado, which was executed.

XIII. This Adventure did not diſhearten the Jews. They call'd to mind *Levi*'s Prediction, that the Meſſiah was to be conceal'd nine Months, during which the Nation ſhould ſuffer greatly. They took this for the accompliſhment of the Oracle, and this Misfortune confirm'd them in their Prejudice, inſtead of undeceiving them. The Criminal anſwer'd upon his Examination, That he had taken the Title of King whether he would or no, and to ſecure himſelf from the Violence of the Jews, who had forc'd him to it. This Anſwer oblig'd the Vizier *Azem*, who was going to the Siege of *Candia*, to treat him gently, and to ſhut him up in the *Dardanelles*. This was a new Miracle. The Jews maintain'd, The Grand Seignior had not power to put their King to Death, ſince he had not done it. They flock'd from all Parts to the *Dardanelles*; they won the Governour by Preſents; they made larger to the Meſſiah, who puff'd up with the Honours that were paid him, even in his Priſon, commanded all the Nation to celebrate the Feaſt of his Birth; diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to all Parts to proclaim him the Meſſiah, and to publiſh the Miracles he had wrought, and ſtill perform'd. Laſtly, He gave plenary Indulgences to all that came and offer'd their Devotions at his Mother's Tomb.

XIV. But yet he was not without Enemies. *Nehemiah Cohen*, a *Poliſh* Jew, came to maintain to him in Priſon, the Vanity of his Pretenſions, and turned Muſſulman, that he might the better ruin him by revealing the whole Intrigue to the Caimacan. The Mufti was provok'd, becauſe Favour was ſhown to a Man who diſgrac'd the Mahometan Religion, in calling himſelf the Meſſiah. The Grand Seignior, at the requeſt of his Principal Officers, ſent for the Impoſtor to *Adrianople*, and order'd a Sword to be run into him, to try whether he was invulnerable.

XV. This Order put *Tzevi* into a Conſternation, who choſe rather to turn Muſſulman, at the ſollicitation of the Emperor's Phyſician, who had given him an Example, and his Wife did the ſame. Nevertheleſs, as the People will never be in the wrong, they were not entirely undeceiv'd. The Cabbaliſts aſſerted, That the Meſſiah was to continue ſome time among the Turks, as *Eſther* had liv'd with *Ahaſuerus*. But what Confuſion and Diſgrace muſt involve all thoſe who had any remainder of Shame? He has occaſion'd a Book concern-

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ing Three Impoſtors, differing from one another, of the ſame Title, which perhaps was never compos'd; for the three Impoſtors treated of in this Book I quote, are *Zabathai Tzevi*, *Mahomet Bey* or *John Sigala*, and *Padre Ottomanno*. This Article is ſomewhat long, but we could not omit it; and 'tis not amiſs to learn from theſe Circumſtances, how far an Impoſtor may carry his Impudence, and the People their Credulity.

CHAP. XXIV.

The History of the Jews in Judea, *at* Sapheta, *and in* Jeruſalem.

I. Sapheta *Peopled with the Jews.* II. *An Academy there, and famous.* III. Moſes Cordoverus *teaches there.* IV. Dominic *of* Jeruſalem: *Whether there were two of this Name.* V. *Two famous Profeſſors at* Sapheta. VI. Moſes Alſchech *born there.* VII. Ozida *preaches. Ridiculous and buffoonry Titles of Books among the Jews and Chriſtians.* VIII. Moſes *of* Noghera, *a* Galilean, *A Preſs at* Sapheta. IX. Judas Jona: *His Converſion.* X. *Few Jews at* Jeruſalem. *How that City comes to be neglected.* XI. *R.* Jacob, *Doctor at* Jeruſalem, *his* Eye of Iſrael. XII. *Diſputes at* Sapheta *againſt his Son* Levi. *Additions of* Leo de Modena. XIII. *The Patriarch of* Jeruſalem *a Jew in* 1665.

I. ONE would think, that the greateſt number of Jews were to be found in *Judea*; and yet we deceive our ſelves if we ſeek for 'em there. Their Paſſion for the *Holy Land* is wonderfully cool'd, ſince it no longer flows with Milk and Honey for them. 'Tis made a piece of Devotion in the Synagogue, as well as in the Chriſtian Church, to go a Pilgrimaging, and to be bury'd there: But there are few that ſettle in that Country, becauſe there are not many ways of ſubſiſting and growing rich. *Sapheta* is the moſt populous and celebrated City amongſt 'em. They enjoy many Privileges there. For, 1. This City, ſituate in the Tribe of *Nephthali*, nine Miles from *Bethſaida*, upon a Mountain with three tops, is of moſt difficult Acceſs, and therefore it is ſhelter'd from the Incurſions of the *Arabians*, who plunder and lay waſte the Cities where they can enter. 2. I don't know whether the Turks are unwilling to unpeople this City, by ill uſing the Jews; or whether it be the Ottoman's Indulgence that draws the Jews thither *. But 'tis certain, they are more numerous and more kindly treated at *Sapheta*, than in all the reſt of the Ottoman Empire. A Traveller † affirms, That at the beginning of the laſt Century this City was Peopled with nothing but Jews; but he had not ſeen it. He was content with going to the Foot of the Mountain, without going into the Town; for one third of the Inhabitants are Turks, and the other two are Jews. He is guilty of a greater fault in taking it for *Eſther*'s Country. It has an Academy in it.

II. This Academy was not yet erected at the end of the twelfth Century, ſince *Benjamin de Tudela* does not mention it; but it was quickly after. It is even grown very famous; and tho' for a great many Years the Oriental Jews have much neglected Study and the Sciences, yet they ſtill keep up Profeſſors and Doctors here, that are Men of Repute. Hither they ſend their Children to Study, as believing the Hebrew Tongue is here learnt in its Purity; as if that Language was annex'd to the *Holy Land*, and that the Doctors who teach it, who are often Strangers, ſpoke it better than other Rabbins. But 'tis the Prejudice of the People; and the Acadamy of *Sapheta* has been, for ſome Ages, what that of *Tiberias* was before, to which it has ſucceeded.

III. Here the moſt famous Cabbaliſt, that has appear'd ſince *Simeon Jochaides*, taught. He was born at *Corduba*, which gave him the Name of *Moſes Cordoverus*; but quitting *Spain*, towards the end of the thirteenth Century, he was one of the Pillars, and perhaps one of the firſt Founders of this Academy. He took ‖ for his Text, and the Title of his Work, theſe Words of the *Canticles*, *Thou art a Paradiſe of Pomegranates*; and, according to the Cabbaliſtick Mode, he found every thing he had a mind to. The Word *Paradiſe* includes the four Senſes that may be given to the Scripture. The P ſignifies the Literal Senſe, the R the Myſtical Senſe, the D the Enigmatical Senſe, and the S the Secret and hidden Senſe. We may judge by this of the reſt.

IV. *Dominic* of *Jeruſalem* taught in the ſame Academy for ſome time. He became Doctor after he had perform'd his Courſe of Studies, and read Lectures upon the Talmud. His Profeſſion of Phyſick, he practis'd at the ſame time, made him better known, than the Titles of *Rau* and Judge that were given him. The Sultan invited him to *Conſtantinople*, to be his Phyſician. He liv'd to the beginning of the laſt Century, and turn'd Chriſtian; tranſlated the new Teſtament into Hebrew, and at the ſame time anſwer'd ſome Objections of the Rabbins, againſt St. *Stephen*'s Martyrdom. Criticks are at a loſs, becauſe *Marſius* * ſpeaks of another *Dominic* at *Jeruſalem*, who was, as the firſt, a Jew by Birth, a Phyſician to the Sultan in the laſt Century, and alſo a Convert to Chriſtianity. This Conformity in Name, Profeſſion, Vocation and Religions, is a certain *Criterion*, that they are one and the ſame Perſon; for tho' the Writer declares, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, That he only relates what he has ſeen; yet he has not been ſo exact, but that he might confound an Event, which was pretty novel, when he went to *Conſtantinople*.

V. Few † have done more Honour to this Academy, than *Moſes* of *Trany*, and *Joſeph de Karo*, who had the Conduct of it about the middle of the ſixteenth Century. The one was born in a City of *Apulia*, and taught with ſo much Succeſs at *Sapheta*, that the Jews call'd him the *Light of Iſrael*, *the Sinaite of Sinai*, *the Doctor that plucks up Mountains*, becauſe he reſolves the Difficulties that are raiſed upon the Law. The great *Buxtorf* is miſtaken, in thinking, that he only publiſh'd Sermons; the Title of his Book manifeſts, that it is an Abſtract of the Jewiſh Civil Law; in which he aſcends up to the Fountain Head of the Laws, and diſtinguiſhes betwixt theſe that proceeded from *Moſes*, and others that had been handed down by Oral Tradition, and a third ſort, which are bottom'd only upon the Deciſions of the Rabbins.

* Fuller's Piſgah's Sight, l. III. † Stochove's *Voyage to the* Levant. ‖ Bartol. Bibl. Rab. t. iv. p. 230. t. ii. p. 282.
* Nicol. Murſius Relatione della citta de Conſtantinopoli con Riti, &c. del Ottomanno Imperio, p. 34. † Bartol. Bibl. Rab. t. iv. p. 31. & t. iii. p. 819.

VI. This

Joseph de Karo was a *Spaniard*, and went into *Galilee*, where he dy'd in 1575. He also explain'd the Law of the Nation with so much Applause, that he was call'd the *Prodigy of the Universe*.

VI. This Academy has not always been govern'd by Strangers, but had Doctors of its own Growth. *Moses Alscheh* was born * in this City, and distinguished himself in the seventeenth Century, not only by the Eloquence of his Sermons, but by the Commentaries he compos'd upon a part of the Law. All the Titles of his Works are Metaphorical; one is call'd *the Eye of Moses*, another *the Rose of Sharon*, the third *the Lily of the Vallies* He is much prais'd for attempting, in his Explication of Scripture, to produce something new; and being more devoted to the old Interpreters than the Moderns, he has exactly related their Sentiments, even when they favour'd the Christians. He † does not, for example, dissemble that the Messiah ought to be afflicted. On the contrary, he proves it by the Division the Ancients have made of Afflictions into three portions; one for the Patriarchs, another for the Jews, when they were banish'd out of the *Holy Land*, and the third relating to the Messiah. The Confusion he was in is easily observ'd, as to *Isaiah*'s Prophecies; for having acknowledg'd, that the Prophet had the Messiah in view in the fifty third Chapter, he afterwards apply'd the Oracle to another Person, and at last ascends up to *Moses*, which is ridiculous.

VII. *Samuel Ozida* was another Preacher that thunder'd also at *Sapheta*, the Place of his Birth. He explain'd *Jeremy*'s *Lamentations*, and intitl'd his Commentary, the *Bread of Tears*. Most of the Titles which the Jewish Doctors prefix to their Books are very odd; but they are not the only ones of this sort; and tho' the Palate of the present Age be much disgusted with these Metaphorical Titles, yet we still find very ridiculous ones to many Books. Father *Maria Ghirlandi*, Provincial of the *Minims* of *Tuscany*, has three Years since printed at ‖ *Pistoria*, from whence his Family came, a Collection of Sonnets, which he calls, A Garland of Poetick Motions for the Holy Heart of Jesus: *Ghirlanda daffetti Poetici al Sacro cuor de Giesu*. He promises as much for the Virgin. This Title is foolish for a Subject that requires Respect and Elevation; and the allusion of a Garland to the Name of *Ghirlandi*, is very childish for a Monk in an Age so discreet, and exempt from these Follies as ours is. We find another Work compos'd by *Gomez de la Cruz*, Professor of the Convent of *Minims* at *Salamanca*, intitl'd, *El Meior Sol defiganno, el siempre Augusto Sacramento*; *the best Sun to be undeceiv'd by, the ever August Sacrament of the Altar*. Father *Nadal*, a Jesuit in *Sicily*, has publish'd the *Mines of Indulgences*, and *Purgatory overflow'd with Grief*, because the Indulgences empty'd and depopulated it, *le Meniere delle Indulgenze, el Purgatorio inundato di dolore*. The Life also of *Jesus Christ* has been writ in Elegies, as *Ovid*'s *Metamorphosis* has been some Years since in Stanzas. In these Elegies Love takes all sorts of Shapes; we there find *nascent* Love. This is the first Book. The second is *miraculous* Love. The third is *suffering* Love; and the Author concludes with *triumphant* Love. This is what he calls *Amor Divinus adumbratus in Jesu Christo*. 'Tis in vain to say, That these Frolicks are permitted the Sons of *Apollo*; for the Poets ought to renounce this liberty, or that of handling grave and important Subjects. At least, these People have no pretence to upbraid the Rabbins with their Allegorical Titles. But to return to the Doctors of *Sapheta*, that have occasion'd this Reflection.

VIII. *Moses de Nagiara* was also a *Galilean*, tho' some make him a *Portugueze*, because of the Family of *Noghera*, which was, or is still in this Country. He taught at *Sapheta*, and has left a Commentary upon the Pentateuch, which the Jews esteem.

The Jews had a Press there, in which they printed the Ritual, which *Moses Gallant*, Head of this Academy, compos'd in 1560. It has been said, That this Book was printed at *Zaphat, a City of France*. But this is a Mistake, for there is no City in *France* of that Name. The Jews have no Printing-House there; and we ought to read *Galilee* instead of *Gallia*. IX. Lastly, *Judas Jona*, who after his Conversion became the Learned *Bartolocci*'s Master *, and put him upon the design of his Rabbinical Library, was born at *Sapheta*, and took the Degree of Doctor, or Rabbin, in this Academy. He was descended of a *Spanish* Family, who after *Ferdinand*'s Expulsion, retir'd into *Tuscany*. *Pius* V. having expell'd it from thence, it pass'd into the East, where *Judas Jona* was born. Having gone thro' his Course of Studies, he came into the West, and determin'd at *Amsterdam*, the Validity of a Will, made by a Father in behalf of a Bastard-Child. Two Circumstances made this Judgment famous; one, that the Succession was of three hundred thousand gold Crowns; the other, That the Brother of the Deceas'd had taken Possession, by favour of a Sentence pronounc'd by the Rabbins of *Venice*. *Judas Jona* voided this Sentence, and that which he gave was approv'd by eighty seven Rabbins of *Germany* and *Thessalonica*. The Jews of *Hambourg* made him afterwards their Judge, and assign'd him a Salary; but he went from thence to *Poland*, where he turned Christian, and became Jeweller to *Sigismond* III. Wretched Fate for a Man of Letters! His Miseries increas'd, because the King having sent him to *Constantinople*, under pretence of seeking Jewels, he was taken for a Spy of the *Cossacks*, who had lately burnt a City upon the Banks of the *Euxine Sea*, and he had lost his Life if the *Venetian* Ambassador had not ransom'd him. He was sent to *Italy*, where he came and settled at *Rome*, and taught *Bartolocci* Hebrew; who like a grateful Disciple, vindicated him from the Errors imputed to him, and which disgrac'd his Christianity. He had † so strong a Memory, that if the Talmud had been lost, he could have restor'd it. Something therefore now and then that is *good, comes out of Galilee*. Of all the Cities of *Judea*, there is none where the Jews have subsisted longer, and still continue with greater Lustre and Security.

X. There are fewer Jews at *Jerusalem* than at *Sapheta*. They reckon but about a hundred Families, who have their chief Habitation upon Mount *Sion*. Some of 'em have Imploys in the Custom-House; others are Secretaries to the Governour; but the greatest part is made up of Beggars, and live upon Alms. They send in quest of 'em even to the West, where Wealth and Learning are retir'd. 'Twas upon this Errand that *Jacob Tomerita* took a Journey to *Frankfort* and *Holland*, in the Year 1684. His Father had retir'd from *Portugal* to a little Town in the *Holy Land*, bordering on *Sapheta*, call'd *Tomer*: His Brethren deputed him to seek something for their Subsistence, and at his Return he undertook to carry Mr. *Ludolf*'s Letters to the *Samaritans* of *Garizim*, by whom he was known. Four Years after appear'd another Deputy from the Jews of *Jerusalem*, who came beg-

* An. 1599. † Mosis Alsche in Isaiam ex vers. Constant. l'Emp. Præf. & p. 232, 238, 240. ‖ An. 1703. * Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. iii. † *He dy'd in the Year* 1668.

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ging for 'em, which sufficiently proves their Poverty. When you ask them the reason of their want of Zeal to settle themselves at *Jerusalem?* they answer, That when the Messiah comes, that City shall be burnt by Fire from Heaven; and that afterwards a miraculous Rain shall extinguish this Fire, that this City having pass'd thro' *Fire and Water*, according to the Prophet's Expression, may be purg'd from the Impurities which the Christian and Mahometan have committed in it. We are afraid, say they, of being bury'd in this general Conflagration, and therefore we remove so far off of it. But were it not better to assign two natural Reasons for this want of Zeal for the *Holy Land?* One is, That the Mahometans look upon *Jerusalem* as a Holy Place; and therefore there are a great many *Santons* and devout Mussulmans, who have taken up their Abode there, who are Persecutors of the Jews as well as of the Christians, so that they have less Tranquility and Liberty at *Jerusalem* than in other Places; and as there is very little Trade, there is not much to be got, and this want of Gain drives 'em away.

XI. When *Selim* took it at the beginning of the sixteenth Century *, there was a famous Rabbin, who compos'd *the Eye of Israel*. This Work is a Collection of the Explications of the Law contain'd in the Talmud. Many Doctors had compil'd before what related to the Questions concerning Right and Rites; but *Rabbi Jacob* collected the Explications of the Law that were dispers'd in this great Book. He could not finish his Design, but *Levi* his Son, who was at least as Learned as the Father, put the last Hand to it, and publish'd it; giving at the beginning Publick Expressions of the Affliction he was still under for the too early Death of his Father.

XII. 'Twas this Work that occasion'd † the Commotion of the *Sapheta* Professors. As they were Contemplative Doctors, they mightily despis'd the Doctrines. They found in the Work of *Jacob* and *Levi*, Doctors at *Jerusalem*, things that displeas'd 'em. The Dispute was violent, and the Division great, as long as *Levi* liv'd; but the Jealousie of the *Sapheta* Professors dy'd with him. His Memory was honour'd, and his Work, which saved the reading of many huge Volumes, was received with wonderful Applause. *Leo de Modena* endeavour'd in the last Century || to perfect it, by adding the Opinions of many Doctors that were wanting. He gave an Index of the Passages, that they might be the easier found. He intitled his Additions, The *House of Juda*, and the Table or Index, The *House of the Bread of Juda*.

XIII. Lastly, 'Twas at *Jerusalem*, that in the Year 1665. we saw an Example of profound Dissimulation, and a Jew made Patriarch of the Christians. As this Patriarch * was not agreeable to the Jesuits, we may suspect their Integrity, and imagine, that they were willing to blemish his Memory, by accusing him after his Death of a Crime he was not guilty of. Those who shall be better inform'd of this Fact than we, may hereafter explain it; but we are told, That a Jew, whom the necessity of his Affairs oblig'd to change his Religion in *Judea*, so eminently distinguish'd himself among the Christians, that they promoted him successively to all the Orders of the Clergy, and rais'd him to the Patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, without perceiving his Dissimulation. But as his Ambition had no Bounds, he went from *Jerusalem* to *Constantinople*, to obtain that See, which was vacant. He was there seiz'd with a Distemper, which gave him not leave to doubt that his Death was approaching. Hereupon he resolv'd to throw off the Veil, under which he had been so long disguis'd. He call'd to his Bed-side many *Grecian* Bishops, and a great number of Jews, to whom he declar'd, That he had always believ'd the Jewish Religion the best; and that he renounc'd the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, to die in his old Profession, which he had never deserted but outwardly. Great was the Astonishment and greater still the Scandal, in Places where these Examples of Dissimulation are frequent, and the intention of Consecration necessary.

• An. 1517. † An. 1538. || An. 1635. * An. 1665. Hilarii Continuat. Phil. Cypr. Chron. Eccl. Græc.

CHAP. XXV.

Continuation of the State of Judea. *Of the* Samaritans *that live there. Two Letters upon that Subject.*

I. *Mr.* Beland's *Letter concerning the* Samaritans. II. *Their Chronicle.* III. *They deny the Existence of Angels.* IV. Simon Magus *call'd himself the Messiah.* V. *The* Samaritans *Explication of the* Urim *and* Thummim. VI. *The Antiquity of the* Sanhedrim *prov'd.* VII. Joshua's *Fraud like that of the* Gibeonites. VIII. *The Explication of* Balaam's *Counsel.* IX. *A Fault in* Josephus *corrected by the* Samaritan *Chronicle.* X. *The Worship of a Pigeon at* Gerizim. XI. *The false Origin of the* Samaritans. XII. *A Letter of the* Samaritans *to their Brethren in* England. XIII. *Their Belief.* XIV. *Their Feasts.* XV. *When they celebrate the Passover.* XVI. *Purifications and Washings.* XVII. *Degrees of Kindred forbidden in Marriages.* XVIII. *Their Queries to the* English. XIX. *Their Entreaty to send a Deputy to* Sichem. XX. *The Subscription and Date of the Letter.*

I. BEsides Jews, there are some *Samaritans* at *Joppa*, *Gaza*, *Sichem*, or *Napolousse*. We have already spoken of 'em. But I ought not to deprive the Publick of a Letter, that Mr. *Beland* *, who is wonderfully skill'd in the Oriental Languages, has written me upon this Subject.

Sir,

'II. I Send you ten Remarks upon the *Samaritans* 'Chronicle: They are but short, because I 'some time or other design to publish this Chroni-'cle, with my Notes upon it, if the Publick seem 'to desire it. The *Samaritans* give their Chronicle 'the Name of *Joshua*, because it begins with this 'Hero's Actions. They esteem this Book as much 'as the Pentateuch, and 'tis a Crime with them to 'sell it. My Copy is Arabick, Translated from

* Viro clariss. Jacobo Basnage Adrianus Relandus, Profess. Ultraject. S. IV. Nonas Aprilis, 1706.

the Hebrew, and transcrib'd by that which the *Samaritans* sent to *Scaliger*. They confess, That they have not the Hebrew Original, nor is it among the Jews; at least Mr. *Ludolf* and I, who made a most diligent search after it, were not able to discover it. We only found a Fragment in the *Juchasin*, compos'd by *Ab Zachut*, and commented by *Sam. Schullam*. The Commentator speaks thus in the last Page of his Notes, Printed at *Constantinople*; *I have found and seen this in the Chronicle of the Samaritans*. This Fragment contains the Wars of *Joshua* with *Saubec* *, and the Copy of the Letters he writ to that Prince. The Arabick Version is rather a Paraphrase than a Translation; and I am mistaken if it was not made since *Mahomet*, because I have observ'd many Phrases, and several ways of speaking, which we meet with in the Alcoran. As for the Hebrew, we can't guess the time when it was compos'd. The History is carry'd as far as the Conquests of *Alexander the Great*; but I believe this Work ought to be distinguish'd into two Parts; one containing the Conquests of *Joshua*, in which are thirty eight Chapters, but the following have no Connexion with the preceding; and this last Part, which mentions the Emperor *Adrian*, was probably only a Rhapsody of several loose Sheets sow'd to the Book of *Joshua* for fear they should be lost.

'III. I have observ'd in this Work, That the *Samaritans* deny the Existence of Angels. *Leontius* had said before, that they *acknowledge neither Angels, nor the Immortality of the Soul.* It was fancy'd, that he confounded the *Samaritans* with the *Sadducees*; and it was endeavour'd to convince him of it by St. *Epiphanius*'s Authority, who distinguish'd the *Samaritans* from the *Sadducees* by this Character, That *the latter believe neither Angels nor Spirits.* *Hottinger* and Father *Morin* did not question it, when they had consulted the *Samaritan* Pentateuch and Chronicle, because they often read there the Word *Angels*; but they did not take notice, that the *Sadducees* also make use of the same Word to express a Vertue, or an Instrument, which God uses to act by. 'Tis in this Sense the *Samaritans* speak of *Angels*, as well as the *Sadducees*; for in relating the History of *Balaam*, they say, That God *sent an Angel of his Angels.* This were enough, if they had the same Belief as the rest of the Jews upon this Article. But to shew that they deviate from the common Opinion, they explain themselves thus: *God sent a Commandment of his Commandments, and the Servants of* Balaam, *who saw the Commandment of God, betook themselves to flight; but a speaking Instrument of the Divinity approach'd* Balaam, *God stood in the way, and* Balaam *saw the Instrument that was there.* These Paraphrases, of which we might produce more Examples, prov'd, That the *Samaritans* meant by Angels God himself, or his Vertue, or some sensible Organ he employs for the Execution of his Orders: Or, as *Justin Martyr* tax'd some Christians with this, they think, That Angels are Vertues naturally united to the Deity, which he sends out when he pleases. The same thing appears from the *Samaritan* Pentateuch †, in which they often substitute God for Angels, and Angels for God.

'IV. *Hottinger* had already observ'd, that the *Samaritans* speak in their Chronicle of the great Angel; and that this Angel, rais'd above the rest, is the Messiah. But as they believe, that the Angels are only a Vertue and Emanation of God, may we not say, That *Simon Magus* boasted to be the Messiah, when he said, He was ‖ the *great Power of God*, that is, *the great Angel?*

'V. We find in this same Chronicle an Explication of the *Urim* and *Thummim*: For relating the manner of the Discovery of *Achan*'s Theft, the Author says, That the Name of the Tribe of *Judah*, engraven upon the High-Priest's Breast-Plate was obscur'd; from whence it was concluded, that the Guilty was of this Tribe. *Eliezer* says also *in his Sentences, Pirke*, that the Name of the Tribe that had sinn'd, shed no Light. *Raschi* asserts * the same thing. *Josephus* also † affirms, That the Stones of the Breast-Plate had for two hundred Years past cast no Light, because of the Sins of the People. And the same Tradition is preserv'd by the Mahometans.

'VI. Many Christians have imagin'd, that the great Sanhedrim, establish'd by *Moses*, was abolished by his Death ‖. But we find a Proof to the contrary in the *Samaritan Chronicle*, since the Author mentions it a long time after the death of *Moses*. The Jews believe it as well as the *Samaritans*, and they have very good reason; for if *Moses*, the great Lawgiver, had need of this Council in his Life-time, it was much more necessary for his Successors, in the Government of the Commonwealth.

'VII. Tho' *Joshua* be the Hero of the *Samaritan* Chronicle, yet it does not forbear accusing him of using the same Artifice as the *Gibeonites*, when he sent Spies into the Land of *Canaan*; which Observation removes the difficulty found in the History of *Joshua*, that the *Gibeonites* did *work wilily* *, *or employ'd deceit.* For indeed, the difficulty vanishes, when we understand, that they only imitated the Example *Joshua* had given them.

'VIII. The Story of *Balaam* is told more exactly in the *Samaritan* Chronicle, than in the Book of *Numbers* †; and this Narrative may help to explain the *Revelations* of St. *John*: For *Balaam* spoke thus to the Kings that sent for him; *You shall never be able to conquer the Israelites, so long as God shall protect them; and he will always protect them, as long as they do good Works: You must therefore draw them from the service of God, and to this end you must take them by their weak part, which is Whoredom. The God whom they adore hating all sorts of Impurity, will fight for them no more, and the Victory will be surely yours.* Balaam's Advice was follow'd.

'IX. By this Chronicle ‖, a Fault may be corrected which is crept into *Josephus*; who relates, That an Impostor deceiv'd the *Samaritans*, by promising them to discover the Holy Vessels that *Moses* had hid under Mount *Gerizim*. The Error is manifest, since *Moses* did not enter into *Canaan*, and the *Samaritans* own it; but they say, That the Sacred Vessels were bury'd by *Oziz*, who was the fifth High-Priest from *Aaron*, and the Copyists have put the Name of *Moses*, as being better known than that of *Oziz*.

'X. The Jews accuse the *Samaritans* of having worshipped a Pigeon upon Mount *Gerizim*: But they deny they ever paid this Worship; and this Accusation is founded upon this, That in

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* *We have given an Abstract of them in Book* II. † Genes. 5. 1. & 24. 9, 6, 15, 22. ‖ Act. 8. 10. * Ad Jos. 7. 17. † Joseph. Ant. l. 3. c. 9. ‖ *I maintain this Opinion, and the Authority of the Chronicle is not sufficient to overthrow it; for its Author might have lived since the* Maccabees, *after the Establishment of the Sanhedrim, See our Book* V. c. 1, 2. *This is evident, since he speaks of the Impostor who deceiv'd the Samaritans.* * Josh. 9. 4. הַמָּה גַּם *they also.* † Numb. 31. 16. Apoc. 11. 14. ‖ *We have follow'd the faulty Text of* Josephus, l. 2. c. p. 309. *but it ought to be corrected. Mean time we see not what oblig'd the High-Priest to hide the Holy Vessels there.*

Adrian's

'*Adrian*'s *time a Figure of a Pigeon was ſet upon this Mountain, which made it ſelf heard when any Samaritan came to worſhip upon the Mountain.* We read this in their Chronicle.

'XI. They ſay, That the * *Iſraelites*, for ſo they call themſelves, were expell'd out of their Country by *Nebuchadnezar*, who re-peopled it by a Colony ſent from *Perſia*. The Fault of the Chronologer is groſs, ſince they confound *Salmanaſar* with *Nebuchadnezar*. But they don't ſtop here, but add, That at the return from the Captivity, a part of the *Iſraelites* went and ſettled themſelves upon Mount *Sion*, and the reſt preferr'd Mount *Gerizim*. They would have this to be the Origin of their Separation. St. *Epiphanius* has follow'd them, without examining the Sacred Hiſtory. *Joſephus* confirms what they ſay, That the Colony ſent to re-people the *Holy Land* came from *Perſia*; for he obſerves, That the *Samaritans* deſiring to ſecure themſelves from the Perſecution of *Antiochus the Great*, aſſerted, that they were a *Perſian Colony*. He adds alſo, That they were call'd *Cuthæans, from the Name of a River and a Place of* Perſia, *call'd Cuthæas*. However, this Place did not lie in *Perſia*, but depended only upon their Empire.

I am, &c.

XII. To this Letter we'll add that which they ſent to the Jews of *England*. They ſay, That *Huntington* † perſuaded 'em, they had Brethren at *London*; but he ſays, That the *Samaritans* were miſled by the Name of *Iſraelites*, and thought that all who went by the Name of Hebrews were *Samaritans*. They intruſted him with their Pentateuch, and a Letter we add here to ſhew their Style and Opinions. They have written ſince to Mr. *Ludolph*; but thoſe Letters which *Huntington* has brought back ‖ are fuller; wherefore we prefer 'em before all others, and if there be any obſcurity in 'em, we will endeavour to illuſtrate 'em with Obſervations, which ſhall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

A Letter of the Samaritans, *to their Brethren in* England.

'XIII. IN *the Name of the Almighty, Adorable God.*

'In the Name of *the Great Lord*, who is * *by himſelf*, our God, the God of our Fathers *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, who has ſaid in his Law, *I am the God of Bethel*, the Supreme God, Lord of Heaven and Earth, God Almighty, who has ſent *Moſes*, the Son of *Amram*, commiſſion'd with his Laws, and by his means has reveal'd the Holineſs of Mount *Gerizim*, and of the Houſe of God.

'We ſalute you, *O Synagogue of Iſrael, the People of our Lord and Maſter*, who has choſen this People above all Nations of the Earth; for you are a People Holy to the Lord. We call our ſelves *Samaritans*, and we aſſure you, our Brethren in *Iſrael*, that we are extremely devoted to *Moſes* the Prophet, and to the Holy Law. We obſerve the Sabbath as God has commanded; for on that day no body moves out of his Place, except it be to pay his Devotions at the Houſe of the Lord. As all thoſe who ſought God went to the Tabernacle of Witneſs, we do nothing there but read the Law, Praiſe God, and pay him our Thankſgivings; and whereas the Jews ride on Horſeback, go out of the City, light Fires on that day, and lie with their Wives: We ſeparate our ſelves the Night of the Sabbath, and light no Fire. The Jews don't waſh for every kind of Pollution; but we do, and purifie our ſelves thereby. We pray to God Evening and Morning, according to the Command he has given us, *You ſhall offer me a Lamb in the morning, and another Lamb between the two evenings*. We lie upon the Ground when we worſhip God before Mount *Gerizim*, the Houſe of God.

'XIV. We have ſeven ſolemn Feaſts, wherein we aſſemble. The firſt is the Feaſt of the Paſſover, at the time that our Fathers came out of *Egypt*. We ſacrifice the Lamb the fourteenth day of the firſt Month, at Evening, a little before Sun-ſetting, and eat it roaſted, with unleavened Bread and bitter Herbs. We make this Sacrifice only upon Mount *Gerizim*, and we prepare it on the firſt day of the Month *Nizan*, according to the Greeks †. We reckon ſeven days for the Feaſt of unleavened Bread; ſix whereof we eat Bread without leaven. On the ſeventh, we go early at break of day to Mount *Gerizim*, to celebrate the Feaſt and read the Law. When Prayers are ended, the Prieſt gives the Bleſſing to the People from the top of the Eternal Mountain. We don't begin to reckon the fifty days of the Feaſt of Harveſt like the Jews, from the Morrow of the Feaſt of the Paſſover; but we reckon 'em from the day following the Sabbath that happens in the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, till the Morrow of the ſeventh Sabbath, on which we celebrate the Feaſt of Harveſt upon *Gerizim*. We celebrate alſo the ſeventh Month, which begins with the Feaſt of Trumpets. Ten days after is that of *Propitiations*. In which we ſing Hymns and ſay Prayers, from one Day to the other Night and Day. The Women and Children faſt as well as the Men, and we diſpenſe with none but thoſe that ſuck; whereas the Jews diſpenſe with all under ſeven Years old. We obſerve the Feaſt of Tabernacles upon Mount *Gerizim*, the fifteenth of the ſeventh Month. We ſet up Tabernacles according to the Order given us by God ‖, *Ye ſhall take you the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook*. We ſpend ſeven days in joy under theſe Tents, and on the eighth we end the Feaſt of the Lord with an Hymn.

'XV. We very circumſpectly obſerve, whether the Conjunction of the Sun and Moon happen in the Night, or in the Day before Noon. If it happen before Noon, that Day is the firſt of the Month; but if it happen at Twelve o' Clock, or a little after, we delay the beginning of the Month till the Morrow: If the Conjunction be Lunary, the Month continues twenty nine Days, but thirty if it be Solary. If the new Moon falls on the eleventh of the Month *Adar* of the Greeks, we intercalate a Month, and we reckon thirteen that Year; and the Month that immediately follows, is the firſt Month of the Year. But if the Month begins on the twelfth of *Adar*, or ſome days after, then that is the firſt Month of the Year, and we reckon but twelve; for the Week of unleavened Bread muſt be in the Month *Nizan*. The Jews

* *We have related the Fact*, l. 2. c. 1. p. — † *We have related what he ſays*, t. 2. p. — *becauſe we had not at that time theſe* Samaritan *Letters*. ‖ Verſio Latina Epiſtolæ Samaritarum qui Sichem incolunt, ad fratres ſuos in Anglia, cum Epiſtolis à Ludolfo, p. 26, &c. * Cellarius *hath tranſlated* τῷ ὄντως ὄντι, *which eſſentially exiſts*. † *In the Letters the* Samaritans *writ to* Scaliger, *it is* the fourteenth of the Roman Month Niſan. *Monſ.* de Peireſe, *into whoſe Hands this Letter fell upon* Scaliger's *death, imagin'd that the* Sichemites *had eſpouſed the Cuſtom of the* Roman *Church, and their Moveable Feaſts. Father* Morin, *who had ſtudy'd the Jewiſh Doctors afterwards, committed the ſame Fault. But the* Romans, *in modern Authors*, are the Greeks. *The* Samaritans *here clearly explain themſelves*. Morini Vita p. 30. inter Ant. Eccl. Or. Ep. 31. p. 303. ‖ Levit. 23. 40.

'reckon otherwiſe than we: We begin the Sabbatick Year and the Jubilee from the firſt day of the 'ſeventh Month.

'XVI. We ſprinkle the Water of Separation the 'third and fourth day, upon all that are defil'd by 'the Contact of Women, and we ſprinkle it ſeven 'days upon the Woman who has an Iſſue upon her *. 'The Woman who is deliver'd of a Boy ſeparates 'only forty one days; and eighty if it be a Girl. 'The Circumciſion is exactly made the eighth day 'after the Birth, without deferring it one ſingle 'day, as do the Jews. We purifie our ſelves from 'the Defilements contracted in Sleep, and we touch 'none of the unclean things ſpecify'd in the Law, 'without waſhing in clean Water. We offer to 'God the Fat of the Victim, and give the Prieſt 'the Shoulder, the Jaw, and the Ventricle.

'XVII. 'Tis not lawful for us to marry a Niece, 'or a Couſin, as is done by the Jews. We believe 'in *Moſes*, and in Mount *Gerizim*. We have Prieſts 'of the Race of *Levi*, deſcended in a right Line 'from *Aaron* and *Phineas*. We are all of the Tribe 'of *Joſeph*, by *Ephraim*, *Manaſſes*; and of the Tribe 'of *Levi*. Our Habitation is in the Holy City of '*Sichem* and at *Gaza*. We have a Copy of the 'Law, written in the time of Grace, in which we 'read theſe Words. *I Abiſhai the Son of Phineas, the 'Son of Eleazar, the Son of Aaron, have written this 'Copy at the Door of the Tabernacle, in the thirteenth 'Year of the People of Iſrael's entrance into the Land of 'Canaan, upon its Frontiers.* We read this Law in 'Hebrew, which is the Holy Tongue, and do nothing but according to the Commands of God, 'given us by *Moſes*, the Son of *Amram*, our Prophet, upon whom is Peace for ever and ever.

'XVIII. We give you notice, you that are our Brethren, Children of *Iſrael*, That R. *Huntington*, an 'Uncircumcis'd, is arriv'd here from *Europe*, and 'has acquainted us, That you are a great People, 'compos'd of Men pure and holy, like our ſelves, 'and that you have ſent him to deſire of us a Copy 'of the Law; to whom we would not give Credit, 'till he had written before us ſome Characters of 'the Holy Language, in order to aſſure you, that 'we have the ſame Moſaick Religion that you profeſs, and if we had not been willing to oblige you 'we ſhould not have ſent a Copy of the Law by the 'hands of an Uncircumcis'd, for that is a ſhame to 'us. Nevertheleſs, we have committed it to him 'with two other little Books, that we might not 'abſolutely deny your Requeſt. We alſo conjure 'you in the Name of the Living God, not to deny 'ours, and to tell us what Religion you are of? 'Tell us what is the Language you ſpeak, the City 'you live in, the King that governs you, and what 'Religion he profeſſes? Have ye any Prieſts of the 'Race of *Phineas?* Have ye only one Prieſt? In 'the Name of God tell us the Truth, without any 'ſhadow of Diſſimulation, and ſend us a Copy of 'the Law, as we have ſent you ours. Send us alſo 'ſome Learned Men, ſome *Prophets*, ſome Perſons 'of Repute, and eſpecially ſome Deſcendant of '*Phineas*; for know, that God has choſen us Children of *Iſrael* to be his People, and to live at *Ge*'*rizim*, according to what he has ſaid, *You ſhall ſeek 'their habitation, and ſhall go there.* He has ſaid alſo '*You ſhall keep three Feaſts every Year; the Males ſhall 'rejoyce three times a Year before the Lord.* Know alſo, that all the Prophets are bury'd in the Territory of *Sichem*; our Father *Joſeph*, *Eleazer*, *Ithamar*, *Phineas*, *Joſhua*, *Caleb*, the Seventy Elders, '*Eldad* and *Medad*.

'XIX. If you are willing to oblige us, acquaint 'us, Whether you are devoted to *Moſes* and his 'Law, to *Gerizim* and the Houſe of God; and ſend 'us ſome Perſons, without being concern'd about 'the length of the Journey. Don't intruſt a Jew, 'for they hate us. If you ſend us any Deputy, give 'us notice of it by ſome Friend. If ye have the 'Book of *Joſhua*, and any Liturgy, ſend us that alſo. Tell us what your Law is. As for us, we call 'the Law, what begins with the firſt Word of *Geneſis*, and ends with the laſt of *Deuteronomy*. Cauſe 'all this to be Copied for us in the Holy Tongue, 'and tell us by what Name you go? We adjure 'you, by the Name of the Living God, not to ſuffer a Year to run over your Heads without giving 'us an Anſwer. In the mean time, we bleſs God, 'the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and we implore 'his Mercy and his Juſtice, to inſtruct you in all 'that can pleaſe him, and to guide you in the good 'way, *Amen*. May he preſerve you, and deliver 'you from the Hands of your Enemies, and gather 'you together from your Diſperſions, into the 'Land of your Fathers, thro' the Merits of *Moſes*.

'XX. We add, that this is our Faith: We believe in God, in *Moſes* his Servant, in the Holy 'Law, in Mount *Gerizim*, the Houſe of God, and 'on the Day of Vengeance and Peace. Bleſſed for 'ever be our God, and let his Peace reſt upon *Moſes*, the Son of *Amram*, the righteous, perfect, pure 'and faithful Prophet.

'We have written this Letter at *Sichem*, near *Gerizim*, the xv. Day of the vi. Month, which is the 'xxvii. of the Lunary Month, in the 6111th Year 'of the Creation of the World, according to the '*Greeks*; the ſecond from the Year of Reſt. This 'Year the ſeventh Month will begin the iv. of *Elul*, 'according to the *Greeks*; and the next Year is the '3411th from the entrance into the Land of *Canaan*, 'God be bleſſed.

'May this Letter, by the help of God, arrive into the City † *England*, to the Sonagogue of the '*Samaritan* Children of *Iſrael*, whom God preſerve.

'It is written by the Synagogue of *Iſrael*, dwelling 'at *Sichem*. *Mechab*, the Son of *Jacob*, a Deſcendant of *Ephraim*, the Son of *Joſeph*, was the Secretary.

Theſe two Letters are conſiderable, as repreſenting the preſent State of the *Samaritans* in *Judea*, and giving new light to what we have ſaid of their Chronicle and Divinity. It would be uſeleſs to add at preſent, the Letter which the *Samaritans* have written to the famous Mr. *Ludolph*, as containing the ſame things. If there be any thing particular, we will inſert it in the following Chapter, with Mr. *Cellarius*'s Notes; who has Printed 'em, and writ upon this Subject with that exact and profound Erudition obſervable in all his Works.

* *A Proſluvio.* † Angliam urbem.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Reflections upon the foregoing Letters.

I. *Whence the* Samaritans *derive their Name.* II. *Observations upon* Sichem, *or* Naples. III. Gerizim, *a fertile Mountain. Whether the Bleſſing was pronounced there.* IV. *The* Samaritan *Characters more ancient than the Hebrews.* V. *The Shekels uncertain.* VI. *Their Sacred Books.* VII. *The Name of* Jehovah *ineffable, and ſo is that of the* Meſſiah. VIII. *The Supreme Authority of the* Samaritan *Prieſt.* IX. *His Genealogy: His Images.* X. *The Meſſiah, who ſhall come out of* Ephraim. *The Original of this diſtinction.* XI. *The* Samaritans *accus'd of worſhipping a Pigeon, the miraculous Bird of* Joſhua. XII. Bochart *confuted about the Pigeon of the* Aſſyrians. XIII. *A braſs Figure plac'd upon* Gerizim, *that ſpoke.* XIV. *The laſt Conjecture about this Fable.* XV. *The Jews accus'd of worſhipping an Aſs's Head.* XVI. *Reflections upon this Accuſation.* XVII. *The* Samaritan *Chronicle not ancient.* XVIII. *Places where the* Samaritans *dwell.*

THO' we have explain'd the *Samaritan* Religion, yet we'll here add ſome Obſervations to illuſtrate many places of the Letter to the *Engliſh*, and of that we have receiv'd this Year * concerning the Book of *Joſhua*.

I. Mr. *Ludolph* imagin'd, That the *Samaritans*, having preſerv'd their Ancient Name, did not pretend to conceal its Original. However, they were offended at the Superſcription of his Letter to them, To the Sons of *Schomron*, becauſe they would not be thought to deſcend from *Somer*, the Owner of the Mountain upon which that City was built. But they think themſelves the Depoſitories and *Guardians* of the Law. We know not, ſay they in their Anſwer †, what is the meaning of the Word *Schomrom: Know, that we are the Children of Iſrael, pure Samaritans, and Holy Obſervers of the Law.* A Scholiaſt of *Homer* pretended, that *Samaria* borrow'd its Name from the Tomb that *Mars* erected to his Son *Aſcalaphus*. *Samaria* was the *Monument of Mars*, σῆμα Ἄρης, This is a Viſion; for *Aſcalaphus* dy'd not at *Troy*, nor was his Body carry'd to *Judea* or *Samaria*. But the Notion of the *Samaritans*, who make this Name a Subject of Glory and Vanity, is no leſs Chimerical. Nevertheleſs there are Great Men among the Chriſtians that authorize 'em in it. We have already obſerv'd, that St. *Epiphanius* call'd them the *Keepers of the Law*; and afterwards confounding *Salmanazar* with *Nebuchadnezar*, he maintains, that the latter ſent a Colony into *Judea* to *keep* the Land. To which we add, that || St. *Jerome* thought the Etymology ſo good, that he *pray'd to the Samaritan*, that is to ſay, God, *to keep his Friend ſound in Body and Mind*. *Leontius* of *Byzantium* ſays * alſo, That the Colony ſent to preſerve *Judea*, took the Name of *Samaritans*, becauſe this Word in Hebrew ſignifies *Keepers*. We can't ſufficiently wonder, that the Chriſtians, who have ſeen the Origin of this Name in Scripture, ſhould be ſo lamentably miſtaken, and trifle with the ambiguity of a Name, ſince they have no Intereſt to humor the Vanity of the *Samaritans*.

II. At preſent they prefer the Title of *Sichemites* before that of *Samaritans*, as appears by the Subſcription of all their Letters; and 'tis eaſie to gueſs the reaſon of it, becauſe they inhabit this City, whereas *Samaria* is deſtroy'd. Beſides, the Jews at *Jeruſalem*, their Neighbours, give 'em not leave to be ignorant of the true Origin of the Title of *Samaritan*, which is odious. *Sichem* was the City of the Patriarchs, whoſe Deſcendants they pretend to be; and therefore they preſerve the Name of it, rather than that of *Naples*, or *Napolouſſe*, which the *Arabians* at preſent give it, and which it had in *Joſephus*'s time. For † *Veſpaſian paſs'd thro' the Lands of Samaria thro' Naples, which was alſo call'd Mabortha.* This laſt Word is not well known. *Pliny* has changed it into *Mamortha*; and we obſerve another Change in a Medal of *Marcus Aurelius*, where it is call'd,

ΦΛ. ΝΕΑ. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ. ΜΟΡΘΙΑ.

Flavia Neapolis Metrapol. Morthia.

We find || *Pliny* juſtify'd with an Obſervation, that the Emphatical Article *Ma* of the Hebrews, is retrench'd from the Medal, which could contain nothing inſignificant; and this Word is explain'd by that of Lord or Miſtreſs, as if *Naples* was the Miſtreſs and Capital of the Country. But it was enough to have call'd this City the Metropolis, without intitling it Miſtreſs, a Name that it did not deſerve; for *Samaria* not being deſtroy'd in *Joſephus*'s time, ſo vain-glorious a Title could not be given to the City of *Naples*, which held but the ſecond Rank. We are told alſo that *Mamortha* ſignifies *the Water of Lords*, becauſe of *Jacob*'s Well, near which Jeſus Chriſt diſcours'd with the *Samaritan* Woman. But *Ainſworth* * judiciouſly obſerves, that the Plain of *Moreh* border'd upon *Sichem*. Indeed it was there that God appear'd to *Abraham*, and where this Patriarch built an Altar to him. 'Tis eaſie to conceive, that the Greeks have coin'd *Morthia* and *Moriia* of the old Word † *Moreh*, which was pronounc'd with a ſtrong Aſpiration. *Mamorthia* has the ſame Derivation, only adding an Article to the firſt Word.

The City *Naples* did not always implicitly follow the Intereſts of *Samaria*, tho' it was engag'd in the ſame Schiſm; for it aſſerted *Niger*'s Party, whilſt *Samaria* continu'd faithful to *Severus*; for which reaſon this Prince || granted *Samaria* ſome Privileges, whilſt he *took away thoſe which Naples had*, till *Caracalla* obtain'd their Reſtoration. It often happens, that two Neighbouring Cities eſpouſe a different Intereſt in Civil Wars.

III. We have ſaid enough of *Gerizim*, that Holy Mountain, which the *Samaritans* make ſo frequent mention of in all their Letters. We will only add the Remark of a Jew, who aſſur'd * Mr. *Ludolph*, that this Mountain was very fertile, water'd with many Fountains, and very pleaſant; whilſt that of *Ebal is dry and barren.* Nevertheleſs, an ancient Poet, whoſe Fragments *Euſebius* has preſerv'd, impugns this Notion, when deſcribing theſe two Mountains, he repreſents 'em † as equally cover'd with Trees and Herbs.

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* An. 1706. † Epiſt. I. Sicchemitarum Ludolfo, p. 2. || Hieron. in Epitaph. Lucinii Bœtici. * Leont. de Sectis. † Joſeph. de bello l. 4. c. 26. p. 890. || Cellarius Conjectan. Hiſtoriæ Samarit. p. 10, 11. * Ainſworth's *Annotations. Deut* 11. 5. 30 *Geneſ.* 12 6. † מורה || Spartian. in Severo p. 67. * Ludolf. Not. ad 1 Epiſt. Sichem. p. 20. † Theodotus apud Euſebium Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 22. p. 476.

'E-

Ἓν αὐτῆς ὄρος μαλ' ἄγχι δύ' ἄκρεα φαίνετ' ἐρυμνὰ
Ποίης τε πλήθοντα καὶ ὕλης.

Tecti junctо prope vertice montes,
Hinc gemini excipiunt, herbaſq; nemuſq; miniſtrant.

Should we prefer the Teſtimony of a Poet before an Eye-witneſs, or ſay, that Mount *Ebal*, which is at preſent barren, has loſt its ancient Fruitfulneſs? 'Tis more probable, that the Poet took the liberty to confound theſe two Mountains, and gave *Ebal* a fecundity not belonging to it, that he might not diſgrace a Country he was repreſenting as infinitely fine. God choſe Mount *Ebal* to pronounce the Curſes on, becauſe its Barrenneſs was an Image of his Juſtice and Anger; whilſt the Beauty of *Gerizim* repreſented his Benediction and Mercy. *Benjamin de Tudela* confirms the Teſtimony of the modern Jew, and confutes the Greek Poet; for he affirms, that Mount *Ebal* was a *Rock*.

IV. The Characters the *Samaritans* make uſe of in their Letter, are very ancient. *Scaliger* affirm'd they were the ſame that were us'd by the *Phenicians*. His Opinion has been conteſted, about which it is pretty difficult to determine, ſince Proofs are wanting on both ſides, and we have neither Manuſcript nor Monuments old enough to depend upon. The greateſt difficulty ariſes from the jealouſie of the Jews, who maintain, That they have preſerv'd their ancient Letters, and that the *Samaritans* are Innovators. Some Chriſtians * ſupport this Opinion by the Teſtimony of the Goſpel, becauſe the *Samaritan Jod* is not the leaſt Letter of the Alphabet, as Jeſus Chriſt declares, whereas it is with the Jews. They produce ſeveral Medals, and ſeveral Teſtimonies out of the Talmud to confirm it. *Scaliger*, Father *Morin*, and many Learned Men, declare for the *Samaritans* againſt *Buxtorf* and *Lightfoot*; and obſerve with St. *Jerome*, that *Eſdras* returning from the Captivity, chang'd the ancient Characters for thoſe of *Chaldee*, which facilitated the reading of the Sacred Text, as being better known: And indeed, if it be true, as we have ſaid, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was brought to 'em before the return from the Babyloniſh Captivity, it is natural to ſay, they have preſerv'd the Hebrew Characters, and thoſe of the ancient Original. *Euſebius* attributes to *Eſdras* a Criminal Motive for the change of the Letters, becauſe he was afraid of having any Conformity with the Samaritans; but how did *Euſebius* know what was *Eſdras* thought? 'Tis much more probable, that the People having forgotten the old Hebrew, which was difficultly underſtood, they by degrees wrote the Law in Chaldee Characters, which they were more us'd to, becauſe the Interpretations and Paraphraſes were made in this Language; and ſo there is no need of aſcending up to *Eſdras*, nor making him the Author of an Innovation, which would have ſcandaliz'd the Jews.

V. The Preſumption therefore lies on the ſide of the Samaritans; but it muſt be own'd, that deciſive Arguments are rare, and even uncertain; for † the Criticks, who have moſt carefully examin'd the Samaritan Characters in Manuſcript and Print, complain, that they find conſiderable changes and variations, and hence proceeds the raſh Accuſation of their changing their T, for fear the Croſs ſhould be diſcover'd in it, which is their *ſubject of Scandal*. 2. The Teſtimonies of the Talmudiſts and other Jews, heap'd one upon another are inſignificant, becauſe they all liv'd in Ages too remote from the Origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, or the return from the Captivity, to ſpeak exactly of it. And 'tis the more uſeleſs to conſult 'em, becauſe that they not only want means to ſupport their Conjectures, but are Parties in this Affair. 3. Nor doth the Goſpel afford any Argument ſince Jeſus Chriſt ſpoke of the Figure of the Jod, as it was in his days. He could have no regard to the Samaritan Characters, but to thoſe that were us'd at *Jeruſalem*, and were brought from *Chaldea*. Laſtly, We can't depend upon the Authority of the Shekels; not only becauſe moſt of 'em are Modern ‖, and minted by Impoſtors, but we often read theſe Words, *Jeruſalem the Holy*, which diſcover, that theſe Shekels were not ſtruck by the Samaritans, tho' they go by their Name. *Vilalpand* doted with a witneſs, when he found the Prophet *Samuel* in one of theſe Shekels; as if ſome of them had been ſtruck whilſt the firſt Temple ſtood, and were preſerv'd till now. Thoſe that have been lately produc'd from the Cabinets of ſome of the Learned, could not have been ſtruck by the Samaritans, in the Year 124 of the *Æra* of *Alexander*, in *memory of the deliverance from the Greeks*; for the Samaritans went by the *Æra* of the *Seleucides*, to whom they were ſubject, and were not deliver'd from the Subjection to the Greeks, till *Hircanus* reduc'd 'em under his, by the taking of *Samaria*. The Beſieg'd defended themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that it is not likely that they look'd upon *Hircanus*'s Conqueſt as a Deliverance, whoſe Remembrance they were to celebrate. Beſides, the Years did not agree. The Figure of a Temple, and that of a Man cleanſing it from the Impurities of the Gentiles, gives occaſion to believe, that the Dedication of the Temple by *Judas Macchabeus*, in the fourth Year *, from *the Reformation of Sion*, was ſignify'd by theſe ancient Monuments. But neither the Samaritans, nor the Jews could at that time have ſtruck this Medal, becauſe the Samaritans were not at liberty; and would the Jews have engraven upon the publick Monuments of Deliverance, the Characters of the Samaritans, who were their Enemies, and in actual War with 'em? The Shekels therefore were ſtruck many Ages after by Impoſtors, who thought to give a more venerable Air of Antiquity to their Medals, by preſerving the old Hebrew or Samaritan Characters, concerning which we can produce nothing but Conjectures.

VI. They wrote † to *Scaliger*, That they could not ſend a Copy of the Law by the *Hands of an Uncircumcis'd*. But afterwards they made no great ſcruple to intruſt one with Dr. *Huntington*, who paid them perhaps better than *Scaliger* would have done. *Our Synagogue, ſaid they* ‖, *our Judgments and Cuſtoms are like thoſe of the Jews; but the Scripture of the Jews is the Scripture of Eſdras, who may he periſh and be curſed eternally.* This difference conſiſts, not only in the Characters, but in the Books; for they read no other Book than the Law, which begins with this Word, *In the beginning*, and ends with theſe, *In the ſight of all Iſrael. We have * the Book of Joſhua, but we read not the Writings of the Prophets receiv'd by the Jews.* *Abulpharages* ſays alſo, That the Samaritans receiv'd no other Sacred Book than the Law, that is, the *five Books*, for thus it ought to be tranſlated; and the Verſion is evidently wrong, which renders theſe Words thus, *they believe God to be corporeal.* Mr. *Ludolph* †, who has criticis'd this Fault of Dr. *Pocock*, imagin'd, That the Samaritans would *read and admire* the Books of the other Prophets, if any one would be at the *expence of ſending them*

* V. Cellarii Collectanea Hiſt. Samarit. p. 43. † Aleander *and Father* Morin. ‖ Morini Ep. Aleandro, Aleandri Morino inter Antiquit. Orient. Ep. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. * *They reckon the* 148 *Year of* Alexander's Æra. † Samaritan. Ep. 1. in Antiq. Orient. p. 126. ‖ Samaritan. Ep. 2. ibid. p. 131. * Epiſt. 2. Sichem Ludolf. p. בראשית & finit. ישראלבל. † Ludolf. Not. ad Ep. Sichem. p. 21, 22.

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tranſcrib'd in their Characters. But this is impoſſible; for they have too great an Intereſt to reject the Works of *David* and *Salomon*, and moſt of the Prophets. The Doubt could only relate to ſome Book made by Schiſmatical Prophets, or the Deliverance obtain'd by *Eſther*, in which the ten Tribes had a greater ſhare than the reſt of the Jews; ſince it arriv'd under *Darius*, Son-in-law to *Cyrus*, who had already ſent back the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* to *Jeruſalem*. However, we have already obſerv'd, that the *Cuthæans* were but little concern'd about what happen'd to the old Inhabitants of *Samaria*, before they came into their Room. Nor perhaps did they concern themſelves much more in the Glory of their Deliverance, eſpecially when they ſaw, that the other Jews kept the Feaſt of it, and added *Eſther*'s Hiſtory to the other Sacred Books. Indeed *, the Jews ſo eſteem it at this day, as to affirm, That all the *Writings of the Prophets and Holy Penmen ſhall periſh at the coming of the Meſſiah, but that this ſhall remain, becauſe it muſt laſt as long as the Pentateuch; and tho' the remembrance of all ancient Afflictions ought then to be blotted out, yet ſtill the Feaſt of the Lots ſhall continue to be celebrated, and the Hiſtory thereof to be read, becauſe* Eſther *has ſaid, the Feaſt of* Purim *ſhall never be aboliſhed, and that the remembrance of it ſhall remain to Poſterity.* The modern Samaritans might intereſt themſelves farther than the Chriſtians, in the Fate of thoſe they conſider as their Anceſtors, and whoſe Deliverance was ſo glorious. But we need only be acquainted with the Spirit of Schiſm, to know, that People deſpiſe a Book proportionably as their Enemies eſteem it. Tho' the Book of *Eſther* be for the Glory of the Samaritans, yet I queſtion whether they would read it, tho' it were tranſcrib'd for 'em into their Characters. The difficulty would be much greater as to the other Books, ſince it would be making a great advance towards the Jews, to receive their Canon in Scripture, wherein they would find the Samaritans Condemnation.

Mr. *Ludolph* ſays farther, that the Samaritans receive *the Book of Joſhua.* I believ'd ſo too; but yet I muſt not diſſemble, that Mr. *Beland*'s Letter has much ſtagger'd me, and that the Veneration they have for their Chronicle, which they ſtyle *Joſhua*, and *equal with the Pentateuch*, perſuades me, that 'tis this Chronicle they call the Book of *Joſhua the Son of Nun*; or rather, we muſt diſtinguiſh the old Samaritans, from thoſe that have liv'd ſince the writing of this Fabulous Book. The former receiv'd the Book of *Joſhua*, and the other Hiſtorical Writings publiſh'd before the Schiſm; ſince they have taken thence moſt of the Events, and inſerted 'em in diſguiſe into the Chronicle we ſpeak of. But this Chronicle, publiſh'd in Arabick, has ſunk the true Book of *Joſhua*, which they regard with leſs eſteem. As for the Hymns and Pſalms which they promis'd † to ſend *Scaliger*, we muſt not underſtand by 'em the Pſalms of *David* or *Aſaph*, but certain particular Hymns introduc'd into their Liturgy, and repeated when they celebrate their Feſtivals. *Caſtellus*, who had ſeen the Liturgy of the Samaritans us'd in the Synagogue of *Damaſcus*, has interſperſed ‖ ſeveral Extracts of it in his Dictionary, by which we may judge of it.

The Samaritans are more Superſtitious than the Jews about the Sabbath; for they declare in their Letters, That they depart not from their Place; whereas the others, in times of Perſecution, walk, and allow Flight, when neceſſity requires. To juſtifie themſelves they tell, * That the Emperor having notify'd a very harſh Declaration to the Jews of *Sephoris*, they conſulted *Eleazar*, the Son of *Perara*, what was to be done in the Caſe. The Doctor durſt not ſpeak openly, that they ought to betake themſelves to their Heels; but he made a Sign, which gave them ſufficiently to underſtand it. Don't ask me, ſaid he afterwards, but conſult *Jacob*, *Moſes* and *David*, who made the beſt of their way when they thought it neceſſary; and indeed, the Doctors have ſince decided, that the *Sabbath may be prophan'd to ſave a Man's Life, when he is purſued by Robbers or Heathens*; and even *Joſhua* violated it to take *Jericho*.

VII. We have obſerv'd *Aben Ezra*'s Accuſation of the Samaritans, of ſubſtituting the Idol *Azima* for the true God, in the beginning of *Geneſis* But we muſt here add Mr. *Ludolph*'s Conjecture, who thinks that this Accuſation ſprung from hence, That the Samaritans, who pronounce not the ineffable Name *Jehova*, make uſe of the Word *Schemah*. *Aben Ezra*, who found perhaps this Word ill written in his Copy, inſtead of *Jehova*, or *Elohim*, thought that thoſe Schiſmaticks worſhipped *Aſchimah*, and corrupted the Scripture, which is evidently falſe. If it be objected, That the Samaritans having loſt the true Pronunciation of the Name of God, call'd him *Jave*, as *Theodoret* affirms, I have two things to anſwer: One, That the Samaritans might have many different Terms to expreſs the Deity; the other, That ſince *Theodoret* to *Aben Ezra*'s time, they might have chang'd the Word *Jave* into *Schemah*, which ſignifies the *Name* by way of Excellence. We ought to be much more ſurpriz'd that they make any ſcruple to pronounce the Name *Jehova*, ſince this Superſtition aroſe but ſince the return from *Babylon*. One would think they could not borrow this Cuſtom from the Jews, ſince they not only hated one another, but the latter found their uſage upon the Words of God, † *this is my Name for ever.* This Name יהוה, written without ו may ſignifie *to conceal ones ſelf*; and ſo God has inſinuated, that his Name ought *to be conceal'd.* But the Samaritans have not the ſame reaſon; for they write יאוה in a perfect manner, that is, with all the Letters.

The Samaritans were not willing perhaps to be thought the Jews Imitators; but there are certain Superſtitions common to all Nations, who love to ſpeak of the Deity in a myſtical manner, and to veil it from the People to inſpire them with greater Veneration. The *Egyptians* were ſtrangely infatuated with this Notion, which made 'em forget the old Religion, as the Jews have forgotten the true Pronunciation of the Name *Jehova*. Have not the Chriſtians for ſome time had the like ſcruple for the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Euchariſt, which they would name before the Catechumens? Will any one ſay, they borrow this from the Jews rather than from the Heathens? The Samaritans call their expected Meſſiah *Haſchoab* ‖; but they know not the Signification of this Word. *Who is it that underſtands it except the Lord? Cellarius* ſays *, that they borrow'd this from a Prayer of the Jews, who deſire the Meſſiah to make haſte, and to *come in their life-time, or in their days.* But he produces this no otherwiſe than as a very uncertain Conjecture.

VIII. The Samaritans ſay, That they do nothing † but what the *Lord has commanded 'em*; and they are more ſcrupulous even than the *Caraites*, about the Tranſlation of the Pentateuch, for their Verſions are made exactly word for word. Laſtly, They accuſe the Jews of forſaking the Law and

* Maimon. Hilcot. Megilah c. 2. § 5, 18. † Ep. 2. Ant. Orient. p. 126. ‖ Las telli Lexicon Polyglott. • Bamid. bar Rabba apud Voſt. Not. ad Maimon. de fundam. Legis c. v. § 7. p. 60. † Exod. 3. 15. ‖ השחב Ep. 1. Samar. ad Scal. p. 126. * Cellar. Collect. Hiſt. Samar. c. 3. p. 38. † Sam. Ep. ad Scal. p. 123.

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the Precepts of God, because they believe and do what the *Wise Men and Ancients command them.* Nevertheless, they give an almost unlimited Power to their High-Priest, for the Causes of all the Cities are brought before his Tribunal. He judges the People; he exercises Judgment even over the Thoughts. *All things are determin'd by his Counsel; and happy is he who obeys his Word, and woe to them that rebel against them.*

'Tis true, they add, that this High-Priest, who inhabits the Holy Place, and never goes out of it, is an equitable Judge, that receives no Bribes; who has no respect of Persons, and follows the Truth in all his Determinations. But these are new Elogies which they bestow upon the Person of their Pontiff, rather than a Quality he possesses. Thus erroneous and schismatical Churches acknowledge an Head, and invest him with an excessive Authority, because Man, who is naturally lazy, generally loves to acquiesce in anothers Judgment for his Religion, and to excuse himself by the help of a foreign tho' insignificant Authority.

IX. The High-Priests of *Sichem* trace their Genealogy from *Aaron*, reckoning a hundred twenty two Generations to the end of the fifteenth Century. They follow the Law in the Portion of the Sacrifices they allow 'em. They permit 'em to marry but one Wife; but the Law is universal for all the Samaritans, who make the Jews Polygamy in the East to be criminal.

X. Whereas, 'tis a Tenet of the Synagogue, that of the two Messiahs who are to appear, one shall be of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, the Son of *Joseph*, and the other shall proceed from the House of *David*. *Cellarius*, who is so Learned and Judicious a Critick, has imagin'd, that the distinction of these two Messiahs was older than the Schism of *Rhehoboam*; since the Samaritans, who also wait for a Messiah of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, have not borrow'd this Notion since their Separation. But 'tis much more probable, that this distinction of the Messiahs was invented since the Schism; since the Prophets, who taught at *Samaria*, would not have suffer'd them to hope for a Messiah of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, or that was not a Descendant of *David*. Besides, we must not imagine, that by the Tribe of *Ephraim* the Jews mean the Schismatical Samaritans: They speak rather of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, which subsisted in the Captivity in our Saviour's time, and still subsists; and from hence they fetch their poor Messiah, who has nothing to do with *Samaria*. Not one of the ancient Authors has mention'd this twofold Deliverer. But the Jews have made use of him to get rid of the Christians Objections, who often quoted these Words of *Isaiah*; *He was despis'd of men, he was stricken, afflicted, he hath born our griefs, and carry'd our sorrows.* And indeed, they don't accuse the Samaritans of inventing this Distinction. They espouse it instead of rejecting it, which proves, That they are themselves the Fathers and Authors of it. They acknowledge, "That a Messiah "shall arise from this Tribe, and that they have "given him the Name of *Joseph*, because in reality "*Joseph* being a Prisoner in *Egypt*, and a long time "conceal'd and unknown to his Brethren, was the "Image of the House of *Israel*, or of the ten Tribes, "which God shuts up in some place, whilst the rest "of the Nation can't discover and find them out. "These Tribes shall one day escape from their ob- "scurity, and appear again with anger, like *Jo-* "*seph* after some Years Imprisonment. This Mes- "siah *, the Son of *Joseph*, shall not be King of all "the Nation, but shall be a Viceroy, as *Joseph* was "in *Egypt* under *Pharaoh*; because then the Nation "shall be re-united under one Head, and acknow- "ledge the Messiah, the Son of *David*. The ten "Tribes undeceiv'd by the Death of the Son of "*Joseph*, will easily perceive that they ought to "have but one Sovereign, to whom they shall sub- "mit.

'Tis not probable that the Rabbins, who take the pains to explain the History of this Messiah, and allow him a Viceroyalty under the Son of *David*, owe this Imagination to their bittereſt Enemies, nor that so gross an Error should be as ancient as the Schism. Nor can the Samaritans, by their Principles, receive the Rabbins System about the Messiah, the Son of *Joseph*. It may be said, perhaps, that envying the Glory of the Jews, who boast their Messiah, they have fancy'd another who shall proceed from the Tribe of *Ephraim*. But, 1. They can't own, that this Messiah, after many Sufferings, shall be kill'd. Their Enemies, the Rabbins, have vented this false Imagination, the easier to explain the Scripture, and assert to themselves a victorious and conquering Messiah. 2. As the Jews often speak of this Messiah, and the Christians make no mention of him; as the former have invented this distinction to defend themselves against the Christians, who apply'd the Predictions of *Isaiah* and the other Prophets, to Jesus Christ, we ought to leave 'em all the Glory of it.

XI. Mr. *Reland* is of Opinion, That the Jews accus'd the Samaritans of worshipping a Pigeon, because we read in their Chronicle, That the *Emperor* † *Adrian set the Figure of a Pigeon upon Gerizim, which made its Voice to be heard when any Samaritan came to worship there.* Four Conjectures have been grounded upon this Accusation, the Origin whereof is very obscure.

First this same Samaritan Chronicle informs us, That *Joshua* had a miraculous Pigeon, which he imploy'd to carry Letters and give Intelligence to his Allies. The Encomiums given to *Joshua*'s Pigeon, have been a ground for the Jews Accusation; for 'twas natural to worship a Bird, who had an honourable Place in the History of the Head of the Samaritans, who had done great Services to that Nation. And indeed this was not an ordinary Pigeon, accustom'd by Art and Practise to obey its Masters, like the Sparrows mention'd by *Manilius* ‖:

Qui gestant caveis volucres ad jussa paratos.

But he was a miraculous one. The Jews violently hated those who taught Pigeons to thieve. And *Scaliger* has even thought it was these Tutors of Birds that Christ drove out of the Temple. I don't know for what reason; for the business there mention'd was not the teaching of Birds to be Thieves, but the getting a Livelihood by furnishing things necessary for the Sacrifices. But yet, 'tis true, that those who taught Pigeons Theft were excluded from the Royalty and considerable Posts. Nor was their Testimony admitted in Judgment. Shall we say, that this was done in hatred to the Samaritans, who, in their Chronicle, praise the Pigeon imploy'd by *Joshua*? This may be said, but very few will believe it.

XII. Secondly, The *Assyrians* bore a Pigeon in their Standards. Mr. *Bochart* * went so far as to believe, that *Jeremy* alluded to this Custom, when he threatned the Country with absolute Desolation, because of the Anger of the *Forager*, and the Sword

* Menasseh Esperanca de Israel § 15. p. 89, 90. † *We have already handled this matter*, t. 1. p. *but it is good to illustrate it.*
‖ Manil. Astr. l. v. * Boch. Hieroz. P. 2. c. 1. p. 45.

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of the Oppreſſor; for he will have the Prophet to ſpeak of the Fury and Sword of the Pigeon, by alluding to the Colours and Standards of the *Aſſyrians*, who were to ravage *Judea*; and as the *Cutheans* came out of this Country to *Samaria*, 'tis imagin'd, they brought this Pigeon-worſhip along with 'em, ſo well known in *Aſcalon* and *Syria*. The firſt of theſe Conjectures is too ſubtle; for ſince the Word of the Prophet is capable * of a proper and natural Senſe; and may ſignifie a Forager and an Oppreſſor, why muſt the literal Senſe be forſaken to hunt after an uncertain Alluſion? Great Criticks are commonly too ſubtle, becauſe they would ſet off their Wit and Reading. Our Tranſlators have been more exact and judicious. The ſecond Conjecture does not ſeem probable; for tho' 'twas natural for the *Cutheans*, to bring their Religion to *Samaria*, and they might have worſhipp'd a Pigeon at the time the Colony was ſent by *Eſſaraddon*; yet in ſuch a great Tract of Ages, wherein the Religion ſo often vary'd in this Country from the deduction of the Colony, to the Emperor *Adrian*, when the Samaritans were firſt perceiv'd to worſhip a Pigeon: It is impoſſible to draw any Conſequence from the worſhip of the *Aſſyrian* Colony, to that of the Inhabitants of *Samaria* in the ſecond Century of the Chriſtian Church. They might rather have borrow'd this Idol from the *Aſſyrians*, who were their Neighbours, and who ſtill worſhipped *Venus*.

XIII. The third Conjecture turns upon the Image of a Pigeon, which *Adrian* ſet upon *Gerizim*, and which ſpoke when any one came to worſhip. 'Tis true, the Samaritans have inſerted this Miracle in their Chronicle, which they eſteem as much as the Books of *Moſes*. But are we oblig'd to believe 'em? The Heathens have not mention'd this braſen Bird, which had the Art of diſtinguiſhing a Samaritan from another Man, and to cry out *Hebrew* to advertiſe the Centinel.

But tho' it were as true as it is fabulous, yet the Samaritan would not have worſhipp'd a Bird deſign'd to ruin him, and that hinder'd him by its Outcries from going to worſhip upon *Gerizim*. He would have broken it to pieces inſtead of worſhipping it, as was actually done by *Babarrabas*.

XIV. For our part, we have already ſhewn, that the Jews, who have accus'd the Samaritans of worſhipping a Pigeon, relate the matter in ſo doubtful and diverſify'd a manner, that it is eaſie to perceive, 'tis a meer Calumny, invented to blacken their Enemies. For neither the Goſpel, nor any Hiſtorian, has mention'd this Worſhip eſtabliſh'd at *Samaria*. *Joſephus*, who would undoubtedly have laid his Finger upon this Blot, has not done it. Nor could any Notice be taken of it till *Adrian*'s Reign. But how could this worſhip be ſo long unknown to the Jews bordering upon *Samaria*, who forget nothing to diſcredit its Inhabitants? R. *Meir*, who made this Diſcovery, has left no work, by which we may judge of the origin and truth of his Accuſation. It is not even found in the Talmud, but in the Gloſs; and would the Talmudiſts, who are inveterate Enemies to the Samaritans, have forgotten this Crime, if *Meir* had found it out long before 'em? The Gloſs is much more novel than the Talmud; ſo that this Accuſation was invented only in later times, for a pretence to rank the Samaritans with Idolaters. Laſtly, They are accus'd of another ſenſeleſs Folly; which is the Circumciſing their Children in the Name of a Pigeon. I am perſuaded, that People puzzle themſelves to no purpoſe, to ſeek out the Origin of a Crime, which is a pure Fiction of ſome Commentator of the Talmud, which he has invented as the Rabbins do abundance of other Fabulous Stories.

XV. The Samaritans might in their turn accuſe the Jews of having worſhipped an Aſs's Head; a thing that has been a long time ſaid of 'em, and that by grave Authors, and more ancient than the Talmudiſts. 'Tis even believ'd, that the common Reading of *Petronius* ought to be corrected, and turn'd thus,

Judæus licet & porcinum Numen adoret,
Et Cilli † *ſummas advocet auriculas.*

ſo that he reproach'd them with worſhipping the *Ears of an Aſs*; and whence came this Accuſation? The Learned *Bochart* ‖ ſays, it comes from *Boded*, becauſe frequent mention was made of one only God, בדד *Badad*; or elſe from the frequent mention of the Mouth of Jehovah, *Pi Jao*, and *Pieo* in *Egypt*, where *Appian* wrote, ſignify'd an *Aſs*. An ingenious Critick * thinks the Heathens grounded this Calumny upon the Aſs's Jaw-bone, which *Samſon* made uſe of to kill the *Philiſtines*, and to quench his Thirſt; which has ſome Analogy to what *Plutarch* ſays, That this Creature was worſhipp'd, becauſe he had diſcover'd to the thirſty *Iſraelites* Water-ſprings in the Wilderneſs. But ſo many Ages had paſs'd ſince this Miracle of *Samſon*, and ſo many Revolutions happen'd ſince that time, that it is not probable it was ſo often mention'd to the Heathens in *Antiochus*'s days, as to give grounds to the Calumny of Adoration. The Jews often praiſe Aſſes; that of *Balaam* was the more famous, as that we read in the Sentences of the Fathers, That his Head was created at the beginning of the World, with the Cloud, the Manna, and ſeven other things. The Cabbaliſts add, It was the Angel *Gabriel* that ſpoke by this miraculous Aſs. Laſtly, The Prophet *Zachary* cries out, *Rejoyce, O Daughter of Zion, for behold thy King cometh riding upon an Aſs.* They tell, That *Saul* laughing at this Equipage, offer'd *Samuel* his Horſe for the Meſſiah: This Rabbin demanded of him an Aſs of a thouſand Colours; whether it was to retort a piece of Raillery by another, or that they are perſuaded, that the Meſſiah will come upon an Aſs of various Colours. In fine, we are told, that the Head of this Beaſt was found in the Temple, where it was worſhipp'd. It would be more probable to ſay, it had been given by ſome Heathen Prince, and that *Antiochus* took it out of the Treaſury of the Temple. But I am perſuaded 'tis nothing but a Fiction, like that of the Pigeon worſhipp'd upon *Gerizim*, whoſe Origin it is impoſſible to diſcover, becauſe they have no other Foundation than the Wit of the Inventors.

XVI. For indeed, I obſerve four different things related by Writers. 1. That *Zabidus* entring by Night into the Temple, carry'd away this golden Head to *Dara*. This is a Fable; for it was impoſſible to enter into the Temple by Night, and the City *Dara*, whither the Robber retreated, is imaginary. 2. We are told alſo, that this golden Head was carry'd away by *Antiochus*. Here this Object of Worſhip is carry'd away twice, and yet all that have ſpoken of *Antiochus*, have ſaid nothing of this Circumſtance of his Life, except *Appion*, the mortal Enemy of the Jews. 3. *Democritus*, or *Damocritus*, who writ a Hiſtory of the Jews, ſays, that *they ſacrific'd to the Head of an Aſs every*

* Janah *ſignifies to oppreſs, to break,* נגש Jona *ſignifies a* pigeon. V. Buxt. Lex. Thalm. p. 958, 960. † *'Tis read* Cœli, *but corrected* Cilli, *that is to ſay,* Aſs. Monſ. le Fevre *ſays 'twas becauſe of* Onias *and the Temple of* On, *from whence they have made* ὄνος *an* Aſs. ‖ Bochart. Hieroz. l. 2 c. 18. p. 226. * Edwards's *Truth of Scriptures*, c. 4. p. 141.

three Year, or at leaſt every ſeven Year, a Stranger, whom they ſeiz'd and cut in pieces. How is this to be reconcil'd with *Samſon*'s Jaw-bone, and with the Jewiſh Religion? 4. Laſtly, The Chriſtians are accus'd of worſhipping an Aſs; and the Jews themſelves have urg'd this Accuſation after an inſolent manner at *Carthage*. Whereas there is nothing in the Religion, nor in the Hiſtory of the Primitive Church, that gave any foundation to this Calumny. As the Chriſtians have been groundleſly accus'd of having an Aſs for their God, we muſt ſay the ſame thing of the Jews, and the Pigeon of the Samaritans, without troubling our ſelves farther to diſcover the Original of theſe abuſive Stories.

XVII. We have ſaid enough of the Samaritan Chronicle; however, we'll add, that they make no ſcruple to add to this Work, ſince ſome of theſe Books conclude much ſooner than others: For one of theſe Chronicles, which is kept at *Cairo*, reaches as far as *Mahomet*; and that we have inſerted in our ſecond Tome, ends not till the 898th Year of the *Hegyra*. But I much queſtion, whether they are ſo ancient as is commonly believ'd. The Stories of *Saubec*, and the Wars of *Joſhua*, found in the Book that goes by his Name, muſt needs be of modern Invention, ſince *Joſephus*, who wrote the Hiſtory of his Nation, without omitting the Fabulous Occurrences that had been tack'd to the Sacred Hiſtory, has not mention'd 'em. Theſe Schiſmaticks were never upbraided with thus depraving the true Book of *Joſhua*; nor is it probable that they would have mention'd the Sanhedrim as a Council inſtituted by *Moſes*, if this Council had ſtill made a Figure at *Jeruſalem*, when the Author compos'd his Chronicle under the Name of *Joſhua*; but the Sanhedrim having been aboliſh'd, and no Footſteps of it remaining, there was no room for jealouſie; and this Inſtitution was the more freely ſpoken of, becauſe no Conſequence could be drawn from it againſt the Samaritans. Laſtly, As the Original Hebrew is not to be found, and the Citation made in the *Juchaſin* may have been taken from the Arabick, 'tis very likely that this is the Original rather than a Verſion; for the Samaritans, who have ſo religiouſly preſerv'd the Pentateuch, would not have ſuffer'd the Original Hebrew of the Book of *Joſhua* to be loſt, for which they have ſo great a Veneration. However, this Book may contribute to the underſtanding many Places of Scripture, as Mr. *Reland* has ſhewn, by the Obſervations he has imparted to us with a Civility that deſerves our Acknowledgment.

XVIII. Laſtly, In treating of the preſent State of the Samaritans, we have confuted *Pietro de la Valle*, who ſays, he diſcover'd no *Cutheans* in *Sichem, nor in all Aſia*. His Error proceeded from his diſtinguiſhing the *Cutheans* from the *Samaritans*, and conſidering the former as a particular Sect. But he learnt from Father *Morin* that he was miſtaken, and own'd, there were ſome *Samaritans*, or rather *Cutheans*, in the Eaſt. But at the ſame time he has run into another Fault, by placing them at *Jeruſalem*, where they never were. The Synagogue of *Damaſcus*, where they formerly flouriſh'd, is deſtroy'd; but they are ſtill at *Cairo* in *Egypt*, and *Gaza*, and eſpecially at *Napolouſſe*, where they have their Temple and High-Prieſt. They are very ignorant, ſince they don't know that *England* is a Kingdom, or conſider this Kingdom as a City; for the Superſcription of their Letter is, To their Brethren in the *City England*. We ſee alſo that they willingly flatter themſelves, that they have Brethren in ſo remote Places; for there are no Samaritans in *England*, but they have groſly miſtaken the Jews for their Brethren.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Hiſtory of the Jews in Ethiopia, *in* Egypt, *and the reſt of* Africa, *for the two laſt Centuries.*

I. *The Jews and Chriſtians agree better in* Ethiopia *than elſewhere.* II. *The* People of the Book, *a Title of the Jews.* III. Preſter John: *The River* Sambation *in his Territories.* IV. David *a Jewiſh Embaſſador to* Clement VII. V. *An Error upon this matter.* VI. Bartolocci's *Conjecture refuted.* VII. *The Hiſtory of this Embaſſy.* VIII. *A ſecond Embaſſy.* IX. *A Mountain of* Ethiopia *inhabited by the Jews, and their Loyalty to* Claudius. X. *Whether their Authority in* Ethiopia *invalidates* Jacob's *Prophecy.* XI. *Their decay in this Country in the laſt Century.* XII. *A very great Danger they were deliver'd from in* Egypt. XIII. Moſes Aleſhar, *or the Red.* XIV. *Their preſent ſtate in* Egypt. XV. *And in other Parts of* Africa.

I. ETHIOPIA is one of the Places where the Jews have been leaſt diſturb'd. They agree more eaſily with the Chriſtians of this Country, becauſe theſe latter are Circumcis'd. They eat no Swines-Fleſh, and religiouſly obſerve the Sabbath. Even their Kings fancy themſelves Deſcendants from the ancient Jews, and have a Lion in their Scutcheons holding a Croſs, with theſe Words, *The Lion of* Judah *hath prevail'd.* In the Letters that King *David* wrote to *Clement* VII. he took theſe Titles, *I* David, *beloved of God, the Pillar of Faith, ſprung from the Tribe of* Judah, *the Son of* David, *the Son of* Salomon, *the Son of the Pillar of* Sion, *and of the Seed of* Jacob. Mr. *Ludolf**, who was beſt acquainted with the Genius and Stile of theſe remote Nations, ſays, That theſe were not the common Titles of the Kings of *Ethiopia*, but that they ſwelled them upon that occaſion to give greater Luſtre to their Embaſſy to the Pope. The Conjecture is probable; nevertheleſs, it is certain, that the Kings of *Ethiopia* believe themſelves the Poſterity of the Jews, which muſt render 'em more favourable to this Nation. On the other hand, the Jews in this Country have not receiv'd the Talmud and all that Trumpery of Traditions, which ſmother their Religion in other Places.

II. When the *Saracens* made themſelves Maſters of *Ethiopia* †, the Jews fearing their Perſecution, retir'd and took Sanctuary in *Abyſſinia*. They were treated with more Humanity than the Natives of the Country, ſince an *Arabian*, who has given the Elogy of the *Ethiopians*, aſſerts, That a general

* Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. l. 2. c. 1. † Ibid.

Maſſacre

Maſſacre of the Inhabitants being reſolv'd upon, they begg'd, as a Bounty of the King, that they might be treated like the *People of the Scripture*. Theſe Scripture-People, in the Arabian ſtile, are Jews. This Name is given 'em in the Alcoran *; for *Mahomet* ſpeaking of 'em, calls 'em the *People of the Book*, becauſe of the Book of the Law and the Prophets. The Ethiopians † therefore deſir'd the ſame fate as the Jews; and the King of the Arabians granted their requeſt, on condition, That they would give themſelves a Cut on the Face to be known and diſtinguiſh'd by.

III. They pretend to be very Potent in this Country, and to have poſſeſs'd very conſiderable Kingdoms there. Some place the River *Sambation* in the Lands of *Preſter-John*; which *Preſter-John*, as has been believ'd for an Age or two, is the King of *Ethiopia*. For they perſuade themſelves, that there was formerly in *China* a Chriſtian King, called *Preſter Chan*, that is, The Prince of the Worſhippers, or Chriſtians. *Alexander* III. wrote to this Prince, and the Superſcription of his Letter, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the *Engliſh* Annals, is, *To my moſt dear Son in Chriſt, the illuſtrious and magnificent King of the* Indies, *moſt Holy* Pretre, *or* Prieſt. Theſe laſt Words have made it thought, that this Prince was the Pontiff and Prieſt as well as King of his Nation, and from hence they have given him the Title of *Preſtre Chan*, or *Preſter John*. A uſeleſs ſearch has been made after this Kingly Prieſt, in the *Indies* and *China*; and not finding him there, they have fancy'd he was in *Ethiopia*. And therefore they call the King of the *Abyſſines*, the *Prieſt John*. The Jews formerly plac'd their River *Sambaſion*, and the Kingdoms they poſſeſs'd upon the Banks of it, in I know not what remote Territories of *Aſia*. But an Age or two paſt, ſince the *Portugueze* have pretended to diſcover *Preſter John* in *Africa*: and among the *Abyſſines*, they have chang'd the Courſe of this River, and convey'd it into *Ethiopia*. But all this is fabulous; for there is no *Preſtre Chan*, or *John* in *Ethiopia*, as a very learned Man ‖ has obſerv'd, nor a River *Sambation*, nor a Kingdom of Jews.

IV. We are told another thing of this Kingdom, which is equally falſe. "The Jews believe, that a Rabbin nam'd *David*, of the Tribe of *Reuben*, was ſent by the King of *Ethiopia*, on an Embaſſy to Pope *Clement* VII. in the Year 1534. He appear'd at *Rome* in a ſumptuous Equipage, mounted upon a Mule, conſtantly attended by above two hundred Chriſtians. With this Train he entred into St. *Peter*'s Church; near the Altar he had Audience of the Pope, who favourably receiv'd him. *Ghedalia*, the great Hiſtorian of the Jews pretends, That *David* was General of the Jewiſh Army, and was ſent by the Kings of the Nation, who reign'd at *Chabor*, at *Chalec*, &c. to demand Succour againſt the Neighbouring Princes: That from *Italy* he paſs'd into *Portugal*, and made the ſame Requeſt to the King. But during the ſtay which this little Man, who was as black as an *Ethiopian*, made at Court, he corrupted a Secretary of the King, who had been formerly a Jew, who reſum'd his Religion, and writ many Books".

V. *Ghedalia* * confounds two very different things. We have already ſpoken of the Tranſactions of the Court of *Portugal*, and the Adventures of *Salomon Malcho*, who was burnt in *Italy* by order of *Charles* V. whilſt *David* was convey'd into *Spain*. We will only here obſerve, That this *David* was not Ambaſſador from the King of *Ethiopia*, as is pretended, to do Honour to the Nation; but it was the King of *Ethiopia* who ſent † an Embaſſy to *Rome*.

VI. *Bartolocci* ‖ fancy'd, that the Jews were ignorantly miſtaken, and that reading the Title of this Embaſſy, *Lambaſciaria di David, Re dell Etiopia, al Santiſſimo S. N. Clemente VII. in ſieme con lobedienza al prefato S. N. Reſa*, thought the Name of *David* was that of the Ambaſſador, and that he was a Jew, a *Reubenite*, ſent by ſome Kings of *Ethiopia*, that is, by the Jewiſh Kings that were in the *Indies*. But how can this Conjecture be made out? The bare Title proves *David* to be King of *Ethiopia*. Beſides, had *Ghedalia* read but the Title of this Relation, and could not he upon enquiry, have diſcover'd the Name of the Ambaſſador, and of the Prince that ſent him? He has purpoſely turn'd *David* King of *Ethiopia* into a Rabbin of the Tribe of *Reuben*. He has metamorphos'd the Chriſtian Prince into Jewiſh Kings, that liv'd in the *Indies*. Laſtly, He has invented a Jewiſh Ambaſſador, whoſe Diſpatches might make it believ'd, that his Nation held then a conſiderable Rank in the *Indies* or *Ethiopia*. The matter of Fact was thus.

VII. *David* King of *Ethiopia* had been preferr'd to his Elder Brother, who was the rightful Succeſſor. It was alledg'd, That his Brother was born in a Priſon during his Father's private Life; that he was a haughty and cruel Youth, who would tyrannize over the Nation. But the true reaſon of this Preference was, that his Grandmother *Helena*, an imperious Woman, was willing to be Regent; and thought, ſhe ſhould have a greater Power during her Grandſon's Minority, who was but eleven Years old. And indeed, the thing happen'd as ſhe had believ'd; for ſhe govern'd the Kingdom with an abſolute ſway. *David* was ſubmiſſive and regular whilſt ſhe liv'd; but after her Death he fell into debauching, and grew ſo cruel, as to incur the hatred of his Subjects and Neighbours. They declar'd War againſt him, which prov'd fatal to him. He was flatter'd with the hopes of drawing Succours from the Pope, and therefore he diſpatch'd *Alvarez* with a Letter to *Clement* VII. which was read in a numerous Aſſembly of Prelates, before *Charles* V. All this was manag'd with a great deal of Fallacy and Illuſion. The Pope had no deſign to ſend Succours to *Ethiopia*, as he was made to believe; neither had King *David* any intention to ſeparate from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in order to ſubmit to the Pope. But the Buſineſs was to deceive the People, and perſuade 'em, that if God rent the Northern Churches from the Roman by the Reformation that was made in *Germany*, he gave to it other Churches of the Eaſt, by the re-union of the King of *Ethiopia*. This was the Embaſſy of King *David*, whom the Jews transform into an Ambaſſador; and make this Ambaſſador deſcend from the Tribe of *Reuben*, and ſend him to *Rome*, which is falſe.

VIII. *David*, whom his Enemies ſtill preſs'd hard, diſpatch'd a Biſhop to *Rome*, call'd *John Bermudas*. He found *Paul* III. in the See, who Confirm'd him, tho' he had been Ordain'd by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*. The Pope countenanc'd the *Abyſſines* who were then at *Rome*, and gave 'em Money to pay for the Impreſſion of the Liturgies and the New Teſtament in their Language. But neither Jew, nor Pope, nor Ethiopian, reap reap any advantage from this ſecond Embaſſy: For firſt, the Jews had no hand in it, ſince it was a Biſhop that King *David* ſent to *Rome*. 2. The Ethiopians receiv'd no Supplies from the Pope, and his Charity to the

* Alcoran. Sur. III. p. 38. † Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. l. 1. c. 2. p. 214. ‖ Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. l. 2. c. 1. l. 3. c. 9. V. Comm. * Ghedal. Schalſch. Hakkab. p. 44. Wagenſeil Tela Ignea Sat. t. 1. p 233. † An. 1533. ‖ Bart. Bibl. Rabb. t. 1. p. 43.

Abyſſines was inconſiderable. 3. The Pope was only rewarded with flattering Encomiums, which the *Abyſſines* beſtow'd upon the Holy See, and *Farneſe* his ſpiritual Daughter. For indeed, *David* had much ſtudy'd the Scripture and the Councils. He even often diſputed with *Alvarez* upon Points of Religion. But this was all done out of Policy, and with the hopes of procuring Money and Forces. For *Claudius*, his Son and Succeſſor, was one of the moſt zealous Princes againſt the Roman Church. Even this Teſtimony is given him, That he often confounded the Miſſionaries that were in his Kingdom, and to whom he gave Liberty of Conſcience.

IX. *David* afterwards fell under Misfortunes, which gave the Jews an opportunity to demonſtrate their Affection to his Family. *Gradamet*, at the ſollicitation of his Subjects, who were tir'd with his Cruelties, declar'd War againſt him. This *Gradamet* was King of *Adel*. The *Portugueze* abſurdly call his Kingdom *Zeila*; for *Zeila* is a Port belonging to the *Abyſſines*, and the Kingdom of *Adel*, which is near it, has another Capital, call'd *Auca Curele*. *Gradamet*, at the Head of his Army, entred the Frontiers of the *Abyſſines*. Moſt of the Cities open'd their Gates to him with the greater eaſe, becauſe he exempted them from the exceſſive Taxes which *David* had impos'd upon them. *David*, who perceiv'd that his Subjects would deſert him unleſs he repell'd the Enemy, march'd to give him Battle; but his Soldiers, unable to bear the fire of Muskets, which they were not us'd to, diſbanded, and the King was forc'd to fly to the Mountains, where he miſerably * ended his Life. Thoſe that continu'd faithful to him, immediately proclaim'd his Son *Claudius* King of *Ethiopia*; but *Gradamet*, who had ſeiz'd the Royal Treaſure, preſſing him on one hand, and his own Brother *James* diſputing the Right of the Crown on the other, he was forc'd to ſeek Sanctuary in a Mountain hardly known. This great and vaſt Mountain is in the middle of *Ethiopia* †. It can be come at but on one ſide, and is aſcended with a great deal of difficulty. *At the top of it is an agreeable Plain, water'd with ſeveral Rivulets, and ſtor'd with excellent Fruits, and good Paſturage for Cattle.* Here the Jews, *not one of which is found* in all *Ethiopia*, are ſaid to have fix'd their Abode. *They never deſcend from this Mountain*, and have no Communication with the reſt of the *Abyſſines*. They receiv'd the new King, who took Sanctuary among them, with open Arms, and defended him ſo vigorouſly againſt *Gradamet*, that this Prince ſeeing it impoſſible to force him in this Retreat, retir'd. A *Portugueze* Fleet having landed at that time in *Ethiopia* ſome Troops, *Claudius* came down from the Mountain, and afterwards re-eſtabliſh'd his Affairs; and the Jews, whoſe Fidelity he had experienc'd in his Neceſſities, were highly protected all the time of his Reign.

X. *Oviedo*, whom *Julius* III. had made Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, with hopes to re-unite this Kingdom to his See, and was ſent into this Country to no purpoſe, ſays, That the Jews ‖ poſſeſs'd *great* inacceſſible Mountains; that they had diſpoſſeſs'd the Chriſtians of many Lands which they were Maſters of, and that the Kings of *Ethiopia* could not ſubdue them, becauſe they have but ſmall Forces, and it is very difficult to penetrate into the Faſtneſſes of their Rocks. *La Sierra Tienen los Judios con otras muchas tierras que tienen uſurpadas de los Chriſtianos, y el Reyno puede con ellos, por ſer la tierra muy forte y tener el pocas fuercas.* Such as fear leſt this little Corner of a Kingdom, or rather this retreat into Rocks and Mountains, may weaken our Interpretation of *Jacob*'s Prophecy, and furniſh the Jewiſh *Doctors* with a Pretence, that the Sceptre of *Judah* is not broken, are too weak and timerous. We ought never to diſpute or deny Matters of Fact through Intereſt: For this is not the Kingdom of *Judah*, which *Jacob* promis'd to his Poſterity; and it would be ridiculous to ſay, That ſome Jews conceal'd in inacceſſible Mountains, keep up that Succeſſion of Princes and Lawgivers, that were to make the Nation flouriſh in the *Holy-land*.

XI. They ſtill preſerv'd that Authority at the beginning of the laſt Century *, which ſometimes render'd 'em formidable to the Kings of the *Abyſſines*. For indeed, they poſſeſs'd at that time near three Provinces: But *Suſneus*, who then reign'd †, and was a bold Prince, having defeated ſome Idolatrous Nations, call'd *Gallants*, among whom he had been educated, carry'd the War ‖ even into the Rocks of the Jews with ſo much vigour, as to drive 'em out. They were oblig'd to abandon the Provinces they had poſſeſs'd *, and to diſperſe themſelves over the Kingdom. Some retir'd toward the Springs of the *Nile*, near the *Cafres*, where they ſtill ſubſiſt. Others remain in the Province of *Dembe*, where they ſpin Wool. In effect, ſome of 'em are Weavers, and others Smiths. As the *Abyſſines* hate this Trade, they leave it to the Jews, who undertake to furniſh them with all Warlike Inſtruments. They have there their Synagogues, and Publick Worſhip, in which they uſe the Talmudic Hebrew, tho' they have not receiv'd that Collection of Traditions. Laſtly, great numbers follow the Court of the King of the *Abyſſines*. An Arabian, who had travell'd in that Country at the end of the laſt Century, aſſur'd Mr. *Ludolf* †, that ſixty thouſand of 'em were at Court. They correſpond with the Chriſtians, and live very familiarly with 'em in that Country.

XII. *Egypt* bordering upon *Ethiopia* has ſerv'd 'em for a Sanctuary. They were very near the brink of Deſtruction in the Year 1524. but God delivered them by an unexpected Revolution. *Achmed*, to whom *Solyman* II. had intruſted *Egypt* ‖, revolted againſt him, and reſolv'd at the ſame time to make himſelf Maſter of his new Subjects Eſtates. The Soldiers had already began to plunder the Jews Houſes, as being perſuaded they might do all things ſafely in the beginning of the Rebellion. But *Achmed* reſolving to enrich himſelf, tax'd this Nation two hundred Talents. They repreſented their Inability, and only brought fifteen Talents to the Treaſury. *Achmed* inrag'd at this Refuſal, order'd all to be committed Priſoners that had not paid the Tax. But the very moment that *Sadus*, one of his Officers, was executing his Orders, News came of a Conſpiracy againſt *Achmed*, who having been ſurpriz'd in the Bath by the Plotters, was oblig'd to fly with nine Men with him; that he was purſu'd by an Army of *Circaſſians*; and that it was impoſſible for him to eſcape his Enemies. He was actually taken, and Peace and Tranquility were reſtor'd at *Cairo*. The Jews being deliver'd, made * a great Entertainment, and call'd the Feaſt they celebrated in Memory of this Event, *Neſſim*; becauſe this Word ſignifies a *Mi-*

* An. 1539. † Joannes de Caſtro ſinus Arabici S. maris rubri Itinerarium, p. 32. ‖ An. 1557. * An. 1608. † An. 1611. ‖ Pauli V. Ep. ad Suſneum, vel Sultan Saghedum apud Ludolf. Comm. ad Hiſt. Æth. p. 491. * Suſneus *dy'd in the Year* 1632. † Ludolf. ibid. l. 2. c. 7. l. 4. c. 5. n. 12. ‖ Salomon Ben Virgæ p. 402. * Ganz An. 284.

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racle, and the *Stake* to which *Achmed*'s Head was faſtned.

XIII. *Moſes Aleſcar*, or the *Red*, appear'd a little after *. His Name has made it thought, that he was of the Family of the *Rubeis*, that was famous in this Nation: He declar'd for *Moſes* the *Egyptian*, or *Haramban*, that is, *Maimonides*, and confuted thoſe who had written againſt this Doctor. *Buxtorf* ſpeaks of a Treatiſe written by him, *concerning the Redemption*; but as he only mentions the Title, we can't gueſs, whether *Moſes the Red* endeavour'd to comfort his Brethren upon the delay of the Deliverance which they in vain expected.

XIV. The Liberty which they have enjoy'd in *Egypt* has made 'em conſiderable. Their Mechanicks were diſpers'd over the Countrey, and in all the Cities: Their rich and creditable Merchants dwelt at *Cairo*. In fine, they pretended † to be more numerous in this Countrey, than when *Moſes* led them out of it: But this number is much leſſened ſome Years ſince; for the Travellers, who have known 'em, affirm ‖, That they have no Settlements except at *Cairo*, and the Maritime Cities of *Egypt*; and that they are ſo far from being in other Places, and in the Country, that if their Buſineſs oblige 'em ſometimes to go thither, they are forced to diſguiſe and conceal themſelves, becauſe the Country People abuſe 'em as ſoon as ever they find 'em out.

XV. There are ſome of them in other Parts of *Africa*: For it was a Jew of this Countrey *, that furniſh'd *Mouley Archey*, King of *Tafilet*, with one of his principal means to make War againſt the Prince of *Quiveane*, to whom he fled for Sanctuary. For going † to the Caſtle of *Dar Michal*, upon pretence of viſiting the Governour, he ſeiz'd the Citadel, and began to manifeſt his Revolt: But he muſt have miſcarry'd, had he not found a Jew vaſtly rich, whom he ſtripp'd of all his Treaſures, by means whereof he aſſembled the Inhabitants of the Province, was elected King, and diſpoſſeſs'd his Brother King of *Fez* and *Morocco*. He acknowledg'd the Service the Jew had done him, by granting the Nation the ſame Liberty it had enjoy'd, and ‖, making *Joſhua Ben Amoſſech* Prince of it. *Mouley Iſhmael*, Brother to the King of *Tafilet*, and his Succeſſor, had ſtill greater Complaiſance for 'em: For in recompence for *Dom Joſeph de Toledo*'s Services during his Diſgrace at *Miquenez*, he not only made him one of the firſt Officers of his Houſhold, but ſent him to the Courts of ſeveral Princes, to negociate with 'em; and 'twas he * who concluded the Peace with the *United Provinces*, in the Year 1684. This Prince continu'd the Offices to the Son, who injoys the ſame Honours as his Father.

They have remain'd a long time at *Oran*, and been imploy'd in conſiderable Offices; and in ſpite of the Grounds they have to complain of the *Spaniards*, who had perſecuted them, and continu'd to uſe 'em very ſeverely, they perſever'd in an inviolable Fidelity to them. Firſt, it was a Jew who facilitated the Conqueſt of it, when Cardinal *Ximenes* undertook it. This Cardinal had given up his Church Preferments to turn Monk of St. *Francis*. His Order not ſeeming ſufficiently devoted to its Duties, he took a great deal of pains to reform it. But after he had preferr'd the Auſterities of a Monaſtery to the Dignities of an Eccleſiaſtical Life, he quitted the Monaſtery and became an Archbiſhop. He ſhould at leaſt at ſeventy Years of Age have Conſecrated himſelf to God, and have thought of a Life to come; but by one of the incomprehenſible Freaks of a human Mind, this Monk turn'd Cardinal, and became a General: He put himſelf at the Head of an Army, and undertook the Conqueſt of *Oran* at his own Expence, in ſpite of his King, who ſecretly oppos'd him. He had been a Perſecutor of the Jews; for it was he that infus'd the cruel deſign into *Iſabella* of expelling them, and caus'd it to be executed, contrary to all good Politicks. Notwithſtanding, he pitch'd upon a Jew to facilitate the taking of *Oran*, who, with the aſſiſtance of two Moors, betray'd the City, and ſerv'd the Perſecutor of his Nation. The Action of the covetous Jew, who was corrupted with Bribes, is not ſo ſurpriſing as that of the Conqueror, who tempted him. I conſtantly admire, how a Hero, who tramples under foot his Religious Profeſſion, who cheriſhes in his Heart none but cruel and worldly Vertues, who to the end of his Life loads his Head only with Politick Reflections, and dies with vexation to be thrown out of the Management of Affairs, can find any extravagant Panegyricks among Churchmen.

The Jews have continu'd to favour the *Spaniards* in *Oran*; for when this City was threatned by its Neighbours, they reſolv'd to ſacrifice their Lives, rather than ſuffer it to be taken by the Neighbouring Princes. In a Rebellion, they kept the Troops in obedience, by paying their Wages, and furniſhing them with Proviſions. However, they were all expell'd † in the Year 1669. They accuſe the Marqueſs *de los Velez* of having contriv'd ſeveral Artifices to obtain this Order from the Queen, becauſe he was willing to ſatisfie the Ambition of a Woman that he lov'd, by giving her an Office, which had for a long time been Hereditary in a Jewiſh Family. But was there any occaſion to make ſuch confuſion, and to move ſo unwieldy a Machine, to take away an Employ?

They were numerous in the Province of *Suz*, which depended formerly ‖ on the Kingdom of *Morocco*, and is ſeparated from it. They had, in the Capital of this Principality, a rich and fine Synagogue, ſerv'd by many Prieſts; and their own Judges and Interpreters of the Law, paid by their Nation, that liv'd upon Labour and Trade. There are in the Mountains of the Kingdom of *Morocco* Farriers and Smiths, and People that ſerve to build their Houſes, becauſe the Inhabitants think this Work too laborious. But they are not always imploy'd in ſuch ſort of Works; for they often force themſelves into Court, and enter into Offices. 'Twas a Jew that the King of *Morocco* ſent Ambaſſador to the States of the *United Provinces*, at the beginning of the laſt Century *. Their Synagogues † having been pull'd down in the Kingdom of *Fez*, *Muley Mahomet* not only cauſed them to be re-built, when he re-aſcended his Throne, but he made a Jew his Treaſurer and firſt Miniſter, as we have been ſaying.

* An. 1555. † An. 1673. ‖ Vanſleb's *New Relation of a Voyage to* Egypt, p. 15. * An. 1666. † *Hiſtory of the King of* Tafilet. ‖ *He dy'd in* 1672. * Los Altos Eſtados Generales, qui en la Gran Haya Batava ſubidos la Paz aiuſtan con el Ceſar Moro por Medio dal Hebræo Paranimpho. *Hiſtoria general. de M. Barrios.* † Hiſtoria Univerſal. Judaica de Miguel de Barrios. ‖ An. 1535. Curio Marochenſis Regni deſcript. p. 308. & 341. * *He dy'd at the* Hague *in the Year* 1604. *and was bury'd with great Pomp. His Name was* Pacheco. † An. 1660.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The State of the Jews at Conſtantinople, *in* Greece, *and the other Provinces of the* Ottoman *Empire, for the two laſt Centuries.*

I. *The preſent State of the Jews at* Conſtantinople. II. *The way of treating them.* III. *Their Abjurations.* IV. *Whether* Bajazet *was poiſon'd by a Jew.* V. *The Iſle of* Cyprus *taken at the ſollicitation of* Michſez. VI. *A Preſs at* Conſtantinople *for Hebrew Books.* VII. Japhe's *Writings intitled Fine.* VIII. Ghedalia *attempts to re-unite the* Caraites. IX. Mardochai *the* Conſtantinopolitan *Rabbiniſt.* X. *The Jews expell'd out of* Salone. XI. *Numerous in the Cities of* Greece. XII. *Particularly at* Theſſalonica. XIII. Moſes Pardo *retires thither.* XIV. *They are Potent at* Prouſia. XV. *At* Rhodes. XVI. *At* Smyrna.

I. THE Jews have, for many Ages, preſerv'd their Liberty and great Privileges in the Territories of the Grand Seignior, not excepting *Conſtantinople* it ſelf. They inhabit a conſiderable Suburb *, which was call'd *Jewry* in the *Cruſading* days, becauſe they had been ſettled there a long time. The Ambaſſadors of Foreign Princes reſide amongſt them. They have at preſent thirty Synagogues, and an hundred and five thouſand Families in this City, or the Neighbouring Villages. Whereas the Caliphs oblig'd them to wear a diſtinguiſhing Badge of yellow Cloth, they ought to wear, in the Ottoman Empire, a Felt Hat without Brims, call'd, in deriſion, *Haurout*, or Cloſe-Stool-pan. But we are aſſur'd, that this Law only relates to Strangers that come from *Spain* or *Portugal*, and that the Jews, born Subjects of the Grand Seignior, are excus'd from it. Theſe latter wear Turbants of various Colours, and are only diſtinguiſh'd from the Chriſtians by that of their Shoes; for the Chriſtians wear red, and the Jews purple or black. They are allow'd the Privilege of ſelling Wine; which is the more conſiderable, becauſe theirs has the Preference of that of the Chriſtians, becauſe the Law of *Moſes* condemning Mixtures, 'tis imagin'd, that the Jews dare not violate it, and that they ſell their Wine in *puris naturalibus*.

II. They are here, as every where elſe, much addicted to Trading and Uſury. One part of 'em are Porters; but there is a very diſadvantageous Diſtinction againſt them; for they are forbidden to uſe a Quilt of Hay under their Burdens, like the Turks. One of theſe poor Wretches petitioned, as a Recompence from *Mahomet* IV. the liberty of having a Bag of Hay, and obtain'd it: He found this Prince in a Wood, where he had been Hunting, and where he would have wandered all Night, had he not brought him back to *Conſtantinople*: In acknowledgment for this Service, it was allow'd him to eaſe his Pain; but the Privilege extended to none of his Brethren. Laſtly †, They are Poll'd: But inſtead of having it levy'd by the Officer of the Empire, they have compounded with him for a Sum, and the Head of every Synagogue proportions the Quota; and as he adjuſts it to the Wealth of each particular, the Poor are conſiderably reliev'd by it.

III. Nevertheleſs, it often happens, that the preſſures of Poverty make them turn Muſſulmans. It has been ſaid, that ‖ they are requir'd to eſpouſe Chriſtianity firſt, as a Preliminary to Mahometiſm; but this is nothing but a Jeſt, which has paſs'd for a real Truth. They are not Circumcis'd, becauſe they already wear that Mark of the Covenant; nor are they baptiz'd to make them Chriſtians: But having inquir'd into the Motives of their Change, they are made to pronounce theſe Sacred Words, which it is not lawful, upon pain of being burnt, to utter without becoming Muſſulmans: *La Illah Illalah Mehemet Reſoul Allah*; *There is but one God and Mahomet his Prophet.*

IV. The Chriſtians charge the Jews with the Murther of *Bajazet* II. For they ſay, that *Selim*, his Son, apprehenſive of being excluded the Empire by his Father's Preference of *Achmed*, rebell'd againſt him: He loſt the Battle, but fail'd not after his Defeat, to gain the Janizaries; ſo that *Bajazet* was oblig'd to quit *Conſtantinople*, and retire to *Demoticha*, the Place of his Birth: But he dy'd by the way, becauſe a Jewiſh Phyſician, ſuborn'd by *Selim*, gave him Diamond Powder, or ſome other Poiſon, in the Bath, and *Selim* forthwith kill'd him *. But it muſt not be diſſembled, that the Muſſulmans don't accuſe either *Selim* or the Jewiſh Phyſician, of ſo deteſtable a Crime, but believe *Bajazet*'s Death to have been natural.

V. Another Man of this Nation, call'd, *Michſez*, is accus'd of having put *Selim* II. upon the Conqueſt of the Iſle of *Cyprus* †, and occaſioning the Ruin of this fine Kingdom. It is ſaid, That this Man being enrag'd at the refuſal of the *Venetians*, to receive a great number of Refugee-Marines, who were deſirous to leave *Portugal* and *Spain*; or elſe at the Puniſhment he had receiv'd for ſome Crimes, retir'd to *Conſtantinople*. His Riches gave him admittance to Court; and being reſolv'd to take Vengeance of his old Maſters, he extoll'd to *Selim* II. the Beauty of the Iſland, call'd, The *Countrey of the Bleſſed* ‖. He alſo cry'd up the Excellency of the Wines, which *Selim* II. was a great lover of, notwithſtanding the Law which forbad the drinking 'em. He repreſented, That the *Venetians*, who were Maſters of it, made Incurſions into *Syria*, and diſturb'd the Paſſage of the Caravans to *Meccha*. Laſtly, the unfortunate blowing up of the Magazines of Powder at *Venice*, contributed to *Selim*'s determination. One day, when he was half drunk, he promis'd *Michſes*, or *Michez*, the Crown of *Cyprus*, as a Reward for putting this Deſign into his Head. *Nicoſia*, one of its principal Cities was taken. *Famaguſta* ſubmitted the next Year; and the Iſland was hereby reduc'd. *Michſes* was not made King, as it was promis'd; but his Nation had greater Privileges granted them in the Iſland, which they ſtill preſerve, than the Chriſtians. *Selim* did more; for he ſent a Jew, call'd *Salomon Rophe*, to *Venice*, when the Chriſtians had won the Battle of *Lepanto*, to negociate with the Republick, and conclude a Peace.

VI. The Jews obtain'd, a ſhort time after *, the liberty of having a Preſs at *Conſtantinople*. It was a new ſight for the Mahometans to ſee Books printed, and they were alarm'd at it. The Mufti was

* Smith Sept. Eccl deſcr. † Smith ib. p. 116. ‖ Thevenot's *Voyage to the* Levant, l. 1. c. 32. * An. 1472. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. p. 104. † An. 1570. ‖ Macaria. * An. 1576.

afraid,

afraid, leſt the Alcoran ſhould be Printed, and leſt the love of the Sciences, which would hereby grow eaſier, ſhould be propagated from the Jews to the Arabians. This was a great advantage to the whole Nation; for the Copies of the Law, which were grown very ſcarce in the Eaſt, were univerſally diſpers'd; and People fell more earneſtly upon the Study of the Law, becauſe the reading was more eaſie, and they had greater Aſſiſtances to underſtand it.

VII. In effect, this produc'd abundance of Learned Men, and Illuſtrious Heads of Synagogues. *Salomon Japhe*, who had left his Native *Germany*, came thither in the preceeding Century. He explain'd the Talmud of *Jeruſalem*, and rendred it more compleat, by adding ſome neceſſary Illuſtrations. He publiſh'd two other Works *, which he call'd, *Fair in the Eyes*; and, *Fair in the Look*; alluding to his Name, which ſignifies *Fair*. The one contain'd Sermons, and the other the Explication of *Middruſh Rabba* upon the Pentateuch.

VIII. *Ghedalia*, who pretended to be of the Race of *David*, choſe alſo to leave his Father, and his Birth-Place, *Lisbon*, to come and practiſe Phyſick at *Conſtantinople*. But as moſt of the Jewiſh Phyſicians are alſo Doctors, he taught the Rites and Laws of his Nation. He was made Head of the Synagogue, and labour'd to reconcile the *Caraites* and the Rabbiniſts. He ſays, That the *Caraites* deſir'd him to inſtruct them, and reduce them to the Synagogue: But whether the Rabbiniſts were too uncompliant, or that they thought the Affair too nice, or that the *Caraites* return'd to their former Prejudices, the Reconciliation was not made, and the latter only reap'd the advantage enjoy'd at *Conſtantinople*, of Printing Books; for they publiſhed ſome of their Works, which nevertheleſs are very ſcarce. *Ghedalia* publiſh'd, on his part, the *ſeven Eyes* †, and ſome other Works; for we muſt not miſtake him for one of his Relations of the ſame Name, whom we ſhall ſpeak of in the ſequel.

IX. We'll mention but one more, that is, *Mardochai*: He was Son of *Eliezar*, and took the Title ‖ *Conſtantinopolitan*, tho' he commonly reſided at *Adrianople*. He explain'd the Grammar which *Aben Ezra* publiſh'd, with the Title of *Jeſod Mora*, the *Foundation of Fear*. But there has been lately diſcover'd, a Manuſcript Commentary upon the Pentateuch, whoſe Explications are ſo literal, that it has been thought to have been written by a *Caraite*. An Author ‡, who has examin'd it, acknowledges, That he can't infer that Conſequence from the Commentary. But yet if we will judge of it from the Quotations he has produc'd, we may advance two things: One, That this Author had a great Opinion of his own Merit; for he declares, that his Explications of Scripture ſhall be grounded upon the Rules of Grammar and Logick; the Paſſages relating to Natural Philoſophy ſhall be illuſtrated by that Science. Laſtly, The Author brags of employing Aſtronomy, Arithmetick and Geometry, to illuſtrate *Moſes*, as often as there is occaſion. 2. We have reaſon to believe this Author was a Rabbiniſt, ſince it was not the Method of the *Caraites* to fetch their Explications from foreign Sciences, ſuch as Geometry and Arithmetick: He had taken this method from *Maimonides*, who fancy'd it was extremely advantageous. Beſides, he often quotes *Aben Ezra*; whereas the *Caraites* very ſeldom Copy their Enemies.

X. There are ſome Cities of *Greece* where the Jews have not the Privilege to ſettle themſelves; ſuch is the City of *Salone*. Geographers have thought this to be the ancient *Delphi*, ſo famous for its Oracles. But ingenious Travellers have diſcover'd, by an Inſcription, that it was *Amphiſſa*: And tho' *Strabo* ſpeaks of it as a City that was already deſtroy'd, yet it was re-built; ſince *Pauſanias*, who liv'd above an hundred Years after, gives the Deſcription of it. The Inhabitants, which are at preſent Turks and Greeks, hate the Jews ſo much, that they can't ſuffer them in their Territories. They have the ſame uſage at *Athens*, where they were ſettled in St. *Paul*'s time. Perhaps as the number of Chriſtians is there greater than that of Turks †, who are more inclin'd to Toleration, the Chriſtians have obtain'd an Order that excludes the Jews from this City.

XI. But if they are deny'd acceſs in ſome Places, there are a great many others where they have ſtill conſiderable Eſtabliſhments. They have four Synagogues at *Patras*, ſo famous for *Callirhoe's* Indifference, and St. *Andrew*'s Martyrdom; two Events perhaps equally fabulous. At leaſt, that Stone which ſtinks, becauſe St. *Andrew*'s Judge ſat upon it, is an Invention of the Greeks. The Jews have their Judges here, which they chuſe out of the Old Men of the Nation. They have alſo their particular Burying-place upon a neighbouring Mountain, which looks like a great City, becauſe it conſiſts of ſeveral little Stone-Houſes, in which each Family is bury'd, and a Marble Stone, on which the Name of the Family the Tomb belongs to is ingrav'd, ſerves as a Door. But as there are but few Inhabitants in this City, the Jews, which are not above a fourth part, amount but to a thouſand Perſons. Some of the Circumcis'd are at *Lepanto* and *Livadia*, a City in old time ſo celebrated for *Trophonius*'s Oracle, which was given in the Cave of a Mountain near the City. Some alſo are at *Corinth* and other Cities, where they can live by Trade. But *Greece* is ſo depopulated by the Revolutions it has undergone, by the Tribute it pays, and ſtill more, by the Oppreſſions of the Grand Seignior's Officers, that their Condition is very miſerable.

XII. At *Theſſalonica* they make a greater Figure; where they were even in St. *Paul*'s time very froward and bigotted to their Law. They have not only ſtood their Ground, but for many Ages have had a conſiderable Academy in this Place. *Plantavitius*, ſo well vers'd in the Names of the Doctors, makes ‖ R. *Moſes Abelda*, a *Sicilian*; but he is evidently miſtaken: He took *Salonichi* for *Sicily*; whereas 'tis the Name which is at preſent given to *Theſſalonica*, where *Moſes Abelda* compos'd a large Volume of Sermons, and endeavour'd to comfort the People againſt the Frailties and Calamities of Life, by a Treatiſe which he call'd, The *Gate of Tears*, and his Son Printed. Here it was, that in the Year 1490. *Joſeph* the Son of *Seu* taught, known by the Tract he wrote about the *Uſe of the Gemara*. He was at the ſame time Head of the Synagogue of *Conſtantinople*, and of the Academy of *Theſſalonica*. This was the City that *Tzevi* preferr'd, before ſo many others, for the Stage to play his Impoſtures on, in the Year 1666. being perſuaded, that if he could deceive the Heads of this Academy, he could eaſily carry away the Multitude.

XIII. Here it was * that the famous Apoſtate of

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* Japhe Enaiim, Japhe More, *Pulcher oculis, Pulcher aſpectu*. Bart. B. R. t. 4. p. 395. 549. † Sciva Enaiim, *Septem Oculi* ex Zachar. 7. 10. ‖ *He was call'd* Bomptianus, בומסיאנו *Conſtantinopolitanus*. ‡ Frey Baſilienſ. excerpta Aharonis. † *There are at* Athens *ten or twelve thouſand Inhabitants, and three quarters of them are Chriſtians. V.* Wheeler's *Voyages*, t. 1. p. 398. ‖ Plantavit. B. R. p. 136. * An. 1614. Ep. Moſh. Pardo apud Schut. Comp. Hiſt. Jud. l. 3. c. 1. p. 445.

Marpurg

Marpurg retir'd: He was a Chriſtian by Birth, and a Profeſſor in that Academy; but being ſcandalized with the Myſtery of the Trinity, which he could not comprehend, he threw himſelf into Judaiſm; *He entred under the Wings of the Creator by Circumciſion at Theſſalonica*, taking the Name of *Moſes Pardo*, inſtead of *Victor*, which he had before. Poverty purſu'd him to this Place, and he wrote from thence to *Hartman*, who had been one of his Friends, to let him know his Condition. He deſired this Profeſſor to perſuade the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, to grant him leave to return to his Houſe, and Wife, who had not written to him in ſeven Years time. He propos'd to him the Example of the Grand Seignior, under whoſe Empire he liv'd, who claim'd no Prerogative over Mens Conſciences, tho' he had a great one over their Bodies. He maintain'd, That all the Bibles were corrupted, except thoſe of the Original Hebrew, which he had much ſtudy'd ſince his being at *Salonichi*. He would not abandon the Law, becauſe it was a Divine Religion, as every body own'd, whereas People did not agree about Chriſtianity. The frequent and terrible Earthquakes felt that Year at *Salonichi*, doubtleſs increas'd his Fears, Remorſes and Miſery. Nevertheleſs he dy'd in the Religion he had embrac'd. Laſtly, 'tis to this Academy that the Jews of *Conſtantinople* at preſent ſend their Children to learn the Hebrew Tongue.

XIV. They have continu'd, and ſtill ſubſiſt, at *Gallipoli*, a City ſeated in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, at the Mouth of the *Propontis*, and at this day they make one fourth of its Inhabitants, which conſiſt of ſix thouſand Jews, as many Greeks, and twelve thouſand Turks. They are more conſiderable at *Prouſia*, built upon an Hill of *Myſia*, near Mount *Olympus*. This City was the Capital of the Ottoman Empire, before the taking of *Conſtantinople*; and as they could not Maſter it but by the deſtruction of a hundred thouſand Chriſtians, who vigorouſly reſiſted the Mahometans, they * are not permitted to live in it, but confin'd to the Suburbs, whilſt they number twelve thouſand Jews within its Walls. There has been found here an ancient Medal, ſtruck in Honour of *Marcus Aurelius*, having on the Reverſe a Man forcing himſelf upon his Sword; and 'tis ſaid to be the Figure of *Ajax*, who kill'd himſelf in this City.

XV. The Jews have alſo their Habitations at *Rhodes*. They had formerly † a Diſtrict aſſign'd them near the Wall, call'd, *The Wall and Quarter of the Jews*: And when *Mahomet* II. beſieg'd the Place, the Baſha, who could not carry either St. *Stephen*'s Mount, or St. *Nicholas*'s Tower, erected a Battery of his heavieſt Canon againſt this Wall. 'Twas a violent Aſſault, and the Quarter was taken. Some Nations were already Caballing to oblige the Grand Maſter to ſurrender; but he ſuſtain'd the Aſſault, and repuls'd the Enemy, tho' he had receiv'd five Wounds. The Turks rais'd the Siege, and to preſerve the Memory of this Event, the Grand Maſter, *d'Aubuſſon*, erected a Church near the Wall where he had beaten the Turks. Some time after he reſolv'd to expel all the Jews, not only from their Quarter, but the whole Iſland, and from all the Eſtates of the Order. The better to authorize his Violence, he repreſented to the Council, That the Commerce between Jews and Chriſtians was dangerous; that, according to the Opinions of Divines and Canoniſts, the Jews were all Slaves of Chriſtian Princes; from whence he inferr'd, they had loſt the natural Power of Fathers over their Children, and that they might be baptiz'd whether they would or not. The Jews ‖ were allow'd to ſell their Effects in forty days time; but when that term was expir'd they were oblig'd to depart. They were prohibited going and ſettling in the *Levant*, for fear they ſhould become Spies to the Grand Seignior; as if they ſtill preſerv'd any Authority over thoſe they had baniſh'd. In fine, they detain'd all the Children, which they caus'd to be baptiz'd, and kept at the Expence of the Church, leſt leaving the Iſland, they ſhould reſume their old Religion. 'Tis true, ſome Proteſtant Divines, as well as Catholick, have determin'd, That it was the deſign of God to enſlave the Jews, and that they have deſerv'd it, by crucifying Jeſus Chriſt: But this Will of God is general, and reſpects all Sinners that diſhonour their Birth by their Crimes; they are Slaves of the Devil, and their Paſſions; but Chriſtian Charity is inconſiſtent with Slavery.

Rhodes having been taken * by the Turks, the Jews enter'd and ſettled there again, and they are even treated more favourably than the Chriſtians †; for the latter, who have their Ware-houſes and Shops in the City, are not allow'd to lodge in it; whereas the Jews are not oblig'd to quit their Houſes to ſeek Beds in the Neighbouring Villages. However, they reckon but two hundred of 'em to thirteen hundred Turks.

XVI. They are more numerous at *Smyrna* ‖; where they reckon ſix thouſand Souls of their Nation, and have many Synagogues. In fine, there are few Cities or great Towns in the Ottoman Empire, but have ſome Jews. They ſuffer much by the Avarice of the Sultan's Officers; but this Misfortune is common to them with moſt of the Subjects of this great and extenſive Empire.

* Wheeler's *Voyages*, t. 1. p. 185. Spon's *Voyages*, t. 1. p. 209. † An. 1480. ‖ Bouhours Hiſt. d'Aubuſſon t. vi. p 457
* An. 1652. † Stochove's *Voyage to the* Levant. p. 227. Thevenot's *Voyage*. l. 1. ‖ An. 1690. Smith Sept. Eccleſ.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

The State of the Jews in Italy *for the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth Centuries.*

I. John XXIII. *a Persecutor and unhappy.* II. Nicolas II. *peaceable.* III. *St.* Simonin's *Canonization.* IV. Alexander VI. *admits the Jews to* Rome. V. Picus de Mirandola *takes them into his Service.* VI. *They are expell'd out of the Kingdom of* Naples. VII. *Cardinal* Sadolet's *Censures of* Paul III's. *Protection.* VIII. Julius III. *causes the* Gemara, *and other Hebrew Books to be burnt.* IX. Joseph Tzarphati's *Conversion.* X. *Jews famous at* Rome. XI. Paul IV. *persecutes them.* XII. *Jewish Women possess'd: Their Fraud discover'd.* XIII. Pius V. *banishes them out of the Ecclesiastical States.* XIV. Sixtus V. *tempted by the hope of being a Gainer by the Silk Manufactures.* XV. Clement VIII. *expels the Jews, with a limitation.* XVI. Bombergues *Bibles.* XVII. *His Stem of* David. XVIII. *The Protection of the Republick.* XIX. *Famous Rabbins in the last Century at* Venice. XX. *A Press at* Soncino. XXI. Ghedalia *the Author of the Chain of the Cabbala.* XXII. *The Academy of* Padua. XXIII. *Disputes at* Mantua. XXIV. *Corrections of* Moses *the Old.* XXV. Jechiel de Pesaro *converted.* XXVI. Leo *of* Modena, *his Works.* XXVII. Jacob Tsaphalon, *his precious Stones.* XXVIII. *The Academy of* Rome *absolves* Tribotti. XXIX. *Synagogues at* Rome *frequented by the Christians.* XXX. *The Protection which* Innocent XI. *gives the Jews at* Venice. XXXI. *This Pope's pains to convert 'em vain.* XXXII. *The way of praying for them.* XXXIII. *The Apostolical Tax of the Synagogues.* XXXIV. *Their number in* Italy.

I. THE Jews complain, That they had a terrible Enemy in *John* XXIII. They say, that this Pope, who was fitter to make a General, and to Head an Army, than to be Head of the Church, was their violent Persecutor. He issu'd * many Edicts to force them to turn Christians; and not content to torment them in his Diocese, he wrote to the Queen of *Spain*, who was Regent in the Minority of *John* II. whom his Father, *the Sickly*, had left in the Cradle, that this Princess acting in conjunction with him, might make the greater number of Proselytes. And indeed, by her Severities, she forc'd † sixteen thousand Jews to abandon their Religion. Part of those that persever'd perish'd by the Fire, and part by other Punishments they were sentenc'd to; the others, as they fled, fell into the Peasants Hands, who murder'd 'em. A very small number of 'em ransom'd their Liberty and Lives by Money. Not long after they had the pleasure of hearing their Persecutor complain, in his turn, of the Miseries that overwhelm'd him, in these words.

Qui modo summus eram gaudens & nomine Præsul,
Tristis & abjectus nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelsus solio nuper versabar in alto,
Cunctaq; gens pedibus oscula prona dabat;
Nunc ego pœnarum fundo devolvor in imo,
Vultum deformem quemque videre piget.
Omnibus in terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant;
Sed nec gaza juvat, nec quis amicus adest.

II. *Nicholas* II. comforted the Circumcis'd of his Territories for the Afflictions they had undergone, and granted them his Protection ‖. He gave a check to the Inquisitors, who continu'd tormenting them unreasonably. He wrote in his turn too to *Spain*, to prevent, by his Remonstrances, the forcing of their Consciences. He maintain'd the voluntary Converts in the Privilege of entring into Offices, which the Inhabitants of *Toledo* had taken from them by a solemn Edict.

III. *Sixtus* IV.* Canoniz'd little *Simonin* at *Trent*. He was Son to one *Simon* a Mechanick. 'Tis said, that the Jews unmercifully murder'd him: They shew still a Knife, and Pincers, and four great Needles, with which they us'd to drain out his Blood, and two silver Goblets, in which they drank it. And farther, all this Tragical Story is painted in one of the Churches of the City, where the young Saint has his Chappel. The Inhahitants pretend, that this Murder † was committed in the Year 1276. But whether the Child's Saintship was not sufficiently known, or that it requir'd time to ripen the Story, and give Credit to the Miracle; or whether, lastly, There are Ages, in which People disgusted with the old Saints, are oblig'd to find out new ones, to revive their Attention and Curiosity; this Child was not Canoniz'd till the Pontificate of *Sixtus* IV, two hundred Years after the Event. This Canonization drew great Calamities upon the Circumcis'd, not only in the Bishoprick of *Trent*, where they pretended the Crime was committed, but also in all the Territories of the Republick of *Venice*. The Preachers ‖ kindled the People, who mov'd by the Notion of a false Miracle, plunder'd and murder'd all the Jews they met with. So great was the disorder that the Doge and Senate were oblig'd to repress it, and to order the Magistrates of *Padua* to treat the Jews like their other Subjects, and to hinder 'em from being abus'd; Because *the Report spread at Trent to 'em appear'd a Falshood, contriv'd by Art, for a certain end the Senate would not examine into* They were all banish'd out of the City of *Trent*, where the Magistrates were less equitable. But some time after, they obtain'd the liberty of living there three days together, because they made a considerable part of the Commerce. We are told, that some time after, the three days liberty were reduc'd to three hours, in punishment for their obstinate defence of *Buda* against the Christians, in the last War with the Turks.

IV. *Alexander* VI. instead of ill-using 'em, received 'em with abundant Charity. Being expelled *Spain* by *Ferdinand the Catholick*, and Fugitives in all Places, they knew not where to rest the *Sole of their Feet*. Those that came to *Rome* were ill-receiv'd by their cruel and barbarous Brethren, who would have suffer'd 'em to die with Hunger, if *Alexander* VI. had not succour'd 'em.

In effect, this Pope, tho' a *Spaniard* by Birth, and Head of the Church, understanding that the Jews, who had long been settled at *Rome*, left the Exiles in Misery, without attempting to succour them, he threatned to expel 'em, unless they chang'd their Conduct, and gave their miserable Brethren opportunities of settling in the Ecclesiastical State. He thought it convenient to profit by *Ferdinand*'s

* An. 1412. † Salomon Ben Virgæ, p. 312. ‖ An. 1447. * An. 1472. † Misson's *Voyage to Italy*, p 147. ‖ *See the* Ordonnance du Doge Mocenigoat Cardoso las Excellencias, p. 27. *It is dated April* 22. Indict. 8. 1475.

Error, and to enlarge his Revenues at the Coſt of others. There have been a great many People, who would not perſecute the Jews, nor yet would ſuffer their numbers to multiply in their States, by the Conjunction of Strangers. But the Pope liſtned not to the Reaſons dictated by his Religion, but would have the new Comers have the ſame Privileges at *Rome*, that the old Inhabitants of the ſame Religion had.

V. Others being inform'd of the Pope's kind Inclinations, flock'd from all Parts into *Italy*. *Jochanan Aleman* came from *Conſtantinople*, and was taken into Service of *Picus* Count of *Mirandola*, as his Preceptor. This Prince, for many Years *, had been opinionated with the Writings of the Rabbins, and even of the Cabbaliſts. He is reported to have ſaid †, That thoſe who read the Hebrew Books drew at the *Fountain-Head*; That the Rivulets had flow'd from thence to the Greeks, and that nothing but *Marſhes* and ſtagnating Water was found among the Latins. He maintain'd, That *Eſdras* had caus'd certain Caballiſtick Books to be written, which he had purchas'd at a great Price, and that *Sixtus* IV. had order'd 'em to be tranſlated into Latin. This prejudice of his was objected to him as a Crime; but he call'd God to witneſs, That he had found the Trinity in the Cabbala, and all the other Myſteries of Chriſtianity, ſo that there remain'd not the leaſt Controverſie with the Jews, who ſpoke like St. *Paul*, or St. *Jerome*. Laſtly ‖, he told, That diſputing at Table with a great Cabbaliſt, call'd *Dattilius*, he had converted him by the help of this Science. 'Tis no wonder, that a Prince of this Character gave Refuge to thoſe that were baniſh'd out of *Spain*, and took one of 'em into his Houſe, to comfort him for the Miſeries he had undergone. But *Bonis de Latis*, a Native of *Provence*, who liv'd at that time, dedicated to *Alexander* VI. his Treatiſe concerning the *uſefulneſs of the Aſtronomical Ring*, which he had invented. He wrote it in Latin, and his Stile has not been thought bad, tho' he thought himſelf oblig'd to apologize for it in theſe two Verſes;

Parce (precor) quæ ſunt rudibus errata Latino,
Lex Hebrea mihi eſt, lingua Latina minus.

VI. Another part * of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* Refugees thought to find a Retreat at *Naples*; but the Inquiſitors † purſu'd 'em thither with that Heat, and exercis'd ſuch terrible Oppreſſions under this Pretence, that the People rebell'd. The Viceroy reſolv'd to expel ‖ the Jews, that he might at once get rid of the Inquiſitors. He alledg'd, That the Diſtemper having ceas'd, and the Faith of the old Inhabitants being pure and well known, there was no need of theſe cruel Phyſicians, who made Wounds, and laid 'em open, inſtead of cloſing 'em. This Conduct was confirm'd afterwards by *Charles* the Vth. who would not tolerate the Jews in this Kingdom, nor in *Sicily*. The truth is *, this Prince hated them, and the Impoſtures he had diſcover'd, ſeem'd to authorize him in it. A Perſon of this Nation had the Confidence to maintain, in his Preſence, that he was the Meſſiah. *Charles* fully ſatisfy'd he was an Impoſtor, caus'd him to be burnt. A more artful Cheat plaid his part better for ſome time. He was originally a Jew, but had been brought up in Chriſtianity. He alſo poſſeſs'd a little Poſt at the Court of *Portugal*, when *David* arriv'd there, and reſolv'd to make him back his Deſign. *David* boaſted to be the Leader of the Army of *Iſrael*. He had publiſh'd it at *Rome*, where he had ſeen *Clement* VIII. Coming to *Portugal*, he ohlig'd this young Chriſtian to reſume his old Religion, with the Name of *Salomon Malcho*. He caus'd him to Study, and his Progreſſes in the knowledge of Traditions and the Law were ſo ſpeedy and great, that the Jews of *Italy* maintain'd, that an Angel dictated his Sermons. But not content with his forcible Preaching, he wrote † many Books, which gave new Radiations to his Glory. His Colleague *David*, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf alſo by his Faſtings. They ſay, he continu'd ſix days without taking any Food. He liv'd in publick, and had Witneſſes of his total Abſtinence, who look'd upon him as a Divine Man; but neither he nor *Malcho* durſt venture upon the Title of Meſſiah. They both contented themſelves with the Glory of being the Fore-runners of him, who was to appear and deliver the Nation. *Malcho* had the imprudence to deſire an Audience of *Charles* V. who was then at *Mantua*. He granted it him; but as he left the Chamber, he order'd him to be ſeiz'd and burnt. *David* was arreſted Priſoner, and baniſh'd into *Spain*. The Jews were not undeceiv'd by theſe ſad Accidents, and they long believ'd, that *David* was alive, and return'd every Week to viſit his Wife, who was left in *Italy*.

VII. Notwithſtanding theſe Impoſtures, the Jews were ſo Potent ‖ under the Pontificate of *Paul* III. as to provoke the Rage of Cardinal *Sadolet*. He was Biſhop of *Carpentras*, in the Dioceſe of *Avignon*, where the Jews had ever been tolerated, ſince *Joan* Queen of *Sicily* made a Preſent of this City to the Pope. They had their Synagogue there, as they have at this day, tho' this City be in the midſt of *France*, from whence they were baniſh'd. The Prelate * was not able to bear it. He wrote to Cardinal *Farneſe*, repreſenting, 1. That the Pope had never been ſuch a Benefactor to the Chriſtians as he was to the Jews; That he had granted 'em Titles, new Privileges and Honours, which rendred them haughty and inſolent; inſomuch that the Chriſtians were but like Sheep in the midſt of Wolves; That they were driven from their Houſes, and even commonly from the Cities where they ought to live at reſt. 2. That it was unaccountable, how a Pope could ſo rigorouſly perſecute the Lutherans, and grant at the ſame time ſo glaring a Protection, and ſuch ſingular Favours to the Jews, who ſeem more worthy of his Indignation. 3. He obſerv'd, that the true method for a Man to make his Court, and to riſe to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, was to countenance this Nation. Its Credit therefore muſt neceſſarily have been great, when Biſhopricks and Dignities were the conſequences of the Flatteries that were paid it. 4. Laſtly, He lays open the real ſource of this Protection; for this Favour proceeded from the Pope's Treaſurers, and the Intendants of his Finances, to whom the Jews were neceſſary Men. However, ſome regard was had to the Cardinal's Remonſtrances. In which caſe they did what is commonly done at *Rome*; when any uſeful Abuſe is diſcover'd, they palliate it, and retrench the too manifeſt and glaring Enormity.

VIII. A little after, *Julius* III. † being perſuaded, that the Allegorical Interpretetions of the *Gemara* were dangerous, caus'd the Talmud to be burnt. All the Books of the *Gemara*, which were in *Italy*, were burnt, ſay the Hiſtorians ‖.

IX. 'Twas in this Pontificate, that *Joſeph Tzarphati*, a famous Rabbin, who had taught a long

* An. 1493. † Apud Menaſſe de Fragil. Præf. ‖ Pici Mirandi Apol. p. 82. * An. 1510. Dacherii Spicil. t. 9. p. 162. † An. 1492. ‖ An. 1539. * An. 1534. † V. Imbonat. Bibl. Rabb. t. v. Ganz Tzemach Ghedalia Schialſchelet p. 45. ‖ An 1539. * Sadolet, L. 12. Ep. 5, 6. † An. 1554. Bullar. t. 1. Conſt. Paul. IV. 19, & 24. ‖ Ganz Tzemach David p. 153.

time

time at *Rome*, embrac'd Christianity. His Family was of *Fez*, and he was born in *France*; but retiring into *Italy*, where Learning flouriſh'd, he explain'd the Talmud in the Synagogue and the Academy of *Rome*. He was converted, and to do more Honour to Pope *Julius*, he took the Name of *Monte*. He prov'd, That this Pope was known in Holy Writ, and extracted his Name by the *Gemara* from the Contents of the Sacred Text. He writ a long Letter of *Peace* to the Synagogue of *Rome*, which he had left, to prove *, That the Meſſiah was come. He was order'd to preach to the new Converts, and to the Jews, who were to be preſent at certain Sermons; but his Perſon being odious, becauſe of his Deſertion, they complain'd of him to Cardinal *Siclet*, who remov'd him from this Employ. He publiſh'd a Treatiſe † concerning *the confuſion of the Jews*, pretending, that all the Myſteries of Chriſtianity are found in the old Teſtament; and as this Book was not printed, an *Italian* Author, who has publiſh'd the *Dialogo di Fede*, thought he had liberty to make uſe of it, and to ſteal from it.

X. There were, moreover, at this time other famous Jews at *Rome*. *Elias* the Levite was || born at *Padua*; but having loſt all, when this City was taken, he was receiv'd by ſome Cardinals, whom he taught Hebrew. Being an unfortunate Man, he once more loſt what he had, when the Conſtable *de Bourbon* * plunder'd *Rome*. He retir'd to *Venice*, and from thence to *Germany*; but being not accuſtom'd to the Cold of this Country, he return'd to *Italy*, where he dy'd † at eighty Years of Age. He was ſuſpected to have great inclinations for Chriſtianity, and this Suſpicion was a ground ſufficient for his Nation to hate him; but he did not abjure the Faith of his Anceſtors, tho' ſome have believ'd and written it. Laſtly, There was || a Woman at *Rome*, call'd *Deborah*, who then began to diſtinguiſh her ſelf, and continu'd to do it by her Poems and other Works; for ſhe dy'd not till the beginning of the ſeventeenth Century. But to return to the Popes.

XI. *Paul* IV. declar'd himſelf * an Enemy to this Nation. He hated it mortally, and the firſt Year of his Pontificate he put out two Bulls, which the Jewiſh Writers bitterly complain of. By the firſt he order'd each Synagogue erected in his Territories, to pay ten Ducats Annually, for the Inſtruction of the Catechumens that ſhould abjure Judaiſm; and by the ſecond, which was more rigorous, this Pope oblig'd the Men to wear a yellow Hat, and the Women a Veil of the ſame Colour. He neceſſitated them all to live in the ſame Quarter of the City, the Gates whereof were to be ſhut by Night. They were depriv'd of all Societies, Offices, or Profeſſions among the Chriſtians, without excepting Phyſick and Merchandize; for their Commerce was confin'd to ſmall Wares; they were prohibited more than one Synagogue in each City. They were commanded to ſell all their Lands in ſix Months time; which ſo ſunk the Price of 'em, that they could not get the fifth part of the value, which nevertheleſs amounted to five hundred thouſand Crowns. Laſtly, He made an Ordinance againſt Hebrew Books; for whereas *Julius*, his Predeceſſor, had condemn'd 'em without diſtinction to be burnt; he diſtinguiſh'd the Writings wherein Jeſus Chriſt was treated in a blaſphemous manner, from others which only explain'd the Jewiſh Religion. He allow'd theſe to be read, and burnt the reſt.

XII. This credulous Pope fell into a Snare that was laid for him; for they perſuaded him, that the Jews, to revenge themſelves of ſome Women, who had embrac'd Chriſtianity, had poſſeſs'd 'em with Devils, which cruelly tormented 'em. And indeed, there were eighty nine Jewiſh Women at *Rome*, who acted the poſſeſs'd. Being exorcis'd by a Benedictine Monk, they anſwer'd, That the Jews had ſent thoſe Devils into 'em, becauſe they were baptiz'd. The Pope, who hated the Nation, and was but a poor Divine, being inform'd of it, entred upon a Reſolution of baniſhing all the Jews out of his Territories. A Jeſuit ſtop'd him, by repreſenting, That the Devils were not thus at Man's devotion, and they did not go to a determin'd Point in the time and place preſcrib'd 'em. Upon this Intelligence, ſtricter Informations were made. The Demoniacks confeſs'd, upon the firſt Laſhes that were given 'em, That they had acted the Poſſeſs'd, and talk'd againſt their Nation, only at the requeſt of ſome Courtiers, who hop'd to reap their Spoils, becauſe the Pope would give 'em the Sequeſtration of thoſe he ſhould baniſh or put to death. Theſe Courtiers were ſeiz'd, and puniſh'd with death by night, and the Pope hearing of the Execution, broke out; "Without my good "Jeſuit, I had been damn'd; for I ſhould have "wrongfully put all the Jews to death. I pray "God to convert 'em; but as long as I live, I "will not hate 'em nor moleſt 'em as I have done; "by which he gain'd great Honour with all Chri-"ſtian Princes". Theſe things happen'd in the Year 1552. The Author is miſtaken, for the *Theatin*, in whoſe Pontificate this Diſcovery was made, was *Paul* IV. who was not elected till 1555. However, *Lewis Guion* †, who tells the Story, liv'd pretty near this time, and he boaſts of having receiv'd the thing from his Brother, who had been Chaplain to Cardinal *de Granvelle*. This may ſerve to undeceive two ſorts of People, ſome whereof too lightly believe the Accuſations alledg'd againſt the Enemies of the Faith, and others who allow too much to Devils and Sorcerers.

XIII. *Pius* V. || ſhew'd himſelf ſtill ſeverer to the Jews, and the Conſtitution he publiſh'd againſt 'em, was enough to make them hated by all the World; for he accus'd 'em of hating the Chriſtians; of ruining the Eccleſiaſtical State, by the exorbitant Uſuries they drew from it; of ſheltering Robbers, and thereby facilitating Robberies; of inſinuating themſelves into good Houſes, to debauch the Women, and managing their Rendevouz with their Gallants. Laſtly, They are tax'd with dealing in Magick, and foretelling things to come. For this reaſon they were expell'd out of all the Cities of the Eccleſiaſtical State, except *Rome* and *Ancona*. This Exception makes for the Accus'd; for we can't conceive, that if they had been convicted of the Crimes charg'd upon them by the Pope, he would have left 'em a Sanctuary at *Rome*, the Capital of his States, the Holy City, the Seat of Religion, and the Reſidential Place of the Sovereign Pontiff. The ſame Vices for which they were baaniſh'd ſo many Cities, ought, for a ſtronger Reaſon, to have remov'd 'em from *Rome*, where the Corruption has more dangerous Influences. The Reaſons the Pope alledg'd to juſtifie ſo contradictory a Conduct are pleaſant enough. He kept the Jews in his Capitol, that the Chriſtians, who ſaw 'em there, might be put in mind of the Paſſion of the Son of God. He hop'd alſo, they would be Converted by their Society

* An. 1582. † Fabiano Fiochi Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. iii. p. 818. || An. 1509. * Ibid. p. 898. † An. 1542. || An. 1560. * An. Jud. 5315. Chr. 1555. † Lewis Guion's *various Readings*, t. 2. l. 3. c. 9. p. 485. || An. 1569. Bullar. t. ii. Pius V. Conſt. 80. Spond. Ann. An. 1569.

with Christians, and would grow less wicked by the Pope's Neighbourhood. But the only Reason that is offer'd with any foundation, is, that these People are useful to the Pope, *to keep up the Eastern Trade, and for the Profit he drew from it.* The Vicars of God are Men, like the rest, and are govern'd by Interests purely human. But however, ought he not to have had Judgment, to invent other Reasons, or to conceal those he produc'd, that he might not be contradictory with himself?

XIV. *Sixtus* V. was more sincere, tho' he is accus'd of having always dissembled. For he confest, That the true Motive that inspir'd him to tolerate the Jews, was the hope of Profit. A Rabbin, call'd *Meir*, or Master *Magin*, of a French Origin, who resided at *Venice*, came to *Rome*, and being a Man of Wit, he was very agreeable to the Pope. He dedicated a Book to him, and wrote Verses in his Praise, which were translated into *Italian*. Lastly, He presented a Petition to have a particular Privilege of working in Silk. He pretended to have an admirable Secret to multiply the Worms, Silk and Profit accruing from it. The Pope granted him * several Privileges, voided all the contrary Declarations and Bulls of his Predecessors, tho' they had been made with *an Oath and Menace of Excommunication.* The hope of enriching the Apostolick Chamber, by laying a great Duty upon every Pound of Silk, was the Motive that oblig'd *Sixtus* V. to distinguish this Jew and his Deputies from all other Workmen, and give him a Patent which ruin'd the rest.

XV. *Clement* VIII. † shew'd 'em but little favour; for he renew'd the Bull of *Pius* V. who banish'd 'em out of the Ecclesiastick State. However, two things are observable in this Bull. One, that he added the City *Avignon* to those of *Ancona* and *Rome*, where they still preserv'd their Liberty of Conscience. 2. This Pope founded the Privilege of living at *Rome*, upon this reason; ‖ That the Jews ought not to be remov'd far from *Rome*, and the Pope's sight, that they might be always at hand to be converted, as if the Conversions were more frequent at *Rome* than other Places; and that this was a reason to retain 'em, when he banish'd 'em his other Cities. By this Principle, he should have given liberty of Conscience to all the Hereticks at *Rome*, and have fill'd the City with 'em, that they might always be at hand to be converted.

XVI. The Nation at that time had other considerable Settlements in the Cities of *Italy*; but one of * the most noted was that of *Venice*. The Republick receives 'em all in its Territories, and gives 'em a very favourable Entertainment. They boast also, to have in part deserv'd this Kindness by their Fidelity, and the great Services they have done it in the War with the Turks, and particularly at the Siege of *Candia*. Here it was that *Daniel Bombergue* printed † their Hebrew Bibles the first time. This Printer came from *Antwerp* to *Venice*, and chiefly dealt in Hebrew Books: To Print 'em the more correctly, he employ'd the most Learned Jews, whom he kept in pay. We are told, that he had above a hundred of these Pensioners. *Felix Pratensis* had the care of an Edition ‖ of the Bible with the Chaldee Paraphrases, and the Commentaries of many Rabbins, which he dedicated to Pope *Leo* X. But this Edition is not the best, because he could not regularly enough dispose the different Readings of the *Massoreths*. He made another, from which the Inquisitors curtail'd many things which they thought injurious to Religion, which renders it still less exact than the foregoing; and an Edition in Folio *, of 1548. is preferr'd to 'em both, which has at the beginning a Preface of *Jacob Chajim*, or *Joachim*, Author of the Collection of the *Massorah*.

This Printer, besides Bibles, would have a Grammar, upon which R. *Abraham de Balmis* work'd by his Order; and he wrote a very long one, which he call'd, *the Possession of Abram*, imagining he could no longer be call'd *Abraham*, because he had lost his two Children, whilst he was composing this Work. He dy'd † before he accomplish'd it. R. *Calonymas*, who was then at *Venice*, supply'd what was wanting to it. Lastly, *Bombergue* printed the Works of many Rabbins, which put him to prodigious Expences, and has render'd his Memory very precious with the Jews.

XVII. 'Twas to *Venice* that *David* the Son of *Isaac de Pomis* retir'd; who, by way of acknowledgment, wrote a Treatise to prove, That the Laws of that Republick are Divine, and that God has promis'd by his Prophet to preserve it. *Che le Constitutioni Venetiane sono divine & e promessa da Iddio per becca del Profeta di conservare tal santa Republica.* This Rabbin pretended, That his Family descended from one of the Heads of the Captives whom *Titus* carry'd from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*. He reckon'd among his Ancestors, one *Isaac the Rich*, and one *Elias the Saint*, on whose Tomb miraculous Fires were seen to shine for seven Nights together. He was a Prodigy of Learning in his tendrest Years, if it be true, that at seven Years old, he compos'd his *Stem of David*. His Father liv'd at *Spoleto*, but the Germans having pillag'd *Rome*, he was afraid of being ruin'd by the like Fate, and therefore carry'd off all his Effects, and went to seek a retreat somewhere else. He fell into the Misfortune he sought to avoid; for *Colonna*'s Troops meeting the Mules that carry'd his Treasure, seiz'd it, and reduc'd him to extreme Poverty. He settled at *Bevagna* ‖, where his Son, who was born in the Year 1525. strongly apply'd himself to Study. The Manuscript of one of his Ancestors, who liv'd in the beginning of the twelfth Century, and who had then compos'd a Hebrew * Dictionary, accidentally fell into his hands. He not only study'd it, but resolv'd to make another larger, in which he put the Terms which the Rabbins often make use of, tho' they are not Hebrew. He inserted into his Work all that was good in those of Rabbin *Nathan*, *Elias* the Levite, and *Kimki*'s *Roots*. In it we find the Hebrew Words, the Foreign Terms, with the Latin and Italian. I can hardly believe that *David* compos'd so large a Work, being yet a Child.

Bartolocci †, who says it, has not rightly taken this Author's Thought. " He relates, That being " at *Bevagna*, he found *Nathan*'s Book, which he " read very attentively; that he form'd a Design " of abridging it; that he found, some time after " the *Meturgamam* and the *Thisbi* of *Elias* the Le- " vite, with the Roots of *Kimki*; and that from " all these Works he compos'd ‖ the *Stem*. Last- " ly, He says, that his Father left *Bevagna* in the " Year 1532. to retire to *Todi*". *Bartolocci* has concluded from this Account, that the entire Work was compleated between *David*'s arrival at *Bevagna*, and his retreat to *Todi*, which happen'd five Years after. But *David* relates all that regards the Composition of his Work, and the Materials he imploy'd in it, without saying, he com-

* An. 1587. *v. the Privilege in* Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. iv. p. 20. † An. 1593. ‖ Clem. Const. 19 & 20. Bull. t. 3. * Luzati Cardoso. † An. 1511. Ganz Tzemach, p. 151. An. 271. ‖ An. 1517. * Simon's *Catal. of Princ.* Bib. p. 512. † An. 1525. ‖ Mevania, Lat. * *This Book ii call'd* ערוך Aruch, *because Dictionaries are in an Alphabetical Order, from* ערך ordinare. Nathan, *Son to* Jechiel de Pomis, *Head of the Synagogue at* Rome *in* 1106. *was the Author of this Work, which was still in Manuscript.* † Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. ii. p. 40. ‖ *It was Printed at* Venice *in* 1587.

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pos'd it in so short a time, or at seven Year old. He intitl'd it *the Stem*, because it was form'd by degrees, like the Shoot of a Tree; and indeed he did not print it till the Year 1587. after he had publish'd many Works. He was invited to several places, where he practis'd Physick. The Bishop of *Chiusi* oppos'd his Entrance into the City of his Bishoprick, tho' he was earnestly desir'd there. He pass'd from thence to *Rome*; but some Domestick Misfortunes having oblig'd him to hasten to *Venice*, he made that his last Place of Abode. As he had been very unfortunate, he compos,d, for his own Consolation, a Discourse about the Misery of Man, and the means to avoid it, which he imbellish'd with several Passages of *Ecclesiastes*.

XVIII. The Republick maintain'd its Rights in the War with the *Uscoques*. These Robbers often pillag'd the Merchants of this Nation, and the House of *Austria* pretended to dispute the *Venetians* their Privilege of Protecting them, because they were not Christians: But no regard was had to a Pretension, that depriv'd Sovereigns of the Right of defending their Subjects; and the Jew *Henriquez* was chosen by the Senate to go into *Dalmatia*, to endeavour the Accommodation of this Affair, which caus'd an unhappy War.

XIX. R. *Simcha*, *alias*, *Simeon Luzati*, publish'd here his * *Socrates*; in which † he shews, That the greatest Genius's are weak and wandering, when they are not guided by Revelation; ‖ *Opera nella quale si dimostra quanto sia imbecille lintendimento humano mentre non e diretto dalla revelatione divina*. He compos'd another Treatise concerning the present State of the Nation, of which we shall give an Extract at the end of this Book. 'Twas at *Venice* also that *Samuel Nachmias* liv'd, tho' he was of a *Thessalonian* Family. Here he abjur'd * Judaism, with *David* his Son, and part of his Family, which took the Name *Morosini*: To shew that his Conversion was sincere, he publish'd an *Italian* Treatise, intitled, דרך אמונה *Via della Fede*. He explains in it the Ceremonies of his Nation, and shews the uselesness of 'em. He proves, That the six hundred and thirteen Precepts, which they distinguish in the Law, are observ'd by no body. Lastly, He confutes all the Jewish Superstitions and Sects. He grew old in the Christian Church; for he did not die till the Year 1687. at *Rome* †, whither he was retir'd. *Mardochai* ‖ *Korkos*, who taught in the Year 1672. perform'd an Action, that was hardly less venturous nor less odious to the Doctors of the Nation; for he compos'd a Treatise against the Cabbala, and their Prejudices for that Science are so great, that a Man seems to shake the Foundations of their Religion who attacks it. And therefore the Doctors have had the precaution not to print this Book.

XX. At the same time that *Bombergue* had his Press at *Venice*, another was set up at *Soncino*. *Plantavitius*, who look'd for this City in the Diocese of *Cologne*, was misled by some Analogy in the Name. He took it for *Zons*, a little City of the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*; whereas it is in *Italy*, situate in the Dutchy of *Milan*, near the *Oglio*. It has undergone several Revolutions, which have often sunk it out of sight, but it still makes a shift to lift its Head above its Ruins. Some Jews from *Spires* went to settle here at the end of the fifteenth Century *, and quitted the Name of their Family, to take that of the City *Soncino*. Their principal Business was to print Hebrew Books; and as they were almost the first that did this Service to the Nation, they grew famous and considerable. By this means they drew from the Dust a great number of Rabbinical Writings, which would have been bury'd in it, and were not easily read. The Doctors, that hereby found it much easier to read the Works of their Predecessors, gave great Encomiums to the *Soncini*, which a long time continu'd in this Post, and from thence dispers'd themselves into other Cities of *Italy*. There have been also very famous Doctors of this Name, and R. *Ascer* was of this Family.

XXI. There was also a Synagogue at *Imola*, where † the famous *Ghedaliah* was born, who was of a *Portugueze* Descent. He boasted ‖ to be of the Family of the *Jachiia*, and maintain'd, That this Family proceeding in a right Line from *Jesse*, Father of *David*, had maintain'd it self in *Portugal*, where *Athanaric*, Son to the great *Athanaric*, first of the Name, had given three Cities in Fief to one of his Grandfathers, and made him Intendant of his Houshold, and his whole Kingdom. *Dom Salomon*, another of his Ancestors, who liv'd in the Year 1199. had been General of the *Portugueze* Armies. Thus he continues his Genealogy, tho' the Book of it had been lost, and there was no Person then in *Spain* or *Portugal*, that could descend from *David*. He even commits unpardonable Faults; for if he pretended that *Athanaric*, King of *Portugal*, was the immediate Son of the King of the *Goths* of this Name, the Error is extremely gross, by his own Calculation, since he makes the one live in the time of *Constantine* and Pope *Sylvester*, and the other in the Year 996. There was no *Athanaric* King of *Portugal*; nor were there any Kings of *Portugal* in that time, this Province being made a Kingdom a long while after. His Grandfather was Head of the Academy and Synagogue of *Naples*, when *Charles* V. banish'd the Jews from it in 1539. This Man had compos'd 21 Volumes, but the principal and almost only one which was printed, is, *the Chain of the Cabbala*, *Schialschelet Hakkabbala*. He wrote it at *Imola*, in the Year 1549. and tho' the Author stole a great many things from a Work like his own, and is very frequently mistaken in Chronology, yet he has been serviceable to *Bartolocci*, in his Rabbinical *Bibliotheque* *, as he owns himself; and 'tis one of the most necessary Books to those that are fond of the Chain of Tradition, and the personal Succession of the Doctors. But at the same time it gives a blow to the Church of *Rome*, which boasts of this personal Succession, as an infallible means to propagate the Truth from Generation to Generation, and to *deliver it from hand to hand*. He was a Preacher, for he publish'd 180 Sermons, which he dedicated to his Son *Moses*. He was the Author of many other Works, the Catalogue whereof would be too tedious.

At *Modena* was another Synagogue, with R. *Samuel* at the Head of it, who in the Year 1550. publish'd *the Judgments of Salomon*. We have already observ'd, what fastuous Titles these Gentlemen give their Books. This is a course of Canon-Law. *Salomon* is renown'd for the Wisdom and Equity of his Judgments; and the Author fears not to give the same Idea of himself and his Decisions, which are in reality much esteem'd.

XXII. There was an Academy at *Padua*, which also brought up a considerable number of Doctors, R. *Meir* † was its President. *Joseph* ‖ of *Padua*, who took the Name of his Native-place likewise taught there. * *Isaac Phea* publish'd there at the same time his *way of Faith*, which gave him great

* An. 1638 † An. 1613. ‖ Padre Paolo Istoria de gli Uscocchi. * An. 1649. † Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 4. p. 404. ‖ An. 1672. *He was born at* Venice. * An. 1490. † An. 1500. ‖ En. 1549. * Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. 1. p. 722 &c. † An. 1558. ‖ An. 1550. * An. 1560.

Reputation.

Reputation. They had there their great Preacher *Menachem Rabba*, whose Sermons upon the four Seasons of the Year have been since printed by his Son. He was still alive in the beginning * of the last Century. The Jews were here admitted Doctors of Physick, and they might afterwards practise in the Territories of the Republick. In fine, they have moreover three Synagogues † eight hundred Persons of their Nation, and a considerable *Ghetto*. This is the Name in *Italy* they give the Streets and Quarter of the Jews, in which they are shut up at Night. That of *Padua* has three Gates, and upon one of 'em ‖ an Inscription, beginning thus; *Ne populo cœlestis regni hæredi usus cum exhærede esset.*

XXIII. The Synagogue and Academy of *Mantua* have been famous for a long time. Two Rabbins *Meser Leone di Mantoua*, and *Kolon*, who govern'd it at the end of the fifteenth Century, were divided. Jealousie perhaps was the true cause of their Enmity; but they conceal'd this shameful Passion, as Divines commonly do, under the Cloak of Religion, and difference of Opinions about Faith. Not only the Jews of *Mantua* * divided, but the Christians engag'd so far in this division as to come to blows. *Lewis Gonzaga*, who was then Marques of *Mantua*, try'd in vain all ways to reconcile 'em; but at last he took the resolution which is always to be taken, that is, to expel the Leaders of the Faction, and by the Exile of these two Persons restore tranquility to the City.

XXIV. Other Doctors succeeded the expell'd; and *Moses Vecchio*, or *Moses the Old*, made a great Figure in the following Century. *Alphes*, whom we have already mention'd †, had written a course of Law so conformable to the *Talmud*, that sometimes one is mistaken for the other. His Commentators, instead of censuring several things he had inserted in his Book, approv'd them, or indeavour'd to soften them by a favourable Interpretation; as is commonly done by the Opinions of those Divines we esteem, and whose Reputation we fear to blot: But *Moses the Old* setting himself above *Alphes* and all his Commentators, publish'd ‖ at *Mantua* his Corrections upon their Works, which did him a great deal of Honour.

XXV. The Jews were settled at *Pesaro*, a very ancient little City, since 'tis mention'd by *Catullus*. It belongs at present to the Church, and is situate in the Dutchy of *Urbin*, upon the *Adriatick* Sea. Here was born R. *Jechiel* of *Pesaro*; who having for some time heard the Sermons of an Inquisitor at *Florence*, went to *Rome*, to desire leave to abjure his Judaism. Pope *Gregory* XIII. who then was upon the See, was present at the Speech he made before a numerous Assembly, and receiv[illegible] him, as he descended from the Chair, with these Words; *Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.* The Pope baptiz'd him some days after; he became a Preacher, and some of his *Italian* Sermons have been printed, which he preach'd * at *Florence* against the Jews, who were numerous there †.

XXVI. They have maintain'd themselves thro'-out all *Italy* for the last Century, and have had their learned Rabbins. Their learned *Ichadah* ‖ *Arie*, much better known by the Name of *Leo* of *Modena*, was born in the City that gave him his Name. He had a great hatred for the Christians, and did not conceal it; for he put into their hands the Discoveries he had made upon the Name of *Jesus Christ*, to prove, that he was either *Antichrist*, or a *strange God*. To this purpose he found the the number 666 in the Name of *Jesus Nazarene*, ישו הנוצרי *Jeschu Nozeri*. He found the number 612 in the two Words *Jesus* and *Mary*, *Jesu* and *Miriam*; and he joyn'd these Words to those of *Deuteronomy*, *The strange Gods of the land*, which also makes the number 612. Lastly, The Word *Jesus* is 616, and these two Words, *Elohe Nechar*, *the strange Gods*, contain'd the same * number. These Discoveries could give no great Idea of this Rabbin, but yet he was a learned Man. His Treatise of Ceremonies of the Jews is esteem'd by all Nations. *The Mouth of the Lion* is a Book still more necessary, because he has collected in it the Words which are neither perfect Hebrew nor perfect Chaldee, us'd by the Rabbins. 'Tis a Glossary of mighty use to those who would understand the modern Doctors. They boast much a Poem he compos'd at forty Years of Age; in which he so happily associated the Italian Tongue with the Hebrew, tho' most different, that the same Syllables are found in the Hebrew as in the Italian Verses. One of them will suffice to give an Idea of 'em.

Chi nasce, muor; oi me, che pass' a cerbo.

That is,

He that is born dies; alas, what a difficult Step is that?

The same Syllables are found in these Hebrew Words,

Kinah. scemor. ai meh. cepas. aotsor. bo.

It requires Art and Labour to make the Syllables thus meet. But I question whether those who do it are well paid for their pains, or whether they merit the little Praise that is given 'em. *Leo de Modena* would be little known, if to these flights of Fancy that are allow'd to Youth, he had not added several Works † full of Erudition. He died at *Venice*, in the Year 1645. being seventy Years old. Lastly, here flourish'd in the Year 1674 *Mardochai Korkos*, who having a better Judgment than most Doctors of his Nation, instead of running headlong with them into the Cabbala, has indeavour'd to make others dislike it. He even had the Courage to write against the ten so famous *Sephiroths*, which denotes his good taste for Divinity.

XXVII. *Jacob Tzaphalon* taught at *Ferrara*. He was born at *Rome* in 1630. He had also taken his Doctor of Physick's Degree in the University of this City; but he bent his Studies to the Law, and became one of the principal Doctors of the last Century. Finding that some jealous Heads made him uneasie in his Native Country, he forsook it to retire to *Ferrara*, and govern'd the Synagogue of that Place. This Situation was the more convenient to him, because he came near *Venice*, where he printed many Books. He publish'd *his precious Stones*; which is a Collection of devout Thoughts, and to which he hath prefix'd several Prayers. There is one among the rest, pretty long, for Physicians, when they go to visit their Patients. Few of that Profession think, that they have occasion for the Assistance of Heaven. They imagine,

* An. 1605. † Misson's *Voyage to* Italy, p. 185. ‖ An. 1687. * An. 1470. † *See the History of the eleventh Century.* ‖ *In the Year* 1580. * An. 1585. † Bartolocci ex Schedis Magliabechi Bibl. Rabb. t. iv. p. 564. ‖ *Alluding to his Name of* Leo; Arie *signifies* Lion. * Apud Voet disput. de Judaismo, p. 123. † Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. iii. p. 16. & iv. p. 56.

that

that natural Remedies work the Cure without its Influences. The more devout *Tzaphalon* * was willing to correct this Error. He wrote other Books. The Title of one is taken from the Prophet *Micha.* † *Thou wilt perform the Truth to Jacob.* The second is *The Light of the Preachers.* A third, which turns upon Physick, is call'd, *The Theatre of Life*, in which he treats of Fevers, Poisons, Simples, and Diseases peculiar to each part of Human Body.

Judas Azael was eminent also for his preaching in the last Century. His Reputation was so great, that the Christians went out of Curiosity to hear him. He publish'd the *Thrones of the House of David* †. He divides this Treatise into eight Houses, to which he gives fifty Gates; 'tis a Cabbalistick Tract. He is accus'd of having taken it from his Father *Eliezer*, who also taught at *Ferrara*, and to have only chang'd the Title; for he had intitl'd it, the *City of David*, עיר דוד. He put his Name to it, and assum'd the Honour of it. This latter dy'd at *Ferrara*, in the Year 1677.

XXVIII. *Jehosuah Menaghem* was President of the Academy at *Rome*, at the end of the last Century: there was another Doctor at the same tim call'd *Jacob Dattilo delli Piatelli.* He came of an eminent Family of his Nation at *Rome*; and we have already spoken of a famous Cabbalist of this Name, whom *Picus de Mirandola* converted. This Man was look'd upon as one of the best qualify'd Masters to instruct Youth. The R. *Tribotti* appear'd also in the middle of the same Century. † In his Tract of the *Bath of Women*, he advanc'd some Propositions which brought the Doctors of *Italy* upon his back. The Synagogue and Academy of *Rome*, to put a stop to the multiplication of Books, and the course of the Division pronounc'd upon all these Questions; it declar'd for *Tribotti*, and the other Doctors submitted to its decision, and so Peace was restor'd ||. Is Infallibility at *Rome* even in the Synagogue? The Fountain must needs be very exuberant, if its Rivulets flow into the Synagogue.

XXIX. They reckon twelve or fifteen thousand Jews in this great City, who are govern'd by Triumvirs, whom they call *Memmonim*, *Governours.* These three Men determine all the differences that arise betwixt Man and Man, and take care to preserve the Privileges the Popes have granted them. They are chang'd every Year, that they may not be able to abuse their Authority. They live so familiarly with the Christians, that the latter make no scruple to go frequently to their Synagogues, and they did it in such a number, that *Innocent* XI. was oblig'd * to threaten 'em with Excommunication, and to fine twenty five Crowns all those that entred into 'em. They have an Academy here, which they call *Talmud Thora*, *the Study of the Law.* They have their Professors, amongst whom not long ago † was *Joseph Kimki.* They have nine Synagogues; and it seems that they preserve a kind of Superiority over the others of *Italy*, since they are consulted upon doubtful Cases, and their Determinations respectfully receiv'd.

XXX. *Innocent* XI. gave 'em some years ‖ since a particular Instance of his Protection. This Pope, who conjur'd the King of *France* to persecute his Protestant Subjects, to oblige 'em to change their Religion, induc'd the *Venetians* to give liberty to some Jews whom they oppress'd. *Morosini*, General of this Republick, returning victorious from the *Morea*, brought with him from this Country many Christians and Jews he had found under the Power of the Grand Seignior. The first were set at liberty and the latter kept in Prison. They represented the Injustice that was done 'em, since they offer'd to dwell in the Territories of the Republick, where they are allow'd a full Liberty of Conscience. They have their Cœmetery at *Venice*, from which have produc'd some Epitaphs. They have their Synagogues, and they reckon near two thousand Persons of their Nation in that City. One would think, that what they desir'd could not be refus'd; but yet they could not obtain it; and their Fate would have been miserable, if the Pope, whose Protection they implor'd, had not sollicited for 'em. *Innocent* XI. not content to act at *Venice*, appointed a Congregation at *Rome*, to take cognizance of this Affair, and to regulate it; but the Republick granted what was demanded, and the Jews were set at liberty.

XXXI. This Pope also apply'd himself to their Conversion. *Gregory* XIII. had order'd a Sermon to be preach'd weekly to instruct them. An ingenious Man was to be chosen for it, who was to prove, That the Messiah was come, That *Jesus Christ* is the Messiah, who has abolish'd the Law; and to inlarge upon the long Misery this Nation has suffered for seventeen hundred Years. He oblig'd one third of the Jews of *Rome* to be present, in their turns, at this Sermon, and the Children who had reach'd twelve Years were registred among the Auditors. *Paul* IV. also founded a House, where all that were converted, were fed and cloathed. He built also a Hospital for the Catechumens and the Sick, who were kept there at the Jews Expence. All the Bishops ought to imitate this Example, but whether the Prelates have wanted Zeal, or through the distraction of other Affairs, they have neglected this, tho' of the greatest moment, it has had no success. A Dominican only went into the Pulpit every *Saturday*, and made a cold and incoherent Discourse against the Nation that did not hear him. *Innocent* XI. indeavour'd to remedy this Abuse. He order'd * the Sermon should not be preach'd in a Consecrated Church, because he understood they profan'd it by scandalous Indecencies. He oblig'd the Preacher to make a Prayer to God; but lest the Names of *Jesus* and *Mary* should scare 'em, it was to be pronounc'd softly. He appointed an Office of Inspector, to impose silence upon the Talkers. In effect, a Man with a long Pole goes thro' the Ranks, and strikes the Fingers of those that talk or laugh. But all in vain, the incredulous Jews will not be converted; and Cardinal *Barberini*, who was at a great Expence to forward these Instructions, acknowledg'd before his death, That the Conversions made by dint of Money, are feign'd and insignificant.

XXXII. Two other things are observ'd † at *Rome* which must provoke this Nation. 1. They are oblig'd to celebrate the Elevation of the new Pope, and to wait for him upon the way of St. *John de Lateran*, to pay him their Homages. They may form excuses to themselves, and say, That as they look upon the Pope as a Temporal Prince, they ought to acknowledge the new Master that is giv'n 'em, and to rejoyce at his Exaltation. But can they acquit themselves by help of this distinction? For the Inauguration of the Popes is a pure act of Religion, and 'tis a Head that is given to the Roman Church. The Jews may, in their turn, accuse the Popes of being more jealous of their own Glory than that of the Master they adore; for they force them to pay homage to the Pope, whilst they permit 'em to reject the Messiah. 2. The Pope

* Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. t. iii. p. 852. † Mic. 7. 20. ‖ סאות לביית דוד Chisfoth Leveth David. * Nathan. Tribotti, An. 1644. † An. 1644. ‖ An. 1685. * La Rocque Mem. de l'Egl. l. 5. p. 605. † An. 1685. La Rocque's *Memoirs of the Church.* * Wagenseil Tela ignea præf. : Sanctiones Ceremoniales Rom. l. 1. S. 2. f. 26.

‖ prays

‖ prays for 'em on *Good-Friday*, as well as for Heathens and Hereticks, that God may tear off the Veil of *Moſes* and enlighten 'em. But he doth not kneel in praying for 'em, *becauſe the Church deſigns to expreſs thereby the Horror it preſerves for what their Anceſtors did the ſame day, in falling on their Knees before* Jeſus Chriſt *to mock him*: As if the Reverence we owe to God, and the Adorations we pay him, ought to depend on the manner wherewith the Profane inſult him.

XXXIII. We have carry'd the Hiſtory of the Jews in *Italy* to the end of the ſeventeenth Century. If any one deſires a more exact knowledge of the number and preſent State of their Synagogues, he may conſult the Tax of thoſe that are in the Eccleſiaſtical State. They reckon nine at *Rome*, and nineteen in *Campania*, thirty ſix in the Marquiſate of *Ancona*, twelve in the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, eleven at *Bologna*, and thirteen in *Romandiola*, which beſides what may be ſqueez'd from 'em by extraordinary Oppreſſions, are tax'd ſomewhat above ſeven hundred Crowns, which they pay every Year.

XXXIV. We may farther ſee the will of *Zachary a Porto*, who dy'd at *Florence* towards the end of the laſt Century *. This Merchant had compos'd a kind of Concordance † upon the Commentators of the Talmud. When he dy'd, he intruſted his Work with the Doctors of *Rome*, and bequeath'd his Library to the School. But moreover, he gave twenty four thouſand Piaſters to his Nation. One fourth part to be divided among the Univerſities of *Leghorn*, *Venice*, *Jeruſalem*, *and the Land of Iſrael*, and other eighteen thouſand Piaſters were to be diſtributed into Portions for Jewiſh Maids, of the Synagogues of *Rome*, *Ferrara*, *Ancona*, *Urbane*, which was his Birth-place, *Peſaro*, *Ceſano*, *Venice*, *Padua*, *Verona*, *Rovigo*, *Florence*, *Sienna*, *Piſa*, *Leghorn*, *Mantua*, *Modena* and *Reggio*. This Enumeration ſhews, that there are ſtill a conſiderable number of Synagogues in that place of the World, where the Church of *Rome* reigns with the greateſt Authority. We don't condemn its Toleration; but it ought to be equal, or rather greater, for thoſe who worſhip not only one and the ſame God, but alſo one and the ſame Meſſiah, and have no other proſpect beſides the Reformation of Abuſes.

* Miſſale Rom. Fer. VI. in Paraſ. p. 182. Gaietani Ordo Romanus XIV. p. 368. † An. 1671. ‖ *He intitl'd it*, Aſaph Hammaſchir Collector. a Commentariis. V. Bart. Bibl. Rab. t. ii. p. 818.

CHAP. XXX.

The Hiſtory of the Jews in Germany, *from the Fifteenth to the end of the Sixteenth Century.*

I. *The Landgraves of* Turingia *tax the Jews exceſſively.* II. Jacob Movilin; *Hebrew Concordances; their Author.* III. *The Creation of Doctors; the Origin of this Title.* IV. *An Ordinance of the Council of* Baſil *againſt the Jews.* V. *Regulations for the New Converts.* VI. Lewis of Bavaria *baniſhes them out of his Territories; Divers Accuſations; An Example of Deſpair.* VIII. *They are expell'd out of* Nuremberg. IX. David Leimlein *deceives the* German *Jews, and carries 'em to* Jeruſalem. X. Victor a Carbe *writ againſt 'em; They are expell'd out of* Cologne. XI. *The Prince of Preachers.* XII. Pfepfercorn *and* Hochſtrat *cauſe the Hebrew Books to be burn'd*; Reuchlin's *Oppoſition.* XIII. *He diſtinguiſhes two ſorts of Books.* XIV. *The Continuation of this Diſpute.* XV. Pfepfercorn's *Diſſimulation puniſh'd.* XVI. Melſtinski *a falſe Meſſiah.* XVII. *The State of the Jews under the Reformation.* XVIII. *Frequent Diſputes of the Proteſtants.* XIX. R. Iſaac's *Buttreſs of Faith.* XX. *Four Tracts that go by the Title of* Nizzachon, *or, the Victory.* XXI. *The Sect of Demi-Jews ill-nam'd.* XXII. *The Prince of the Captivity in* Germany. XXIII. *The Elogies of* Salomon Luria *in* Auſtria. XXIV. Simoſn de Guntzbourg *a good Geometrician.* XXV. Iſerſes of Cracow, *an Eſtabliſhment in* Poland. XXVI. *The Condition of the Jews in* Bohemia. XXVII. *They are expell'd and reſtor'd.* XXVIII. *Several Rabbins in this Country.* XXIX. Judas Betſaleel, *or* Leo of Prague. XXX. Mardochai the Fair *his Royal Garment.* XXXI. Ganz, *his* Stem of David. XXXII. *Their State in* Moravia. XXXIII. *They are plunder'd at* Bonn. XXXIV. *Their Settlement in the Territory of* Brunſwick.

I. THE Fifteenth Century begun unhappily in *Germany* for the Jewiſh Nation. * A great many were ſettled in *Thuringia*, and in *Miſnia*. But the Landgraves made them commonly buy their Quiet and Liberty; whether it was that neceſſity requir'd it, or they were driven to it by Avarice, which prevails in the Souls of Princes, as well as of Private Perſons. They often demanded conſiderable Sums. It had not been long perhaps, that they had paid a great Tax, when a new one was demanded of them in 1401. They refus'd to pay it; but they were all committed to Priſon, and not ſet at liberty, till they paid a good Ranſom.

II. *Jacob Movilin* at that time *gave reſt to the Law in Iſrael.* He made himſelf famous by the great number of his Diſciples, as well as by his *Anſwers* † *to the Queſtions* that were propos'd to him. I know not whether we ought to place to the ſame time the Author of the Hebrew Concordances, to which they have given the Title of ‖ *the Book that enlightens the way*; for they don't agree about the Author's Name. One *Arlot*, a Monk, who liv'd at the end of the thirteenth Century, muſt have made Concordances that were tranſlated into Hebrew. But this Tranſlation is attributed to *Iſaac Nathan*, or *Mardochai Nathan*; and as theſe two are both equally unknown, we can't determin to whom the Glory of the Work is due. *Waſerus* was evidently miſtaken, in confounding the Author of theſe Concordances with *Nathan*, the Head of the Synagogue at *Rome*, who wrote an excellent Dictionary, at the beginning of the twelfth Century. It ſignifies little to examine, Whether theſe are two different Authors, or whether one Man has taken two Names, as it happens in Circumciſion or Repentance; or rather, whither the Father began the Work which the Son finiſh'd. It ſuffices to know, that it was compos'd by *Nathan*, at the beginning of the fifteenth Century. *Reuchlin* printed it, becauſe he found it very uſeful. There

* An. 1401. † Ganz Tſemach David, p. 147. An. 1427. ‖ נחיב סמאיר Sepher Meir Nativ.

have

have been ſeveral Editions of it ſince; but the beſt of all is the Roman, made by a Monk, call'd *Marius Calaſio* *, for he not only added the Concordance of *Eſther* and *Daniel*, which were wanting, but we find Illuſtrations upon the *Chaldee* Notes, and upon all that relates to the deſcription of the Holy Places.

III. There was at that time a Diſpute among the Rabbins of *Germany* about Letters of Divorce. Young People pretended to make 'em; and as they were not perfectly acquainted with the Ancient Rites, they committed Faults. In order to prevent this Abuſe, it was appointed, that none but the receiv'd *Doctors* ſhould be privileg'd to draw up theſe Letters, and all the reſt ſhould be void and null; and it is pretended, that this was the Origin of the Title of Doctor, which *Movilin* aſſum'd. But it was probably Pride which gave Birth to this new degree of Honour. The Chriſtians gave the Doctors Cap with a great deal of Pomp in their Univerſities; and to imitate 'em, the Jews took this Title, and began to confer it with ſome Ceremony; whilſt the ſuperannuated one of Rabbins was deſpis'd. The Title *Dom* was only us'd in *Spain*; but the Doctors were diſtinguiſh'd among all the Chriſtians. *Abravanel*, who ſaw that the *Germans* Ordain'd their Diſciples, by ſaying, *Morenu, you are our Doctor*, was ſurpriz'd at this Cuſtom; but he found afterwards, that the ſame thing was done in *Italy*, where this Title very quickly came.

IV. The Council of *Baſil* which extended its care and juriſdiction far and near †, thought it ought not to neglect the Jews, who were numerous in this City and in *Germany*. It commanded the Prelates to chuſe in all the places where there were Jews, ſome Perſons skill'd in the Languages to preach to 'em. The Sovereigns were oblig'd to ſend all the circumcis'd of their Territories to this Sermon, and heavy Puniſhment were decreed againſt thoſe who conceal'd them, or hinder'd them from receiving Inſtruction. People at the ſame time forbidden to have any Commerce with them at Table, and in Civil Society. It was not allow'd to have Servants, Nurſes, Phyſicians or Farmers of this Nation, nor to hire them Houſes near Churches, or in the Body of Cities; and to diſcover them the more eaſily they were oblig'd to wear a different Habit from the Chriſtians. Laſtly, The Council condemn'd thoſe who pawn'd their Sacred Books, Croſſes, Chalices, and Ornaments of the Churches, to loſe their Money.

The Council alſo made Regulations about thoſe that were converted. The new Converts by Baptiſm acquired the Privilege of enjoying their Eſtates, except what they had robb'd by Uſuries; for they oblig'd 'em to reſtore their exceſſive Intereſts, if the Perſons were alive; and in caſe of death, as the Church was Miſtreſs of the Confiſcation of theſe ill-acquir'd Goods, ſhe made a Preſent of 'em to the new Converts. This Regulation is particular; for the Church has no right to appropriate the Goods of private Perſons, eſpecially when they are acquir'd before their entrance into it, and in the time of Ignorance. If the Church has this Privilege, it can't exerciſe it to the prejudice of Children, and the Heirs of thoſe to whom the reſtitution is due. Laſtly, They laid an obſtacle in the way of the Jews Converſion, by robbing them of their Acquiſitions.

V. The Council declar'd farther, by an *Edictal* Law, the new Converts capable of all Offices in Cities, where they were baptiz'd, becauſe *it was more noble to be regenerated by the Holy Spirit, than to be born of the Fleſh.* It does not belong to a Council to diſpoſe of the Offices of all the Cities. But 'tis a pleaſant reaſon it offers for it; If Regeneration gave any Claim to Temporal Dignities, a Man that appear'd Holy, might, by this Motive, make greater Pretenſions to a Prince's Crown, than his Son by Nature. The Council could not aſſure it ſelf of the Sincerity of theſe Converſions: and it appears, that it doubted of 'em; for it forbad that the new Converts ſhould have frequent Interviews and Intercourſes together; as finding by experience, that they corrupted one another, and weakned their Faith. They were forbidden alſo the burying their Dead after the Jewiſh way, the keeping the Sabbath, and other Rites of the Nation; which is a ſufficient Proof, that they had not heartily renounc'd them. Laſtly, The Pariſh-Prieſts were order'd to prevent the Miſchief, by procuring them good Matches among the Chriſtians. As the Council gave great Privileges to new Converts, it appointed likewiſe terrible Puniſhments for Hypocrites; for it authoriz'd the Prieſts to keep a ſtrict Eye over their Conduct, to impeach 'em to the Inquiſitors, and to call in the Secular Arm to puniſh 'em with greater rigor; declaring, That all that protected theſe *Neophytes*, ſhould be treated as Abettors of Hereticks; and carrying its Authority farther, it *voided* and *annull'd* all the Privileges which might have been given to the Jews, *either by Popes or Emperors.* It amazes a Man to hear Eccleſiaſticks talk at this rate. The Council neither does juſtice, nor underſtands what it is; but confounding perpetually Temporals with Spirituals, and Politicks with Eccleſiaſticks, it draws falſe Inferences. The Council was in the right in ordering the Jews to be inſtructed, and the new Converts to be kept by Charities; but it exceeded the bounds of its Power in ſetting it ſelf above Emperors, and pretending to aboliſh their Laws.

VI. The Decrees of *Baſil* caus'd no great alteration in *Germany*. 'Tis true, *Lewis* X. of *Bavaria* expell'd the Jews out of his Dominions, but it was twenty Years after ‖; and the Council laid not this Injunction upon Sovereigns. This Prince conſulted not his own Intereſts. It was in vain to repreſent to him, That the Baniſhment of ſo many rich People would leſſen his Revenues, he order'd 'em to depart the ſame day, and the very ſame hour from forty Cities, and all the Towns in his Territories: He confiſcated their Eſtates, and built Priſons and other publick Edifices, in the places that had belong'd to 'em. *

VII. The Princes of *Mecklebourg* † alſo made a cruel Slaughter of 'em in their Capital City. Thirty Jews were condemn'd to the Fire. One of 'em ‖ threw himſelf into the River, to avoid the barbarity of this Puniſhment; and, as the Women and Children were included in this Execution, a Mother, driven to deſpair, kill'd with her own Hand two of her Daughters, and the third would have undergone the ſame fate, if the Chriſtians had not taken her away. They were accus'd of having bought of a Prieſt, who was burnt with 'em, an Hoſt, which they had wounded and was found all bloody. They * were alſo accus'd in *Hungary* of murdering a Chriſtian, and drinking his Blood. They were put to the Rack to force them to confeſs, That they were not only guilty of the Crime, but that the Nation partook in it. I ſhould not touch any more upon theſe ſorts of Accuſations, if the Hiſtorian who relates this, did not ground it

* *He died at* Rome *in the Year* 1602. *and his Work was printed in* 1622. *See* Imbonatus Bibl. Rabb. t. v. p. 156. † An. 1634. Concil. Baſil. Seſſ. 19. a 5. & 6. c. 2. p. 547. ‖ An. 1454. * Aventinus Ann. Boior. l. 7. p. 513. Europæ ſtatus ſub Frideric III. c. 32. apud Freher. Hiſt. Germ. t. 6. p. 79. † An. 1492. ‖ Nauclerus Gen. 50. t. 2. p. 1110. * An. 1494.

upon four Reaſons, which will convince the Reader of the falſhood of the Story. The Hiſtorian affirms, That the Jews us'd Human Blood, as an excellent Remedy to heal the Wound of the *Præputium*. He adds, That the Men having their Monthly Flowers as well as Women, this Blood helped to aſſwage them. For indeed, they ſay, That God to puniſh the Jews for the Crucifixion of his Son, order'd they ſhould have a Flux of Blood upon all *Good Fridays*, or at all the full Moons, which is what makes them look ſo pale. But 'tis a ſtrange thing to hear Chriſtians * ſerionſly reporting ſuch Stories. The third reaſon that oblig'd the Jews to murder Chriſtians, and to make uſe of their Blood, is, That it is proper to excite Love, when 'tis mingled with Food. Laſtly, They have made a Vow † to ſacrifice a Man annually in ſome part of the World; as imagining, they can't be deliver'd from the Infamy that covers them, but by offering to God the Blood of a Chriſtian; and they call that which they ſhed *Joel, coming from God*, or perhaps *Goel, the Redeemer*, in deriſion of the Crucify'd *Jeſus*. However it be, as this Blood was to be ſhed ſucceſſively in all Cities, it fell to the lot of *Tirnau* in *Hungary*, to kill a Chriſtian that Year ‖; but thoſe who had committed the Murder were diſcover'd and puniſh'd.

VIII. They had a greater Misfortune in *Franconia*; for the People of *Nuremberg* drove 'em * all from this great City, where for a great many Years they had been Rich and Powerful; but they went and ſettled in a little neighbouring City, where they erected a Synagogue. They were charg'd with ſeveral Crimes to juſtifie their Expulſion; but the Inſolence which their Proſperity inſpir'd in them, their numbers that render'd 'em formidable, their Uſuries which kept up the Debauchery of Youth, render'd 'em ſo odious, that it was reſolv'd to get rid of 'em.

IX. At that time appear'd the Impoſtor *David Leimlein*. He durſt not declare himſelf the Meſſiah, but he confidently maintain'd, That the Deliverer would appear in the Year 1500. and with this proſpect he oblig'd the credulous Jews to pull down their Ovens, in which they bak'd unleaven'd Bread. Theſe Ovens became uſeleſs, becauſe the Year following they ſhould eat unleaven'd Bread at *Jeruſalem*. They were already preparing for this happy Journey. A famous Rabbin confeſſes, that he had demoliſh'd his Oven like the reſt; and whether to juſtifie his Credulity, or that he was not recover'd from his dotage, he affirms, that this Man work'd Miracles, and that the Head of the Synagogue of *Frankford* aſſur'd him of it. *David Leimlin* was quickly aware, that he had prefix'd too ſhort a time for his Prophecies; and therefore he publiſh'd, That the Peoples Sins had retarded the appearance of the Deliverer; and the Nation, inſtead of being diſ-abus'd, aſſembled near *Jeruſalem*, where it celebrated a Solemn Faſt, in order to appeaſe God, and to haſten the Deliverance which did not come.

X. At the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, they were expell'd out of the Dioceſe of *Cologne*; and *Victor a Carbe*, who deſerted Judaiſm to turn Prieſt, expatiated on the Praiſes of the Biſhop of *Cologne*, congratulating his having pluck'd up the Tares in the Field of the Lord, and having purg'd his Biſhoprick from the People of his Nation. Proſelytes think, that they are juſtifiable in their heat againſt thoſe they have left, and that they have no no better way to remove the ſuſpicions that are uſually entertain'd of the Sincerity of their Converſion. They argue juſtly enough; for the People loves warmth, which it calls Zeal, and Moderation grows ſuſpected to them. But we ought not to follow the Inclinations of the Croud: A Man too ſoon forgets his own Miſery and Error, when he inſults his Brethren; and 'tis cruelty to inſult 'em upon the Shoar, when a charitable Hand has hinder'd 'em from being drown'd, like the reſt. However, 'tis the common Style of Proſelytes, who mean to pleaſe, or make their Fortune. *Victor a Carbe*, tho' an ingenious Man, was guilty of this Fault. At the ſame time that he made Invectives againſt his Nation, he counſell'd the Chriſtians never to diſpute with 'em, becauſe they were accuſtom'd to Diſputations from their Infancy, and that to conquer 'em a Man had need have a Quiver full of Arrows. However, he wrote againſt the Jews, and at this day we read theſe Words upon the Gates of the Church of St. *Urſula* at *Cologne*, *Victor, formerly a Jew, in the Year* 1509. *writ four Books againſt the Errors of the Jews*. He was near fifty Years old when he was baptiz'd; and 'twas probably the fear of being baniſh'd as his Brethren, that open'd his Eyes. But not to dive into the ſecret Motions of his Heart, we learn from his Teſtimony, that the Jews had ſuffer'd in the Dioceſe of *Cologne* in the beginning of the fifteenth Century.

XI. They had in the Neighbourhood an eloquent Doctor, R. *Simeon*, ſirnam'd, the *Prince of Preachers*, who compos'd a *Gipeciere Falkout*; thus he intitled a Collection of the old Doctors Interpretations of Scripture. This Collection is not perfect; but as he writ particularly for the People, he very judiciouſly thoſe that were adapted to their Capacities, and which he thought the beſt. He has not diſſembled what the Ancients have ſaid relating to the Meſſiah, and which may be apply'd to ours. Nevertheleſs, he is commonly too ſubtile; as when he explains theſe Words of the ſecond Pſalm, *I have anointed my King*; for he recurs to an Explication of the Talmudiſts upon the Word Meſſiah, as if it ſignify'd a Net, which God had ſpread upon Mount *Sion*, to ſignifie, that all ſhall be included in the Kingdom of the Meſſiah. This Work was printed firſt at *Theſſalonica*, and afterwards in *Italy*. A Rabbin of the Family of *Ghedalia* †, who was retir'd to *Jeruſalem*, compos'd a long Commentary upon the *Gepeciere*. He thought his labour was loſt, becauſe he was not rich enough to print it, when *Dias Mokato*, a rich *Spaniard*, undertook to be at the Charge of it. The *Gipeciere* therefore was printed, with *Abraham*'s Notes, at *Leghorne* ‖. The Corrector * dedicated it to the Great Duke *Ferdinand* II. A new *Gipeciere* ירקוש חדש *Falkout Kadaſh*, has been ſince † printed at *Amſterdam*, wherein are collected the literal and myſtical Interpretations in an Alphabetical Order; whereas *Simeon* follow'd the Order of the Sacred Books, and confin'd himſelf to the Allegorical Senſe. Laſtly, There is a third *Gipeciere*, which is that of R. *Reuben*, and is only a Collection of Notes upon the Pentateuch, printed in the Year 460. that is, in the Year 1700 ‖.

XII. A Proſelyte, call'd *Pfepfercorn*, kindled a terrible War among the Learned of the ſixteenth Century *. Whether he went to make himſelf a neceſſary Man, and to acquire a Reputation in the Party he had newly embrac'd, or rather, that he had a mind to enrich himſelf at the coſt of his deſerted Brethren; he perſuaded the Emperor *Maximilian*, That all the Jewiſh Books ought to be burnt, becauſe they were full of Fables, Lies and Blaſphemies againſt *Chriſt*. He had the Art to aſſociate

* Bonfin. Rerum Hungaria. Dec. 4. l. 5. † Spond. Ann. 1494. n. 10. p. 217. ‖ An. 1494. * An. 1499. † *He was call'd* Abraham Ben Samuelis Ghedalia. ‖ An. 1658. * *He was call'd* Abraham Ben Salomonis Chaiim. * An. 1678. *'Tis by an Anonymous.* † *At* Amſterdam. ‖ An. 1510.

with

with him two *Cologne* Divines; amongſt others, the famous *Hoochſtraten*, who afterwards wrote againſt *Luther*. He was tax'd with deſigning to ſeize all the Books he condemn'd, and afterwards to oblige the Jews to ranſom 'em at a great rate. All the Devotees and Ignorants imbark'd in this Faction; and the Emperor himſelf being dazzl'd by the Authority of the Divines, gave a pretty favourable Anſwer to the Requeſt preſented to him. However, as this Affair made a noiſe, he was willing to know the Opinions of ſome Doctors, and particularly of the *Smoak*, otherwiſe, *Capnion*, or *Reuchlin*. This Man had ſtudy'd the Languages under *Veſſelus*. Some will have him to be tutor'd by *John de la Pierre*, a *German* born, who was afterwards Profeſſor at *Paris*, and became a Carthuſian. But 'tis certain, he was indebted for his firſt Erudition to this Profeſſor of *Groningen*, who was call'd the *Light of the World*. The Duke of *Bavaria*, who had a great eſteem for *Reuchlin*, having a very nice Affair to manage with *Alexander* VI. choſe him for one of his Miniſters. He continu'd a Year at *Rome*, where he perfected his Skill in the Hebrew, under a famous Jew that flouriſh'd at that time, call'd, *Abdi Ben Jacob Spuon*. The Emperor had nominated him to be a Triumvir of the League of *Suabia*, made in the Year 1489. to traverſe the Power of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, and he had executed that Office for eleven Years. 'Tis no wonder then, if this Perſon, celebrated for his Learning, and a noted Man in the Empire, was conſulted about the Fate of the Talmud, and other Hebrew Books.

XIII. *Reuchlin* went not into the oppoſite exceſs of his Enemies. He * diſtinguiſh'd two ſorts of Books, whereof one contain'd the Doctrines, Morality and Rites of the Jews, and the other abounded with Blaſphemies againſt *Chriſt*. Herein it was ſaid, That *Jeſus Chriſt* was an Idolater, born of an Adulterer, who had been hang'd for his Crimes. *Reuchlin* conſented to the burning two Books, call'd, *Nizzachon*, and † *Toledos Jeſchu*. He alledg'd farther, That the Decrees of *Germany* not being executed wherever the Jews ſubſiſt, it was impoſſible intirely to ſuppreſs the Books ſcatter'd over the Univerſe, whereof one ſingle Copy was ſufficient for the product of new Editions. Good Senſe requir'd, that he ſhould argue in this manner, and extend the Argument to all the Books that were printed and publiſh'd. Nevertheleſs, *Reuchlin* was mightily blam'd for ſpeaking after this rate, and the Divines began to perſecute the Author of this Opinion. The underſtanding a little Greek was not only ſufficient at that time to make a Man ſuſpected, and the underſtanding Hebrew to make him convicted of Hereſie, as ſaid Doctor *d'Eſpences*; but the deſign of ſtudying this Language was enough to bring cruel Enemies on ones back. *Cologne* eſpous'd its Divines; the Univerſity of *Paris*, which was conſulted, declar'd for 'em. The Affair was brought before the Elector of *Ments*; but *Reuchlin* appearing only by Proxy, *Hochſtrat* obtain'd the Sentence, which he caus'd to be publiſhed before the Term. *Reuchlin* appeal'd from it to the Pope, who commiſſion'd the Biſhop of *Spires* to judge of the Proceeding. *Hochſtrat* was condemn'd by Default, with Coſts, and Inhibitions were giv'n againſt his continuing his Proceſs. The Declaration of the Divines of *Cologne* was declar'd null. However, theſe Divines caus'd *Reuchlin*'s Book to be burnt.

XIV. They were not ſatisfy'd with theſe Judicial Proceedings; but *Hutten* publiſh'd ‖ the *Letters of obſcure Men*. *Paul Jove*, who aſcribes them to *Reuchlin*, is miſtaken. Theſe Letters contain'd a cutting Satyr againſt the Monks. The Publick was overjoy'd to ſee 'em laſh'd in a ſprightly and vigorous manner; and *Reuchlin* hereby was reveng'd for the Abuſes that had been divulg'd againſt him. The revenge would have been more compleat, if * *Hochſtrat* had dy'd with Grief, as *Paul Jove* aſſures us; but this Monkiſh Inquiſitor liv'd ten Years after the Publication of theſe Satyrical Letters. *Ortuinus Gratius*, to whom they were dedicated, endeavour'd to repulſe the attack, by oppoſing to 'em the *Lamentations of obſcure Men* †, and the *Letters of* ‖ *famous Men*. But this Satyr prevail'd over the Apology, and at leaſt Men of Senſe ceas'd to look upon *Reuchlin* as a Jew, and as the Protector of their Opinions.

The Affair was judg'd at *Rome*; whither *Hochſtrat* went, fortify'd with the Letters of Princes, and conſiderable Sums, wherewith he purchas'd Protectors. He omitted nothing that could contribute to the carrying on his Cauſe. He threatned the Pope to appeal from his Judgment to the Council; to reject him as a falſe Pope, and to ſeparate from the Church, unleſs *Reuchlin*, and the Jews he defended, were condemn'd. Nevertheleſs he was forc'd to be content to have the Cauſe ſuperſeded; a favour which the Pope granted him, when he was going to be condemn'd: For the Judges favour'd *Reuchlin*, and would have pronounced againſt *Hochſtrat*, if a ſtop had not been put to the Judgment, by the Pope's Order. The Inquiſitor was oblig'd to return with diſgrace. *Reuchlin*'s Friends waited for him near *Nuremberg*, where they would have us'd him ill, if he had not had notice of this Ambuſcade. We are told, * that *Hutten* meeting him one day, would have kill'd him, to puniſh his violent Proſecutions of the *Lutherans*, who began to ſpread in *Germany*. But the Monk being humbled, repreſented, that it was ſcandalous to kill a naked Man; and *Hutten* being wrought upon, only laid him on with the flat of his Sword.

XV. *Pfepfercorn*, a little after, bore the Puniſhment of his Iniquity; for being arreſted upon ſome ſuſpicion, he confeſs'd, He had acted as Prieſt for twenty Years, without having receiv'd Orders: That he had ſtole three Hoſts from a Prieſt, one whereof emitted Blood when it was prick'd, and the others had been ſold: That he had had a deſign to kill the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and his Brother the Archbiſhop of *Ments*: That he had voluntarily poiſon'd many Chriſtians, by pretending to be a Phyſician: And, above all, he acknowledg'd, that he had counterfeited the Meſſiah. All theſe Accuſations don't hang well together; and they appear ſo much the worſe contriv'd, that he is ſaid at the ſame time to have dy'd a Chriſtian, in the midſt of the moſt cruel Tortures, to which he was condemned.

XVI. Some ſay, that *Pfepfercorn* has been abſurdly miſtaken for an Impoſtor, call'd *Jacob Melſtinski*, who appear'd at the ſame time in *Poland*. This latter had given out, that he was the Meſſiah, and call'd twelve Apoſtles, with whom he run over *Poland*. He deluded the People by the noiſe of his Miracles. He paſs'd from thence into *Sileſia*, with the ſame Reputation of a Wonder-working Man;

* Hochſtrat. Galatin. Arcan. t. 1. c. vii. p. 22. Majus Vita Joh. Reuchlini Phorcenſis Phorzein. † *It hath been ſince printed in Hebrew.* Wagenſeil Tela Ignea Satanæ. ‖ Epiſt. Virorum obſcurorum. * V. Bayle's *Critical Dictionary*. Hochſtrat. t 2. † Lamentationes obſcurorum Virorum. An. 1518. ‖ Epiſtolæ clarorum virorum, *printed in* 1535. * Obſervationum ſelectar. ad rem literar. ſpectantium tom. iv. obſ. 9.

but a Countryman's House having been burnt by their Fault, they were so cruelly handl'd by the Neighbours, that they chang'd their course of life. I don't know why these two Men, who seem very different, should be confounded. But yet some will have them to be but one and the same Person; and others maintain, it was the latter that was burnt, whilst the other dy'd peaceably; tho' the Truth of the matter can't be well made out.

XVII. *Reuchlin* had reason to say, That the Monks had found such an Enemy in *Luther*, as would give them business enough to oblige them to let him die in peace; for so it actually happen'd. *Reuchlin* ended his days quietly. Not only the Jewish Books were saved, but People fell to the study of the Languages. They began to be sensible of the barbarity and gross ignorance of the persecuting Monks, and the Jews were no longer accus'd of those Massacres of Children, which had drawn upon 'em so many Miseries, and spilt so much of their Blood. The Miracles were no longer vented of these stoln and bloody Hosts, by means whereof they excited the Rage and Violence of the People. Idolatry at that time receiv'd a terrible blow, and the worship of God alone began to be restor'd. But on the other hand, the Protestants better skill'd in the Languages, than the Monks and Divines of past Ages have been, and surmounting vulgar Prejudices, study'd the Writings of the Rabbins, discover'd the Mysteries of them, and beat them with their own Principles. Their Example awakened the Roman Divines, who taking the same method, discover'd the weakness of the Jewish Religion. We must not here enter into Party Considerations, nor over-strain the Glory that is due to our Divines: They led the way, and the others have follow'd; they have drawn the People out of Barbarity, and the others have *rejoyc'd in this Light*; they have had their profound Doctors in this matter, as well as we. And so we can't determine, whether the Jews have got or lost by the Reformation.

XVIII. *Luther* could not agree with their Divinity; and he has often censur'd 'em with that impetuosity of Genius, that carry'd him beyond the bounds of Moderation. He tax'd 'em especially for being Cheats; because he had heard the Duke of *Saxony* say, That a Jew had promis'd to make him invulnerable; but having oblig'd the Impostor to make trial of his Art upon himself, the Fraud was discover'd, and the Jew dy'd of the Wound that was given him. The Rabbins provok'd with *Luther*'s way of treating 'em, affirm *, That this Leader of the Reformation had demanded a great Sum of Money of their *Frankfurt* Brethren, promising to pay 'em with the Encomiums he would give 'em in his Books, and that they refus'd him, because they would preserve an inviolable Fidelity to *Charles* V. But this Story is ridiculous. The great Subject of their Spleen against *Luther*, proceeds from his having hinder'd some Christian Princes from receiving them in their Dominions. Moreover, the Reformation produc'd abundance of Doctors in *Germany*, who having throughly study'd the Languages, frequently dispute against the Jews, and prove to 'em the Truth of the Christian Religion.

XIX. It must not be deny'd, but that they had their Defenders, at the Head of whom we may rank R. *Isaac*, the Son of *Abraham*. This Man declares, That he spent his Life in the Courts of *Germany*, near Princes, who often gave him marks of Distinction. But yet he is not very much known. His Disciple, who has collected his Disputes, compares him † to the Patriarch *Isaac*, because he bore his Name; and as *Isaac* had two Children. This produc'd a Book in two parts, one of which may be compar'd ‖ to *Esau*, and the other to *Jacob*. But this dos not inform us who the Author was, nor in what time he liv'd. He had frequent Conferences with *Luther's Disciples*, and it was against them he compos'd his *Buttress of Faith*. He is often mistaken; as when he makes *Julian the Apostate* an *Arian* Emperor, and gives him a Grandson, a Defender of the same Opinions and the same Sect. But yet, it must be own'd, that his Book is one of the most dangerous that has been produc'd against Christianity. The Author runs thro' the whole Gospel, and dwells upon all the Passages of the Sacred Story that can furnish him with any Objections; he inforces 'em briskly, and at the same time refutes the Christians Answers. He argues more judiciously than the Rabbins generally do. The *Portuguese* have translated it into *Spanish*, to support the Faith of the Jews in that Country, and the Neighbouring Kingdoms. The *Africans* also have a great value for it; and 'twas from thence that the famous *Wagenseil*, who publish'd and translated it, brought it. It were to be wish'd, this learned Man had follow'd this Author step by step, and confuted him with the same Solidity as he has done *Lipman*. *Bartolocci* makes him to live in the Year 1674. without giving any reason for it. For indeed, his Book could not have been convey'd into *Africa*, nor translated into *Spanish*, if the Author had compos'd it but a few Years before it was brought from *Africa*, and publish'd with a Latin Version.

XX. At the same time was produc'd the *Nizzachon*, or *Victory* against the Christians. The Jews often give this haughty Title to the Books they publish against the Christian Religion, as pretending they are so many Triumphs over us. *Wagenseil* publish'd one of these Works, which he thought was compos'd about the twelfth Century, because no later Doctor was quoted; which Conjecture is very probable *. *Schickard* had determin'd to translate and confute another of 'em, which went by the same Title, and was compos'd by *Mathatias*; but death prevented him. A third Treatise of the Victory is attributed to *Lipman*, who liv'd in *Germany* at the end of the fifteenth Century; for the Author informs us, that he wrote about the Year 1499. He thought that a long Treatise against the Christians would not make so strong an impression on the Peoples Minds; and therefore he made an Abridgment in Verse, which may be easily learned; which Verses of *Lipman*, *Wagenseil* has publish'd with a judicious Confutation. *Bartolocci* † speaks of a fourth Victory, in which the Jewish Religion is defended with thirty five Arguments, and Christianity attack'd with forty two Objections, very artfully chosen. 'Tis said to be the Work of many Authors, who all wrote, notwithstanding, in the Purity of their Language; but they liv'd since the Reformation, since they quote *Luther* and *Calvin*'s Works. However, the Jews seem to be afraid of its being publish'd, since one of 'em stole it from *Hackspan*, who was translating it into Latin.

XXI. Besides the Jews, who set up in *Germany* against the Reformation, new Doctors appear'd in *Transylvania*, call'd *Demi-Jews*; but this was rather an Affront, than a Name that they justly deserv'd. The case was thus: *Seidelius*, one of the heads of this Sect, maintain'd, That the Messiah did not re-

* Cardoso las Excellencias. † R. Isaac Munimen Fidei apud Wagenseil Tela Ignea Satanæ. ‖ Ibid. p. ii. p. 57, 107.
* Nizzachon vetus, apud Wagens. Tela Ignea Satanæ, p. 2. † Bartol. B. R. t. 4. p. 13.

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ſpect the Heathens, but only the Jews, to whom he had been promis'd by the ſame Title as the Land of *Canaan*; that is as a particular Privilege to be enjoy'd by them alone: He reckon'd alſo Sacrifices and Ceremonies as Rites peculiar to this Nation, contributing to the worſhip of God. But he was perſwaded * that all Religion conſiſted in the Decalogue, which was naturally engraven on the Hearts of all Men. This Man made vain attempts to gain Proſelites in *Sileſia*, where he was born; and ſeeing it impoſſible to retrieve his Country-men from the Idolatry they liv'd in, he went into *Poland*, where he had ſome Followers.

Francis David was alſo accuſed of being a Demi-Jew, becauſe he taught, that Jeſus Chriſt ought not to be invok'd, ſince all the Scripture teaches us to pray to God alone. Jeſus Chriſt, ſaid he, gives us the Example of praying to his Father, and recommending his Soul into his hands; he pronounced an Anathema *Maranatha* againſt him that added any thing to the Goſpel. Tho' it ſhould be true, that Chriſt took care of the Church whilſt he lived on Earth, yet the ſame thing could not be ſaid now he's reſting in Heaven; and having no ſenſe of our Neceſſities, we can't invoke him with aſſurance in Spirit and in Truth †.

Socinus writ againſt theſe Divines, and confuted their Objections. Many Proteſtants have done the ſame thing ſince, and accuſtom'd themſelves to look upon them as a Branch of Judaiſm; and therefore we thought, that we ought to ſpeak of 'em. However, I muſt own, that I think it Injuſtice to make the Inventors of a new Religion Members of an Ancient Church. The deſign of it is to make 'em more odious; and for the ſame reaſon, they liſt *George de Novara* among the Jews, who was burnt at *Bolonia*, becauſe he deny'd that the Meſſiah was come. Tis true, he drew this Poſition from the Jews, with whom he had correſponded: But ſhould he have been burnt whilſt the publick Patrons of this Opinion are tolerated? And could this be ſaid to be a Judaiſm? Father *Merſennus*, that *Minime*, ſo celebrated for his Commentaries upon *Geneſis*, ſpeaks of another private Perſon, who was burnt at *Paris*, becauſe he found, in the New Teſtament, Contradictions with the Old, which oblig'd him to reject our Goſpels. Others were condemn'd in *England*, who would obſerve the Sabbath, and abſtain from ſtrangl'd Meats. Theſe are, I confeſs, ſome Seeds of Judaiſm, but that is not enough. To bear the Name of a Sect, a Man muſt embrace its fundamental Opinions, whilſt ſome particular Errors that have only ſome Analogy, are not ſufficient to collate the Names of certain Hereticks. For this Reaſon, the Title of *Manichees* is impertinently given to the *Iconoclaſts*, and abundance of other People, who own but one God, and reject the two Principles and other Extravagancies of this Sect. *Francis David* was neither a Jew, nor a half Jew: He thought Jeſus Chriſt could not be worſhip'd, becauſe he conſider'd him as a meer Man, and argu'd more juſtly than *Socinus*. *Seidelius* eſtabliſh'd Natural Religion rather than Judaiſm, and tho' the rejecting the Meſſiah was a conſequence of his Opinion, yet he could not be ſaid to eſpouſe the Religion of the Circumcis'd. We have ſaid enough of theſe half Jews, let us return to the true ones.

XXII. They pretended to have been ſettl'd in the Dioceſe of *Mersbourg*, ‖ ever ſince the taking of *Jeruſalem*, but ſo venerable an Antiquity did not ſecure 'em from Biſhop *Adolphus*'s Perſecutions, who expell'd 'em all from thence at the beginning of the ſixteenth Century *. They comforted themſelves by the protection which they found in other places; for the Emperor *Ferdinand* I. not only protected them, but granted them the privilege of having a Prince of the Captivity in *Germany*, and order'd, That the Rabbin *de Wormes* ſhould have this Preference before all the reſt of his Nation †. They reckon in the Catalogue of theſe Princes the famous *Jakock*, of a German Origin, born at *Wormes*, eſteem'd by his Nation for his Learning, and who left four ingenious Sons, who were ‖ all *Preſidents of Academies, Princes of the Diſperſion, admired in this Age.* One of 'em taught chiefly at *Fribourg*, where there was a School and a Synagogue, as in moſt Cities of the Empire, and particularly at *Vienna*, where they had raiſed a ſtately Edifice.

XXIII. They had in *Auſtria* a more famous Man than *Jakok*, which was *Salomon Luria*, * *the Crown of* Iſrael, *and the wonder of his time; all the People walked by his Light, all the Diſperſion of Iſrael drank of his Water, and his Name was diſſeminated over all the Univerſe.* He compos'd the *Sea of* Salomon, *I am Salomonis.* He alluded to his Name, and call'd his Book a Sea, becauſe it ſounded the depth of the Talmud. He examin'd particularly the Style and Phraſes of it. He was *Call'd to the Heavenly Council*, that is, he dy'd in the Year 1573.

XXIV. *Simſon*, a Native of *Guntzbourg*, which gave him his Sir-name, was a Geometrician of Repute, a skilful Architect, who after he had heap'd a vaſt deal of Wealth, diſtributed it with a very bountiful Hand. *Eliezer*, a German, had alſo a Reputation that reach'd from one end of the World to the other; he left *Germany* for *Poland*, where he became head of the Academy, and of the Houſe of Judgment at *Poſnania*. He publiſh'd two Books, one whereof was call'd † the *Work of the Lord*; and the other, ‖ *the Addition of Doctrine.*

XXV. *Poland* abounded alſo with learned Doctors. *Iſerdes* * taught at *Cracow*, and gather'd a vaſt number of Diſciples, who came from all parts to hear his Lectures. He was *Devout, Perfect, and gave reſt to the Law in Iſrael* Twenty Years; that is, he was Profeſſor ſo long. *Joſeph Letts*, † born in the ſame City, ‖ *wore four Crowns, that of Prieſthood, of the Law, of Dignity or Empire, and of a great Reputation.* At *Cracow* there was a Synagogue, an Academy, a Houſe of Judgment, and a great Aſſembly of the Circumciſed: They were diſpers'd in moſt of the Cities of *Poland*, where they had fine Privileges: But nevertheleſs they ſometimes ſuffer'd by popular Tumults: Their Houſes were once on fire at *Poſnania*, and they ſaw them burnt without being able to extinguiſh it, becauſe they were afraid, that the enraged Multitude would fall upon them. They ſuppoſe * that there was a fear of the Lord in it; and the terror had ſo ſeiz'd 'em, that they durſt not draw Water, ſo that all their Houſes, Effects and Books, even that of the Law, were reduc'd to Aſhes.

XXVI. *Bohemia* fed a great many Perſons of this Nation. We have already obſerv'd, that the Jews were ſettl'd there in the Tenth Century, † ſince they did ſervice to the Inhabitants againſt the Robbers, and built at that time a Synagogue at *Prague*; this Liberty being given 'em by way of Acknowledgment, for the Victories that had been obtain'd by their means. In proceſs of time, they alſo erected a College ‖. *R. Falk* was the Preſident, who was the firſt that began to exerciſe his Scholars in Diſputations like the Chriſtians; but this Method was not acceptable to the Sages, nor reliſh'd by all People.

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* Martini Seidelii ad Cretum Cracovienſem Ep. 1. p. 806. † Franciſci Davidis Defenſio inter Op. Socini, t. 2. p. 717. ‖ An. 1514. * An. 1559. † An. 1563. ‖ Ganz. p. 153. * Ibid. p. 155. † Mahaſe Aonai. ‖ Joſeph Lekack. * An. 1553. † An. 1571. ‖ Ganz. ibid. * An. 1590. Ganz. p. 157. † An. 997. Ganz. ibid. t. 2. p. 181. ‖ Ibid. p. 151. An. 1530.

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The Jews who have a Divinity wholly myſtical, and depending more upon Imagination than Reaſoning, can't be reconcil'd to Arguments and Syllogiſms.

They had alſo their Enemies and Perſecutors here. An almoſt general Conflagration having deſtroy'd one part of *Bohemia*, the Jews were accuſed of being the Incendiaries, and were condemn'd. Thoſe that eſcap'd the Flames were all expell'd by *Ferdinand*, who could no otherwiſe appeaſe the popular Commotion: Ten Perſons found favour, and were the only ones that were allow'd the liberty to remain at *Prague*; but the Incendiaries having been diſcover'd before the end of the Year, the Jews were recall'd, who came and ſettl'd again in their Country.

XXVII. Another Storm fell upon 'em a little after *, for they were ſuſpected of having made Prayers at *Prague* againſt the Chriſtians. Upon this ſuſpicion, they took away all their Books, and carry'd 'em to *Vienna*. This loſs was an affliction to 'em, not only on the account of the Price, which was very conſiderable, but eſpecially becauſe they were oblig'd to perform the Service *viva voce*, and by heart, without reading, which was ſubject to many Inconveniencies. The Storm was but ſhort, the Books that were taken were reſtor'd; and perhaps it was only done to oblige 'em to ranſom 'em. *Ferdinand* baniſh'd 'em the ſame Year from all *Bohemia*, only leaving ten Families in *Prague*; but at the ſame time he permitted 'em to live in other of his Dominions, and alſo reſtor'd 'em a little after. *Weidnerus*, who was one of their Rabbins, had deſerted them during this Diſgrace. He alſo preach'd againſt them in the Synagogue at *Prague*, and he affirms, that he converted many of his Brethren.

XXVIII. They had there † their Doctors, who rais'd the glory of their Academies. For *Iſaac Meheling* taught at the end of the ſixteenth Century. When he died, he left his Son *R. Charam* Preſident of his School. Here it was that the famous *Liwa Bitſleer* appear'd, with whom the Emperor *Rhodolphus* diſcourſed Face to Face, and of whom the Jews ſay, that all Iſrael *drank of his Water, and walked by his Light*. He founded a famous Academy || call'd *Klauſe*, whither he drew a prodigious number of Diſciples, and afterwards he was made Intendant over all the Synagogues of *Poland*.

XXIX. *Judas Betſaleel*, otherwiſe *Leo* of *Prague*, was born in *Bohemia*, and flouriſh'd in the Year 1553. He at firſt * govern'd the Academies of *Moravia*, and was Judge of his Nation in that Country. He came to *Prague* in the Year 1573, where he founded a new School, in which he taught eleven Years with great reputation. However he left it to go into *Great Poland*, where he died at the end of the ſixteenth, or the beginning of the laſt Century. He left many Books, amongſt which there is one, concerning the *Redemption and the Eternity of Iſrael*. He aſſures his Nation of the coming of the Meſſiah, and doubts not but that he will render the proſperity of his People eternal. He examins, whether at his coming, Nature will be chang'd, and whether the Creatures will ſubſiſt in the order we now ſee 'em. Some time before appear'd in the ſame City, one *Abraham* of *Prague*, who compos'd a *Commentary* upon the Commentaries of *Jarki*, and who died in the Year 1540, as his Epitaph declares. I don't know at what time one *Abraham* of *Poland* liv'd, a great Cabbaliſt, and who chiefly apply'd himſelf to explain the *Tetragrammaton*.

XXX. *Mardochai Jophi*, or the Fair, was alſo born at *Prague*; he retir'd to *Poland*, where he died in the Year 1611, with the Reputation of one of the moſt Learned Men of his Country and Nation. It will not be amiſs, in order, to know his method, to obſerve the Plan of one of his Works. He intitl'd his Book, † the *Royal Garment*; which Title is borrow'd from the Holy Story, which ſays, that || *Mordecai went out from the preſence of the King, in Royal Apparel of blue and white, and with a great Crown of Gold, and with a Garment of fine Linen and purple.* 'Tis the method of the Rabbins, not only to delight in Metaphors, even in their Titles, but to ſeek ſome Paſſage relating to the Name of the Author. He has divided his Work into *ten Royal Habits*, tho' there were but five that contain'd an accurate Commentary upon another Work. The firſt Tract is a *Habit of purple*, in which he treats of Bleſſings and Prayers. The ſecond is a *white Habit*, which relates to Feaſts and the Sabbath. The third is a *Crown of gold*, where he diſcourſes of things lawful and forbidden. The fourth is a *Robe of fine Linen and purple*, in which he explains the Ceremonies of Marriage; and the laſt is the *Habit of the City of Suſan*, which rejoyc'd in the Proſperity of the Jews.

XXXI. Laſtly, *Ganz*, that Jewiſh Hiſtorian we have ſo often quoted, was born at *Prague*, and there he compos'd his *Stem* of *David*, or his Chronology, from the Creation till the 1592d Year of the Chriſtian Church. We muſt not confound this Work with another *Stem of David* we have already ſpoken of; for the one is a Dictionary, and this is a Chronicle. The Author gives it this Title, becauſe it was the firſt of his Works; for he publiſh'd afterwards *The Buckler and Tower of David*; one of which treats of Arithmetick, and the other of Geometry. Beſides, as his Hiſtory diſcovers the Miſery of the Holy People, and the Power of the Chriſtians, he would hereby oblige his Readers to remember the Shoot of *David*, and to pray for his Manifeſtation. There are three things peculiar in his Work: 1. That he begins with the Creation of the World, and aſcends to the firſt Temple and the Patriarchs; whereas the Jews generally begin with the *Epocha* of the *Greeks*. 2. Tho' he has often copy'd *Joſephus* the Hebrew, and the Doctors of his Nation that preceded him, yet he hath been more exact, and corrected the Faults of them. 3. Laſtly, He has introduc'd into his ſecond Book ſeveral Chriſtian Authors, but he is not lucky in his choice; and as he departed from the Cuſtom of the Jewiſh Doctors, who ſlight foreign Hiſtorians, he ought at the ſame time to have preferr'd more exact Authors, and Men of a greater Name.

They built at that time at *Prague* a Synagogue, equalling thoſe of *Poland* and *Jeruſalem*; and as *Mordechai Meuſel* had liberally contributed to this great Edifice, as well as to the relief of the Poor of *Bohemia* and *Poſnania*, he calls him the *Wall and Baſis of the School, the Head of liberal Souls, the Father of the Poor, the Oak of his People, and the Love of his Brethren*; and with this Commendation he ends his Chronicle.

XXXII. *Moravia* had alſo its Synagogues; but they ſuffer'd a cruel Perſecution * in the Year 1574. for all the Profeſſors of this Religion were ſentenced to the Flames; and abundance were diſpatch'd before Complaints could be brought to the Emperor *Maximilian*, who at laſt took compaſſion on theſe poor Wretches, who were unmercifully burnt. They ſuffer'd, moreover, in *Franconia*; for ſome Houſes of the City of *Bamberg* being burnt, the Jews were accus'd † of ſetting 'em on fire, and at the ſame time the People entred their Houſes, plunder'd their Goods, and indemnify'd themſelves at their

* An. 1558. Ibid. p. 154. † An. 1583. || An. 1592. * Bartol. B. R. t. iii. p. 40. † Lebuſch Malchut. || Eſther 8. 15.
* An. 1574. † An 1573.

Coſt.

Coſt. But however, there was no Maſſacre.

XXXIII. Some time after they had the ſame Misfortune at *Bonn* †. *Schenk*, the Founder of the Fort of his Name, marching ſecretly at the Head of ſome Troops, had planted a Petar at the Gate of this City, and by the aſſiſtance of the noiſe which ſome Hogs in the Neighbourhood made, which they caus'd to cry on purpoſe, he approach'd the Gate, blew it up, and made himſelf Maſter of the City for the *Hollanders*. He gave the Plunder to his Soldiers, and the Jews complain, that they were diſadvantageouſly diſtinguiſh'd in that Pillage. However, this Miſery was common to them with the reſt of the Inhabitants, and no body was kill'd. *Vorſtius* is groſly miſtaken; for in tranſlating the Jewiſh Hiſtorian, he has put *Bolonia* inſtead of *Bonn*. Theſe two Cities are vaſtly different: But farther he ſhould have known, that *Schenk* was a *Dutch* General, who periſh'd ſome time after in a like Enterprize againſt *Nimegen*; nor did he enjoy his Conqueſt long, for the *Spaniards* re-took the Place ſome Months after; the *German* Princes, to whom *Schenk* would give it up, having refus'd to ſuccour him.

XXXIV. The Jews had ſomething to comfort 'em for theſe Misfortuns, ſince at the end of the Century they obtain'd liberty to ſettle in the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s Territories. The Princes of this Houſe had always been perſuaded, that ſuch an Eſtabliſhment would be diſadvantageous. The Jewiſh Merchants were not ſo much as ſuffer'd to croſs their Lands, and when any one was taken, they plunder'd him with impunity. But their Complaints being brought to *Henry Julius*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, he not only granted ‖ the Jews Liberty of Conſcience in his States, but gave 'em a place in the *Lower Saxon* to trade in. So that there were few places in all *Germany*, but where they traffick'd at the end of the ſixteenth Century.

* An. 1588. † An. 1592. Ganz ibid.

CHAP. XXXI.

The State of the Jews in Poland, Bohemia *and* Germany, *during the laſt Century.*

I. *The Authority of the Jews in* Poland. II. *The Converſion of R.* Salomon, *and his Demonſtrations.* III. Rodriguez de Caſtro *and* Eſdras *famous at* Hamburg. IV. Prague *defended by the Jews.* V. *The diſſimulation of R.* Chaiim. VI. *The hatred and deſpair of a Jew of* Bohemia. VII. *The Perſecutions they ſuffer'd at* Prague. VIII. *The Emperor baniſhes 'em. They are reſtor'd to* Vienna. IX. *The Precautions againſt 'em at* Nuremberg *and* Ausbourg. X. *A diſpute about the Name of God at* Worms. *Their Synagogue pull'd down by the French.* XI. *The number of the Jews at* Frankfort. XII. Nathan de Spira *a Cabbaliſt.* XIII. Iſaac Loria, *another German Cabbaliſt.*

I. THE Reformation was baniſh'd out of *Poland* thro' Zeal for Religion: But as this Zeal of the Prieſts is unequal and capricious, they give the Jews an intire Liberty of Conſcience. They not only have Synagogues and Academies, but their Houſes of Judgment injoy a great Authority, ſince they determine in Criminal as well as Civil Matters. We are told, they have had * the Privilege of Coining Money, becauſe Shekels have been found there with an Hebrew Inſcription; but theſe Shekels might have brought from *Judea*, or ſome other place; and as the Tomb, in which they were found, is very ſuſpicious, we can't ground hereupon a Prerogative of Coining Money, which only belongs to the Sovereigns.

II. 'Tis *Poland* that ſends out the Learned Rabbins †; and hither the Youth is ſent to ſtudy, that would be acquainted with the Talmud, and the Tradition of the Fathers. We have in the preceding Century noted many of theſe Rabbins, who did Honour to their Country. In this, one of 'em, call'd *Salomon*, imbrac'd Chriſtianity in the Year 1656. and publiſh'd thirty ſeven Demonſtrations againſt the Religion he had quitted. He was committed Priſoner at *Dantzick*, becauſe he had been bound for ſome of his Brethren, whoſe Debts he could not pay, which rendred his Converſion at firſt much ſuſpected. He ſent unleaven'd Bread, with a Letter, to *Botſaccus*, to conjure him to intercede with the Magiſtrates, and to inſtruct him. The Principles were firſt agreed upon, upon which they might diſpute, and the Rabbin gave up the Talmud and the Cabbala, as too ſubtile a Wiſdom. He own'd, ‖ *That Reaſon neither ought nor could be judge of the Myſteries of Faith, and that we ought only to depend on Revelation.* At laſt he acknowledg'd, That the Meſſiah was come; and afterwards he was made to own, That if God had formerly giv'n ſuch ſenſible Marks of his Preſence in the Ark, which was only a wooden Cheſt, we ought for a ſtronger Reaſon to believe, he had been united to the human Fleſh, of which the Ark of the Covenant was only a Type. *Theſe Words*, cry'd the Rabbin, *are ſweeter than Honey, and penetrate my Heart.* After he was baptiz'd, he labour'd upon the Converſion of his Brethren; and the ſtreſs of his Work lies in this. 1. That the Word מימרא in Scripture ſignifies neither God the Father, nor Ark of the Covenant, nor a reſounding Voice, nor a Promiſe, nor an Angel, nor the Attributes of God, as his Anger, his Vengeance, his Magnificence, his Might, nor the Providence, nor the Decrees of God, as the Socinians and the Jews maintain, but that it is a Divinity diſtinct from the Father. 2. He prov'd, That this *Word* was God; and Jeſus Chriſt being the Word ſo well known by the Ancient Doctors, he concluded, that he was God. He dedicated his Book to King *Caſimir*, to whom he wrote in the moſt emphatical manner imaginable.

III. *Hambourg*, is the *little Jeruſalem* *. In the beginning of the laſt Century, there was an ingenious Phyſician †, who wrote two Treatiſes; one concerning the *Infirmities of Women*, the other intitled, *Medico Politico*. A Learned Rabbin was there

* Hiſt. Univerſal. Judaica, cap. 3. † Ibid. p. 18. Villalpand. t. 2. P. 2. D. 3. p. 85 & Fr. Juan de la Puente Convenencia de las Monarchias, p. 1. l. 2. c. 21. ‖ R. Johan. Salamonis 37 Demonſtrat. cum Hiſt. Colloquii cum Jo. Botſaco, & Ibid. Congreſſus primus. Prol. V. p. 14. * *But yet their Synagogue is at* Altena, *under the juriſdiction of the King of* Denmark, *who gives them alſo Sanctuary at* Glucſtad. † *His Name is* Dom Rodriguez de Caſtro. *His Son entred into the Service of Queen* Chriſtina, *and was her Phyſician.*

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afterwards call'd *Ezdard*, or *Eſdras*, who having imbrac'd Chriſtianity, converted many * of his Brethren; an Event that ſeldom happens. A Divine imagin'd, that Inſtructions would be much more effectual, if they were ſeconded with Violence; but the Senate ſuppreſs'd a Zeal, which would have leſſen'd the number of its Citizens, and had already caus'd an unhappy Commotion.

IV. The Emperor † *Ferdinand* III. granted them great Privileges, becauſe when the City *Prague* was beſieg'd by *Carolus Guſtavus*, who was lately declar'd ‖ Generaliſſimo of the Armies of *Sweden* and *Germany*, they defended themſelves with a ſurprizing Fidelity and Vigour; the little City was already taken, and the reſt deſir'd to Capitulate; but the Conqueror having refus'd honourable Conditions, the City that lay almoſt all open, ſuſtain'd many aſſaults, even till the Peace. The Jews diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in theſe Aſſaults, and defended their Poſt with a Courage that merited Praiſes and new Privileges.

V. Here it was the Rabbi *Chagim*, or *Joachim*, deceiv'd the Chriſtians by a profound Diſſimulation. After a conſiderable Robbery he had made, he embrac'd Chriſtianity to wipe off the Scandal of his Crime. He compos'd a very virulent Book againſt his ancient Brethren. He went to *Vienna*, and inſinuated himſelf into the Court of *Ferdinand*, who gave him his Protection. Some time after perceiving his Fortune to ſink, with the help of two other Jews, his Accomplices, he robb'd the Imperial Treaſury. The Criminals were quickly diſcover'd, and condemn'd to death. *Ferdinand Francis Angelsberg*, this was the Name which the Convert had taken in his Baptiſm, diſſembl'd till he had loſt all hopes of ſaving his Life; but being upon the Scaffold, he declar'd *, That he had never been a Chriſtian; that he had liv'd and died a Jew; and that if he had receiv'd the Sacrament a few hours before, it might be found again in his Urinal, where he had put it; and throwing the Croſs he held in his Hands, he broke it; prodigious was the Jews aſtoniſhment. *Bartolocci* ſuſpects him to be the Author of the *Toldos Jeſchu*, which was Printed at *Vienna* in 1640, and which we have Confuted. But would he have printed this Book, when he was already a Chriſtian, or pretended to be ſo?

VI. In the ſame place was ſeen an Inſtance † of their hatred for the Chriſtians; for, one *Lazarus*, an Inhabitant of *Prague*, underſtanding that his Son deſir'd Baptiſm, fell upon him and kill'd him. He was committed to Priſon, where, animated with another Deſpair, he ſtrangl'd himſelf with the aſſiſtance of another Jew, who was in the ſame place. This latter was condemn'd to be broke upon the Wheel. He demanded Baptiſm in order to ſave his Life. He was granted the Sacrament, but deny'd the Grace he hop'd to obtain by it.

VII. As they hate the Chriſtians, ſo it muſt be confeſs'd, that the Chriſtians of *Prague* allow 'em a Toleration, but intermix'd with Violence. They reſolv'd to oblige 'em to pay Homage to a Brazen Crucifix, plac'd upon a Bridge that divides the two Cities of *Prague*. In order, the more ſubtilly to deceive them, they put round about the Crucifix, the Names of God in Hebrew Characters; but as the Nation, that has been us'd to abominate Images, paſſes by without paying any Veneration annex'd to it, this is a common occaſion of diſturbance. The Scholars, ‖ excited by a falſe Zeal, abuſe the Circumcis'd, who are oblig'd to defray the expences of a Battle, after they have ſubmitted to the Blows and Diſgrace of it. Nevertheleſs they are ſo numerous in this Country, as to fill, of themſelves, the third City of *Prague*, but they are poor and miſerable * there. They flock about all Strangers, and proſtitute themſelves to the meaneſt Services to get their Bread.

VIII. They are alſo often expos'd to Diſgraces from the Court and People in the Capital of the Empire. In the middle of the laſt Century, *Zachary* had obtain'd Liberty to build † a ſtately Synagogue there, and to add a School, to revive the love of the Sciences, which ſeem'd extinct in this Country. He had ſettl'd a Penſion for twenty four Perſons, who were to read the Talmud every Hour, Day and Night. One reliev'd the other; and the School that was always open, was never found without a Doctor; but his Building was ſcarce finiſh'd, when the Emperor drove ‖ all the Jews from his Capital, and ſeiz'd the Synagogue to make a Church of. They * complain, that the ſuperſtitious Empreſs imagining that the Toleration the Court gave the Jews, occaſion'd her Barrenneſs, preſs'd the Emperor to baniſh them; and they add, That God puniſh'd her for it, by taking away her Life, and bringing a Daughter into the World. After the death of this Princeſs, † they were reſtor'd to *Vienna*. The Emperor had a new ſubject of Diſcontent againſt 'em in the Turkiſh War, becauſe they aſſiſted the Infidels to maintain the Siege of *Buda*, and diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Valour. But at bottom this was an Act of Fidelity they paid their Sovereign; and tho' this reſiſtance render'd them odious, not only to the People of *Germany*, but *Italy*, where they roſe againſt 'em; yet we cannot condemn them, ſince they were then Subjects to the Ottoman Empire. In reality, the Emperor favours them at *Vienna*; admits 'em into his Affairs, and gives honourable Titles to thoſe that are employ'd, or purchaſe 'em. Only the People, jealous of the Riches they heap together, endeavour ſometimes to ſtrip 'em by violent Tumults ‖.

IX. They keep up themſelves in *Servia*, *Croatia*, *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and in the rich Cities of *Germany*. If they have been expell'd *Nurimburg*, they are ſpread abroad in the Country Towns, and have their Synagogue at *Ffurt*, which is in the Neighbourhood. They may enter into the City with a Guard.

They had always their Settlements at *Ausbourg*. *Velſerus* ‖ ſays, They were carry'd thither from the ruine of *Jeruſalem*, becauſe he had diſcover'd this Inſcription there.

TIB CLEUPHAS JULII. VIR AUG. NEGOCIATOR ARTIS PURPURARIÆ.

The Name *Cleophas* appears to him to be Jewiſh by the Holy Scripture. This Man, ſays he, to his own Name, had added that of *Tiberius*, becauſe he depended on a Family that bore it, as *Joſephus* took that of *Flavius*, by reaſon of *Veſpaſian* his Benefactor. Laſtly, This *Tiberius Cleophas* was a Seller of Purple, or a Dyer, which perfectly agrees with the Jews, who were then ſpread over all the Earth †.

Per omnes
Terrarum Pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.

* Kidder demonſt. p. 3. c. ult. p. 47. *ſays, That there have not been ſo many Converſions ſince the time of Miracles; as* Eſdras *made of them at* Hambourg, *in the Year* 1690. † An. 1648. ‖ Cardoſo *is miſtaken in ſaying, That this Defence was made in the time of* Guſtavus Adolphus. *It was his Nephew who was afterwards King of* Sweden. * Wagenſeil Ignea Tela Satanæ, p. 189. † An. 1994. ‖ An. 1704. * *Remarks Hiſtorical and Critical, made in a Voyage from* Italy *to* Holland, *in the Year* 1704. p. 130, 131. † An. 1660. ‖ An. 1669. * Hiſtoria Judaica de Barrios. † An. 1673. ‖ An. 1705. * Velſeri Rerum Aug. Vind. l. vi. p. 294. † Rutil. Itinerar.

Velſerus

Velſerus was ſo confident of the truth of his Conjecture, that he cenſures the Author of the *little Chronicle*, for ſaying that *Veſpaſian ſent a great many Families of the Houſe of* David *into* Spain *, as if this was the only place where Colonies were ſent; and he ſuſpects that the Author talked thus, only out of fondneſs for his Country.

This ſuſpicion is ill grounded; for the Author of the *little Chronicle*, which has not the Antiquity aſſign'd it, has follow'd the general prejudice of his Nation, which groundleſly fancies, That the Nobleſt Families were tranſported into *Spain*. Nor can it be ſaid but by a very weak Conjecture, that they came into *Germany* and *Ausbourg*; for no body knows it, and there is no Monument old enough to inform us. The Argument he draws from the Name of *Cleophas* and the Purple Trade, may be true; but yet it muſt be own'd to be very uncertain. Beſides, there is one great defect in it, ſince it can't be conjectur'd at what time the Inſcription was cut; for if *Cleophas* was a free'd Man of *Tiberius*, he would have been buried there before the Ruin of *Jeruſalem*. He ſhould alſo have own'd, that they had exercis'd Offices in the City; and how could he imagine that the Jews had forc'd their way thither ſo early? 'Tis only true, that they were Numerous and Potent there; for *Benjamin de Tudela*, ſays, That there was at *Asburk*, which he calls a Metropolis, a Synagogue kept up by rich Merchants; there were alſo Doctors and Scholars. They maintain'd themſelves there, but at laſt they have been baniſh'd out of the City, and if they have liberty to enter into it, they make 'em pay † dear for every Hour they ſtay there.

X. It would be tedious to run over all the other Cities of which we have ſpoken, where they ſtill ſubſiſt without any conſiderable change in their Condition. We muſt inſiſt upon thoſe that deſerve ſome notice. The Jews of *Ratisbonne* are charg'd with robbing the Chriſtians of one of their greateſt Saints: Tho' the Proceſs be hard to be determin'd, yet let me take leave to relate it. The Chriſtians ‖ ſay, That the Saint *Emmeram* departed from *Poitou*, to preach the Goſpel to the *Huns*, or barbarous and ſavage People; but being arriv'd with his Partners at *Ratisbonne*, he was frighted at the Difficulties which *Theodon* their Commander gave him. He ſtop'd in *Bavaria*, where the ill-converted Inhabitants made their Children drink the *Cup of the Euchariſt, and that of Devils*. *Emmeram* was kill'd upon an Accuſation of a young Lady, who aſſerted that he had debauch'd her. He was made a Martyr of, and the Jews and Chriſtians of *Ratisbonne*, laid equal claim to him. The Chriſtians ſaid that he was their Biſhop, eminent for the multitude of Converſions, whom the Counteſs *Uta* falſly accus'd of Debauchery. The Jews maintain'd, That he deſcended from *Amram*, the Father of *Moſes*, whoſe Name he bore. They added, That *Amram*'s dead Body had floated againſt the Stream of the *Danube*; and that this Miracle was to be attributed to the Book of the Law, that was found in his Arms. There is one violent prejudice in favour of the Jews. Which is, that they are not ſo zealous for Saints, as to ſteal thoſe of the Chriſtians; whereas the Chriſtians graſp at all:

Tros Rutilaſve fuit, nullo diſcrimine habebit.

The Hereticks have furniſh'd a pretty good quantity of beatify'd Souls. Why ſhould they ſpare the Jews, and not ſteal Saints from them wherewithal to enrich the Church? But rather both ſides ought to drop their ſuit, for the Tradition of the Chriſtians is very uncertain. 'Tis enquir'd who this *Theodon*, Governor of *Ratisbonne* was, who arreſted *Emmeram* in *Bavaria*, without being able to diſcover him. There are a great many other Faults in this Legend. The Author there ſpeaks of a City *Aquitain*, which was upon the Frotiers of *Poitou*. This City is unknown. *Auguſtoritum*, which they ſubſtitute in its place, would be rather the City *Limoges* than that of *Poitiers*: Who knows whether the ignorant Writer has not confounded the Country of *Medoc* and *Buchs*, which is in *Aquitaine*, with *Bavaria*? The Conformity of Names may perhaps have occaſion'd this Blunder; and 'tis more probable, that St. *Emmeram* went from *Poitou* to neighbouring *Aquitaine* than to *Bavaria*. On the other hand, the Jews would be to blame to claim this Man; but we may ſay that he that fathers this upon 'em, ought not to be believ'd, ſince he relates it only upon hear-ſay. He had heard the Jews ſay it; but they were Jews that liv'd at *Ratisbonne* a long time after the Event, and who ridicul'd, perhaps, the Chriſtians * that relates it.

Thoſe of *Worms* affirm, That many ages ago, they had the name of *Jehovah* carved a top of their Synagogues; and they ſuffer their Spiders to ſpin their Webbs without daring to bruſh 'em down, becauſe they are afraid of blotting the ſacred Name. They imagine that the Divinity has his reſidence behind the Spiders, which conceal him; and this Imagination, falſe or true, has made a ſubject of Controverſie with a Proſelyte, † who had left the Synagogue, and taxed its Doctors with this Superſtition. Theſe latter were not ſilent. A Rabbin of *Ottenbourg* has endeavour'd to ſalve the Honour of his Nation; but he palliates the Fact inſtead of juſtifying it. 'Twas another Superſtition to believe, That the Name of God, carved in this Synagogue, was the ſupport of the Building; but the *French* have convinc'd 'em to the contrary, by demoliſhing the Synagogue, when they had taken the City in the laſt War.

XI. A Modern Traveller ‖ reckons thirty thouſand Jews at *Frankfort*. I queſtion whether he does not amplifie on this account; but however they are often plunder'd. They are reduc'd to the ſlavery of being Water-carriers, to extinguiſh the Flames when any Houſe is on fire. They paint the Jews in ſeveral places, as making paſtime for the Devils and the Swine, that, by theſe Images, they may excite the Peoples Hatred and Horror.

XII. They had a famous Cabbaliſt * at *Spires*, in the middle of the laſt Century, nam'd, from his Birth-place, *Nathan de Spira*. He publiſh'd the *good of the Land*, in which he celebrated the Holy Land. He compos'd another Volume of Profundities, *Megillath Hamucoth*, which is a Cabbaliſtick Commentary upon ſome Verſes of *Deuteronomy*, † in which he pretends to ſound the depths of Myſteries, and to reſolve the Difficluties that he finds in 'em.

XIII. But one of the moſt famous Doctors that *Germany* produc'd in the laſt Century, was *Iſaac Loria*, the Author ‖ of the *Metaphyſical Introduction to the Jewiſh Cabala*, from which we have quoted many paſſages. He examins the Reaſons that oblig'd God to create the World; and maintains, that this Work of the Creation was neceſſary, to fill up the Idea's we have of the Perfections of God, and his Names of *Elohim*. He explains alſo the manner of the Creatures emanation from God. Doctor *Moor* was charm'd with this Work. He eſpous'd moſt of his Principles, and carry'd his prepoſſeſſion ſo far, as to believe 'em moſt proper for the Converſion, not only of Jews, but alſo of Heathens.

* *He calls it* Aſpamiam. Seder Olam Zuta. † *They paid at* Auxbourg *a Florin an Hour*. ‖ Velſerus rerum Boicarum, l. iv. p. 121. * Laurentius Hoſhuarts in Catalogo Epiſc. Regin. l. i. c. 6. apud Velſerum. † *This converted Jew was called* Schlangenbach, *and the Rabbin* Samuel Zui. *His Tract is call'd* Judiſchen Tiriach, *in* Germany. *See* Wagenſeil in Sotah Miſnah. t. 5. p. 188. ‖ *Hiſtorical Remarks upon a Voyage from* Italy. * An. 1640. † Deut. 3. 13. ‖ An. 1650.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Settlement of the Jews in Holland, *and their present State.*

I. German *Jews, deceiv'd by* Zieglerus, *who promises them a Messiah.* II. *The Settlement of the* Portuguese *Jews, and their first Synagogue, the House of Jacob.* III. *A second Synagogue; their Seasons. A Division that occasions a third to be built.* IV. *A Cessation of the Schisms.* V. *The building of Schools, and the great Synagogue. Talmud Thora; Verses in its praise.* VI. *Sermons preach'd at its Consecration. The Application of a Prophecy of* Isaiah. VII. *R. Menasses; his Birth and Works.* VIII. *The rest of his Treatises.* IX. *Accusations made against him.* X. *Whether he was a Pelagian through policy.* XI. *Difficulties about his Opinion.* XII. *His Death.* XIII. Zachut, *his Friend, a* Lisbon *Refugee.* XIV. Acias, *his Treasure of Precepts.* XV. Aboab, *his Works upon the Cabbala.* XVI. Musaphia, *a Commentator of the* Jerusalem *Talmud.* XVII. Spinosa's *Life.* XVIII. *Explication of his Opinions.* XIX. *His injudicious study of the Holy Scripture.* XX. *His Posthumous Works.* XXI. Orobio, Spinosa's *Enemy. His History.* XXII. *His Conference with Mr.* Limborch, *and his Objections.* XXIII. *The Answers of the latter.* XXIV. *A continuation of his Answers.* XXV. David Cohen de Lara, *at* Rotterdam. XXVI. Juda Leon, *his Temple of* Salomon, *and his other Works.*

I. OF all the States of *Europe*, there is not one where the Jews live more quietly than in *Holland* * They enrich themselves by Trade, and by the lenity of the Government, they possess their Acquisitions without fear. There are two sorts of Jews in *Holland*; some are *Germans*, and others come from *Portugal* and *Spain*. They are divided about some Ceremonies, and hate one another, as if the Essentials of Religion were concern'd; *Zieglerus* † was of the *German* Faction. He came purposely to *Amsterdam* to vent his Visions; promising a Messiah, that he had already seen, and who was to appear the very moment that the Conversion of the Jews should be wrought. We must not mistake this Visionary ‖ for another Person of the same Name, who was of the Family of *Salmes*, a Native of *Landau*, excellently vers'd in the Sciences, and who died seventy Years before the Man we speak of. This Man promised a Messiah of the House of *David*, and of the Line of *Nathan*, whose Ancestors had liv'd a Thousand Years in the Kingdom of *Tunis*. They had remov'd from thence into the Kingdom of *Granada*, from whence having been expell'd by *Ferdinand* the Catholick, they settl'd in *Germany*, where he was born fourteen Years ago. He had seen him at *Strasbourg*. He kept a Scepter and a Sword to put into his Hands, when he should be of Age to fight. He was then to destroy Antichrist, and the Empire of the Turk; to extend his Monarchy to the end of the World; to assemble a Council of *Constance*, which should last twelve Years, and in which all the Differences about Religion should be concluded. This Messiah did not appear, and those that believ'd the Impostor, perceiv'd, too late, that they had been abus'd.

II. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who make another part of this Nation, retir'd into *Holland* to avoid the Cruelties of the Inquisition. *Strada* accuses one of their Leaders of having intreagued in the War of the Low-Countries, and kindling the Fire by promising Hopes of a potent Supply. This Man was *Michez*, we have already spoken of. He was a *Spaniard* born; but the fear of Punishment had oblig'd him to seek Sanctuary at *Antwerp*, where he grew into the Knowledge and Affections, not only of the Magistrates of this City, but of *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, who then govern'd. Going from *Antwerp* to *Venice*, and from thence to *Constantinople*; he wrote to the Malecontents he knew, and to the Protestants of *Antwerp* *, *That it was their best way to adhere constantly to the League they had made against the Catholicks, because the Grand Seignior was meditating Designs against the Christians; and in a short time, would so embarrass King* Philip, *as not to give him leave to think of the Affairs of the* Netherlands. His Letters were read in the Senate of *Antwerp*, and gave great hopes to the Allies, but *Michez* did not make good his Promise. He follow'd his Masters Views, who turn'd his Arms against the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. It only appears, That the Jews were more secure in the *Netherlands* than in *Spain*, since *Michez* sought a Retreat there; but it was but forty Years after, that the Refugees of *Spain* and *Portugal* began to settle in *Holland*. Their first Assembly at *Amsterdam* occasion'd even some Jealousie in this City, where all things were supected during the War, which continu'd with great heat. They were taken for Roman Catholicks, who shut themselves up, and conceal'd their Images. They say they were pursu'd into the place of their Religious Worship; but as they found nothing but Hebrew Books, and the Law of *Moses*, they laid no other Condition on them, than to pray for the prosperity of the City, which they promis'd to do; and at the same time they founded their first Synagogue, which they call'd the *House of Jacob*, because that was the Name of the Donor.

La primer † *Synagoga Amstelodama,*
Fundada fue del grand Jacob Tindo,
Que por su nambre, Bet Jahacob la Vama;
Y per & pueblo de Jacob Sacrado.

III. They rais'd another Synagogue ‖ which they call'd *Neve Schalom*, the *House of Peace*. These Synagogues conjointly labour'd upon a Collection of Prayers, but they could not agree about it. The last was headed by a Doctor, that came from *Africa*, which he left, and retir'd to *Constantinople*, where he publish'd the History of his Nation, 'till the ruin of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* *. *Uziel*, who succeeded him, censur'd the Faults of his Nation so smartly, as to incur its hatred. A third † Synagogue was form'd, in which the Schismaticks assembl'd under the Conduct of *David Pardo*. It was call'd the House of *Israel*. *Beth Israel*. 'Tis in vain for the Authors to say, That this Schism did not at all abate their Piety, nor their Devotion for God.

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* Enningiana parte del Mondo tuenen mei or recelo que er *Amsterdam*, tanto per la libertam de conciencio, de Vnssiete Unidas provincias, quanto por la bonta de sus ingenioſos Moradores. *Daniel Levi de Barrios Casa de Jacob*, p. 24. † An. 1624. ‖ *This was call'd* Philip, *and the other* James. Zieglerus, *who died in the Year* 1559. V. Voetii disput. Selectæ, t. 2. p. 95. * An. 1566. Strada, l. 5. p. 214. † Silva del Anton. Alvares Soares. ‖ *They obtain'd a Cœmetry, notwithstanding the opposition of the Town of* Alkmaer. * *He was call'd* Juda Vega. *He must not be confounded with a Polish Rabbin of the same Name, who lived under the reign of* Sigismond; *and publish'd Sermons in the* Year 1590. † An. 1618.

Sin

Sin perder en la ira el alto objecto.

IV. What is inevitable in all Eccleſiaſtical Separations, as well as Civil Wars, this was accompany'd with Heat. The Synagogue of *Ben Jacob* eſpous'd the Separatiſts. But the Schiſm ceas'd, after it had continu'd ſomewhat above twenty Years, * and the three Synagogues united into one, to which they gave, as to many others, the Title of *Talmud Thora*, the Study or *Science of the Law* †.

V. They have been careful to found Schools ‖ as well as Synagogues, one whereof is call'd the *Crown of the Law*, *Kether Thora*, and has been govern'd by learned Men. But that which beſt demonſtrates the proſperity of this Nation, is the great and ſtately Edifice they Conſecrated * in the Year 1675, and which deſerv'd the extraordinary Encomiums of a Chriſtian Poet.

Sævit in omne tuum Fiſco, ferro igne, Tyrannis;
Cenſorum, O Fuda, nec latuiſſe ſat eſt.
Nil ſequanâ, nil tuta Tago, prudentior Amſtla,
Templa palam in gremio, ſcitque foretque ſuo.
Sponſa Sion Hymnos pſallantium ut audiit, inquit:
Hunc Populum, hanc Urbem quis negat eſſe Dei?
State Diu, pia tecta, aliis inviſa Monarchis,
Mirenturque apices ſæcula ſera tuos.

VI. The Doctors of the Nation neglected not to celebrate ſo glorious a Deſign; and they have made a Collection † of Sermons that were ſpoke at its Conſecration. One of the Preachers made theſe words of *Deuteronomy* his Text. ‖ *Ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God*; and endeavour'd to prove, That the times of Miracles were not paſt; but that God has only changed the method of their Operation; for they are wrought in a ſecret and hidden manner, inſtead of being obſervable and manifeſt. *Ezechiel* intimates this truth, when he introduces God, ſaying, * *I will be to them as a little Sanctuary in the Countries where they ſhall come*; for the *Sanctuary* denotes the Preſence of God; and its *littleneſs* deſignates a weaker and leſs manifeſt Operation. One of theſe ſecret Miracles was doubtleſs the Zeal and Charity expreſs'd in building the Synagogue they now Conſecrated. The ſecond Preacher † *ſailing through Speculation*, "diſcovers a *New World*, which "is not ſo big as the Univerſe, nor ſo little "as Man, who is call'd the *Microcoſm*. The People "of God is the *New World*; for it has all the Pro-"perties of the Univerſe; and as the three Worlds "were repreſented in the three parts of the Old "Temple, they are alſo found in the three Orders "of Perſons, that conſtitute the Holy Nation; "for the Prieſts are the Angels of God, ſince *Know-"ledge dwells upon their Lips*; and as the Heav'ns, "which are inferior to the Angels, *declare the Glo-"ry of God*; the Levites, who were inferior to him, "praiſe him. A Panegyriſt, who came afterwards, aſſerts, That the building of the Synagogue of *Amſterdam* was foretold by *Iſaiah*, when he introduces *ſeven Women, who lay hold on one Man, ſaying, We will eat our own Bread, and wear our own Apparel; only let us be call'd by thy Name.* For theſe Women are call'd in the Hebrew *Naſſim* נשים, which makes an alluſion to the Prince of *Orange Naſſau*, who was elected Captain General at the time the Synag[ogue] was building. ‖ "Theſe Women, *took hol-*"him, a Word that ſignifies *ſtrong*, becauſe indeed "the Lion which holds ſeven Arrows, and repre-"ſents the Union of the ſeven Provinces, is very "ſtrong. They deſire they may be call'd by this "Prince's Name. They cover themſelves with his "Robe, for they took Orange Scarfs. The Bread "they eat was the Duke of *Villahermoſa*, Governor "of the Netherlands. They introduce *Charles* II. "King of *England*, under the Name of *Darius*. "Moreover the Synagogue was built in the time "of the War, and in an extremity like that the "People of *Iſrael* ſuffer'd at the time ſpecify'd by "*Iſaiah*. Laſtly, The Prophet adds: *In that day "ſhall the Branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, "and the Fruit of the Earth ſhall be excellent and "comely for them that are eſcap'd out of Iſrael*, which "was then accompliſh'd.

VII. Theſe Preachers and Panegyriſts are not perhaps the Men that have done moſt Honour to the Synagogue. It has had alſo many Poets; an exact Catalogue * whereof may be ſeen elſewhere; but in the laſt Century it has ſhewn us famous Doctors.

Menaſſes † was one of the moſt learned and exact Divines that has appear'd among the Jews for a great many Ages. He was of a *Spaniſh* Origin, of the Family of the *Abravanels*, and he was ally'd to't by marrying a Daughter of this Houſe. At eighteen years of Age he was choſen at *Amſterdam* to explain the Talmud, in which Imploy he acquir'd a Reputation, which drew upon him Jealouſies and Enmities; but he deſpis'd their Inſolencies, and continu'd his Application to Study. He was not yet eight and twenty, when he publiſh'd ‖ *la primiera parte del Conciliador nel Pentateucho.* He endeavour'd to reconcile in it the ſeeming Contradictions of Scripture, by the Explications of ancient and modern Doctors, and his own Conjectures. This Work *, which he finiſh'd afterwards, has made him paſs for a Top-man in his Nation. And indeed no Rabbin has writ upon this Subject with ſo ſolid Erudition. He compo'd, † ſome time after his Problems upon the Creation, which made him to be call'd a Divine Author. A Chriſtian Poet join'd his Commendation to thoſe of his Nation, and proteſted, that the difference of Opinions ſhould not make him break with ſo learned a Man.

Si ſapimus diverſa, Deo vivamus, amici,
Doctaque mens pretio conſtet ubique ſuo.
Hæc fide vox ſumma mea eſt: Hoc crede, Menaſſe;
Sic ego Chriſtiades, ſic eris Abramides.

For indeed *Menaſſeh* was not one of thoſe intractable Jews, that ſhunn'd Chriſtians Converſation. He had Friends among ſome of the State. The matter went ſo far, that ſome of the Learned and Divines took fire, and indicted *Barlæus* for the Verſes he had publiſh'd in the Praiſe of his Friend. A Paper-War broke out; every one eſpous'd a Party, and the Poet had the worſt of it againſt a Man, who pretended to plead the Cauſe of God.

VIII. *Menaſſeh* alſo wrote a Treatiſe of the Reſurrection, which we have often quoted in our Ex-

* An. 1639. † Talmud, a למד Limad, *diſcere*. ‖ An. 1643. * *They finiſhed it in* April 1671. *The War cauſed ſome interruption, but they fail'd not to finiſh it in four Years time.* † Sermones que pregaraon. Sermaon primeio. ‖ Deut. 4. 4. * Ezechiel 11. 16. † Sermaon 2. ‖ Governo popolar Judaico de Barrios, p. 31, 32. * Relation de les Poetas, y Eſcritores Eſpannoles de la Nation Judayca Amſtelodama, por Daniel Levi de Barrios. *He was himſelf a Poet. He ſays that the Count de Monterey had promiſed to make him Conſul of* Spain, *at* Amſterdam, *when he was recalled from the Low-Countries; yet he owns he was poor, as Poets generally are.* Barios Epiſtola al Kahal Kados *of* London p. 22. † Menaſſe de creatione Præfat. ‖ Conciliator. * Zachutus Epiſt. ad Menaſſ. Conciliat. præfixa. † Jonas Abravanel, & Himanuel Nehamias, Carmina Hiſpan. ab amicis ſcripta.

plications of this matter. He undertook to prove the Immortality ‖ of the Soul, and its Operations, not only whilſt it is united to the Body, but after its Separation; and 'tis in this Treatiſe, printed after his death, that he defends the Tranſmigration. As he was Head of the Synagogue at *Amſterdam*, he was oblig'd to ſtudy the Rites and Laws. He wrote two Tracts upon 'em, one whereof was an Abridgment of the *Miſnah*, with this Title, *El Theſoro de los Dinim, le Treſor des Jugemens, The Treaſure of Judgments.* The other particularly related to queſtions concerning Marriage, the Condition of Children, and the Diviſion of the Eſtates; *la Economia que contiene todo que toca al Matrimonio y dinim de las Mugeres Hiios ſiervos, vienes.* He writ alſo about a defence of the *Babylonian* Talmud. He compos'd a Treatiſe concerning the Science of the Talmudiſts, and of Rabbinical Philoſophy. He pretended to Eloquence and Poetry; for he tranſlated *Phocylides* into *Spaniſh* Verſe; he made Queen *Chriſtina*'s Panegyrick, and a Prayer for the Prince of *Orange*. He had alſo form'd the ſame Deſign we at preſent are upon of writing the Hiſtory of his Nation, from *Joſephus* to his own times: *Pero todo eſto mas largamente ſe vera en mi Hiſtoria, y continuation de Flavio Joſepho haſta nueſtros tiempos ſe el ſoberario ſennor nos diede vida, y tiempo para acabarla.* It ſeems that he began this Work, but he could not finiſh it. Another Author * form'd the ſame deſign afterwards. He divided his Project into five parts; the firſt whereof contain'd a general deſcription of the Holy Land. In the ſecond, he was to give the Hiſtory of the Rulers, from the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* till *Mahomet*, *De los que dominaron d'eſto Tito à Mahoma.* He went on from *Mahomet* to the Conqueſts of *Saladin*. In the fourth part he was to run over all States, to gather up all the conſiderable Events of his Nation, till their Baniſhment from *Spain*. Laſtly, He would have given an Idea of the preſent State of all the Synagogues; but the Author was content to publiſh the Plan of his Work, without executing it.

IX. *Bartolocci* accuſes *Menaſſeh* of deſigning to profit by the troubles of *England* under *Cromwell*; and attempting to procure a Settlement for his Nation, and of throwing himſelf into the Remonſtrants Party in *Holland*, to gain Friends and Protectors. Laſtly, He objects, as a Crime, his not deſiring the Approbation or Cenſure of the Chriſtian Doctors, when he printed his Works. The Accuſations are weak; for 'twas enough for *Menaſſeh* to have ſubmitted his Works to the Examination of his Superiors, inſtead of expoſing 'em to the Cenſure of the Chriſtians. 'Tis carrying Authority too far to ſubject Strangers to the Laws of a Society, into which they never entred. An Author † of his Nation affirms, that it was *Cromwell* and the Republick of *England* that invited him; but not to examine the truth of this matter, it was natural to endeavour to eſtabliſh his Nation, and all that he is to blame for, is, the conceiving ill-grounded hopes of it.

X. He ‖ entred but very indirectly into the Diſputes of Grace, and the Controverſies of the Remonſtrants. And, in my opinion, they have not rightly taken his Sentiments. Having read *Voſſius*'s *Pelagian* Hiſtory, he met with ſeveral things, which engag'd him to ſtudy this Queſtion throughly. He diſſented from *Pelagius*, becauſe this latter thought a Man could perfectly fulfil the Law, and live without Sin, which to him appear'd impoſſible. He prov'd it alſo by the Authority of *Akiba*, who wept in reading ſeveral Paſſages of Scripture, that diſcover the Impotence of Man. He added, that the Sins of the Heart, and of Concupiſcence, were condemn'd as well as Sins of Ignorance. But after he had impugn'd *Pelagius* upon theſe Articles, he entred into his Party by another Door; for he believ'd, That *Adam* was created Mortal. "If Man, ſaid he, "loſt, by his Fall, part of the Beauty of his Body, "and of the Light of his Mind, yet he had ſtill ſufficient Strength to carry him to Good. If a Man "has naturally a greater bias to Vice than Virtue, "this proceeds from Complexion, from Educati"on, from the Place where he lives, and the im"preſſion of outward Objects, to which we are ve"ry ſenſible; for the Heavenly-born Soul ſoon "forgets its Original, and cleaves to Matter *. "However, 'tis in its own Power to do good".

XI. Hereby he involv'd himſelf into great difficulties; for he was ask'd, How it came to paſs, that he who had abſolute liberty to fulfil certain Commands, is not able to perform them and live without Sin? If it be impoſſible to fulfil the Law, why did God give it, and pronounce theſe terrible Words, *Curſed is every one who continues not in all theſe things to do them?* He was contented to anſwer, 1. That God gave many Precepts to the People of *Iſrael*, in order to facilitate their Salvation, by opening many Gates for 'em to enter. "God, ſaid he, † imitates a wiſe Phyſician, who "finding his Patient ſqueamiſh, orders many ſorts "of Meats, that he may chuſe what he likes beſt. 2. He owns, that the Doctors are divided about the Obedience that is neceſſary to obtain Salvation. Some have thought the Obſervation of one Precept alone ſufficient; others, that God reckon'd up the Sins and good Works, and compenſated one with the other; but he took the ſafeſt ſide, by ſaying, It was neceſſary to expiate Sins by *Repentance*, and to do good Works. As the Threatnings of God againſt thoſe who accompliſh'd not the Law, puzzl'd him, he quotes *Abravanel*, who ſays, That a Man is *conſtant in the Law*, when he executes one of its Precepts, tho' it be *only one*. He adds, ‖ that this relates to the Judges, who ought to ſee the Law executed, and who are Curſed when they fail in their Duty. He believes a Man is not curs'd for breaking the Law, but for not repenting of the Breach of it. 4. Laſtly, He * ſays, that he does not wound the Liberty of Man, by maintaining, he can live without Sin. However, 'tis impoſſible to reconcile theſe two Principles; and *Pelagius*, who left Man the power of fulfilling the Law and attaining Perfection, reaſon'd more juſtly than he. 'Tis perceiv'd alſo, that he paſſes this Article over gently, as if he were ſenſible, he could ſay nothing to reſolve this difficulty. Be it how it will, *Menaſſeh* follow'd his Anceſtors, and thoſe that had taught before him. He can't therefore be accus'd of having eſpous'd this Notion out of a Spirit of Faction, and of fondneſs for diſturbance.

XII. He dy'd at *Amſterdam* in the Year 1652. and left a Son, who inherited his Preſs, and imploy'd it in printing ſome of his Father's Works.

XIII. † *Menaſſeh* had a Panegyriſt and Friend in a famous Phyſician, call'd *Zacuth*. This Name ſignifies *Purity*; whether the People of this Family, which is ancient, pretend to diſtinguiſh themſelves for the Purity of their Lives, or have taken the Name from ſome other Reaſon; this Man was born at *Liſbon*, in the Year 1575. His Parents, who diſſembled their Judaiſm, ſent him to ſtudy at *Salamanca* and *Conimbra*. From thence he return'd

‖ Sepher Niſmath Chaiim, Liber ſpiraculi Vitæ ex Geneſ. 21. 7. * Dom Miguel de Barrios in 1684. † Barrios. ‖ Menaſſe de Fragil. Hum. p. 141. * pag. 130. † Ibid. Sect. 10. ‖ Sect. II. p. 98. * Sect. 13. p. 114. † Abrzham Zacuth *Author of the* Genealogies, *who left* Spain *in* 1492, *was of this Family.*

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and settl'd in his Native place, where he was much esteem'd, because he was very charitable to his poor Patients, and perform'd considerable Cures at Court. He wrote many Books, and amongst others the History of the *Principal Physicians* ‖. He dedicated his Book to a Canon of the Cathedral of *Lisbon*, and Referendary of the Pope, who afterwards was oblig'd to quit his Imploys. I know not whether his Disgrace proceeded from the suspicions conceiv'd of his Religion; for there are a great many Ecclesiastick Jews in *Portugal*, and this perfectly understood Hebrew. His intimacy with *Zacuth* confirms the Suspicions; for this Physician having dissembled thirty Years, fled to *Amsterdam*, where he was circumcis'd, and dy'd in the Year 1642. writing many Books, which he could not finish.

XIV. *Athias*, a Native of *Spain*, taught at first at *Hambourg*; but he came from thence to *Amsterdam*.

[illegible] Athias, fertil de conceptos,
En la Corte que Banna el Albis claro,
El Kahal Kados Postoreo y el raro
Tesoro Abrio do Todos los preceptos.

He printed * a Bible, which is much esteem'd. The Jews boast, that this Edition was made upon two very ancient Manuscripts; one of *Hillel* we have spoken of; the other of 1299. in which was the great *Massorah*, written with the Figures of Beasts, Bears and Dogs. Mr. *Vander Hoogt* † has given a new Edition of this Bible much more exact. The Preface of this learned Man, explains his Design and manner of executing it. He follows *Athias*'s Edition; and if some different Readings are observ'd in it, we find the like in the Bibles printed by the Jews at *Venice* in 1639. and 1678. He often prefers the *Massoreths* Corrections before others, because, besides that he thinks 'em more judicious, he is persuaded, that they were made by *Esdras*, and the Doctors of the great Synagogue, all the Members whereof (three of which were Prophets) out-liv'd their Work forty Years. Lastly, He distinguishes the different Readings of the Oriental and Occidental Jews. He observes the *Sections* and the *Masses*. But for all this the Volume is very incommodious.

Athias's Treasure of Precepts and Judgments was printed first at *Venice*, with approbation of all the Sages, *Cachamim*, of that Country. The Author thought himself oblig'd to handle this Subject, because the most useful of all Books are those that *teach the fear of God*. The preceding Doctors had compos'd many of 'em, but the *Spanish* dispersion had destroy'd a great part of these Works. Besides, these ancient Writers compos'd them in *Arabick*, which was then better understood. Lastly, He proves, that this Treatise ‖ was necessary, because the Law without a Commentary, is a Torch without Light; it must be lighted to make it illuminate. 'Tis a Body without a Soul, which has no motion. Lastly, to render it more useful, he join'd Tradition to the Law; Practical Rules to Speculative Truths. He explains also the knowledge of those Rites which are not at present in use; that the Jews, who know them, being struck with their Excellency, may ardently breath after their Restoration. The Commentary upon each Precept is short, and one of the best that can be read to understand the Jewish Laws. 'Tis strange, that *Bartolocci*, who had seen and read so many Rabbins Works, has only hinted this upon the Testimony of *Menasseh*, or of the Author of the Catalogue of *Spanish* Writers.

XV. *Isaac Aboab*, who came from *Brasile*, was not only a reputable Preacher, but a great Cabbalist. 'Twas he that translated another Cabbalist, call'd *Irira*'s *Gate of Heaven* *, from Spanish to Hebrew, from whose Version it has since been Latiniz'd.

Tomo en Hebreo el libro que en Hispano
Llamo Puerta del Cielo el Cabalista
Abraham Herrera †.

He publish'd a Paraphrase upon the Pentateuch, and sung *Moses*'s Triumph in Heroick Verse.

XVI. *Musaphia* ‖ was another learned Man, who commented the *Jerusalem* Talmud. He study'd a Subject that was still more obscure and intricate, since he went to explain the *Flux and Reflux of the Sea*. Lastly, He was so perfect a Master of the Hebrew Tongue *, that he compos'd a Dictionary, in which he took a new and easie method.

XVII. We ought not to forget *Spinoza*, who made himself famous by a new invented Atheism. He was born at *Amsterdam* † in 1632. His Parents were Portugueze-Jews. He came of a creditable Family; but he receiv'd nothing but a Bed from his Fathers Possessions, and always liv'd in poverty. It was not to follow the Law, and imitate the Rabbins, that he learnt the trade of polishing Glasses, and making Spectacles; for he already despis'd 'em, but his Design was to subsist. He compar'd himself to a *Serpent that bites his Tail*, because he had nothing left at the Year's end, tho' he liv'd upon Milk and Water-gruel. He was so disinterested as to refuse a considerable Sum, that one of his Friends offer'd him to relieve his Necessities, and only accepted a little Pension that this Friend caus'd to be paid him. He had learnt Latin of *Vanden Ende*, who taught then at *Amsterdam*; and who retiring to *Pikpus* ‖, embark'd in the Chevalier of *Rohan*'s Conspiracy, and was hang'd. 'Tis pretended, it was this Pedant that sow'd the first Seeds of Atheism in *Spinoza*'s Mind, because he profes's'd it, and taught it his Scholars. But it was, especially, *Descartes*'s Philosophy which gave him a dislike to the Principles and Science of the Rabbins. He did not find in their Writings those evident Truths built upon Demonstrations, which *Descartes* recommends to his Disciples. When he was perceiv'd to neglect the Sabbaths and Synagogue, they attempted, in vain, to retain him by a Pension of a thousand Livres; by this refusal he incur'd so violent a hatred, that it was resolv'd to stab him. As he came from the Old Portugueze Synagogue * of *Amsterdam*, he saw a Man with a Dagger in his hand, and he endeavour'd to shun him; and indeed the Blow only reach'd his Coat, which he kept in memory of this Event. Not thinking himself safe in his Native Country, where the Jews were numerous and potent, he sought a retreat near *Leyden*, and afterwards at the *Hague*. He had the great Excommunication thunder'd out against him; but he protested against this Sentence given in his absence, and signify'd his Protestation by a Writing in Spanish,

‖ De Medicorum principum Hist. lib. X. Amstel. 1629. *in* 8*vo*. * *In* 1661. *in* 1667. † Vander Hoogt Præfatio in 8*vo*. ‖ Atias Tesoro de preceptos prohemia. * Barrios Vida de Ishac Huzick p. 46. † *This Author was called* Abraham Cuhen Irira, *and his Work may be seen in the* Cabbala Deruidata. *We have spoken of it.* ‖ *He intitled his Book* ארוך מוסף Aruch cum Benjamini Musaphiæ addendis ad nobilissimum hoc Lexicon, Amstel. apud Emanuel Benevisti 415. *that is*, 1655. * Barrios ibid. † 24 *November*. ‖ *Near Paris*. * *I have said* t. 3. p. *according to the common opinion that this was in going from the Play-house, but he says 'twas as he was going from the Synagogue.* Colerus Life of Spinoza, p. 19.

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addreſſed to the Rabbins in the Synagogue. He publiſh'd firſt a Geometrical Demonſtration † of *Deſcartes Principles*, and afterwards his Meditations; but at laſt he produc'd ‖ the *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*, in which he form'd a new Syſtem of Atheiſm, which makes him much eſteem'd by thoſe that prefer Novelty to ancient Truths, and Obſcurity to the deareſt things. The Prince of *Conde*, who loved Men of extraordinary arts, was deſirous to ſee him. *Spinoza*, who with his old Night-gown, was yet very ſenſible to Glory, and ambitious of an immortal Name, took a Journey to *Utrecht* upon a very nice Circumſtance. This Journy rais'd the Peoples murmurs againſt him, and was not only imprudent, but uſeleſs; for he could not ſee the Prince, who was gone from *Utrecht* ſome days before. The Prince Palatine offer'd him a Philoſophy-Chair at *Heidelberg*; but he refus'd it, becauſe the liberty allow'd him to Philoſophize was too ſtrait for him, ſince he was not permitted to attack the prevailing Religion. Some Men of Letters indeavour'd to draw him into *France*, but 'tis falſe that he went thither, and that the fear of the Baſtile oblig'd him to fly in a Cordelier's Habit, as *Menage* is made to ſay *. He left not *Holland*, where he dy'd in 1677. at forty four years of Age. A Story goes, That finding his end approaching, he forbad all People his Chamber, that he might not be oblig'd to maintain Diſputes, and that he might die at quiet. 'Tis added †, That he had always by him the Juice of Mandrakes to haſten his end, and not to be ſenſible of its approach. Laſtly, They put theſe Words into his Mouth, *O God have mercy upon me miſerable Sinner.* But he knew the Divinity no better at the hour of death than he did in his life-time. Tho' he ſent for a Phyſician, yet death ſurpriz'd him, and having languiſh'd a long time, as People in Conſumptions do, he was choak'd when he thought he had many days to live. He had reaſon to flatter himſelf with this hope, ſince he came down from his Chamber the ſame day that he dy'd. He has left behind him a Sect that has eſpous'd his Principles. We can't tell whether it be numerous, ſince 'tis conſtituted of Perſons diſpers'd in different places, who make no Body, nor Society. We muſt reckon thoſe for nothing, who gave him the Title of *Bleſſed* after his death, ſince they were Mechanicks; but the ‖ *Flemiſh* Tranſlator of his *Theologico-Politicus*, calls him the *Judicious and Political Divine.* It has been alſo tranſlated into *French*; and the better to open it the Gate of *France*, or the more eaſily to ſurprize the Readers, they produce it under different Titles, which are not ſuſpected; ſuch as that of the *ancient and modern Ceremonies of the Jews.*

XVIII. We have ſpoken of this Jewiſh Deſerter's Opinion of the Creation; and, that acknowledging but one Subſtance, he confounds Matter with God. He complains in one of his Letters, * printed after his Death, of the Injuſtice of this Accuſation, which had been made a long time before, as if he had never believ'd, that *God and Nature was one and the ſame thing.* However, according to him, there is but one infinite Subſtance; ſenſible Matter muſt be that infinite Subſtance, which muſt be God. Matter is a Modification of the Divinity. If that Modification be a Subſtance, Matter is God, ſince there is but one Subſtance. If it be not the ſame Subſtance with God, *Spinoza*'s great Principle falls; for 'tis true, that one Subſtance may beget other Subſtances. This Subſtance, begotten or produc'd, is preciſely the ſame with the Infinite Subſtance, or it is not. If it be the ſame Subſtance, God and Matter are the ſame thing; and if it be not, the Infinite Subſtance may produce a Subſtance different from it ſelf, which *Spinoza* formally denies. The *Spinoziſts*, who exclaim againſt the Slander, ought to determine, whether their Maſter makes the Univerſe a God, or whether he acknowledg'd a ſuperior Cauſe, and diſtinct from the Creatures, either Spirit or Body, which has acted voluntarily and freely in producing them, and giving them a Being different from his own. They may call it, if they pleaſe, Modification of Subſtance; the choice of Terms is not important, provided they explain themſelves. But in ſtudying his Principles, we obſerve no diſtinction betwixt the Univerſe and God. He ever makes uſe of this to prove, *that God is one*; for there would be many Gods, if there were many Subſtances in the World ‡.

Spinoza put no ‖ difference betwixt Body and Spirit: the Soul and Body had one and the ſame Subſtance, which had different Modifications, one of Thinking, and the other of Extenſion. He plac'd Man in three different States; one was *Natural*, in which he does whatever he pleaſes; the other of *Liberty*, when he follows the motions of Reaſon. He does neither *Evil nor Good, in virtue of divine or humane Laws*, but becauſe the Reaſon he conſults ſo dictates; and this he calls *Liberty.* A Man is free, becauſe he can accompliſh his deſires, and Reaſon permits him. Laſtly, Man is in a State of *Slavery*, when he follows his Paſſions, inſtead of hearkning to Reaſon. But at the bottom, what *Reaſon dictates to be bad, with reſpect to particular Laws, is not ſo with reſpect to Order and general Laws.* Beſides, all the Actions of Man are the Productions of the Divinity; and if it be God that does the Good and Evil, how can he puniſh or reward his own Work? If the Univerſe be God, or if God be the Univerſe, 'tis God that does all, and there is neither Good nor Evil, Reward nor Puniſhment *.

XIX. *Spinoza* had undertaken an intire Verſion of the Old Teſtament, and the Pentateuch was finiſh'd, but he burnt it ſome days before his death. We can't eaſily comprehend this Conduct, for he deſign'd to illuſtrate the Miracles of the Old Teſtament. He alſo cavill'd with the Chriſtians about the Reſurrection of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as if that Event was to be ſuſpected, becauſe *Jeſus Chriſt* had appear'd only to familiar Witneſſes, inſtead of ſhewing himſelf to the Sanhedrim. He endeavour'd to prove, by the words of St. *Paul*, that this Reſurrection was *ſpiritual*, ſince this Apoſtle *knew* not his Maſter *in the fleſh.* But did not this Jew perceive that his Syſtem could not ſtand with the Holy Scripture? Why then did he receive it? and conſtrain his Wit to change the Events by wreſted Explications? For he expos'd himſelf hereby to the confounding Blows both of Jews and Chriſtians. If he had perſever'd in his Religion, or had profeſs'd Chriſtianity, he might have had reaſons for this Diſguiſe; but he had deſerted the Synagogue without entring into the Church. Here is another whimſie of Wit; for he aſſur'd his Landlady of the goodneſs of her Religion. † *Your Religion is good*, ſaid he, *and you ought not to ſeek another, nor doubt of obtaining your Salvation in it, provided you give your ſelf to Piety, and live at the ſame time a peaceable and quiet life.* This was, perhaps, the firſt Founder of a Sect, who did not recommend his Doctrines as important Truths, and that thought all Religions good, and that Salvation was to be had in them. In all probability, he thought them

† An. 1664. ‖ An. 1670. * Menagiana. ‡ Colerus *Life of* Spinoſa, p. 172, 174. ‖ Jean Hendrikſen, *Glaſs-maker.* * Op. Poſthuma, Ep. 21. † Velthuyſen de cultu naturali, t. 2. 1374. ‖ Spinoza Op. Poſth. Ep. 40. * Velth. ib. p. 1384, 1385. † Colerus p. 73.

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all indifferent, and equally bad; but he durſt not explain himſelf ſo freely with a Woman.

XX. Beſides the Treatiſe he publiſh'd in his lifetime, a Volume of *Poſthumous Works* came out after his death, in which we find a *Morality Geometrically demonſtrated*, *the Cure of the Underſtanding*, Letters, an Abridgment of the Hebrew Grammar, and a Treatiſe of Politicks.

He had caſt into the Fire a Treatiſe of the Rainbow, becauſe the Learned who read it, did not think it worth the printing. Was this Vanity, Indignation, or Submiſſion to his Friends? He was accuſed of having publiſh'd in 1665. a Book under a borrow'd Name againſt * *Eccleſiaſtical Rites*; in which he maintains, That the Clergy, depending abſolutely on the Magiſtracy of the Places where they reſide, ought not to teach what they believe, but what the Sovereign commands. *Spinoza* deny'd this Work to be his, and 'tis father'd upon a Phyſician †, who ſerv'd him in his laſt Sickneſs, and who was alſo the Author of the *Holy Scripture explain'd by Philoſophy*.

XXI. *Spinoza* found Contradictors in his Nation. *Orobio* oppos'd the progreſs of his Sect. This Phyſician was call'd in *Spain*, where he was born, *Dom Balthaſar Orobio*; but he chang'd his Name when he was Circumcis'd, and took that of *Iſhak*. His Parents, who profeſs'd the Roman Religion, taught him betimes to diſſemble like themſelves. He ſtudy'd ‖ Philoſophy, and became Metaphyſick Reader in the Univerſity of *Salamanca*. He was a Lover of this Science, which was then much in faſhion. He afterwards became a Phyſician at *Seville*, where he was ſeiz'd by the Inquiſition, becauſe he did not ſufficiently conceal his Religion, to remove all ſuſpicions. He continu'd three Years in the Priſons of this famous Tribunal; and his Head was very near being turn'd in his Dungeon, for he already ask'd himſelf, *Am I Orobio?* He was taken from thence to be put to the Rack. He was ty'd Hand and Foot, and faſten'd againſt a Wall with Cords put thro' Rings, which the Executioner drew with violence. The Cords not only took away his Reſpiration, but caus'd an inſupportable Pain, by entring into the Fleſh, which they ſwell'd to that degree, as to force the Blood out of his Nails. The violence of the Torments would have made others confeſs Actions they had not committed; but, on the contrary, *Orobio* conſtantly maintain'd, he was a Chriſtian, tho' he was a Jew. He got off from thence, but by an unaccountable whim of Brain, inſtead of ſeeking a ſecure Retreat, and the liberty of profeſſing a Religion which had coſt him ſo much Miſery, he continu'd to play the Hypocrite; and changing his Abode, he fix'd at *Tholouſe*, where he diſputed the Phyſick Profeſſorſhip. He nonplus'd his Competitors by Metaphyſicks, which he poſſeſs'd to perfection. Having had leiſure in Priſon to exerciſe himſelf to Diſputations, and to make Arguments *pro & con*, he appear'd like a Hero in the Scenes, and was elected Profeſſor, tho' a Stranger. At laſt he was tir'd with diſſembling, and came to *Amſterdam*, where he receiv'd Circumciſion. He practiſed Phyſick there with great Reputation, and he aſſures us, that his preſſing Occupations did not permit him to apply himſelf to ſtudy, as he could wiſh. When he ſaw *Spinoza*'s Book appear, he deſpis'd that growing Atheiſm, and thought it too obſcure to pleaſe the People, and too evidently falſe to dazzle the Learned. He quickly obſerv'd that he was miſtaken. He had *Bredenbourg*'s Book ſent him *, who in confuting *Spinoza*, conſented to two dangerous Principles; one, That nothing was to be receiv'd in matter of Religion, but what was evident to Reaſon: The other, That Reaſon not being able to comprehend, that *any thing can proceed from nothing*, and that God could act upon a Void, we could not admit the Creation of the World. *Bredenbourg* continu'd doubtful upon this matter; but *Orobio* thought that he conceal'd his Sentiments under this ſeeming doubt, and that he entred into Atheiſm by going to refute it. He writ † againſt *Spinoza*, and againſt his Antagoniſt in Philoſophy, who was well read in Metaphyſicks.

XXII. *Orobio* alſo undertook the defence of his Religion againſt the learned and judicious Mr. *Limborch* ‖, and it can't be deny'd, but that he manifeſted a great deal of Subtilty in this *Conference*. He thought he triumph'd in demanding, How it was poſſible, that God having deſign'd, that Man's Salvation ſhould depend upon the Meſſiah, ſhould not have more frequently and more clearly commanded our Belief and Worſhip of him in the Writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets. He ſet up to oppoſe the Writings of the new Teſtament; he ſuſpected they were Greeks who had compos'd it, ſince Hebrew was the Language of the Jews, for whom theſe Books were written. On the one hand, he would not allow the Sincerity of the Apoſtles to be boaſted of, under pretence, that they were Idiots; ſince St. *Paul* was an ingenious Man, and St. *Luke* a Phyſician. On the other hand he maintain'd, That it was ſufficient for theſe poor Fiſhermen to have found Bread and Water, ſo that the Sacrifice they had made was inconſiderable; and the rather, becauſe they had nothing to fear from the *Romans*, who were not ſevere about the difference of Religions, and againſt whoſe Idolatry they only preach'd in clandeſtine Aſſemblies. The *Romans* confounded the Chriſtians with the Jews, whoſe Worſhip was authoriz'd by the Laws; and when the Apoſtles appear'd before the Sanhedrim, who were much nicer, they affirm'd, they did not aboliſh the Law, even tho' they undermin'd its very Foundations.

XXIII. Mr. *Limborch* left not *Orobio* to enjoy his pretended Advantages; he ſhew'd that God had not only promis'd, but Characteris'd the Meſſiah by his Prophets; and ſince the Jews own it as well as we, he is oblig'd to confeſs, That God deſign'd he ſhould be own'd for the Redeemer, and that we ſhould reſt our Hopes upon him. And indeed to what purpoſe were ſo many Prophecies, and ſuch a multitude of Types, Sacrifices and Ceremonies, denoting the Perſon, the Place, the time of the Birth, and the principal Actions of the Meſſiah, if we ought not to receive him as the Redeemer, and believe in his Word? He prov'd in the next place, by comparing *Moſes* with *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Books of the Old Teſtament with the New; that we have more evident Proofs that theſe Books are divine, and that Jeſus Chriſt is the promis'd Meſſiah, than the Jews have for the Divinity of the Books of *Moſes*, or the Miſſion of this Prophet.

XXIV. But farther, *Orobio* built upou falſe Suppoſitions; for St. *Paul* is not one of the Evangeliſts, that were ocular Witneſſes, whoſe ſincerity is vouch'd, as to the Actions and Life of Jeſus Chriſt.

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* Lucii Antiſtii Conſtantis de jure Eccleſiaſticorum, *in* 8*vo*. † *This Phyſician is ſignified by two Letters*, L. M. *that is*, Lewis Meyer Philoſophia S. Scripturæ Interpres, Colerus p. 97. ‖ Le Clerc Univerſal Bibliotheque, An. 1687. t. VII. * *A Merchant at* Rotterdam, *who imploy'd People to work in Silk; therefore he is called* Textor. † Iſhak Orobio certamen Philoſophicum adverſus J. B. Principia. ‖ *Profeſſor among the Remonſtrants at* Amſterdam, Collatio cum Judæo.

The

The Apoſtles were declar'd Enemies of the Roman Idolatry, and the plurality of Gods; and the Heathens could not doubt of it, ſince they confounded them with the Jews. They declar'd alſo againſt the Ceremonies and Sacrifices of the Law, ſince St. *Paul* preach'd up their Abolition and uſeleſsneſs; and the Sanhedrim did not ſpare theſe avow'd Enemies of their Rites. Laſtly, The Goſpel was not written only for the Jews, but alſo for the Gentiles, whoſe fulneſs were to enter into the Church; and of all Languages, there was none ſo well known in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* as the Greek, and therefore the Apoſtles preferr'd it above all others. 'Tis true, the Diſciples, in quitting all to preach the Goſpel, did not ſacrifice either Riches or Honours, but they expos'd their Lives to the moſt cruel Tortures: And *Orobio* knew by Experience, that it was deſirable, even tho' it was miſerable. This Doctor died at *Amſterdam* in the Year 1687, a little after this Conference was held and Printed.

XXV. There have been eminent Rabbins in other Cities. *David Cohen de Lara*, *Huziel*'s Diſciple, is compar'd to *Hercules*, the Conqueror of Monſters.

Y en Rottardam la cientia fue ſu clava.

He compos'd the *City of David*, עיר דוד, in which he proves the Analogy of the Hebrew with the Greek, and many other Languages. He wrote alſo * the *Crown of the Prieſthood*, which is a Dictionary much larger than *Nathan*'s, ſince he has added two thouſand words to it. Laſtly, He Tranſlated the *beginning of Wiſdom* out of Hebrew into Spaniſh, a Title borrow'd from theſe words of *Salomon*, *The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wiſdom*. *Bartolocci* has not mention'd this laſt Work; but yet it is properly his, ſince the Spaniſh Poet who has made his Encomium, and who muſt have known him, attributes it to him.

Des ſacro idioma en Eſpanol traduio,
El Libro del Hebreo, intitulado,
Reſir Jockma, *Principio del eſtado*
Sapiente, del temor di Dios *dibuio.*

XXVI. Laſtly, *Juda Leon*, ſo well known for his Deſcription of *Salomon*'s Temple, compos'd this fine Piece at *Middleburgh*, the Spaniards claim him, becauſe he was originally of that Country. But he left it in purſuit of a liberty which he wanted in his native Soil. That he might have a clearer Idea of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; he built one of Wood upon the Plans he had drawn from ſeveral Authors of his Nation. He afterwards made the *Deſcription* of his Edifice, which he publiſh'd firſt in French, and Printed at *Amſterdam*. He afterwards enlarg'd this † Work, when he Tranſlated it into Hebrew. The Learned admir'd ſo exact a Picture of this Ancient Edifice; and the Duke of *Brunſwick* order'd it to be Tranſlated into Latin, that he might judge of it himſelf. *Juda* did not ſtop at this firſt work; he made a *Deſcription of the Tabernacle*, a Treatiſe of the *Cherubims*, an Eplication of the *Pſalms*: He undertook alſo to exlain all the Metaphorical Paſſages of the *Talmud*. He ſays himſelf, That this Work coſt him a great deal of Labour and Pains. He wrote the Narrative of ſome Conferences he had maintain'd againſt the Chriſtian Doctors. But theſe two laſt Tracts were never Printed ‖, nor that of *the manner of offering the Morning and Evening Sacrifice.*

* Kether Lehunna, *Corona Sacerdotii* Bartolocci. † *The firſt Title of this Book is*, a Deſcription of *Salomon*'s Temple, *by* Jacob Juda Leon, *an Inhabitant of* Middleburg, *in the Province of* Zeland, *in the Year of the World* 5403, *that is* 1643, *The Hebrew Title is*, היבל בנית. Farnith Hehal, *a* Portugueſe, *writ that this firſt Work was Spaniſh, but he is miſtaken; the Original was French; and was Printed the ſame Year that* Juda *finiſhed his wooden Model.* Saubert *had his Latin Tranſlation Printed in Quarto, in* 1655. *at* Helmſtad. *Leonis Judæ de Templo, &c.* ‖ *Theſe are the Titles of* Juda's *Works which were not Printed:* Theatro de todas las figuras que ſe neceſſitan para intelligencia de los difficultoſos paſſos de todo el Talmud, obra de mucho eſtudio. *The* 2. Diſputas que tuvo con differentes Theologos de la Chriſtian dad. *The* 3. Exercicio del Templo en Hebrayco ſobre el modo con que ſe ofrecian los Sacrificios todos los Dias. *The* 4. Argumentos y Queſtiones para aprovacion de ſus eſtudios ſobre la fabrica del Templo.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The preſent State of the Jews *in all parts of the World.*

I. *A general Deſcription of the Nation made by* Luzzati. II. *A ſecond Deſcription by Menaſſe.* III. *An Interpretation of the Prophet* Iſaiah. IV. *A Continuation of the ſame matter.* V. *The difference of the Ten Tribes and the others.* VI. *A particular Idea of* Menaſſeh, *concerning the Ten Tribes.* VII. *The Proofs he alledged.* VIII. *The ten Tribes are in the* Eaſt.. IX. *The Confutation of* Menaſſe's *Proofs. Whether* Ophir *is* Peru. X. *Whether the Ten Tribes are in* China. XI. *A Letter written from* Cochin *to the Synagogue of* Amſterdam. XII. *The preſent ſtate of the Jews in the* Eaſt. XIII. *In the Territories of the Ottoman Empire.* XIV. *A Diviſion of the* Weſt *into two Parts. The ſtate of the Jews in theſe two Parts.* XV. *Their Number and Diſperſion.*

"I. 'TIS * a difficult thing, ſays *Luzzati*, to give "an exact Account of the Number of the "Jews, which are at preſent diſpers'd into ſo many

* Simon Luzzati Diſcorzo circa il ſtato degli Hebrei, c. 18. In quanto al numero de gl' Hebrei non ſi puó diffinirlo preciſamente, non havendo n'anco ferma notitia de lochi ove dimorano. In quanto alle Dieci Tribu, che furono captivati da Salmanaſſar, innanzi la diſtruttione del primo Tempio, non ſi ſa di loro certa novella, encora che ſia il mondo hoggidi tutto indagato e ſcoperto; è principiando dalla parte Orientali, ſapiamo che ſotto il Ré di Perſia ſe ne ricovra quantit a grande, é con mediocre liberta. Nel ſtato del ſig. Turcho é la principale ſtanza della Nationе, non ſolo per l'antica loro habitatione, ma anco per il concorſo d'Hebrei, sbandati da Spagna, che gran portione di loro alla fine Capitarono ſotto quel Dominio. In Conſtantinopoli, e Salonichi, vi ne é maggior numero, che in altre Citta, e ſi Giudica, in queſte due ſolamente eſſerne piú di 80. mila e ſe ſtima che ſotto l'Imperio Turcheſco paſſano li miglioni. In Terra ſanta, & in particolare Hieruſalem vi capita annualmente non ſolamente numero grande d'Hebrei di tutte le Nationi del mondo; ma ancora groſſiſſima quantità de renditi annuali, che li vien offerto, per mantener poveri, e ſoſtentare Academie. In la Germania ſotto l'Imperatore, vi ne ſono gran qnantità, ma multo piu in Polonia, Ruſſia, e Lituania. Ove vi ſono gran quantitá, Academia & Vniverſita di migliaia di Gioveni, e ſ'eſſercitano nelle Leggi Civili, e Canoniche de Hebrei, havendo in quelle Regioni libera poteſtà di giudicare qualunque differenza e controverſia, ſi civile; come criminale; che accada fra la Nationе. Soto li dominii diviſi della Chieſa Romana, per il piú non vi ſtantiano Hebrei. Tutta via de Paiſi Baſſi ſono con grandiſſima Carita, & amore volezza trattati, come in Amſtradamo, Rotrodamo & Amburgo di Olſatia, per eſſene Dominii, che per la Floridezza della profeſſione mercantile, Concedono humano hoſpitio a tutti. Verſo Occidente poi non reſta altro che l'Italia, & nella coſta di Africa il Regno di Feſſa, e Maroco. In quanto al Italia ſono univerſalmente da Prencipi che le ricettono protetti, e favoriti, & oſſervati li loro indulti, e Privileggi, ſenza alcana alteratione, che par eſſerució ſotto l'occhio d'ogni uno non occorre chio vi all ungo, e credo arrivare al numero di venti cinque mila. In Maroco, & Feſſa & altre Cittá Circonvicini non ſottopoſti al Dominio del Tucho vi ne ne ſono numero grandiſſimo, eſſendovi anco in quelle parti capiatti dalli eſilii di Caſtiglia, e Portogalo, per la vicinanza de lochi; ſi dice eſſer vene un infinita nelli-lochi mediterranei dell' Affrica, che per eſſere paeſe poco praticato & ignoto, non ſi puó limitarne il numero con certezza.

" places

" places. We cannot tell any certain News of the " ten Tribes *Salmanazar* carried away; and 'tis not " known where they are, tho' the whole World be " sufficiently known. To begin with the *East*. We " know that there are abundance of Jews in the " Kingdom of *Persia*, tho' they have but little Li- " berty. The Turkish Empire is their chief retreat, " not only because they have been settl'd there a " long time, but because a great many of those that " were banish'd out of *Spain*, retir'd thither. There " are more of 'em at *Constantinople* and *Salonichi*, " than in any other place. They reckon above " fourscore thousand in these two Cities, and above " a Milion in the Grand Seignior's Empire. A great " number of Pilgrims come from all Corners of the " World to *Jerusalem*, and considerable Sums are " sent thither to sustain the Poor, and keep up the " Academies. There are a great many of 'em in " *Germany* in the Emperor's Dominions; but they " are more numerous in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Rus-* " *sia*: Here we have Academies and Disciples by " Thousands, who study our Civil and Canon Laws, " because we are allow'd the privilege of judging " the Civil and Criminal cases, that happen in the " Nation. There are not so many Jews in the Pro- " testant States which separate from the Roman " Church; but yet they treat them with a great " deal of Charity and Indulgence in the Low-Coun- " tries; at *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam* and *Hambourg*, " because these merchandizing Cities are open to " Foreigners. All the Italian Princes receive the " Jews, countenance 'em, protect 'em, and invio- " lably maintain their Privileges without altering " 'em; and I believe there are not less than twenty " five Thousand in this Country. *Fez* and *Mo-* " *rocco*, and the other neighbouring Cities, which " are not subject to the Turk, contain the greater " numbers, because they are not remote from *Spain* " or *Portugal*, from whence they may retire thither. " There are other places upon the Coast of *Africa*, " which are also peopl'd with Jews; but as we " know but little of 'em, 'tis hard to fix the num- " ber. Thus this Italian Rabbin, who not long since taught at *Venice*, reason'd upon the state of his Nation; to which let us add the Description which *Menasseh* has left us.

II. This Doctor, who believ'd the Jews return to be just at hand, imagin'd their Condition was clearly expres's'd in these words of *Isaiah*:

* *The Lord shall set his hand again the second time, to recover the Remnant of his People which shall be left, from* Assyria, *and from* Egypt, *and from* Pathros, *and from* Cush, *and from* Elam, *and from* Shinar, *and from* Hamath, *and from the Islands of the Sea. And he shall set up an Ensign for the Nations, and shall as- semble the Out-casts of* Israel, *and gather together the Dispersed of* Judah, *from the four Corners of the Earth: The Envy also of* Ephraim *shall depart, and the Adver- saries of* Judah *shall be cut off.* Ephraim *shall not envy* Judah, *and* Judah *shall not vex* Ephraim. The Pro- phet adds, † That *the Lord shall beat off from the Channel of the River unto the Stream of* Egypt, *and ye shall be gathered one by one, O ye Children of Israel.*

III. *Menasse* observes, That this Oracle can't be apply'd to the return from the Babyloniſh Captivi- ty, because God did not then recal all the dispers'd Tribes, nor all the Israelites that were scatter'd a- mong the Nations. The Deliverance promis'd is call'd the *Second*, because that *general* one from *Egypt* was before it; whereas the return from *Ba- bylon* only respected two Tribes; and when the Is- raelites left *Assyria* to pass into the Holy Land, they did not cross the *Nile*, nor any River of *Egypt* or *Ethiopia*, as God promises they shall at the general Redemption; or the Waters of the *Nile* and *Eu- phrates* shall be divided to leave a free passage to the Tribes, like the Waters of the Red-Sea, when *Is- rael* came out of *Egygt*.

IV. Hence he concluded, That *Isaiah* intimates the general Return of the Nation, and the different places it shall come from. The Prophets speaks 1. ‖ " of *Assyria* and *Egypt*, because in these two Pro- " vinces the twelve Tribes shall be re-united. 2. He " mentions *Pathros*, by which we must not under- " stand either *Pelusium* or *Petra*; but the *Parthians* " lying near the *Caspian* Sea, where many Doctors " place the River *Sabbation*, beyond which dwell a " great number of Jews. 3. *Cush* is *Ethiopia*. And " in reality, there are many Tribes in *Abyssinia*. " 4. *Elam* is a Province of *Persia* on the other side " of *Euphrates*, where we find hideous Deserts not " inhabited, in which one part of the Nation is " conceal'd. 5. *Shinar* is another Province near " *Babylon*; for *Moses* has situated *Babel* in the *Land* " *of Shinar*; and *Daniel* relates, that *Nebuchadne- zar* carried the Vessels of the Temple *into the* " *Land of Shinar*. 6. The Scripture speaks often " of *Hamath*; and the Chaldee Paraphrast, who is " follow'd by many Interpreters, affirms, that this " is *Antioch*. They reckon twelve Cities of this " Name, which have been built in divers places " by different Princes; but this is the City of *An- tioch* in *Asia* in *Tartary*; * *Loqueyo conjecturo, es* " *que sennalala Antiochia Asiatica en Tartaria*. 7. The " LXX Interpreters have translated the Word " *Hamath* by the *East*, and they had reason for it, " because *Hamath* חמת is perhaps the same thing " with חמה *Hamah the Son*, or the *East*. So that " the Prophet speaks there of the Jews, who are, " at present, dispers'd in the *East* of the Holy " Land, that is in the great *Asia*, the *East Indies* " and *China*. 8. *Isaiah* declares, that the *Israelites* " should come from the *Isles of the Sea*, for so ma- " ny Interpreters have translated it. But it ought " to be translated the *Isles of the West*; because in " all the places where the Scripture speaks of the " four parts of the World, it means the *West*, by " the word ים *Yam* †: And the Prophet under " this expression, includes all that are towards the " Sun-setting, westward of the Holy Land; that " is, the Jews, who, at present, people a certain " part of *America*.

V. " Lastly, the Prophet affirms, That God shall " bring back the *Out-casts of Israel*; and he uses a " word which signifies *separated*, (excommunicated) " because in reality, the ten Tribes separated from " the rest, not only inhabit places very remote " from the Holy Land, but are conceal'd in the " Extremities of the Earth, and in the Provinces " peopl'd by the Gentiles; but for the *Jews*, they're " *dispers'd*, and God shall gather 'em together from " the four *corners of the Earth*. Because indeed the " Tribe of *Judah* is dispers'd in different places, " and as it has Synagogues in *America*, it shall re- " turn from all the corners of the Earth; but there " shall be no more Division nor Jealousie betwixt " these two parts of the Nation; *betwixt* Ephraim " *and* Judah, as says the Prophet *Ezekiel* ‖. *There* " *shall be but one King, and they shall be no more two* " *Nations, neither shall they be divided into two King-* " *doms any more at all.*

VI. We don't pretend to reconcile these two Rabbins, nor to follow 'em step by step, but yet the general Account they give us of the present

* Isaiah xi. 11, 12, 13. † Ibid. 27. 12. ‖ Menasse la Esperan. sa. di Israel, p. 83, 84, 85. * Ibid. p. 81. † Genes. 28. 14. ‖ Ezek. 37. 22.

Condition of the Jews, deſerves to be conſider'd. They don't agree about the Fate of the ten Tribes; for one ſays, *They have been deſtroy'd long ago:* And the other maintains, That they are *conceal'd* in *America*, and in ſeveral places where God has convey'd 'em, and miraculouſly preſerves 'em 'till they appear again at the general Deliverance; for then they ſhall come from all the places where they live, and rendezvous in *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, from whence they ſhall all fly to *Jeruſalem*, like *Birds to their Neſt.*

VII. *Menaſſeh* * ſupports his Opinion upon the People of *America*'s being unknown, and not appearing to have any Communication with the reſt of the Inhabitants. The *Spaniards* certifie, That when they came into *Peru*, they found there a lofty Edifice, which was dedicated to the *Creator of the Univerſe*; ſeeing the *Indians* were Idolaters, and as yet had no knowledge of Iron Inſtruments employ'd in building Houſes, this Structure muſt be conſider'd as a Synagogue erected by the Jews: And the Indians alſo approv'd this Conjecture, ſince their Tradition ſignify'd, that this Palace had been made † *by a White and Bearded Nation, and more ancient than the Inchas.*

Moreover *Genebrard* relates, That in the Iſland of St. *Michel*, one of the *Azores*, the *Spaniards* diſcover'd a Tomb with a Jewiſh Inſcription ‖.

מה טכם אל שאל כיו מת דעאל.

By changing only one Letter of this Epitaph, * we find theſe Words: *How perfect is God?* Schakbin *is dead: He knows God.* By another change of the Letters, we find *Mehetabel ſual*, Son of *Mathadel*. For 'tis the Hebrew Style to put their own and Fathers Name upon their Tombs. We muſt therefore read,

מהתבאד שאל בל מחר זאך.

But whatever way we read this Epitaph, 'tis ſtill true, that the Jews engraved it, and that they have been in that Country.

Laſtly, *Menaſſes* † quotes a great many Chriſtian Authors, who lend a helping hand to fortify this Conjecture about the ten Tribes. Even the Spaniſh Poets have not forgotten to ſpeak of 'em,

Vez las manchas de Tierra tan Cubiertas,
Que puede ſer a Pinas diviſadas.
Haſta que Dios penuita que Parezcan,
Porque mas ſus ſecretos ſe engrandeſcan.

VIII. For our part, we believe that the ten Tribes ſubſiſt ſtill in the *Eaſt*, and in moſt of the Places where *Salmanaſſar* carried them, and here we ought to look for 'em. We have already obſerv'd, that *Salmanaſſar* had plac'd 'em upon the Banks of the *Chaboras*, which falls into the *Euphrates*; which is the ſame River the Greeks call *Aborras*. *Procopius* ſays, ‖ it was a great River, and indeed *Julian*'s ans Army paſs'd over it upon a *Bridge of Boats*. *Strabo* * ſays, it run near *Anthemuſia*, which ſome have thought a City, others a Province depending on the *Perſians*, becauſe *Ammianus* † *Marcellinus* places a Cittadel call'd *Batne* in this Province. This River emptied it ſelf into the *Euphrates*, at its Mouth ſtood *Carchemis*, ſince call'd *Cercuſium*. On the *Weſt* was *Ptolemy*'s *Chalcitis*, and the City *Carra*. And therefore God has brought back the Jews to the Country from whence the Patriarchs came. On the *Eaſt* was the Province of *Ganzan*, betwixt the two Rivers *Chaboras* and *Saocoras*. This was the firſt ſituation of the Tribes. But they ſpread into the neighbouring Provinces, and upon the Banks of *Euphrates*. 2. The ten Tribes were ſtill in being in this Country when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroy'd, ſince they came in multitudes to pay their Devotions in the Temple. 3. They ſubſiſted there from that time to the Eleventh Century of the Chriſtian Church, ſince they had their Heads of the Captivity, and moſt flouriſhing Academies. 4. Tho' they were conſiderably weaken'd by Perſecutions, yet Travellers of that Nation diſcover'd abundance of their Brethren and Synagogues in the twelfth and fourteenth Centuries. 5. No new Colony has been ſent into the *Eaſt*, nor have thoſe that were there been driven out. At this day a great number of Jews are obſervable in *Perſia*. We have even ſeen that *Amurath*, who found 'em at *Bagdet*, ſaved them, tho' they ought to have been confounded with the other Subjects of his Enemy. 6. Laſtly, we have deduced our Hiſtory from Age to Age, without obſerving any other Change than what was caus'd by the different Revolutions of that Empire, the various Tempers of the Governors, or the inevitable Decay in a Nation, which only ſubſiſts by Toleration. We have therefore reaſon to conclude, that the ten Tribes are ſtill in the *Eaſt*, whither God ſuffer'd 'em to be carry'd. They are neither *deſtroy'd*, nor *gone* from thence into *hidden Lands*. If the Families and Tribes are not diſtinguiſhable, 'tis impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe in ſo long a courſe of Ages and Afflictions, that they have gone through.

IX. This Conjecture has a much better Foundation than all *Menaſſes*, who makes God work a Miracle to conceal theſe ten Tribes, and hide 'em a long time from the Eyes of Men. For it can't be concluded, becauſe ſome Nations are unknown in *America*, or ſtrange Nations in this Country, that they muſt needs be Jews, and of all the Jews, thoſe of the ten Tribes, which God has ſent thither by the *Streights of Anian*, which was not form'd till after their paſſage. Is one Palace ſufficient, whereon to bottom this Conjecture? The Hebrew Inſcription found in one of the *Azores*, ſhews only that a Jew died there, but does not prove that the ten Tribes came thither. 'Tis the Character of this Nation, which only employs it ſelf in Trading to go into all places, where it has any proſpect of Profit. Private Men go over Sea and Land on this account, as the Phariſees did to gain a Proſelyte. But theſe Rambles of particular Merchants are no Argument of the ten Tribes conveyance behind the Mountain *Cordilleras*. *Iſaiah* did not know *America*; his intention was to ſpeak of the *Iſlands of the Sea*, as all unprejudic'd Interpreters have tranſlated it. Laſtly, The Authors quoted prove nothing, becauſe there is hardly one of 'em that ſpeaks of the ten Tribes, nor of a Jewiſh Colony in *America*. The *Spaniards*, who have ſo long poſſeſs'd it, know nothing of this Plantation; and even thoſe who touch upon this matter, only hazard ſome very uncertain Conjectures. *Arias Montanus* ‖ found *Peru* in *Ophir*, and maintain'd that it had gone by this Name from the end of *Salomon*'s reign, when the Letters of the firſt Name *Ophir*, אופיר were tranſpos'd and turn'd into פרוים *Peruvaim*; which word ſignify'd * two great Provinces between which lay the Gulf of *Panama*. This Conjecture he thought the more ſolid, becauſe this Country had been peopl'd by *Joctan*, and we find there the Province of *Jokatan*, as well as the River of *Peru*. However this Notion is ridiculous,

* Menaſſes, Eſperanca d'Iſrael, p. 114, 115. † Menaſſes, ibid. p 44. ‖ Ibid. p. 26. * By changing ש. † V. p. 116. ‖ Procop. de Bello perſ. l. 2. c. 5. * Strabo Geogr. l. 16. † Ammian Marcellin. l. XIV. c. 4. p. 16. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. l. 3. p. 438. ‖ Ar. Montanus Antiquit. Judaic. Phaleg. 5. l. 1. c. 9. p. 545. * *Becauſe it is the dual number.*

for

for *Peru* took its Name only when 'twas diſcover'd by the Chriſtians. One of the Inhabitants who was ask'd the name of it, imagining he was ask'd his own, anſwer'd it was *Pirou*, whereas the queſtion was, what was the name of the Country, and of its Inhabitants.

'Tis therefore a ſafer way to ſay, that the ten Tribes are at preſent diſpers'd in *Perſia* and all the *Eaſt*; and that thoſe in *America* conſtitute no Body, ſo far are they from having Kings, and poſſeſſing a great extent of Land unknown to the exacteſt Travellers. Here are only ſome particular Perſons, moſt of 'em Diſſemblers, who have left *Spain* to enrich themſelves in this new World, whom the Inquiſition purſues thither, and makes 'em often bear the puniſhment of their own Avarice and fondneſs for Wealth, which they go in queſt of to this Country.

X. 'Tis pretended farther, that the ten Tribes appear, and make a figure in *China* *. The Jew we have ſpoken of, and who, being deceiv'd by the Jeſuit *Raci*, worſhip'd the Virgin, maintain'd that there were at *Pequin* ten or twelve Families of *Iſraelites*, and a Synagogue which had coſt them ten Thouſand Crowns to repair. He aſſerted, that they had been ſettl'd in this Province above five hundred Years, and that they religiouſly preſerv'd one of the five Books of *Moſes*, which he call'd *Sepher Thora*. He could not read Hebrew, having neglected the Study of it in his youth; by which negligence, he was excluded from the Offices and Government of the Synagogue, which his Brother exercis'd, becauſe he underſtood the Language, but he repeated the Stories of the Old Teſtament, particularly thoſe of *Abraham*, *Judith* and *Eſther*. He added, That there were in the Capital † of the Province of *Chequiam*, a great many Synagogues, and Iſraelite Families; for they give themſelves that Name, becauſe being the Poſterity of the ten Tribes, they knew not that of Jews. This Account has two things true in it, one that there are in *China* ſome Jewiſh Families; the other, that they may have there ſome ſecret Synagogue. There are alſo two things falſe, one as to the Antiquity this Iſraelite pretended to. And indeed, who could depend upon the ſincerity of this Iſraelite, who was ignorant of what related to the Ancient Hiſtory of his Nation? The other Falſity is, That thoſe who might have paſs'd into *China* for Traffick, made a conſiderable part of the ten Tribes, and the Title of *Iſraelites*, which this Jew gave 'em, was not ſufficient to prove it.

XI. I know not what we ought to think of a long Letter, which the Jews of *Cochin* writ ſome years ago in Hebrew, to the Synagogne of *Amſterdam*; for they ſay, "That they withdrew into the *Indies* "at the time that the *Romans* Conquer'd the Holy "Land. They affirm, they have had ſeventy two "Kings there, ſucceeding one another for a thou-"ſand Years; and that then a Diviſion ariſing "through the jealouſie of two Brothers, who di-"ſputed the Crown, the neighbouring Princes "ſubdu'd them. From that time they continu'd "ſubject to the Indian Kings. However they had "given ſo many Teſtimonies of their Loyalty to "theſe Princes, that *Samuel Caſtoel*, who died in "1640, was Governour of *Cochin*, and left his Go-"vernment to a Man of the ſame || Name and Re-"ligion with himſelf. I will not determin whether this Letter be falſe or ſpurious, having no Proofs. But however this Succeſſion of ſeventy two Kings, founded upon the Jews retreat to *Cochin* in *Titus*'s time, ſeems only an Invention to ſupport the glory of the Nation. They refer us to remote time and unknown Hiſtories, becauſe there is nothing to be found in this preſent time that can impoſe upon us.

XII. We conclude only from this Narrative, that there are now ſome Jews diſpers'd in the *Eaſt Indies*. There are ſome of 'em at *Cothin*, *Gora*, *Malabar*, in *China*, and even in the Iſles of *America*; but they are not the ten Tribes that paſs'd into theſe Countries. They are Merchants, drawn thither by Commerce from all the Families of the Diſperſion, not diſtinguiſhable but by an uncertain, not to ſay entirely falſe Tradition. Beſides, there is no place where the Nation had Kings, and a ſupreme Government. They live in the *Eaſt*, and in *America*, as in *Europe*, under the Dominion of Chriſtian or Infidel Princes. In fine, if we would ſeek out the Remains of the ten Tribes, we muſt do it only on the Banks of *Euphrates*, in *Perſia*, and the neighbouring Provinces, as we have ſufficiently proved. They are poor there, but nevertheleſs they ſubſiſt.

XIII. I don't know how *Strada* * could ſay, that *Soliman* granted them a City, with its dependencies, at the ſolicitation of *Michez*, who was much in his Son's favour; for this Nation had been ſettl'd long before in moſt of the Cities of the Ottoman Empire, and no City was ever given 'em that they could call their own. They are only tolerated there, and ſometimes admitted to Offices, particularly † in *Egypt*. The Ottoman Princes alſo ſend 'em upon Embaſſies, and then they think themſelves oblig'd to raiſe the glory of their Nation by the Pomp and Magnificence of their Retinues. The Proſperity they enjoy, makes their numbers to be reckon'd a Milion of Jews in their Dominions. And ſo we may count twelve or thirteen hundred thouſand Perſons of this Nation in the *Eaſt* at this day.

XIV. The Writers we have quoted, divide the *Weſt* between two Sovereigns, or rather between two prevailing Religions, the Proteſtants and the Roman Catholicks. 1. They highly praiſe the Popes; for *la* || *Pontificia Roma ſiempre los ha patrounado deſde que deſtruyo a Jeruſalem ſu General Tito.* *Papiſh* Rome, ſay they, *has always protected them, ſince its General*, Titus, *took* Jeruſalem. *Titus* was not General of Papiſt but of Heathen *Rome*. Beſides, the Popes have ſometimes chang'd their management, and have perſecuted inſtead of protecting them. But nevertheleſs they have great reaſon to glory in this Papal Protection; for the good they have receiv'd from the Popes by far outweighs the Evil, and the Obligation muſt be remarkably the greater, if the Maxims of *Rome*, and the Conduct of its Miniſters againſt the Chriſtians be conſider'd, who not only worſhip one and the ſame God, but the very ſame Meſſiah. If the Pope honours the Jews with his protection, the Kings under his Obedience treat 'em in a harſh and barbarous manner. The Spaniſh and *Portugal* Inquiſitions reduce 'em to the Dilemma of being either Hypocrites or burnt.

The number of theſe Diſſemblers is very conſiderable; and it ought not to be concluded, that there are no Jews in *Spain* or *Portugal*, becauſe they are not kuown: They are ſo much the more dangerous, for not only being very numerous, but confounded with the Eccleſiaſticks, and entring into all Eccleſiaſtical Dignities. *France* tolerates 'em no where but at *Mets*, and the number of the Diſſemblers is not ſo great; but there are ſome of 'em in trading Towns. They find a Sanctuary in the Cities of the Empire. *Poland* and *Lithuania* are a far

* Trigaut de Chriſtiana expeditione apud ſinas ſuſcepta, & *Menaſſe* Eſperanca. † Hamche. || David Caſtrol. Hiſtoria Univerſal Judaica de M. Barrios. * Strada de Bello Belgico, l. 4. p. 285. † In Egypto Menaſſeh Eſper. p. 103. & p. 104. || M. Barrios Hiſtoria Univerſal Judaica, p. 3.

more ſafe retreat for 'em, and here they are moſt flouriſhing.

Their * Writers complain often of the Proteſtants, as having not ſufficient Humanity. However they find not among them the barbarous Court of Inquiſition. They live peaceably in abundance of Cities, where the Reformation is eſtabliſh'd, and *Holland* of all places of the World, is that where they make the greateſt Figure. But it would be uſeleſs to repeat what we have already ſaid of 'em.

XV. 'Tis impoſſible to fix the number of Perſons this Nation is at preſent compos'd of. But yet we have reaſon to believe, there are ſtill near three Millions of People, who profeſs this Religion, and as their Phraſe is, are *Witneſſes of the Unity of God in all the Nations of the World.* They ſtill conſider themſelves with their ancient haughtineſs as the *People of God.* They ſay that they are the *Sons of the King*, and conſequently no Baſeneſs or Diſloyalty can be apprehended on their part. They often intitle themſelves *Barons el Varon*, tho' they live in Poverty, and we can obſerve no diſtinction in their Birth. They always are expecting a glorious Return, which ſhall raiſe 'em above all the Nations of the Earth. They flatter themſelves, that this Deliverance will ſpeedily arrive, tho' they are ignorant of the time, or rather, becauſe having been often deluded, they dare not fix it; but of this Reſtoration, we ſhall ſpeak in the following Chapter.

* Menaſſe Eſperanc. p. 95, 41.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Several Reflections upon the Converſion of the Jews, and the Methods that have been taken to accompliſh it.

I. *The re-call of the Jews.* II. *Foretold by* Hoſea; *this Propheſie explain'd.* III. *Foretold by St.* Paul. IV. *This Apoſtle's Converſion., Typical of the Jews.* V. *The precautions that have been taken.* VI. *Ordinances of the Council of* Nicæa *concerning the Jews rejected in* France. VII. *Inſtances of falſe Converſions.* VIII. *Two forms of Abjuration preſcribed by the Greek Church.* IX. *An Extract of one of theſe Forms.* X. *The Eſtates of the Converted ſequeſtred.* XI. *Whether it be lawful to promiſe 'em Rewards.* XII. *Whether Miracles ought to be propos'd to 'em.* XIII. *Whether they ought to be accus'd of ſinning againſt the Holy Ghoſt.* XIV. *The ſecond Advent of the Meſſiah proper to convert them.* XV. *The neceſſity of this Advent.* XVI. *The method of proving the Myſteries by Heatheniſm.* XVII. *Heathens inſtructed by the Prophets of* Sydon. XVIII. *Divines that follow this method.* XIX. *Whether it be good and ſafe.* XX. *The complaiſance of the Cabbaliſt-Chriſtians.* XXI. *The Jews impugn'd by the Authority of the Rabbins.* XXII. *The Propheſies inſignificantly quoted by the Fathers.* XXIII. *Freſh Inſtances of theſe Quotations.* XXIV. *The method we ought to follow in the choice of Controverſies.* XXV. *An Argument ill inferr'd from ſome fabulous Hiſtories.* XXVI. *An Inſcription related by* Kircher. XXVII. *Other Proofs produc'd by* Vincenti. XXVIII. *Conferences difficult and dangerous.* XXIX. *The choice we ought to make of the Subjects and Prophecies of the Old Teſtament.* XXX. *Characters of the Meſſiah.* XXXI. *The neceſſity of proving the Correſpondence of the Law and Goſpel.* XXXII. *The neceſſity of Tranſlating the Rabbins Works.*

I. WE have compleated the Hiſtory of the Jews, and ſeen this Nation diſpers'd into all parts of the World, preſerve it ſelf in being, tho' deſtitute of all the ordinary Bonds and Ligaments of Society. We find among 'em neither Prince nor High-Prieſt, who might re-unite his Subjects and People by an Authority that every body reſpected, or by a Proſperity that invited 'em. We have reaſon to believe, that God, who always acts for an end proportionable to his Actions; works a Miracle, and perpetuates it for a great many Ages, becauſe he reſolves to ſave the Remnant of this People, and to convert them hereafter. And indeed, the Prophet *Hoſea* has foretold, that *the Children of Iſrael ſhall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a ſacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim: Afterward ſhall the Children of Iſrael return, and ſeek the Lord their God, and David their King.* By this the Prophet deſigns to repreſent the remarkable State of a Nation. 1. It ſhall have no *King nor Prince.* Sovereign Authority is the Foundation of States; 'tis impoſſible to ſubſiſt without a Centre of Union, and a Government that checks the Inſolence of the People, and puniſhes their Crimes. The Jews preferr'd Monarchical Government, before Liberty they injoy'd under their Judges. At preſent they have neither King nor Governour. Ask them where are the Kings of the Nation, or the *Judges*, thoſe Deliverers and Leaders that God ſent 'em inſtead of Kings, and they can't ſhew you one of 'em. 2. The Sacrifices made the moſt notable part of their Religion; and the Ephod, compos'd of precious Stones, in which was the *Urim* and *Thummim*, ennobled the High-Prieſt that wore it. The Sacrifices and the Prieſt have been aboliſh'd for above ſixteen hundred Years. 3. 'Twas natural for this People, who had loſt all that was exterior and ſenſible in its Religion, to borrow the *Images and Teraphim* from other Nations. There is a diſpute about the Figure of theſe *Teraphims*, but to me it ſeems undoubted, that theſe Statues had a Human Shape; ſince *Michol* put a *Teraphim* in *David*'s Bed, to perſuade the Guards it was her Husband aſleep. The Jews inclination for Statues and ſenſible Objects of Religion was ſo violent, that God could not repreſs it but by continual and miraculous Chaſtiſements. 'Tis the general inclination of Mankind; for upon examination you'll find, that almoſt all Religions had their Sacrifices or Idols, and commonly both. However, the Jews have neither Sacrifices, nor *Teraphim*, tho' they be paſſionately fond both of the one and the other. They can no longer Sacrifice at *Jeruſalem*, and they never fall into Idolatry, tho' they be mingl'd and incompaſs'd with Idolatrous Nations. 4. They are to remain in this condition *many days*; that is to ſay, a long time. And indeed, ſixteen Centuries have already paſs'd, ſince they have been without King and Governour, without Image and Sacrifice. They are not without God, but without the Worſhip they are oblig'd to pay

pay him; for they have neither Sacrifices nor Ephod. 5. The laſt Circumſtance is very remarkable; for *Hoſea* declares, they ſhall ſeek *David their King*. *David* has been long ſince dead, and his Poſterity is ſo extinct or confounded, that we challenge the Jews to diſtinguiſh it. This *David*, who ſhall be their King, can be no other than the Deliverer promis'd by the Prophets, and the Meſſiah, to whom they ſhall return. But ſince the time of his coming is paſt, and the Prophet effectively ſpeaks of a King, who exiſted before they ſought for him, we have reaſon to believe, that the Jews, by returning to God, ſhall acknowledge this *David*, this Anointed of the Lord, this Meſſiah whom he hath ſent.

III. St. *Paul* has alſo foretold, that all *Iſrael* ſhall be ſaved, and that the *Deliverer ſhall come out of Sion*. Perhaps it ſhould be tranſlated *to Sion*; for this better ſuits with the Apoſtle's thought, who affirms, that the *Goel*, the *Deliverer*, by way of Excellence, ſhall addreſs himſelf to the Jewiſh Nation; this is what *Zachary* ſays, *Rejoyce, O Daughter of Zion, behold thy King cometh unto thee.* Moreover, 'twas upon this hope of God's recalling his People, that the Fathers, and a great many Divines have maintain'd, That they were to be more kindly treated than the reſt of the Erroneous.

IV. *Joſeph Medde* fancy'd, That the Converſion of St. *Paul*, who had Crucify'd Chriſt, like the reſt of the Jews, who were bent on his Deſtruction, was the Type of their Converſion *. "1. *Paul* "was a great Zealot for the Law, a furious Per- "ſecutor of Chriſtianity. The Jews are alſo great "Zealots for *Moſes*, irreconcileable Enemies of "*Chriſt*. 2. *Paul* was converted, not like the reſt "of Men, by meer preaching and the ſight of Mi- "racles, but by a glorious Apparition of *Chriſt*, "ſhewing himſelf from Heaven. In like manner, "'tis very probable, that the Converſion of the "Jews will not be effected by any ordinary means, "like that of preaching, for this Peoples Heart is "incorrigibly harden'd. And therefore, 'tis pro- "bable, that *Chriſt* will Convert them by ſome "glorious and ſurprizing Manifeſtation; and ap- "pear to 'em inveſted with the Characters which "the Prophets aſcribe to him, that they may no "longer miſtake him. 3. *Paul*'s Companions in- "deed ſaw the Light, but *Jeſus Chriſt* did not ap- "pear to 'em. The Gentiles and Chriſtians who "ſhall then be alive, may have ſome part in this "glorious Apparition; but perhaps they ſhall not "ſee the whole. 4. *Paul* was inſtructed by way of "Inſpiration in all Myſteries, as ſoon as *Jeſus* "*Chriſt* had appear'd to him. The Underſtanding "of the Jews ſhall be unclouded. The Veil that "at preſent infolds their Hearts, ſhall be taken "off, and ſuddenly they ſhall ſee clearly into the "Oracles of the Law and Prophets. 5. St. *Paul* "was Converted the laſt of all the Apoſtles: The "Jews ſhall be the laſt call'd of all Nations. 6. "*Paul*, when converted, was the moſt zealous of "'em all: The Converted Jews ſhall be more fer- "vent than all other Chriſtians. 7. *Paul* Conver- "ted was the Apoſtle and Inſtrument of the Con- "verſion of the Gentiles: The Converted Jews "ſhall compleat the Converſion of Heathen Na- "tions that are remote and at the fartheſt parts "of the World". There is Subtilty in all theſe Parallels; but 'tis not for us to ſound the thoughts of God, or the manner how he will accompliſh this great Work.

V. Men have for a long time attempted it, and have ſometimes brought over conſiderable numbers; but theſe Converſions have ever been ſuſpected, and they have been forc'd to lay in great Precautions againſt their return into the Synagogue. In the beginning of the ſixth Century, the Council of *Agde* † in vain indeavour'd to ſecure the Fidelity of the Jews that turn'd Chriſtians. *They return very often to their Vomit*, ſaid the Council. "They are "faithleſs in their Promiſes, and therefore they "muſt be oblig'd to a ſix Months Inſtruction "amongſt the Catechumens; and after that Ex- "periment they ſhall be baptiz'd, upon aſſurance "of their Sincerity". Which Law was not to be violated, except for thoſe that were in danger of death; for then they haſten'd their Baptiſm.

A ſecond Council of *Nice* ‖ obſerv'd, that the new Converts openly ridicul'd Chriſtianity, when they had imbrac'd it; and therefore they were order'd to keep their Religion, and to profeſs it publickly; and at the ſame time it was forbidden to *baptize their Children, or to appropriate their Slaves, unleſs a Man was fully aſſur'd of the ſincerity of their Faith.*

VI. But theſe Ordinances were neither receiv'd nor conſtantly obſerv'd; for *Florus*, who liv'd a little after the *Nicene* Council, has preſerv'd, and perhaps compos'd the Letter of a *Biſhop to the Emperor*, in which he implores the Secular Arm againſt the Jews and their Children. Indeed the Emperor, to whom the Letter is addreſs'd, was *Charles the Bald*; and I ſuſpect that *Remi*, who was then Biſhop of *Lions*, wrote it, or caus'd it to be written by his Deacon. He repreſents to the Prince, that he had order'd Preaching every *Saturday* in the Synogogue, and that many People having embrac'd Chriſtianity, he had employ'd 'em to bring over * *the Children, who were much eaſier won, than thoſe who were grown inveterate in Error*; but that the Fathers, vex'd with this Artifice, had ſent moſt of their Children into the Cities of *Maſcon*, *Vienne* and *Arles*, where they were more powerful and numerous, which thing had diſpleas'd him. He added, that he had ſummon'd all the Jews before him, and upon asking, Whether any one would embrace Chriſtianity? Immediately ſix Children threw themſelves at his Feet, and deſir'd Baptiſm; and that this Example had been follow'd by forty ſeven others. He concluded from thence, that if the Emperor gave his Orders to the Biſhop of *Arles*, and forc'd him to do the ſame thing, many of 'em might be gain'd: And the Motive was the more forcible, becauſe if it be a Charity *to reſcue a Man from the jaws of wild Beaſts that devour him, 'tis a much greater to deliver a Soul out of the hands of thoſe who are infected with Error, or of wicked Spirits, that prevent his coming to God.*

It appears, that this Biſhop made no ſcruple to baptize Jewiſh Children, by forcing 'em from their Fathers who had given 'em life; and that the Authority of the ſecond *Nicene* Council was not reſpected in *France*, which condemn'd theſe Baptiſms, that contradicted the Laws of Nature. St. *Remi* affirms indeed, that he ſent back many Children, without doing 'em any Violence, *intactos*; but yet he baptiz'd all he could get, tho' void of Knowledge. The Complaint he made of thoſe Fathers, who took Precautions againſt his Sollicitations, and the Petition he preſented to the Emperor, to *force* the Biſhop of *Arles* to follow his Example, are Arguments ſufficient, that this Biſhop neither regard-

* Jurieu's *Accompliſhment of Prophecies*, t. 2. p. 217. † Conc. Agathen. C. 34. t. iv. p. 1389. ‖ An. 787. Conc. Nicæn. II Actio 8. C. 8. t. vii. p. 604. * Epiſtola Epiſcopi ad Imperatorem, Flori excerpta apud Dacherii Spicil. t. 12.

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ed the Law of Nature, nor that of the Council of *Nice*.

It was ſtill more openly violated, by maintaining, that all the Jews were the *Slaves of Chriſtians*; for hereby they appropriated their Children, and had power to appropriate their Perſons, and to put 'em into ſevere Slavery; whereas the Council wou'd not ſo much as have their *Slaves appropriated*, unleſs they were aſſur'd of the ſincerity of their Converſion.

VII. 'Tis no wonder that the Chriſtians have been often deceiv'd by Converſions, ſince they made them with ſo little Prudence. It would be infinite to produce all the Inſtances. We'll only mention ſome few, beſides thoſe we have already ſcatter'd in the Body of this Hiſtory.

Conrad Otton, after his Baptiſm, writ violently againſt the Synagogue. He charg'd it † "with "having very few Perſons that read Hebrew, and "underſtood the Talmud, and other Books neceſ- "ſary to the becoming Learned; that they liv'd "there like Beaſts, without thinking of Futurity; "that in their Prayers to God, they knew not, for "for the moſt part, what they ſaid, and gave no "attention; that great part of 'em knew not "what they believ'd, nor underſtood ſo much as "the means of Salvation". Nevertheleſs, this Man, ſo ſcandaliz'd with the Ignorance and Devotion of his Brethren, quitted * this Profeſſion in the Univerſity of *Altorf*, and return'd to Judaiſm.

About ſix or ſeven Years ago, † a Rabbinical Profeſſor at *Vienna*, who was thought zealous for Chriſtianity, for the ſake of which he tranſlated the Epiſtle of the *Hebrews* into Hebrew, and turned *Abravanel*'s Commentaries upon the Prophets into Latin, diſappear'd, to return to the Boſom of the Synagogue he had left.

In *Spain* and *Portugal* we find ſuch as ſeem to be Converts commonly ridiculing the Converters. A *Portugueze*, known by the Name of *Rodriguez Caſtelli Albi*, or *white Caſtle*, but more by the Books he publiſh'd, and which gave him the Reputation of one of the moſt ingenious Men of his Age, left ‖ his Country to ſeek a Sanctuary at *Rome*. But fearing his Apoſtacy would be ſeverely chaſtis'd, he went to many other Cities of *Italy*, accompany'd with the ſame fears. Having diſſembled in all Places, he retreated to *Theſſalonica*, where ſeeing himſelf ſecure, he profeſs'd the Religion he had always believ'd, and diſguis'd under the pretences of Chriſtianity.

Thoſe that endeavour to convert this People, ought therefore to be always miſtruſtful, and never depend upon their Sincerity, but when their Converſion is altogether voluntary. 'Tis not enough, that it was not produc'd by fears and hopes, but it ought to be bottom'd upon ſolid Arguments and a ſafe Method.

VIII. The Grecian Church thought it could not be too precautious, in admitting into its Boſom People of a ſuſpected Faith; for beſides what we have already obſerv'd, we find ſome marks of its Severity in their Forms of Abjuration, which the Jewiſh Proſelytes were oblig'd to make. There are two of 'em; one whereof is inſerted in * the Greeks Ritual, and the other found by Mr. *Cotelier*, in a Manuſcript of the King of *France*'s Library. This laſt is much newer and larger than the other, becauſe they add what they pleaſe to ſuch ſort of Pieces. For we find in this Formulary, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and the *Neophyte* is made expreſly to ſay; *I* * *believe the Bread and Wine myſtically conſecrated by the Chriſtians, to be the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, which are chang'd by his divine power intellectually, inviſibly, above all thought, and in a manner conceivable only by himſelf.* But there is not the leaſt ſhadow of this Doctrine in the Greeks Ritual; however, we ſhall prefer this laſt Formulary to the firſt, becauſe it is more ample, and we are not meddling with Controverſie.

IX. Firſt, The Prieſt obliges the Converted Jew to own, that he does it voluntarily, and that neither fear nor hope has any influence on his Converſion; that he has been led to it neither by Poverty, nor the deſire of Riches, nor Honours, nor Violence, nor any human Motives. He was oblig'd alſo to make a Proteſtation of his Innocence, leſt the change of his Religion ſhould be undertaken to avoid the Puniſhments he had deſerv'd. This firſt Article is not found in the Ritual of the Greeks. 2. He was made to abjure very preciſely, all the Jewiſh Worſhip, the unleavened Bread, Circumciſion, the Paſſover, Faſts, Sabbaths, *&c.* 3. He was oblig'd to anathematize all the Hereſies and Sects that have been among the Jews. To whom they join the Scribes, aſcribing to 'em the waſhing of Pots and Veſſels, as if that Superſtition was peculiar to them. They are alſo here conſider'd as the Defenders of Traditions, whereof Rabbi *Akiba* made the firſt Collection; *Annas* has compos'd the ſecond; *Judas*, one of the *Aſmoneans*, who violated the Sabbath, is look'd upon as the Author of the third. Thoſe alſo were anathematiz'd that kept the Feaſt of *Mordecai* and *Haman*, which ought to be aboliſh'd in the fifth Century; and the Authors of another Feaſt, call'd *Monopodana*, perhaps becauſe they dance upon one Foot. They anathematiz'd *Elias*, *Benjamin Zebedee*, *Ahram* and *Simbatius*, who are look'd upon as ſo many Atheiſts; and, above all, the *Meſſiah*, *who is to come, or rather, the Antichriſt the Jews expect.* 'Tis ſtrange they ſhould cauſe a Man to be anathematiz'd before he was born. Nevertheleſs, this laſt Anathema is in the old Formulary, where no Hereticks are mention'd. 4. The Proſelyte was oblig'd to make a Confeſſion of Faith, to which they have tack'd ſeveral Additions, according to the exigencies of times. 5. Laſtly, He was made to ſay, That if he made not this Profeſſion with his whole Heart, without any deſign to return to Judaiſm, if he had ever any Commerce with the Jews, either by entring into their Synagogues, or eating with 'em, he pray'd God, that *all the Curſes of the Law might fall upon him; that he might have the trembling of* Cain, *the Leproſie of* Gehazi, *and that his Soul might go to all the Devils.*

X. People have often endeavour'd to win 'em with the Promiſes of a Temporal Proſperity, which is a great Temptation to 'em; but by an unaccountable capriciouſneſs, they took away the Eſtates of the Proſelytes in *France*, and *Charles* VI. was oblig'd to prevent the Confiſcation of the Goods of thoſe that were baptiz'd. This Prince's Ordinance is ſtill in being; by which we ſee, 1, That they ſeiz'd the Eſtate of a Jew, who imbrac'd Chriſtianity, and inſtead of recompencing his Faith, reduc'd him to the miſerable neceſſity of begging his Bread. 2. The King had a ſhare in this Oppreſſion, with the Lords of his Kingdom. 3. And tho' he iſſu'd a Declaration to hinder this Abuſe, yet *Joſeph de Vaſa*, who had been baptiz'd by the Name of *Lewis de Harcourt*, deſiring this Prince † to reſtore his Eſtate, they had confiſcated; he only gave him part of it, and left the reſt to ſome Lords of his Court.

† Apud Wagenſeil Tela Ignea, t. 2. p. 119. * An. 1675. † An. 1698. ‖ An. 1554. * Ordo & Catechiſm. ex Hebræis apud Goar. Rituale Græc. p. 344. * Μεταβαλλομενα τῇ ἐκεινης θειχῇ δυνάμει. Expoſitio certa apud Coteler. Monum. Apoſt. Not. in Recogn. S. Clem. l. 1. c. 54. t. 1. p. 499, 500. † Caroli VI. litteræ apud Mab. Anal. t. 3. p. 512.

IX. *Gregory*

XI. *Gregory the Great* *, on the contrary, made it a sort of Merit to win these erroneous Souls, by discharging 'em from Taxes, *because*, said he, *we gain either the Fathers or the Children. If the former are not sincerely converted, yet their Children are baptiz'd with greater certainty, and bred up in the Christian Faith.* However, this Traffick of Souls, in which the Conscience of a Man is bought, and his Faith is sold, and he makes his Religion a Temporal Convenience, has always appear'd dishonourable to me. 'Tis the Devil that cries, *I will give thee, if thou wilt worship me.* And therefore the Emperor *Arcadius* † perceiving, that the Jews came into the Church only to skreen themselves from the Prosecution of the Judges, for Crimes or Debts, forbad any to be receiv'd, that had not satisfy'd their Creditors. *Balsamon* ‖ reports the same Institution, which proves it was still in force many Ages after this Emperor.

XII. The Superstitious, doting on Miracles, fancy there is nothing more proper to dazle the Jews. If these Miracles were true, 'twould be a short way to convince the Unbelievers. The Jew formerly ask'd for Signs, but *Jesus Christ* would not multiply 'em for 'em. To tell 'em of bloody Hosts, and to make Crosses, and other inanimate Creatures work Miracles, is the way to scandalize 'em. They cannot admit Miracles wrought to authorize the Worship of the Creature, because Idolatry was the manifest Character whereby God design'd to distinguish a false Prophet from the true. But moreover, they have Miracles of their own, attested by Doctors they reverence, and which have been wrought since the ruin of *Jerusalem.* If you reject the truth of these Prodigies, supported by the Testimony of Rabbins, they have no less reason to except against the Legendaries, which have often been decry'd by judicious Writers. They say, that their Rabbin *Joseph Karo* heard every day a Voice from Heaven, which explain'd to him the Mysteries of the Law. This was not done by Night, nor in secret, but by Day, in his School, in presence of other Rabbins, who heard it as well as he, and consequently were so many Witnesses of the Miracle. How will they contest this Fact, who maintain, that Images talk and sweat Blood, and to prove it, produce only the Depositions of some superstitious and credulous People?

XIII. One while they are flatter'd, and another they are provok'd. I find Divines *, who not content to talk in a strain of harshness which shocks the Mind, and is unbecoming Christians, represent Judaism, as if it was the Common-shore of all Heathen Pollutions, and of all Heresies. They make 'em Socinians and Pelagians, because they agree with them in some Principles concerning Christ and Grace. They accuse 'em of sinning against the Holy Ghost; and what remains after this Accusation, since this Sin shall not be pardon'd neither in this World, or that to come? Each Religion ought to be attack'd in its Principles, without making a monstrous heap and combination of Heresies, which only serves to demonstrate the outrage and hatred of the Writer, and render the Persons he confutes odious instead of instructing and converting them.

XIV. A great Man has fancy'd, that the best expedient was to flatter their hopes. To be always telling the Jews † of a Messiah that is come, and was crucify'd by their Fathers, is cruelly to upbraid 'em and throw 'em into Despair. People seldom will attend to a harsh and unwelcome Truth, and the Mind that has nothing to hope is easily discourag'd. 'Tis a more sure and acceptable method, to tell 'em of the second coming of the Son of God, than of the first, because that which is past has afforded 'em nothing but Misery and Shame. The second must be glorious, and procure wonderful Prosperity to the Church. The Jews must have their share in't as well as we; why then should they not be flatter'd with so pleasing an expectation, and so agreeable to their Prejudices? Under this view it has been attempted to demonstrate, by the explication of the Prophecies, that the second coming of the Messiah is at hand. There are only thirty five Years to come of the 1260. mention'd by *Daniel*; and if we reckon Lunar Years, after the manner of the Chaldeans, as *Daniel* did, who liv'd in this Country, this Event must be accomplish'd in the Year 1716.

XV. This method appears so much the more necessary, as that without it the Prophecies of the Old Testament are imagin'd to be false and delusive. Let them tell us, in short, says a famous Author ‖, 'What are the Blessings the Jewish Na-'tion have receiv'd from the Messiah. For near 'two thousand Years this miserable Nation has 'been scatter'd over the Earth: 'Tis the Off-scou-'ring, the Curse, the Refuse of the World; and 'it groans under a long and cruel Captivity. So 'that this will happen; the day of Judgment will 'come, and the Jews will perish in their Mise-'ries! If this be so, certainly all the Prophecies 'are Delusions. The Holy Spirit has deceiv'd this 'Nation; all the Oracles are false, and God has 'fed 'em with vain hopes; for it would be mock-'ing God and our selves to say, That these Pro-'mises were accomplish'd in that small number of 'Jews that were converted to Christianity: Jewish 'Christians, such wretched Christians, that they 'have only serv'd to found a miserable Heresie and 'Sect, which they call *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes.* It 'will be said, doubtless, That the Jews shall find 'these great Promises accomplish'd, by their return 'and recal at the end of the World. And indeed, 'tis one of the Doctrines of true Christianity, that 'the Jews shall be re-call'd. 'Tis promis'd by a 'thousand Prophecies, some of which we have quo-'ted; the miraculous manner of God's preserving 'this Nation, in my mind is an invincible proof of 'it. For, in fine, 'tis an unpresidented and incom-'prehensible thing, that God for two thousand 'Years, should preserve this People dispers'd among 'the other Nations, without being confounded 'with 'em, without learning their Manners, their 'Religions and Customs, as is usual with all disper-'sed People: This clearly demonstrates, that God 'preserves 'em for some great design. But pray, 'supposing this, that the Jews shall be converted 'immediately after the end of the World comes, 'and they shall neither possess in themselves, nor 'in their Posterity, the glorious Advantages that 'are promis'd 'em, how shall they see the effects and 'accomplishment of so many Prophecies? Behold 'innumerable millions of Jewish Souls, that have 'been lost in the space of seventeen hundred Years; 'a small number only of this People shall be saved 'in the last Years of the World. In the Name of 'God, is this sufficient to fill up the great Ideas 'that are rais'd in them by the mighty Promises 'to their Nation? Moreover, it must be obsery'd, 'that the Messiah belongs to the Jews; that he 'was promis'd to the Jews; that this Nation from

* Gregor. l. l. iv. Ep. 6. † Arcad. Cod. Theod. ‖ Balsamon in Nomocan. Phot. t. iv. p. 71. * Hulsii Theol. Judaicæ Pars 1. Præfat. † De Messiæ duplici adventu Diss. duæ contra Judæos, 1701. ‖ Jurieus *Prophecies*, t. 2. p. 205, 206, 207.

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" its Infancy has been fed with the hopes of this " Messiah's coming, as of an happiness, so great as " could not be express'd or describ'd. Behold him " come, and this Nation, instead of the " accomplishment of these great promises, sees its " Temple burnt, its capital City raz'd, its Wor- " ship abolish'd, its Children dispers'd over all the " Universe, and made the Execration and Con- " tempt of mankind. And so this Messiah, the " glory of the Nation, brings 'em nothing but Shame " and Confusion, and infinite Miseries, such as " have no example in all the rest of the World. " For all their recompence, some thousand Jews " shall be found at the end of the World, who shall " be converted, and shall not be damn'd. I must " own that I understand nothing of the Conduct of " God and his Oracles, if this be so. A time then " must come, which shall be the reign of the Mes- " siah and the Jews, in which this Nation shall be " exalted, as has been promis'd, above all the Na- " tions, and it shall reign by its Saints, its Pro- " phets and Apostles. For otherwise, I am bold to " say, That all the Prophecies made to this People " were delusive, and were only given them for a " Snare.

'Tis to be fear'd that the Jew will wait the accomplishment of the Prophecy, and put off his Christianity till this miraculous coming of the Messiah. He will alledge too, that all Christians not being Millenarians, and the most part looking upon this visible arrival of Jesus Christ upon Earth, as an Imagination of *Papias*, a Man decried for the weakness of his judgment, he ought not to be converted by a prejudice peculiar only to some Divines.

XVI. Some endeavour likewise to remove the Scandal, which is given to Strangers, by the profound Mysteries of the Christian Religion. The Reformation shortens the way, because it rejects the Real Presence, and Transubstantiation, against which, Reason produces a Load of unconquerable Difficulties; but it is still far from its aim, since the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, and the Crucifixion of the Messiah, raise other exuberant sources of Objections. They fancy they ruin this prejudice in proving, That the Heathens have believ'd most part of these Mysteries; and from this Proof they draw this advantage against the Jews; that these Mysteries are not contrary to Reason, since they have been taught by Philosophers, that consulted it alone, without any respect to Revelation; or if Reason was not able to discover what God has done for the Salvation of Mankind, the Heathen must needs have *plough'd with the Heifer of the Hebrews*, and have learnt from their School, that there was a Word, that could assume our Nature; and if the Fathers of the Synagogue, who lived before our Saviour, were the Heathens Masters and Instructors concerning these Mysteries, their Posterity have no just pretence to reject them. I have handled this Subject very largely, in speaking of the *Cabbala*, and its Origin; and have espous'd a Side which probably will not please, since by rejecting this Method, we stop up an ever-flowing Fountain of Conjectures, and take away the liberty of vending a very dazling Erudition. It seems likewise, that we should not rob those of this Argument who think it a sound one, tho' it be otherwise. For how many of the Learned, think they do the Christian Religion an important service in maintaining, that Heathenism is indebted to the Jew and Christian, for all that it has great and fine in it? The Correspondence of their Ceremonies and Mysteries charm them, as if the Infinite Wisdom of God needed to be supported by the Authority of the *natural man, who knows not the things of God.*

XVII. The Criticks lend a helping hand; and one of 'em has lately boldly affirm'd, That *Pythagoras* knew the most saving Truths. *Hierocles*, his Disciple, was so far from affronting the divine Fountain of the Scriptures, that he has *no where else drawn greater and more sublime Ideas, concerning the Nature of God, nor Principles more holy and conformable to the Truths of the Christian Religion.* Nevertheless this *Hierocles* was neither an ingenious nor honest Man. 1. To render him ingenious, he is forc'd to strike out a Negative Particle from *Suides*'s Text, who represents * this Philosopher, as a rambling Talker, who utter'd certain moral Maxims to his Scholars, *without having an exact Knowledge.* 2. He adds, that *having injur'd the Governours of* Byzantium, *they caus'd him to be whipp'd till the Blood came, and banish'd him.* This Philosopher must needs have violated the Laws, and affronted the Emperors † to merit the Whip; for the thing was transacted judicially, and he appear'd before the Judges Tribunal: And if by the Governors we understand the Christians, *Hierocles* had affronted the prevailing Religion; so far was he from making use of it, and transcribing it into his Writings. What Honour could accrue to Christianity from a Man of this Character, publickly stigmatiz'd, and no true Scholar?

'Tis moreover acknowledg'd, that *Judea* was unknown to the Heathen Philosophers, and that these Sages, who ran over all the World in pursuit of Knowledge, were never seen to come into the Holy Land, and enter into the Schools of the Prophets, who might have taught 'em in a few Hours, whatever was most profound and sacred in Religion. ' ‖ But *Pythagoras*, the chief of the Philoso- " phers, was instructed at *Sydon* by the Prophets, " Disciples of *Moschus*; that is, *Moses.* He went " from thence into *Egypt*, where the Jews * *had* " *left some sparks of Wisdom, and tho' they were only* " *languid and dying Sparks, yet they suffic'd, being ga-* " *ther'd together by degrees, and cherish'd by good Wits* " *to make a considerable fire.* Hence it came, that this Philosopher not only worshipped one God, the Creator of the Universe; but *he discover'd that God had begotten a Son* like himself, which Son the Heathens have call'd the *Word of the Father*, and have acknowledged, That this *Word* created and *disposd* the Universe. " † He taught, That Man being " free, he voluntarily draws upon himself all his " Miseries, by the unhappy use of his Liberty, and " his obstinate refusal to see the Goods that are " near him, and which God has put into his power: " And he understood how to reconcile this Liberty " of Man with the Providence of God; without " which reconciliation St. *Austin* affirms, we can " neither have a good Faith nor a good Life. ‖ *Py-* " *thagoras* was the first that brought the true Name " of God, with the Understanding of all the Pow- " er and Virtue of this Holy Name, which he " communicated to his Disciples under the Name " of the *Quaternary*; for *Pythagoras*'s *Quaternary* is " nothing but the ineffable Name, or *Jehovah* of " the Hebrews. This Philosopher having learnt

* Suidas, p. 1224. Τὴν δὲ γνῶσιν ἀκριβεῖ, Mr. Dacier's *Life of* Hierocles, p. 2. c. cxlix. *Translates it, He discover'd a profound and exact Knowledge; He strikes out* non. † Suidas, ib. Περισπερχὼς τοῖς κρατοῦσιν. *Mr.* Dacier *Translates it,* He incurr'd the hatred. *But* περισπεῖν θεῷ *in St.* Chrysostom, *who lived at that time, signifies,* to offend God, and sin against him. *Besides, what follows, makes it evident, that this was* Suidas's *meaning, for* Suidas *was cited before the Judges,* Εἰς δικαστήριον ἀχθεὶς. ‖ Dacier, *life of* Pythagoras, p. xl. * Id. Pref. Id. ib. ‖ *Life of* Pythagoras. p. lvii.

" this

" this great Name, either by the Books of *Moſes*,
" by converſing with the Jews, and ſeeing that in
" Hebrew it had juſt four Letters, tranſlated it in-
" to his Language by the number *Four*; and as a
" Teſtimony of this Truth, he gave the true Ex-
" plication of this Word as he had learnt it, and
" as it is ſtill preſerv'd in the Golden Verſes of
" *Lyſis*, this Philoſopher's firſt Diſciple and parti-
" cular Friend; for this Author explains it in the
" plaineſt manner, calling the *Quaternary* the *Foun-*
" *tain of the ever-flowing Nature*, which is nothing
" but the Explication of the word *Jehovah*; which
" properly ſignifies the *Fountain of all created Beings.*
" Had *Pythagoras* run into the Myſtery of Numbers,
" here had been a fair occaſion of boaſting of thoſe
" wondrous Chymera's of a *Four*, which has pro-
" duc'd all things by a vertue annex'd to this Num-
" ber, but none but the Succeſſors of theſe firſt
" Diſciples fell into theſe Viſions. Laſtly, if any
" one abandon'd his Sect, they performed his Ob-
" ſequies, and erected a Tomb for him. * " Which
" the Greeks had borrow'd from the Hebrews,
" with whom this was a familiar cuſtom, as we
" find by St. *Paul*'s Expreſſion, who, ſpeaking of the
" Widow that lived in Pleaſures, ſaid, *ſhe is dead*
while ſhe lives.

XVIII. The Divines, who think it their Intereſt to maintain their Religion by this Argument, have not fail'd to inforce it. They † have found the Trinity in the Oracles of the Chaldeans, which can't be attributed to the Chriſtians, ſince we find in 'em manifeſt Signs of Magick.

Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάκτισι τειὰσὶς μόνας ἀρχει.

The Trinity ſhines in all the Univerſe, and is govern'd by the Unity. The Meſſiah appears alſo in the Writings of the Philoſophers; the very Fables may be accommodated to the ſacred Hiſtory. For moſt of the miraculous Events ſung by the Poets, have been drawn from the ſacred Books. *Lot* ‖ is *Orpheus*, whoſe Wife *Euridice* return'd to Heli, becauſe ſhe look'd behind her. This ſame Patriarch is *Amphion*, Husband to *Niobe*, who was turn'd into a Stone. He is moreover *Lycaon*, whoſe Cruelties drew down the Vengeance of Heaven. Laſtly, he is *Æacus* the Judge of Hell; ſome do the ſame Honour to the Prophet *Elias*. The Trojan War is the Hiſtory of *Joſhua*'s Conqueſt of *Canaan*. *Helena* is * the Ark of the Covenant, which was taken and reſtor'd to the Iſraelites. *Caſtor* and *Pollux* were the Pillars of the Cloud and Fire, and *Ilium* ſignifies the *City of God*. Nay, Chriſtianity was alſo pictur'd in the Fables; for *Ganymede* †, who came into *Hebe*'s place, and, in falling, had ſhewn her Nudities, is *Jeſus Chriſt*, who was ſent to repair the Offence of *Eve*, who fell by her own fault, and was aſham'd of her Nakedneſs.

XIX. This Argument may be driven as far as a Man pleaſes. Reaſon preſcribes no Bounds, becauſe 'tis never conſulted, when he follows his Imagination. And therefore the Learned diverſify their Conjectures according to their Genius and their readings. But can theſe ſort of Arguments, violently extorted from the Infidels, convince the Unbelievers? Rather thoſe who already believe, will perhaps begin to waver. At leaſt, it will require a great deal of time and a long Diſcuſſion, to know whether the Heathen Divinity agreed with ours. It will be long queſtion'd, whether there were Prophets, Succeſſors to *Moſes* at *Sydon*, a Heathen City, to teach *Pythagoras*; and whether the Faith of theſe incomprehenſible Myſteries, notwithſtanding the want of Revelation, was preſerv'd in *Egypt*, where they had nothing but Natural Religion. I queſtion whether the Iſraelites had diffus'd ſo great a light there during their Captivity; but I am aſſur'd, that in *Pythagoras*'s time, there was nothing remaining but the Aſhes; and let this Philoſopher's Genius be never ſo great, it was not ſufficient to re-kindle theſe dead Aſhes, ſo as to diſcover the Word, the Son of God, who has created Heaven and Earth. Laſtly, the Jews, without amuſing themſelves about the Notions of the Heathens, will ſtill re-aſcend to the Fountain-head, and deſire ſome Proofs, that their Anceſtors have believ'd the Trinity of Perſons, and the Incarnation of the Word, the Son of God; for if this Doctrine has not been clearly taught by the Prophets, 'twas impoſſible for the Heathens to extract theſe profound Myſteries from 'em. 'Tis therefore only to be drawn from Scripture. We have ſaid enough of this Method, which abundance of great Men have eſpous'd. The reſpect we have for 'em, does not forbid us to examin their Conjectures, and to believe they do not ſerve the Chriſtian Religion by 'em ſo much as is imagin'd.

XX. We flatter the Jews more agreeably by entring into their *Cabbala*. For a Chriſtian Cabbaliſt generally prepoſſeſſes them in his Favour. They ſedately liſten to him, whilſt that inſtead of fixing to the Body of Scripture, he is content to ramble like themſelves after Shadows. And therefore ſome Chriſtians ‖ have thought that they have conſiderably ſerved the Church, by diſcovering the Sephiroths in the Lord's Prayer, and proving that Jeſus Chriſt hereby made a cloſe advance to the Jews, as if he had borrow'd their Principles as well as their Expreſſions; or rather as if theſe vain Imaginations were as antient as they would make us believe. They boaſt much of the Converſions of *Salomon Meir de Navarre*, call'd *Proſper Roger* after his Baptiſm, for he brought over many Families by his Example. But, beſides, he converted one of his moſt cruel Enemies, by diſputing with him about the Point of a Letter.

XXI. Others beat the Jews with their own Weapons, and extract ſeveral Sentences from the Talmud, to prove, That the Rabbins have taught ſome of the Truths of Chriſtianity. This was the deſign of the *Ponyard of Faith*, which *Galatin* has tranſcrib'd *, and ſo many other Books loaden with Rabbinical Citations; this Method, tho' tireſome, has a great many followers, for the Doctors Works afford us many ſurprizing things; as for example, *Simeon Jochaides*, Author of the *Zohar*, quotes a Rabbin, more antient than himſelf, call'd, *Ibba*, who commenting on theſe Words, *The Lord our God is one Lord*; obſerves, that the Name of God is thrice repeated. 1. *The incommunicable Name Jehovah*, יהוה *is the Father, the Prince of all.* 2. *The Name Elohim*, אלהים *is the Son, the Fountain of all Sciences.* 3. *The ſecond Jehovah is the Holy Spirit, proceeding from theſe two, which is the meaſure of the Voice.* 4. *He calls him one God*, אחד *becauſe he is undivided: But this Myſtery ſhall not be reveal'd till the Meſſiah's time.* Moreover he calls theſe three Perſons, the *three Lights*, *the three Mirrors*, *the three ſupreme Fathers*, *without beginning and without end*; *the Name*, *the Subſtance*, *the Root of Roots*: A Chriſtian, one would think, could not ſpeak more clearly of the Trinity †. But this method is abus'd; for the Rabbins are often made to ſay what they never

* Id. p. xlvii. † Kidder's *Demonſtration of the Meſſias*, p. iii. c. 6. p. 778. Fown's Triſagion, Book 1. & 2. c. 2. Edwards *the Truth of the Scripture*, c. 5, 6, &c. p. 1. p. 150, 193. Bochart. Hierozicon. Huet Demonſtratio Evang. ‖ Hulſii Melchiſedecus una cum parente, p. 278. * p. 268. † p. 248. ‖ *See the* Cabbala denudata. * *See alſo* Du Pleſſis Mornay, *Advice to the Jews*, eſpecially, ch. 1. p. 75. † Ibid.

meant, and at moſt theſe are Words only eſcap'd unawares, and reduc'd to Chriſtianity by Conſequences againſt the Author's deſign. Thus, for inſtance, a Man || of prodigious Reading ſays, That ſeveral Paſſages may be drawn from R. *Bechay*'s Books; *tho' it was not his deſign to favour us, but on the contrary, he continually falls upon the Chriſtians, and barks with that violence againſt them, that they have been oblig'd to blot out of the laſt Editions thoſe Outrages the firſt were full of.* Of what uſe are Paſſages urg'd againſt the Author's meaning, to prove he believes what he never did believe? Beſides, the Rabbins often complain of our fathering upon 'em things they don't believe. *Jacob*, the Son of *Amram*, in a Manuſcript Piece, intitled, *The Gate of Truth*, laughs at the Chriſtians that draw Proofs of the Trinity out of the *Cabbala*. *For*, ſays he *, *the Cabbaliſts conceal under the exterior part of the Letter, Myſteries that the Vulgar can't diſcover. The Divines have no deſign to teach the Unity of God, and to explain his Attributes; and he muſt be a Fool that ſeeks the Trinity among 'em.*

XXII. The ſureſt Method is, to ſummon the Jews to the Oracles of the Prophets; but then we muſt confine our ſelves to a ſmall number that are clear. For indeed, all the Prophecies that are quoted do not ſpeak of the Meſſiah. People force and wreſt 'em, and thereby give an advantage to the Enemies of the Truth, who are vers'd in the reading of the Sacred Books, when they perceive 'em to wander from the drift of the Prophet. Of what uſe is the number and heaps of Paſſages, but to overwhelm the Reader? By the deſultory Tranſition from one Argument to another, a Man diſcovers a ſecret miſtruſt of the Solidity of the firſt. All Proofs are not equally ſtrong, and the Adverſary, who gladly ſees you multiply 'em, fixes to that which is leaſt ſound. And ſo commonly, by indeavouring to carry your Victory too far, you loſe it, and the Enemy triumphs over the bad Reaſons he is attack'd with. The Fathers were guilty of this Fault. *Juſtin Martyr* has loaded his Dialogue againſt *Tryphon* with ſeveral things, which inſtead of convincing a Jew, don't affect a Chriſtian. *Tertullian* †, with his ſtrong imagination, and hyperbolical method, was not fit to perſuade this Nation; he is even groſly miſtaken about the ſtrongeſt Prophecy, in beginning the Calculation of *Daniel*'s Weeks from the firſt Year of *Darius*. St. *Chryſoſtom*, and *Baſil* of *Seleucia*, were improper Preachers to convince the Unbelievers, becauſe they follow'd the Raptures of an Eloquence that was fitter to move the Paſſions, than to cure the Errors of the Underſtanding. The former amuſes himſelf in proving, that *Moſes* has ſpoke of 'em, when he ſays, that *Jeſurun waxed fat and kicked*. By the help of this Oracle, he compares them to Horſes, coming from too fat a Paſture, which grow reſty, and will not be manag'd by the Coachman. And by the aſſiſtance of another Paſſage of *Hoſea* ||, he aſſures 'em, that they are *brute Beaſts*, who being no longer capable of ploughing the Land, are only fit to be kill'd as Victims. The Jews Miſeries render'd the application of theſe Oracles very eaſie; but was it juſt? And did the Prophets mean to ſignifie the time of the Meſſiah? The Eloquence certainly prevails much above the Reaſon.

XXIII. Can we alſo fancy it very eaſie to convert a Jew, by amuſing our ſelves with the ſearch of Chriſtianity in theſe Words of *Iſaiah*? * *I will bring forth a ſeed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains, and mine elect ſhall inherit it: But ye are they that forſake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, therefore will I number you to the ſword; for the Lord God ſhall ſlay thee, and call his ſervants by another name.* The Mountains, ſays one, are the Apoſtles, elevated in the midſt of the World, and viſible like the high Mountains. *God*'s *Elect* are the Laymen, or the reſt of the Faithful. *Jeſus Chriſt* is *the holy Mountain they forget*. It is † mention'd in the ſingular, becauſe it is more excellent than the reſt. God threatens *Iſrael* to ſlay him, becauſe he has rejected *Jeſus Chriſt*, to deprive him of all hope; for there's no return for the Dead, but *he will call his ſervants by another name*, becauſe thoſe that are converted ſhall change their Name, and be call'd Chriſtians. The Paſſion the Fathers had for the Chriſtian Religion, cannot excuſe 'em, for Zeal is no farther commendable, than as it is enlighten'd and accompany'd with Knowledge. But if the Fathers of the Church are blameable, what ſhall we ſay of the Divines, who live in a more refin'd Age, and yet run after Phantoms of their own Imagination, and neglect or condemn the Antients, tho' they err more groſly than they in the Interpretation of Scripture?

XXIV. We ought to inſiſt upon what is moſt eaſie to be prov'd, which is what is moſt commonly neglected. *Andronicus* || fancies, there was no better expedient to convince the Jews, than to let 'em know, That there is one God, whom the Beaſts acknowledge, and who has begot a Son. However, this is the moſt dangerous method of all; the Jews are to be firſt taught, that the Meſſiah is come, before it be prov'd, that he is God. *Anaſtaſius* * troubles his Head to tell 'em, That they muſt worſhip Images; and urges as a Reaſon for it, their Adoration of the Book of the Law, which is made of Skins and Leather; or the having worſhipt the Golden Calf, and the Image of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Council of *Nice* committed the ſame Fault. Thus, when People are bigotted to a particular Doctrine, they make it a capital Point of Religion; they are eager and violent to prove it, and think they have done all, when they have inforc'd it upon the Enemies of their Religion, tho' it be only an incident and a particular Controverſie, which diſguſts and ſcandalizes, inſtead of gaining the Mind; for we know the Jews extreme averſion for Images; they do not trouble their Heads about the Controverſies of Grace and Free-will, and matter not, whether we be *Pelagians* or *Semi-Pelagians*. As they know not the Holy Spirit, they are little acquainted with his Operations and invincible Efficacy, which was not well known by the Chriſtians till St. *Auſtin*. And yet a *Spaniard* † has fancy'd he did Wonders, in beginning his Diſputes with 'em by the Subjects of Free-will and Grace.

XXV. An *Italian* || began with Original Sin, and proceeds from thence to all the leaſt Circumſtances, of our Saviour's Life, and all the Articles of the Chriſtian Religion. He inſults the Jews upon *Jeſus Chriſt*'s being born of a Virgin, and maintains, That he found in their own Writings, how one day *Simeon*, to elude *Iſaiah*'s Prophecy, went to blot out the H from his Book, which began the Word *Halmah*, that he might hereby change the Virgin into a young Woman; but he could not effect it, becauſe an inviſible Hand reſtor'd the H thrice over, and it continu'd, whether he would or no, in the Edition he was making; as if there was a Printing-Preſs at that time: The cutting off the H, upon which the Story is founded, removes only

|| Bartol. B. R. t. 1. p. 805. * Jacob Ben Amram, MS. apud Kidder's *Demonſtration of the Meſſiah*, p. iii. c. 4. p. 190. † Tertull. adv. Judæos, t. 8. p. 165. || Hoſ 4. 16. Chryſoſt. Hom. 34. adv. Judæos 1. p. 388. t. 1. * Iſaiah 65. 9, 11, 12, 15. † Alphonſi Dial. tit ii. B. p. t. xxi. p. 187. || Andronicus Dial. contra Judæos, c. 2, 3, 4. apud Caniſ. t. viii. p. 268. * Anaſtaſ. Abbas contra Judæos, ib. t. iii. p 134. † Petrus de Cevallaria. || Joannes Maria Vincenti, Il Meſſia Venuto. *'Tis a Volume containing a hundred Sermons; the Author was a* Venetian; *'twas printed at* Venice *in* 1659.

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the Aspiration, but changes not the Signification of the Word. But besides, he imposes on the Jews, and this is not to be found in any of their Writings. He makes *Josephus* and *Lactantius* say ‖ a thing which could not happen till *Justinian*. He absurdly quotes *Hegesippus* and *Tertullian*, who have not mention'd this Miracle. He adds, That the *Roman* History affords a Proof of *Jesus Christ*'s being born of a Virgin, which can't be suspected, since it was ingraven in very antient Characters. Which was, that according to St. *Thomas*, a Monument was found in the Empire of *Constantine* and his Mother *Helena*, in 1283. with these Words engraven on it, *Jesus Christ, the Son of God, shall be born of the Virgin* Mary, *and I believe in him, O Sun! thou shalt see me once more.* Another Stone was found in *Castile*, with these Characters written upon it. *The Son of God shall be born of the Virgin* Mary, *and shall suffer for the Salvation of Men.* Are not these convincing Proofs? Let us only observe the gross Blunders that are made in this History. He observes, that it was in *Constantine* and *Helena*'s Reign; whereas it could not happen till the Reign of *Irene* and her Son; and, properly speaking, *Helena* never reign'd with her Son. What Ignorance, to place *Constantine the Great* in the Year 1283? 'Tis somewhat less, in respect of *Constantine* the Son of *Irene*; for the fault of Chronology is but five hundred Years, but the other is above nine. *Thomas Aquinas*, who is quoted as the Voucher of all these Errors, spoke of *Irene*.

XXVI. Father *Kirker* surpriz'd all the Learned of *Rome*, by decyphering another Inscription, concerning the Birth of the Virgin. A Monk found it, said he, * near Mount *Horeb*, where *Moses* saw God in the burning Bush, and having brought it to *Rome*, it was presented to *Kirker*, who knew none of the Characters; because indeed, it seems they were Figures made at pleasure. However, he made his Prayers to God, and by the help of an Oraison, he found these Words, *God shall cause a Virgin to conceive.* Returning a second time to the Examination, he discover'd this Addition, which had escap'd him at first, *and she shall bring forth a Son.* When Father *Kirker* and his Admirers were ask'd, What these Characters were, and how he could so perfectly decypher 'em? He could give no reason for it; for indeed there was none. And a Man might discover in these Hieroglyphicks what he pleas'd. Nevertheless, he was highly complimented upon this useful Discovery against the Jews †

XXVII. Let us add a word or two more concerning the Birth of Christ. Is it not very clearly prov'd to the Enemies of Christianity, by telling 'em, † *That God has corrected all things by their Contraries; and that as he made* Eve *by means of a Man, without the conjunction of a Woman, it was necessary to produce* Jesus Christ *by a Virgin without the conjunction of a Man?* Is it not also a very sensible Demonstration of this Truth, which is drawn from *Minerva* coming out of *Jupiter*'s Head; of *Bacchus* being born without Mother; of *Vulcan*, whom *Juno* brought into the World without any commerce with a God? and of *Venus*, that sprung from the Froth of the Sea? It looks as if a Man took pleasure to expose his Religion to the Insults of its Enemies. Nevertheless, the same Author affirms ‖, that God has intimated, that the Messiah should be crown'd with Thorns, because when he told *Adam*, that the Earth should produce Thorns; the Earth answer'd, *It shall be for thee Lord, and second Adam, I shall produce Thorns wherewith thou shalt be pierced.* If *Isaiah* foretels, That the People shall produce Waters from this Fountain of *Deliverance*, or from this *salutary* Fountain, he puts the Messiah there, and quotes another Latin Version, which substitutes the *crucify'd* for the Messiah. Lastly, He proves Transubstantiation to the Jews by the Testimony of the Rabbins. People expose the Christian Religion to horrid Insults, when they take such Methods as these, and offer such insignificant Proofs. This Man was not the only Person, for *Galatin* † had given him an Example; and tho' he was much esteem'd, till he was perceiv'd to be a Plagiary, yet he begins his Proofs also by the Trinity; and he proceeds to shew the Jews the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin; and maintains, That it was for the love of *Mary* and her Son, that God created the World, because he well knew, that neither of 'em would be defil'd by Original Sin. Lastly, He proves to 'em, That the Bread of the Eucharist is turn'd into Flesh, and that the Wine also is invisibly converted into Blood, by the Testimony of the Rabbins, who would be strangely astonish'd to see themselves appeal'd to, if the Dead had any knowledge of what is done under the Sun; but if the Dead are ignorant of it, the Living laugh at it.

XXVIII. 'Tis easier to observe the defect of the Methods that are taken, and of the Proofs that are produc'd, than to give others that are more solid and effectual. The Conversion of this People is a difficult Work; and 'tis not always the Converters fault if they don't succeed. This Nation concentring in it self, and full of Contempt for the rest of Mankind, which seems to have run in their Blood for almost innumerable Ages, can't resolve with themselves to give an Ear to Strangers, or to read their Books. People have little Correspondence with 'em. Conferences are rare and dangerous, because 'tis hard to be so perfect a Master of the Hebrew Tongue, as to dispute with those who are accustom'd to speak it, and to answer *ex tempore* to the Difficulties they draw from the Signification and Sense they give certain Words. It seems also, that God reserves 'em for a general Conversion, which can't be wrought but by an extraordinary direction of Providence and Grace.

XXIX. Nevertheless, as we ought to endeavour the Conversion of particular Persons, till the general Call shall come, and God does not reject the ordinary means, we ought to employ 'em in favourable Opportunities.

First, We must prove to 'em, that the Messiah is come. This is their weak part. Read all the Conferences that have been held, and the different Works that have been publish'd against 'em, and you will easily observe, that they can't answer the Prophecies that have fix'd the time of the Messiah's coming, nor give any reason of that so long delay, and of that hideous Misery they are involv'd in. Let us not insult their Misfortunes. Christianity ought to inspire us with Compassion for the Miserable, but the ruin of their Temple, to which God had fix'd their Religion, is a Proof, that the Ceremonies and Sacrifices were to cease. The Wise God would not have forbidden them to sacrifice any where else but at the Temple of *Jerusalem*, or would not have suffer'd his Temple to have lain wast for so many Ages, if he had design'd the Sacrifices should have been always offer'd, and that the Ceremonies of the Law should never end. Besides, we have all the advantage in this particular; for the Prophecies which denote the time of the Messiah's appearance, are precise. There is no eluding that of *Jacob*, but by vain Subtleties. There has

* Disc. 22. * Kirker Prodrom. Copt. c. 8. † Fabian. Fioghi Introduttione alla Fide, c. 42. ‖ Vincenti il Messia Venuto. † Disc. 25. p. 237. Disc. 26. Isaiah 12 3. Disc. 63. Es. † Galat. de Arcan. l. 2. c. 1 l. lxvii. c. 2, 3. l. x c. 6. p. 662.

been no *Scepter nor Lawgiver* in *Israel* for sixteen Centuries. Shorten as much as you please the *Persian* Monarchy, yet it is still true, that *Daniel*'s seventy Weeks have been long since accomplish'd. The Accomplishment of Prophecies, that specifie determinate time, don't depend upon the Sins or Repentance of the People; because the Wisdom of God, which foresaw this Impenitence, must at the same time have foreseen and noted the delay it would be oblig'd to make. Eternal Wisdom does not thus com-promise with Human Corruption, nor make his Faithfulness depend upon the good or bad Disposition of Men. By uniting *Daniel* and *Haggai*'s Prophecies, we make a Demonstration concerning the Manifestation of the Messiah, to which nothing rational can be reply'd. If the Jew acknowledges the Messiah to be come, we may pass on to other Doctrines; but if he disowns this Truth, 'tis in vain to prolong the Dispute; for he will not admit the other parts of Christianity if he rejects this, and tho' he should receive 'em, they would be useless to him, without the Knowledge of the Messiah.

XXX. When this Foundation is laid, the next thing to be examin'd is, Where this Messiah is that has appear'd, and has fill'd up the Characters the Prophets have given of this Redeemer. The Jews acknowledge, that their whole History affords no Person invested with all these Characters. The Christian alone shews a Messiah, that was born, and taught, and dy'd at the time specify'd by the Prophets. A Messiah that suffers and reigns; who has his Humiliation and Glory. One of the most violent Prejudices of the Jews, is the Temporal Prosperity they annex to the Messiah's Manifestation. They will not easily discover this Redeemer in *Jesus Christ*, whilst their Thoughts are all turn'd towards a Temporal Kingdom, and the Conquests he must make. And therefore we must assault this Prejudice, which is fortify'd by Self-love, and make two things appear. 1. That the Prophets have so lively describ'd the Messiah's Humiliation, that the Doctors have been forc'd to imagin two, one miserable and the other glorious. These two Characters, which the Prophets ascribe to one individual Person, meet in our Saviour *Christ*. 2. This Union of Characters grows more manifest, when instead of a transitory Glory, we * give the Messiah a spiritual and heavenly Reign, and extend his Empire over Souls, Hell and Death.

The Jews will readily agree with us in three things. 1. That Spiritual and Eternal Graces are more excellent than those which relate to the Body and the present Life. 2. And since they attribute to the Deliverer of the Nation whatever can be imagin'd most noble and great, they are oblig'd to confess, that the most glorious part of his Empire consists in the Redemption of Souls, and in the Conquests he shall make over the Devil by the Conversion of Nations. 3. They can't deny, but they have need of spiritual Graces; and therefore they ought to seek a Messiah that bestows them. The Author of the *Jerusalem Targum*, paraphrasing these Words of dying *Jacob*; *I have waited for thy Salvation, O Lord*, interprets them thus: *I don't wait for the Redemption of* Gideon, *the Son of* Joas, *because that is a temporal Salvation. I don't wait for the Redemption of* Samson, *for that is a transient Salvation: But I wait for the Redemption of the Messiah, the Son of* David, *who shall come to bring the Children of* Israel *to himself; my Soul desires him, and waits for his Salvation.* *Jacob*'s hopes of the Messiah were Spiritual; and since *Jesus Christ* bestows these Spiritual Graces, which are more excellent than the transitory Redemption of *Gideon* and *Samson*, he has fully answer'd the true Character given him by the Prophets, and the Misery he has suffer'd, correspondent to their Prediction, ought not to hinder any one from embracing him.

XXXI. By comparing the Gospel with the Writings of the Old Testament, we find in the one those *toothings* which promis'd a new Edifice, and in the other that Edifice that fills up the whole Idea of the antient Architect, and from hence we conclude, it is the same God that was the Author of the Old and New Testament; in the one God promises, and in the other he performs; in the one he gives the Idea of a future Messiah, and in the other he produces this Messiah he had signify'd in the Types and Ceremonies of the Law.

We must prove the Divine Authority of the Gospel, before we ingage in the particulars of other Controversies; for whilst you establish a Trinity of Persons, the Word, and his Incarnation, by the Testimony of Heathens, and some Rabbins, you only shock the Mind of Man. All that, at most, is but a probability incapable of producing Faith, which they inwardly reject, even tho' they are silent; or else they refer it to an examination which they never make. These are foreign and weak Defences, but those drawn from the Gospel are *powerful to the casting down of strong Holds, and of every Thought that exalts it self against the knowledge of God.* Whilst you dispute, by the Authority of the Doctors, which you don't believe your self, you only glance upon the Controversie, and the Mind rebels against that uncertain Authority instead of yielding to it. But whilst you prove from the Accomplishment of the old Prophecies, that the New Testament is divinely inspir'd, like the Old, and that 'tis the same God who has dictated both; or that the Messiah, whom we worship, is that which the Prophets have promis'd, the other Controversies, which divide us from the Jews, fall of themselves, because 'tis easie to prove these Doctrines by the Gospel.

XXXII. The Conversion of the Jews would be much easier, if they had less respect for the Talmud. Being opinionated, That there is nothing Good but among themselves, they neglect our Books and Authors. They neither know the Christian Religion, nor the Foundation on which it is built. They feed themselves with false Notions, and shut their Eyes against the most certain Truths. They have not so much as any Relish for 'em. The way to rectifie their deprav'd Taste, would be to render their Writings more publick than they are. The generality of the Rabbinical Works being veil'd under a strange Language, are not expos'd to the Judgment of the Publick. Those who translate any part of 'em, take care to Preface them with mighty Eulogies, to conceal their Infirmities, and to set off all the Passages which have any relation to the Christian Religion. The Reader doth not take these Books in hand but with a favourable Prepossession and profound Respect, as if they came from a Sacred Place. The Jew's Veneration is redoubled for the Writings which his most dangerous Enemies esteem; whereas, if these Books were unvail'd and laid open, and put into every bodies hands, the Veneration for 'em would insensibly fall to the ground. The Doctors would be made sensible of the ridiculousness of their Works, and perhaps might be accustom'd to have other thoughts

* Vid. Du Plessis *Advice to the Jews*, cap. 1. & 6.

Tis

'Tis harder than is imagin'd, to redreſs a Mind that is corrupted by falſe Maxims and bad Principles. But when theſe Principles are corrected, and their Prejudices deſtroy'd, Truth makes its entrance into the Heart, and more eaſily perſuades.

Perhaps there were never ſeen ſuch a number of Men learned in the Oriental Tongues as there are at preſent. Inſtead of complaining of their Negligence, we ought to give 'em the Eulogies they deſerve, ſince many important Works have already appear'd tranſlated, and more are promis'd. Hereby the World will be able to judge of the Character of the Rabbins, and of the Interpretation they give the Scripture; and from hence it will be eaſie to draw Conſequences againſt the Doctrines and Religion they defend. Theſe Learned Men ought not to complain, that their Glory will be leſſen'd by making their Erudition too common. There ought to be no Myſtery in the Sciences; a Treaſure that is hoarded and never made uſe of is good for nothing. We muſt, according to the Counſel of the Wiſe Man, open the Sources, and let the Rivulets run into Publick Places, that *he that is thirſty may buy without Money*, and quench his Thirſt. This Character of Diſtinction, which a profound skill in Hebrew gives a Man, is loſt with his Life; but the Works, which ſubſiſt after death, immortalize his Name. The Publick is indebted to thoſe that ſerve it, and the Acknowledgment is proportion'd to the Advantages Religion reaps from 'em. I confeſs, the Jew will intrench himſelf in his Hebrew, and pretend to ſalve the Honour of his Religion and Doctors by the ſtrength of the Original Terms; but this will be a miſerable Extremity, and the Conviction will be the eaſier wrought, when he ſhall be reduc'd to cavil upon the ambiguity of a Word; beſides, as the Viſions of the Doctors are innumerable, they can conceal but a ſmall part of 'em by the help of theſe Conteſts, and the reſt will appear in all their Nakedneſs. The Chriſtian will talk with greater Aſſurance, when he ſhall have numerous Proofs in his Hand; and the Jew, attack'd in ſo many ſenſible Parts, by which his Maſters Illuſion is diſcover'd, will have leſs Courage and Reſolution to reſiſt. But, in reality, there are only external means, and God alone knows the time when he will recal this *Elect Nation*.

The Extract of a Letter which was writ by Mr. Cuper *(formerly one of the Deputies of the States-General, and Deputy Extraordinary from their High-Mightineſſes to the Army*, Bourghmaſter of* Deventer*) to Mr.* Baſnage, *containing ſeveral Remarks upon his Hiſtory of the Jews, and particularly about an Impoſtor, who tries to prove by Miracles, that the Meſſiah,* Zabathai Tzevi, *is ſtill living.*

SIR,

Since you are pleas'd with the Remarks I ſent you, upon your Hiſtory of the Jews, and ſince you think them good, give me leave to add theſe.

BOOK III. *Page* 238. You find two Mothers of the Gods in the Inſcription at *Lyons*, *viz.* the old, and the new, or *Fauſtina* Wife to *Antoninus Pius*. I confeſs, that the exceſſive Flattery of the *Romans* might warrant the application of this Title to *Fauſtina*, becauſe we find in ſome Medals ſtamp'd after her Conſecration, *Matri Magnæ*, or *Deum Salutari*; yet I do not conceive that ſhe may be found in this Inſcription. The Learned Men, who publiſh'd it, explain theſe particular Letters, *Matris Deum Magnæ Idææ Dicæ*; and a little after, *Ex Imperio Matris Dicæ Deum*. Thus Mr. *Groſ. de Boze* explains this, and alſo contends, that, *Deam Diam* is the Mother of the Gods. But *Philip de la Tour*, the learned Biſhop of *Adria*, proves, at the 101ſt pag. of his Antiquities of *Antium*, that it is *Juno*; and that appears clearly from the *Inſcriptiones Fratrum Arvalium*; although I ſee no reaſon why this Title might not have been given in other Places to the Mother of the Gods.

The ſame Prelate ſays, in a Letter which I had the honour to receive from him, That the *I* and *D* ought to be join'd together, and make *Idææ*; and afterwards he explains the *D. Deum*, *Deæ Deum*, becauſe *Arnobius* ſpeaks after that manner, *Prius illa ſolemniter, quæ in Matris infertur Sanctum Deæ*: and I have ſometimes thought, that *Dindymenæ* might be made of it. For you know, the Heathens fancy'd, that their Gods were pleas'd with a great many Names, or with Polyonomy. *Gruterus*'s Inſcription confirms my Conjecture. For the Letters are therein in this order;

M. D. M.
I. D.
ATILIANA.
Matri Deum Magnæ Idææ Dindymenæ.

Beſides, the Term *Matri Deum* may be repeated twice there, becauſe the *Taurobolium*, belong'd to her; and ſhe had perhaps commanded *Criſpus* in a Dream to offer her this Sacrifice. Laſtly, the Title of *Novæ Matri Deum* would have been put there, had it been deſign'd for *Fauſtina*. However, Mr. *Gros de Boze* is of your Opinion, at the 11th Page of his Explanation.

Pag. 239. You ſpeak of *Ptolomæus Phyſco*, and ſay, that it was an Affront to this King of *Egypt*, to put his Belly in Medals, at which *Scipio* and the *Roman* Ambaſſadors laugh'd ſo heartily: And yet it was ſtamp'd upon a Medal. The Sirname of φυσκων is upon one of his Medals; and *la Carry*, a Jeſuit, mentions this in his *Series Regum Ægypti*. But, Sir, he was miſtaken in this; For ſuch Medals are not genuine, as that whereupon you find ΑΑΘΟΥΡΟΥ & ΑΥΑΗΤΟΥΣ, and therefore you have none of them in the Hiſtory of the Kings of *Egypt*, put out by Mr. *Vaillant*, and this famous Author hath been herein wiſer than his Predeceſſors.

You have inlarg'd very much upon the falſe Meſſiahs of the Jews. But I deſire you to determine, why *Abulpharages* † gives the Title of *Luminum* to him who appear'd under *Trajan*, and whom you call *Andreas*. Theſe Names are very different, and I do not apprehend the reaſon of their being alter'd. *Victor* ‖ relates, That there was an Inſurrection of

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* *In* 1706. † *Dyn. p.* 76. ‖ *In Cæſaribus.*

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the Jews in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, *& interea, Judæorum ſeditio, qui patricium nefarie in regni ſpeciem ſuſtulerant, oppreſſa.* True it is, that he doth not give *Patricius* the Title of Meſſiah; however, I don't doubt but the Jews look'd upon him as the King they expected. The Name of *Patricius*, is perhaps form'd out of a Hebrew Word, to ſuit it to the *Roman* Cuſtom, a thing which I deſire you'll examin.

You are not, undoubtedly, inform'd of the Folly of the Eaſtern Jews; who, at this day maintain, That *Zabathai Tzevi* is ſtill living; and that he is to deliver the People of *Iſrael* out of Bondage. This I have from *Smyrna*, and I communicate it to you, that you may make uſe of it.

About three Months ago, * a Jew was baniſh'd out of this City by the *Cady*, or Governour and Supreme Judge. This Baniſhment hath occaſion'd a great diſturbance among the Jews, by reaſon of *Zabathai Tzevi*. You know, that he pretended to be the Meſſiah; and that he abjur'd his Religion, turn'd Mahometan, and thirty ſix or thirty ſeven Years ago, † loſt his Head by order of Sultan *Mahomet*. Notwithſtanding this, *Daniel Iſrael* aſſerts, that this pretended Meſſiah is not dead, but lies hid ſomewhere, whence he ſhall not come out, till he hath been there forty five Years. This Jew is not one of the Rabbins, or *Cacams*, but one of thoſe call'd Readers, or Interpreters of the Holy Scripture. He grounds *Zabathai Tzevi*'s Retirement for that time upon the Prophecy of *Daniel*, which ſays, that 1290 Days ſhall paſs from the aboliſhing of the Sacrifice, that is, 1290 Years; and that then the Meſſiah ſhall appear to deliver his People with an out-ſtretched Arm, and a ſtrong Hand. Beſides, he makes uſe of Prodigies to confirm his Aſſertion. When he is in Company, or at Table, he draws back, and moves with wonderful rapidity. He raiſes himſelf in the Air, and cries out with a loud Voice in Hebrew, *I have heard, and my Belly is diſturbed at it.*

Whilſt he utters theſe Words, a Globe of Fire appears behind him, ſuſpended in the Air, and moves as *Daniel* moves, till he alters his Poſture, and turns his Face towards the Standers by. For then the Globe diſappears, and *Daniel* ſays aloud; *The Lord is King; the Lord is King; he ſhall reign always and for ever.*

The Holy Name of God is ſeen written in Hebrew Letters, in the Globe of Fire, and upon the Breaſt of this Jew; and above this Holy Name is a Crown ſeen. But all theſe things vaniſh in a moment, and he afterwards introduces a more amazing Impoſture.

Daniel deſires one of the Spectators to withdraw, and to think upon ſome difficult Queſtion; and then to write it upon a piece of Paper, of about the bigneſs of the Palm of the Hand, to fold it ſeveral times, to keep it cloſe and ſeal'd in his Hand, and reveal to no body what he hath writ: and he boaſts, that the Anſwer ſhall be fairly written in that Paper. If he will not give himſelf the trouble to ſeal the Paper, he will not anſwer, becauſe his Art would not appear ſo much without a Seal.

When what he deſires is comply'd with, he orders ſeveral Places of Scripture, as whole Pſalms and Chapters to be read. Sometimes part of it is read and read over again; then *Daniel* lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, and ſpreading his Arms, repeats the Words in the Paper ſeal'd and kept cloſe, and in the ſame Order they are ſet down. He cries, from time to time, *Jarad*, ירד, *He is come down*; and names from time to time the Letter, which he pretends is deſcended into the ſeal'd Paper. He doth the ſame thing, till all the Letters which are to form the Anſwer, be deſcended in the Hand of him who hath propos'd the Queſtion. He alſo receives theſe Letters in his Hand, doth proteſt that he finds a ſtruggling in his Hand, as if theſe Letters were forc'd in. He afterwards opens his Hand, and the Writing is unſeal'd, and there the Letters are found in the ſame Order as *Daniel* ſaid aloud; and each is an Initial Letter, and is the beginning of the Words which compoſe the Anſwer.

As for Inſtance, theſe Hebrew Characters were once found in it ב ל ה ר ה א These Words are taken from the 5th ch. verſ. 1. of the *Proverbs*, and ſignifie, *My Son attend unto my Wiſdom, and bow thine ear to my underſtanding*; and theſe Words were the Anſwer to the Queſtion. He draws the Admiration of the Jews by ſuch Artifices. He is not only favourably heard and follow'd by the Crowd, but alſo approv'd and vindicated by the Rabbins. *Abraham Michael Raphael Cordoſo*, a Doctor of Phyſick, very famous among the Circumcis'd in *Candia*, hath openly declar'd for him. They ſay here (at *Smyrna*) that *Daniel Iſrael* is no Magician, but one inſpir'd by the Holy Ghoſt, and impower'd by him to work Miracles. His Followers believe that *Zabathai Tzevi* is ſtill living, and ſhall appear ſhortly. Nay, many celebrate the Day of his Nativity, which is the 26th of *Kiſlew*, or the 18th of *December*; they then greatly rejoyce, and drink ſeveral Bumpers, crying out, *Long live Sultan Tzevi.*

This Myſtery was a long time conceal'd, but it is come out at laſt, by the Jews being divided upon it. For part of their Learned Men have oppoſed *Daniel Iſrael*, as an Impoſtor who ſeduc'd the People. Their Remonſtrances to the Cady were ſo weighty, that he hath expell'd him out of this City, and condemn'd his Adherents to a Fine of 315 Crowns. Theſe laſt offered the Cady a greater Sum to have his Protection: Yet notwithſtanding Money doth every thing with the *Turks*, he durſt not harbour *Daniel Iſrael*, becauſe he was afraid of the *Ottoman* Court, and of the ſequel of this Buſineſs. Mr. *Heyman*'s Abſence hath hinder'd him from examining it with his uſual exactneſs. He had reſolv'd to go to *Daniel*, who retir'd to a little Town call'd *Caſſaba*, ſituate in the Valley of *Magneſia*, upon the River *Hermus*, towards the Frontier of *Dourgoutley*, where Cotton grows. But it is thought, that this Impoſtor will return hither, when this Cady ſhall be out of his Government, and one more favourable to him ſhall come in his Room; and this ſhall happen within theſe ſix Months.

This was writ to me from *Smyrna* ſome Years ago. But I am now inform'd that this Comedy is over †. The hopes of the Jews are quite blaſted, becauſe Doctor *Michael Raphael Cordoſo* hath been ſtabb'd at *Grand Cairo* by his Son-in-law: It is ſaid, that it was out of Jealouſie. The Murderer is fled into one of the Moſques of the City, called *Scamy Ellazar*; and all thoſe who come into it either voluntarily, or through neceſſity, muſt turn Mahometans. *Daniel Iſrael* is ſtill here, but ſince the Misfortune of his Protector, he hath not his uſual Agitations. The Globe of Fire doth not now appear, and this Impoſtor is thought to be wholly deſtroy'd. I have been with *Cordoſo* at *Grand Cairo*, and he often ſpoke

* *Firſt Letter, writ by the Baron* de Hoch epied, *Conſul at* Smyrna, *the 6th. in the Year* 1703. *tranſlated from the* Dutch. † *See Hiſtory of the Jews.* ‖ ריחבונתי הן אונך בני ויחכמני ד קשיבה † *This Letter is dated from* Smyrna, *the 29th of the Year* 1707. *and writ to Mr* Cuper *by Mr.* Heyman, *Miniſter to the Conſul of the Dutch Nation.*

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of the Prophecies of *Noſtradamus*. But it is no wonder that he knew that Book, becauſe he was born in *Spain*, and had ſtudied at *Salamanca*. His unexpected Death hath put an end to the Deluſion.

You might, Sir, add this Fragment of Hiſtory to what you have already ſaid of *Zabathai Tzevi*, which is a farther Confirmation of the Fondneſs of the Jews for falſe Meſſiahs.

I am, &c.

FINIS.

Alterations and Additions by the Author.

PAge 2. Col. 2. Line 54. of the Miſnah, which has been Tranſlated, *add*, ſome years ſince.

P. 3. Col. 2. l. 31. the Author of *Toldas Jeſchu*, add, I ſpeak but of one Author; for the laſt Book which has the ſame Title, was not then printed; but I have confuted both of them.

P. 4. Col. 2. l. 10. but perhaps much later, *r.* I have explain'd my ſelf more diſtinctly in the laſt Tome, wherein I have proved, that *Joſeph* was not living till the Eleventh Century.

P. 5. Col. 2. l. 44. firſt Founder of the Sanhedrim, *r.* I have corrected this afterwards, and inſtead of putting *the Inſtitution of that Senate under* Pompey, *by* Gabinius *his Lieutenant, I have placed it under the* Maccabees.

Ibid. l. 49. after *immediately ſent him*, add, *into* Judea.

P. 9. Col. 1. l. 12. dele *that*.

P. 11. Col. 1. *Archelaus*, r. *Herod*.

Id. Col. 2. *paid a Didrachm*. Blot out the reſt to Section XV. Thoſe two Proofs are not ſubſtantial; the one, becauſe it was concerning the Didrachm which was paid for the Temple; the other, becauſe that *Archelaus* having been baniſhed, *Judea* was then reduced into a Province.

P. 12. Col. 2. l. 22. dele *then*.

P. 14. Col. 1. Sect. 8. for *he had only his ſhare in* Galilee, *r.* he had only *Galilee* for his ſhare.

P. 20. Sect. 3. N. 13. l. 21. *r.* that belonging to one *Lyſanias*.

P. 26. Col. 1. Sect. 29. her Father, &c. r. whoſe Father, &c.

P. 50. Col. 2. l. 20. *r.* it is more certain that *Edeſſa* placed *Auguſtus* among the Gods, than J. CHRIST.

Ib. l. 58. *r.* that the Town of *Edeſſa* acknowledged *Auguſtus* for its God, and *Tiberius* for its Prince.

P. 65. Col. 1 l. 14. add at the end of the Paragraph, *a third Author may be ſubjoined, who is guilty of the ſame fault, and that is* Malela, *who ſpeaking of what diſaſter happen'd to the* Samaritans *under* Juſtinian, *ſays, That the Runaways retired to the Mount* Arpariſin. *But we muſt neceſſarily read* Har Gerizim.

P. 76. N. 26. l. 4. after Chriſtianity, add, the reſt retired into *Perſia*, and perſwaded *Choſroes* not to conclude the Treaty which he was about to make with *Juſtinian*; becauſe they put him in hopes that they ſhould be able to make him Maſter of *Judea*, but they were miſtaken.

P. 78. N. 35. l. 12. dele *Pietro della Valla*, and all the other Lines to the word *poor*.

Ib. l. 20. *r.* Thirty. 28 ד 58

Ib. l. 21. dele, *to give them notice of the Death of their High-Prieſt*, &c.

P. 82. N. 2. Col. 2. l. 18. dele from *Laſtly* to *Book*, two Lines lower.

P. 88. N. 6. l. 3. for *Shalmaneſer*, r. *Eſar-haddon*.

P. 91. Col. 2. l. 24. after *knew not what*, add, J. CHRIST ſays, *that the hour cometh when God ſhall be worſhipped in Spirit and in Truth*. He was no longer to be worſhipped either on Mount *Gerizim*, or at *Jeruſalem*; but to be adored *in Truth*, in oppoſition to the falſe and ſuperſtitious Worſhip which the *Samaritans* paid to God; and *in Spirit*, in oppoſition to the carnal and groſs Ceremonies of the Jews.

P. 92. Col. 2. l. 14. dele to *Sebaſte*, in the 19th Line.

P. 107. Col. 1. l. 2. *r.* he would have ſtopped the intercalary Years, that ſo he might not give thirteen Months pay inſtead of twelve.

P. 122. Sect. 4. l. 8. for *obliged to make*, r. *obliged to prefer*.

P. 147. N. 9. l. 4. dele from *this Man* to *extol*.

P. 150. in the Genealogy of the Patriarchs, N. 6. r. *Simeon* 3. Son of (*Gamaliel* 2.) inſtead of *Simeon*.

P. 155. Col. 1. *We have fixed the Origine of the Patriarchs to* Gamaliel II. Something here wants a little to be cleared up; for we have ſaid in *p.* 151 Sect. 4. that *Simeon* III. Son of that *Gamaliel*, is the firſt Patriarch that is known to us. Now the Equivoque proceeds from hence, becauſe we have placed the Origine of the Patriarchs under *Nerva*, and then *Gamaliel* II. is the firſt; but *Simeon* III. his Son, who lived under *Adrian*, is declared more expreſly in this Page, § 3. The Origine of the Patriarchs is referr'd to *Gamaliel* II. and the diſtinct Knowledge of it to his Son *Simeon* III. It muſt alſo be obſerv'd, that a little above *Joſhua* is put *at the Head of the Academy*, in the room of *Gamaliel*, but *Eliezer* was choſen Patriarch.

P. 156. Col. 1. N. 5. laſt Figures, inſtead of 136, r. *of our Lord*, 135, and ſo in p. 157. Col. 1. N. 11. r. in the year 135. of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

P. 158. Col. 1. N. 16. l. 7. at *Babylon*, r. *Nahardea*.

P. 167. Col. 2. l. penult, for *forty*, r. *ſixty*.

P. 169. Col. 2. N. 10. dele the two laſt Lines of the firſt Paragraph.

P. 170. the firſt Marginal Quotation, *r.* Διαλῆρωσις.

P. 172. Col. 1. for *Peter*, &c. r. *Alfonſo* King of *Portugal*.

P. 187. Col. 1. N. 12. l. 10. after *Geneſis*, r. This diſtinction was known by *Maimonides*, who alſo undertook to explain part of the Myſteries contained in the *Mercava Bereſchit*.* He maintains, that none ought to ſpeak of the *Bereſchit*, but before two Witneſſes: For if *Plato*, and other Philoſophers, have hid the Secrets of their Science under Myſtical Terms, it is ſtill more neceſſary to put a Veil upon Religion. Laſtly, he owns, That as no Book had been wrote upon the *Mercava*, it was difficult to explain it, and that moſt of thoſe who had undertaken to explain it, had miſtaken its Sence and Meaning.

* *Maimon. more Nevochim.* p. 2. c. 39.

P. 208. Col. 1. N. 3. l. 4. dele *which it produces*.

P. 225. N. 7. l. 10. *Zeis*, r. *Zeb*.

p. 230. Col. 1. N. 3. l. 3. *not to have known*, r. not to have made uſe of.

p. 262. N. 21. l. 2. *Pirke Abbot*, add, they have alſo publiſh'd other Sentences under, &c.

p. 306. Col. 2. l. 1. dele *Hebrew*.

p. 319. Col. 2. N. 4. l. 7 *that Opinion*, r. the contrary Opinion.

p. 330. Col. 2. N. 11. l. 2. dele *be cannot be*, &c. and the three following Lines, to the word *Moſes*.

p. 342. Col. 2. l. 16. dele *ſeven*.

p. 343. Col. 1. N. 1. l. 20. for *two thouſand*, r. ſeventeen hundred.

p. 416. Col. 2. N. 9. l. 7. from &c. r. by the Law.

p. 433. Col. 1. N. 21. l. 7. *Machon*, r. *Methon*.

p. 459. N. 7. l. 12. dele *every Saturday*.

p. 462. N. 2. l. 16. *Swore by the things conſecrated to God*, add, the Treaſure of the Temple.

p. 466. Col. 1. paragr. 3. l. 1. inſtead of *thoſe*, r. *that*.

p. 478. Col. 1. N. 3. l. 13. *whether the Veſſel be pure*, r. the Veſſel is pure, if.

p. 480. Col. 1. l. 2. after *the Jews*, add the words, *of honour*.

p. 481. Col. 2. N. 20. l. 36. for *after*, r. *during the Sabbath*.

Ibid. l. 41. after *Story*, r. from ſome Man of the Country.

p. 485. Col. 1. l. 16. *r.* did St. *Peter* only go into thoſe places.

p. 486. Col. 1. N. 8. l. 6. *one or two Women*, r. one Woman, and two Men.

Note, That after p 491, in R. of the third Alphabet, the page reverts to 464. the next Signature is Ooo, and the pages continue orderly afterwards to the end.

p. 493. Col. 1. N. 23. l. 4. for *this Prince with which*, r. that Prince by whom.

p. 494. Col 2. l. 21. *Maſon was*, add, in *Meſopotamia*, if however you had rather, ſay that it was the City *Emeſe*.

p. 497. Col. 2. N. 9. l. 8. dele *during the Comitia*.

Ibid. l. 9. r. *where*.

p. 501 Col. 2. N. 20. l. 3. for *informed*, r. revealed to.

p. 506. Col. 1. l. 11. for *Alexander Severus*, r. Severus.

p. 515. the laſt Note at the bottom of the page, for מרשה r. משהן.

p. 516. Col. 2. N. 16. l. 4. for *ſixty nine*, r. ſixty two.

p. 526. Col. 1. N. 16. l. 5. for *that went but half way*, r. that had made but ſmall proficiency therein.

p. 531. Col. 2. N. 17. l. 5. for *this*, r. *his*.

Ibid. l. 18. for *was Prince*, r. did ſo likewiſe.

p. 547. Col. 2. N. 22. l. 2. for *which was*, r. and it was.

Ibid. N. 23. for *to be habited on occaſion*, r. to come back on the account of.

p. 551. Col. 2. N. 4. for *the loſſes*, r. thoſe loſſes.

p. 559. Col. 2. l. 26. for *Points of Honour*, r. Degrees of Honour.

p. 560. Col. 1. N. 15. for *promiſed them their*, r. permitted them the.

p. 568. Col. 1. N. 16. l. 7. for *ſmelling a Roſe*, r. ſmelling to, &c.

Ibid. l. 10. for *which* appears, r. which is to be ſeen.

p. 588. Col. 1. l. 11. for *Tysbon*, r. Tybon.

p. 591. Col. 2. N. 10. l. 40. r. which of right ought not to have been exacted.

p. 593. Col. 1. N. 13. l. 52. dele, the Colour of the *Abaſſides*, and Green that of the *Ommiades*, the Succeſſors of *Aly*, r. the Colour of the *Abaſſides*, the Succeſſors of *Aly*, &c.

p. 647. Col. 1. l. 12. for *to celebrate*, r. to the uſage of celebrating the Paſſover.

p. 655. N. 11. l. 6. at the end of the twelfth or thirteenth, *r.* or beginning of the thirteenth Century.

p. 657. Col. 1. N. 11. l. 2. for *Tranſexane*, r. *Tranſoxane*.

Ibid. In the Notes at the bottom of the page at this Mark ‖ for *Ann.* 129. r. *Ann* 1291.

p. 674. Col. 1. l. 5. for *where*, r. whereinto.

Ibid. N. 14. l. 25. for *violenter*, r. more violently.

Ibid. l. 37. for *growing rich*, r. enriching himſelf.

p. 676. Col. 1. N. 20. for *Videmus*, r. *Vidimus*.

p. 682. Col. 2. N. 3. l. 15. for *they had enjoy'd*, r. which the *Tartars* had enjoyed.

p. 683. Col. 2. N. 9. l. 11. for *Germecimam*, r. *Germeſheim*.

p. 689. Col. 1 N. 8. l. 15. *Pope Mark*, r. Pope named Mark.

Ibid. l. 21. for *taken an imaginary Man*, r. put an imaginary Man in the room of Pope *Martin*.

p. 734. Col. 2. N. 32. for *moreover*, r. likewiſe.

p. 741. in the Notes at the bottom, at this mark ‖ r. הצדוב.